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COMMUNITY BACKGROUNDS OF EDUCATION

A Textbook in Educational Sociology

BY

LLOYD ALLEN COOK

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FIRST EDITION
FIFTH IMPRESSION

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PREFACE

It would be unreal to claim that educational sociology has found its proper place in the training of teachers. As academic disciplines go, it is relatively new and undeveloped. Nowhere, apparently, does the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* mention the subject or refer to its accumulating literature. Moreover, educational sociology is unsure of itself—its viewpoint, scope, methods, and worth. Thus each text is best understood as an attempt to define a field of study which is so far highly variable and unstandardized.

The present volume is concerned with what may become in time a single aspect of educational sociology, the field of school and community relations. Part I deals with types of American community life, Part II with a number of child-shaping influences, and Part III with the teacher and the school in the community. The arrangement of divisions, as well as the selection of chapter topics, has been determined both by the needs of prospective teachers and by the status of social research. There is, unfortunately, no sociology of childhood and adolescence, and there is an even greater lack of research studies concerning the adjustments of teacher and school to local area changes and conditions. The expansion, or reorganization, of Parts II and III must necessarily await the progress of research now under way.

Since the text has been written for beginning students, it is more factual than theoretical, more descriptive than analytical. Case studies and personal-experience documents, being the nearest classroom proximation to life situations, are generously used. Their interpretation challenges reflective thought, and their implications bring up for inspection one's philosophy of what teachers should be and do in times of rapid social change. Materials of the above nature gain in educative value if taken from the text and given meaning in terms of student experience and local area conditions. Thus to each chapter are appended lists of questions for discussion, problems and projects. Each chapter also contains a selected bibliography for further reading.

The volume has assumed its present organization after experimental test in syllabus form. During this period, study units have been taught and criticized by a number of educators and sociologists, whose helpful comments are gratefully acknowledged. While the approach made to educational problems will be judged by whatever merit it may have, it is clearly in line with an outstanding trend in the training of teachers. Everywhere one notes a swing away from the traditional type of teacher education to a study of living, changing communities and their social problems. Although the book is intended for use in educational sociology classes, it may prove useful in other courses in sociology, education, and child welfare. It should also be of interest to parent-teacher organizations, teacher associations, and other adult study groups.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the suggestions made by teaching assistants in the Department of Sociology. My debt to colleagues in sociology and education is very great. Among these are Willard Waller, E. B. Reuter, W. W. Charters, Boyd H. Bode, Ralph Tyler, and E. George Payne. To Dr. Frederick E. Lumley, I am especially indebted for the stimulus and the opportunity to conduct work in educational sociology. To Violet Surface Cook, I express my appreciation for assistance in preparing the manuscript. The courtesy of authors and publishers in granting permission to quote printed material is acknowledged at the point of inclusion.

LLOYD A. COOK.

COLUMBUS, OHIO,
December, 1937.

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COMMUNITY BACKGROUNDS OF EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An impressive fact of the times is change—rapid, pervasive, bewildering change. Change has always been of prime concern because of its effects in creating social problems. This is as true in education as in any other aspect of community life. Thus, in an era of great school expansion, education is pictured at the crossroads.[1] It is said to lack direction and effectiveness, to be overrated and oversold. Even by those not disposed to take an extreme view, one fact can scarcely be denied. Education, once so patently the solution for all our social problems, has itself become a major problem.

This text is designed as an exploratory study in the field of educational sociology. Its general interest is in school and community relations. Its starting point is with the present situation. Why the existing confusion? What kind of education is needed in times like these and how are we, as prospective teachers and school administrators, to prepare ourselves for teaching? These are the major problems for this chapter. Its general aim is to indicate the point of view underlying the volume as a whole.

A. EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Early Education: A Community Function.—If education has reached an impasse, a backward glance may be helpful in getting perspective. Time was, within the memory of men still living, when schools played a minor role in the educative process. Consider, for example, the experiences of one schoolmaster of perhaps forty years ago.

[1] Boyd H. Bode, "Education at the Crossroads," *Prog. Educ.*, 8(1931), 543–549; I. L. Kandel, "Education and Social Change," *Jour. Soc. Phil.*, 1(1935), 23–35.

In the days of my callow youth, I once taught a rural school. As far as I know, it was fairly representative of the little red schoolhouse that we have heard so much about. My school wasn't red, but it was a one-room affair, and it was rural and had a curriculum that was limited pretty much to the three R's. Teaching in that school, as I look back on it now, was simplicity in itself. I assigned the lessons and heard the recitations—that was my job. The pupils learned the assignments and did the reciting—that was their job; and when that was done we knocked off for the day.

There was a great deal of education going on in that community but most of it had no relation to my school. The pupils learned a great deal about vocations, for example, but my school offered no courses in vocations. The young people learned that at home—out in the fields or in the kitchen. They got a complete set of ideas about economics and government, but they didn't get them from me. It was my father's duty and prerogative to explain the beauties of the tariff system and to warn the boys against the Democrats. In matters of religious beliefs, father was usually less fluent . . . but he did the best he could and the rest was looked after by church and Sunday school. Manners and customs were taught and rigidly enforced by the community.[1]

No teacher then carried the burden of the world on his shoulders. He simply instructed in a few basic facts and skills, assigned lessons, heard recitations, and went home. Education was predominantly a function of the community. Its aim was to transmit the most vital elements of the social heritage, the patterns of the living present. Its method was the age-old plan of learning by doing. Children took part in whatever was going on and, in participation, learned to do better whatever needed to be done.[2] The age itself was one of simplicity and stability, security and confidence. One knew then what to do, for he knew what was expected of him.

Drift of Social Change.—To remark that this scene has changed is to state a commonplace. We live today in a strange new world, a world of technological progress, expanded population, rapid communication, urbanization, industrialization, ethnic hetero-

[1] Boyd H. Bode, "Education and Social Change," *Prog. Educ.*, 11(1934), 45. Used by permission of the Progressive Education Association, publishers.

[2] For an illustrative case, see G. Stanley Hall, "Boy Life in a Massachusetts Country Town Forty Years Ago," *Pedagog. Semin.*, 13(1906), 192–207.

geneity, and extreme personal mobility. Unemployment is still rampant; millions of families live below a decency level; crime sweeps the nation in recurring cycles; labor and capital battle according to the "good old plan"; class and caste conflict flares up, dies down, and rises again; endless "isms"—pacifism and militarism, nationalism and internationalism, individualism and collectivism, fascism, communism, and democracy—clamor for public acceptance. The riddle of effective control remains unsolved; personal maladjustment, defeatism, and insecurity are woven into the very pattern of our daily life.

At the expense of missing much of importance, attention may be centered on but one aspect of the present social scene. Under the impact of forces still too near at hand, too complex and elusive for brief analysis, the old community of the fathers has tended to disintegrate. The inclusive neighborhood unity, the warm and intimate unity of the primary group, has been shattered. Pressure groups now dot the social landscape, each seeking to advance a special interest at the expense of the public weal. Old norms and forms of behavior are everywhere suspect; new codes of conduct, while clearly on the make, have not yet won wide acceptance. Thus the time is one of uncertainty and transition.

Stimulated by the depression, writers have made much of the "dilemma of youth."[1] While there is no denying the pressing need for plentiful jobs and adequate educational facilities, the real crux of the matter may not lie just here. With time-honored beliefs so roundly challenged, with so many different standards of conduct in plain sight, life has become a series of alternatives. To young people in particular, our schizoid culture is extremely puzzling.[2] On every hand they are faced with the necessity of making choices. By what criteria shall conduct be governed, and to what extent are schools now serving as agencies of guidance?

Educational Confusion.—As social life became more complex, adult community members faced a new problem. How were children to be made at home in the emergent world? Who was to educate them in its ways? The historic answer was of course the

[1] Mark A. May, "The Dilemma of Youth," *Prog. Educ.*, 12(1935), 5–11; George A. Zook, "Our Youth Problem," *North Central Quart.*, 9(1935), 279–284; Maxine Davis, *The Lost Generation.*

[2] Read Bain, "Our Schizoid Culture," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 19(1935), 266–276.

development of a special institution, the school. Here, at the hand of experts, the too-big milieu was to be broken up into its elements, sifted for basic values, and organized into teachable bits. In short, the school was a device created by the community to do what it could no longer do well, namely, to educate children.

How, in the fullness of time, has the school succeeded? The answer has already been suggested. It is found in part, but only in part, in a recent nation-wide survey of lay and professional criticisms of the schools.[1] Table I, taken from this survey, is illuminating.

TABLE I.—CRITICISMS OF THE SCHOOLS[1]

General type of criticism of the schools	Number of articles in general magazines			Criticisms in 12 professional books	Rank order of the criticisms of 88 specialists in secondary education
	44 laymen	20 educators	Total: 64 articles		
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. "Soft" pedagogy; too many frills	12	7	19	1	1
2. Lack of contact with life	6	6	12	5	2
3. Overemphasis on vocational aims	6	1	7	2	
4. Severe discipline; overwork of students	6	1	7	..	6
5. Neglect of character development	6	..	6	..	3
6. Mass education methods	4	1	5	1	5
7. Suppression of individuality	3	2	5	2	
8. Neglect of gifted children	3	..	3		
9. Control by faddists	1	2	3	2	
10. Neglect of traditional subjects	1	1	2		
11. Neglect of civic and social efficiency	Included with Item 2			6	7
12. Improper emphasis on high school athletics	..	..	..	..	4

[1] Numbers in columns 2, 3, and 4 indicate frequency of mention with some articles classified under more than one criticism. The figures in column 5 indicate the number of the 12 books naming the particular criticism. *Evaluating the Public Schools*, 29. Used by permission of the National Education Association.

Viewing the table as a whole, the major impression is that of educational confusion. Schools are charged with soft pedagogy and at the same time with severe discipline; the curriculum is at

[1] *Evaluating the Public Schools.* Phi Delta Kappa, National Educational Association, Washington, 1934.

once too narrow and formal and too much concerned with frills and newer subjects; mass education methods are deplored, yet faddists are said to be in control. Apparently neither laymen nor educators are agreed as to what schools should be and do. On one significant point, however, there is marked uniformity of opinion: critics are well agreed that schools lack contact with real life.

The School's Lag.—It was to be expected that the stresses and strains of the social order would flow over into the school. What is not so readily explained is why schools have done so little about it. Unlike the church, for example, the school has never frozen into dogmatic rigidity in the face of social change. On the contrary, and up until the depression, its history has been that of phenomenal expansion. Its amazing development in pupil enrollment, in curricula, in holding power, in teachers and their training, in plants and their equipment, is all a matter of statistical record.[1] In view of these facts, why charge the school with lag?

The answer lies in the nature of these educational changes. In the main, they are alterations in the shell of education and not in its inner core; they are alterations in size and structure, not in direction and function. Increase in pupil enrollment, more than any other factor, has made them necessary. In all institutions except the handful of widely scattered "progressive schools," pupils still sit, listen, and absorb as of old. The curriculum is still formalized; the teacher's prime task is still the keeping of order in the classroom. Where new orientations have arisen within the public school system, as in grades 1 to 5, the idea of school lag is indeed erroneous.

In accounting for the failure of the average school to meet the needs of these times, four factors come to mind. (1) It takes a period of years, averaging about ten, for the findings of current

[1] *Cf.* Charles R. Judd, "Education," *Recent Social Trends*, 325–381. One is startled by the size of our present educational family. The opening of schools in 1932 put to work 1,037,605 teachers, 26,953 superintendents and business officers, 37,764 principals and supervisors, 238,306 janitors, 50,000 bus drivers, and 125,000 persons otherwise connected with school operation. The opening day also found 25,000,000 pupils in elementary and secondary schools, 1,000,000 students on the way to college, and 800,000 toddlers starting off to kindergarden.

historical research to reach the high school textbooks.[1] (2) Textbooks are often used for many years beyond the date of publication. Their content is "stale," yet the cost of new books is viewed as prohibitive.[2] (3) More important than either of the above causes of lag is the teacher's own inertia. While teachers *en masse* make gestures at "keeping up," they seldom find it possible to do so. Like other professional workers, many fall victim to habit and routine. (4) The most significant of all causes of school lag inheres in the school's definition of its function. It still defines its task as that of transmitting knowledge. Knowledge is a deposit of the past. Once in existence, it assumes a marked degree of permanency. It is linked with the names of founders, expounded in precepts and principles, enshrined in books, and made an item of personal belief and conduct. Its absorption becomes an end in itself, as does its inculcation. Children learn it by mastering a set curriculum, a curriculum that may not be adapted to their interests and adjustment needs. All the while the life to which this knowledge is presumably a key is not fixed; *per contra*, it moves on at an accelerated pace. Thus the school reaches an impasse. To pass on the heritage is no longer defensible as an educational aim, yet the new direction which education should take is not a matter of universal agreement.

B. EDUCATION AS GUIDANCE

Guidance as an Objective.—The kind of education toward which we should move is not easy to define. In essence, it would seem to be a matter of pupil growth under planning, a thoughtful effort to assimilate a growing person to a changing community. While educators are not at one in labeling this conception of the school's function, the idea of social guidance is not inappropriate. Whatever its label, this kind of education seeks to bridge the gap between school and life, to develop personality and character, to make the local community a better place in which to live.

This education may be further defined by way of contrasts. It is not traditional education, though it dates back to the "peda-

[1] Irene T. Blythe, "The Textbooks and the New Discoveries, Emphases, and Viewpoints in American History," *Hist. Outlook*, 23(1932) 395–402.

[2] P. A. Knowlton, "Politicians, Teachers, and Textbooks," *Scribner's Mag.*, 45(1934), 421–424.

gogue" in its emphasis on understanding the community.[1] It does not, like the average school of the present, impose a rigid course of study, set pupils to memorizing facts, and otherwise deaden the child's curiosity. It conceives the learner as an outreaching, exploring organism. Its task is to broaden and deepen experiences, to liberate intelligence, and to increase appreciation of basic values. It is not extreme progressivism, for the only kind of freedom which it knows is freedom within limits. It does not exhort teachers to go forth and build a new social order, yet it enjoins them to participate in social change with the intent of purposive control.

Guidance in the Classroom.—One way to give reality to this concept of education is to consider a classroom example. A teacher announces to her class that the earth is round. What difference does this make? Even the teacher may be pressed for a practical answer. Suppose now she wished to teach the fact instead of reciting it. What did people think about the earth before they thought it was round? Some pupil is bound to say that they thought it was flat, even citing Biblical authority for the answer. And then, have all your acquaintances stopped believing the earth is flat? Can it be round and flat at the same time? What do you now think about the earth's shape and why do you think it?

Thus a dead fact has been brought to life by defining it for what it is, an issue on which the community is divided. The pupil perceives that the earth's shape is related to the local social world. He makes another discovery. Time was when the Biblical dictum was accepted by all; now some adults profess to reject it. Hence beliefs change. Yet the problem has not been solved; the learner has been motivated to canvass the evidence and to arrive at an answer for himself.

Reviewing this incident, it is evident that the teacher's aim has been to liberate the child's intelligence. Does this mark the end of her responsibility? Not if she has caught the vision of our life together in a relationship based on understanding rather than on coercion. The right to think has always carried with it the power to destroy organized society, to set one person against another and make the democratic process an impossibility. Education cannot overlook this fact without doing a disservice to the society

[1] J. K. Hart, "The Unprintable Textbook," *Survey*, 49(1922), 33–35.

that sustains it. Hence guidance will sensitize young people to the values implicit in the American scheme of life. It will teach them to fit into the existing social structure and to work tactfully for constructive change. It will teach neither the old nor the new, but transition from one to the other.

Guidance in the Community.—Outside the school and impinging upon it is the community. Should educators seek to organize it for child and adult welfare? It is difficult to see how this responsibility can be avoided, since so much of the school's work, so many of its day-by-day problems, are conditioned by this environment. It is instructive to turn through the life history of a teacher who did attempt to become a part of her community, a leader in initiating far-reaching changes. Perhaps no reader may expect to start teaching in as primitive a situation as Shady Cove, yet one feels that this teacher would have expressed the same philosophy of education no matter what the local situation.

I accepted the position in the foothills against my family's wishes. They were horrified over the prospect of my teaching there. Living in the county seat, we had heard much about Shady Cove. "Dead snake in the water bucket"; "broke out all the winders with rocks"; "whooped the teacher right in the classroom"; and so on. Not a very pleasing outlook for a young woman to face.

Perhaps I should describe our county. The western two-thirds is a tangled mountain mass. Along the eastern base of the mountains runs the main automobile road, and towns are strung on it like beads on a string. The county seat claims a population of 2,000 and is the largest town in the valley. My home village is down the road a few miles below the county seat. The Flint River touches the county at its eastern edge, and between the river and the mountains is Shady Cove. The Cove is a coal-built village; on below it are other coal camps. . . . Coal, once a lusty giant, is a seemingly outmoded commodity. When I first went to the Cove in 1930, the mines were working four days a week. Last year (1933), many were shut down entirely and the rest worked only a day a week. . . . The depression only made a bad situation worse.

On the morning when my school was to open I arose shortly after dawn. I got through breakfast and started my two and one half mile hike to the school. On the way I rehearsed my opening speeches. . . . I tried to guess at my reception and each guess proved wrong.

I had timed my arrival for seven o'clock, expecting to be the first one there, but in this I was wrong. Under the trees and over the hill-

side, many people were scattered. Bony horses and mangy dogs, men whittling or talking, women carrying babies and herding small children, older children watching me with eager eyes—this is the picture I remember.

I knew none of these people but many knew about me. My father's long tenure as mill foreman, our cottage with its trim lawn and flower beds, its modern conveniences—such as a bathtub in which, so it was rumored, we bathed each day—were regarded as evidences of affluence far beyond the reach of the Cove. Furthermore, my years at college made me a prodigy of learning, and my few visits North a world traveler. Many of the hill people had never been more than a few miles from home in their whole life.

The schoolhouse itself was the worst of the picture. Every pane of glass was broken, a form of vandalism I did not then understand. Its interior beggars description. The benches and desks were battered, carved, and broken. The floor was covered with glass, stones, sticks, and leaves. Everything was blanketed with dust. I wished I had brought my new broom—this, with a box of chalk, being the regular issue for a country school at that time. . . . I did manage to clean up the worst of the litter and heave it outside. Without the faintest notion as to time, I rang the bell.

Slowly the crowd filed in, men pulling off their hats and turning to the left at the door, women drifting toward the right, and the children crowding benches, desks, and window sills. A strong scent of sweaty bodies filled the air. . . .

As she entered, a kindly woman whispered to me, "Brother Flathead thar is a preacher if'n you want any prayin' done." I had already decided to do this myself; in truth, had planned a little prayer. I stood on the rostrum and asked the children what song they knew. No one answered. They just sat there, staring at me, stiff with fright. Again I asked for a song, including both elders and children in my invitation. No voice replied. "Oh, if I could only unlock these shut-up souls," I thought, "and let them move about with freedom, what an achievement it would be." At last I said, "If no one knows a song, I'll try to sing one for you. Later we can all learn to sing together." I knew they sang in church, but singing in school and under a woman's direction was something else again. At this juncture the preacher made bold to ask, "Do you know Ameriky? 'Pears like that's a mighty good school song." We agreed that it was, and thereupon I sang it as a solo for no one, not even the preacher, joined in to help me.

After this I read a chapter in Proverbs pat to the occasion and then said, "Let us pray." The preacher, feeling himself the one person in the room qualified to address God directly, cleared his throat to begin, but I beat him to it. I knew, of course, what a radical thing this was,

for in the Cove St. Paul's injunctions concerning women are taken most literally. But I had things to say to that earthly audience, as well as to the Most High. In my prayer, I put a share of my success or failure with the school on the parents. I asked that we all be given a willing spirit so that we might labor together for the good of the children and the betterment of the community. When I ended there were a few scattered "amens" from the men's side; but when I opened my eyes there was the same intense stare. I don't believe a soul in that group had bowed his head or closed his eyes. Probably no one thought it was a legitimate prayer anyway, being offered in public by a woman.

"Now if you will let me talk," I said, "I will tell you something of my plans and then I would like to know what you think of them." What I said then has long since slipped away; I recall only what I had intended to say. In my stumbling way, perhaps, I set forth the belief that the school exists to serve the community, that a teacher's work must include all kinds and conditions of scholars in the community. . . . The teacher must know her people and they must know her; all must help in the many-sided thing called education. My thought, even on that first day, was to make the school a center of community life and betterment. . . . I told them that I didn't want to fight my way through school, in fact I couldn't. I wanted a school ruled by kindness and fair play. After this I asked for comments.

Another long, dead silence ensued. At last the preacher stepped into the breach with a long speech about nothing in particular; after which another silence. I called upon two or three men who opined that "school was a good thing fur the kids" and they hoped I would succeed. Finally a woman arose from a window sill, a pioneer if ever there was one. "I don't know how to talk in public," she said, "fur I ain't never done it before. But I jist want to say that my young'uns allus has trouble with the teacher, and she is allus a-beatin' on 'em. But I reckon the trouble is we jist ain't never had one that knowed nothin'. 'Pears like you air a-startin' off different. My young'uns is mean and you'll have to whoop 'em, but you're welcome to hit. Tain't that we don't want 'em learnt."

Presently dismissing the elders, I started enrolling the children. They ranged in age from six to sixteen, and were almost all barefooted. The boys wore hickory shirts and blue overalls, and the girls faded and patched cotton gowns. One upstanding lad said he came from the "fightin' Gowells," and his tone of voice left the impression that not much more need be said. I gave the pupils book lists but soon found what I should have known, namely, their parents were too poor to buy books. Many families could not buy even paper and pencil. Last winter I taught geography out of a mail-order catalogue, history out of the community's own past, and health out of my own knowledge con-

cerning human needs. Many a lesson has been brought in from our homes, mines, fields, stores, and surroundings. . . .

At the start I had 38 enrolled and a regular showing of far less. I knew there were many others who ought to be in school, so I went out after them. It was hard at first. "Aw, he's ist in the primer" and "she never got furdern the first reader," were common remarks made about the adult illiterates whom I brought to school. But I canvassed the community like a candidate running for office. I helped mothers tend babies, talked with men at work, broke into any kind of meeting I could find. At the end of my first month I had 70 pupils. By state law this entitles a school to two teachers, and I obtained an assistant.

Our school continued to grow—its reputation traveling along the community grapevine route. . . . It was becoming more and more difficult to hold all our classes in one room. At the end of three months, I visited the county superintendent. When told that we now had 110 enrolled pupils, he was unable to believe me. He said he would come right down and "look us over." When he arrived, the assistant teacher was in charge of the one room and I had a class à la Mark Hopkins out in the yard. "Where in the world did they all come from?" he asked. A curious sixth grader, misunderstanding the superintendent's remark, replied: "Some of us come frum Doc Redner, but mostly we just come."

That first year we expanded into the Hardshell Baptist Church, only a few steps away. By the end of the next year, our log school had been transformed into a neat three-room frame building, a structure that was the pride and joy of the entire community. Between two of its rooms were folding doors, so that we could make an auditorium for school plays and other programs. Last year, the enrollment was 158, over four times what it was when I started my campaign. . . .

As time went on, my thought flowed out more and more into community affairs. When I came to the Cove, leisure pursuits were few and far between—prayer meetings, baptisms, a dance now and then, and neighborly visiting. By desperate efforts, I secured play equipment for the boys; a bat and ball, marbles, and other things. I got permission to use a level meadow across the creek, and soon adults were playing with us. More recently we bought a basketball and nets, and the game has swept over the Cove like wildfire. How I worked to get a rattlebox piano! It has proved to be the most educative piece of apparatus we possess, for it gives pinched little souls a taste of melody and rhythm.

Gradually the school became a genuine center of community life. At present we have mothers' meetings once a month where we talk cooking, canning, housekeeping, and the care of children. Our studies of diet have done much toward reducing pellagra. . . . Our fathers' meetings are not so well attended, and it is here that I have scored one of my biggest failures. When lifesaving relief was still far away and

children were dropping out of school, I ventured to discuss the limitation of families. The men simply were not interested. When I told my mother, she exclaimed: "Well, I never heard the likes of that. I think you were, well, real bold!"

On the whole, my hardest struggle has been to popularize modern medicine. . . . I had known all along that there were many bad tonsils among the children, and when county relief started to function I sought help. Two doctors were sent to examine our pupils. Twenty-three needed immediate operations. . . . Try as hard as I could, the best that I could do was to get the fifteen most needy cases cared for. Since there was no hospital, I took a vacant upper floor over the Cove's main store and, with the help of volunteer workers, made it as usable as possible. A CCC camp loaned us ten cots, and the rest of our patients lay on the floor. On the morning of the operations, I drove fifteen miles to persuade a college classmate, a trained nurse, to come and help us. We had our troubles that day. . . .

After the worst of the strain, I went to our leading merchant. "Mr. Brumley," I said, "you know what is going on upstairs. If your child was there, where would you be?" "I would be at his bedside," was his instant reply. "Exactly," I said; "now all day long, back at the schoolhouse, fathers and mothers have been waiting for news. Don't you think we could take our cars and bring them here?" He agreed and we got started. . . . All the kiddies came through fine and medical science is stronger today than ever before.[1]

This case has been cited in detail as an illustration of one teacher's conception of the school's function. She believed that her school should serve the community. In Shady Cove, where needs were great and resources few, this took the form of increasing enrollment, securing a new building, and making it a genuine center of local life. Children and adults were aided and guided in their leisure pursuits, in homemaking, in citizenship, in health education. Materials from the locality were used, not by design but by necessity, to vitalize classroom work. In less backward areas, this same philosophy could have found expression in other ways—in curriculum building, in an activity program, in delinquency prevention, in parental and adult education, in organizing a community coordinating council. Whatever its specific form, it is a point of view in education which merits serious attention. It is by no means inclusive of all the responsibilities of the school, yet

[1] Adapted from Alvin F. Harlow, *Schoolhouse in the Foothills*. Simon and Schuster, 1936. By permission of the author.

it promises to redefine educational aims and improve educational methods.

If prospective teachers are to prepare themselves for this type of educational service, they will need to study the social world environing the school. They will need to understand American community life, to analyze the many influences shaping the child, and to view the teacher and the school in their community relations. These are the central aims of this book.

C. THE COMMUNITY: A PLAN OF STUDY

Educational Sociology.—Texts in educational sociology have dealt with school problems in various ways. Some have been written from an educational viewpoint, others from a sociological viewpoint. Some have been narrow and technical in treatment, others broadly social and general. Some have contributed toward a social philosophy of education, others toward a social science. Being vastly different, these approaches are confusing to the student. Each will be better understood if viewed as an effort to define a field of study as yet no more than staked out.[1] A recent well-marked trend has been toward more penetrating studies of community backgrounds, and, as already stated, it is with this aspect of the subject that the present volume is concerned.

The Community Approach.—The community approach to educational problems has two outstanding types of values. From the sociological standpoint, the local social world contains in some form or another all the factors and processes found in the larger society. Unlike this more abstract concept, the community has concrete reality. It is neither too large nor too small, too far away nor too near at hand, to have meaning for the student. Its life and structure can be analyzed with some assurance that the elements will not slip through one's grasp. Finally, it is the place we know most about and in which we are most at home. To be sure, the community does not exist as a self-contained entity, and hence it must be studied in the light of recent nation-wide trends.

[1] The first course to bear the title of educational sociology was probably offered in 1907 by Henry Suzzalo; the first text so named was by Walter R. Smith, and was published in 1917; and the only technical journal, the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, made its appearance in 1927.

From an educational standpoint, the local social world is the fundamental unit of learning and teaching. It is the child's greatest educator, for in it he comes of age. It inducts him into its forms and norms of life, its groups and associations, and thus affects his school achievement in countless ways. It is the chief source of "life" materials for the teacher. It is the world to which she must make a personal adjustment, the world that in the last analysis determines her success or failure. It sets an endless array of problems for the school administrator, seeks to dictate the school's program and to pass final judgment on its outcomes. It is the area in which state and national policies must be executed, the area that gives or withholds financial support for all phases of the educational program. In short, the community is the school's effective environment, and as such all aspects of its life are of interest to prospective teachers.

Plan of Study.—In brief outline, Part I of the volume presents a sociological overview of American community life. It describes three concrete communities, generalizes for each type, and concludes with a chapter on social planning for community life. Part II studies the school child as a community product. Within the limits set by research materials, it discusses a number of child-shaping influences as to nature, personality effects, and implications for school progress. Part III directs attention to the teacher and the school in relation to the community. A concluding chapter summarizes a recent nation-wide survey of teacher attitudes and information, and suggests needed changes in teacher training.

Direct Contact Materials.—The viewpoint expressed in this chapter stresses the instructional use of "direct contact materials." If wisely planned and carefully interpreted, such materials sensitize students to current social realities and thus vitalize the learning process.

The nature and sources of these materials will vary with teacher experience, student needs, and local conditions. A first general source is the student's own community, another the community in which the college is located, and a third is the campus itself. Planned trips of inspection, a study of maps, photographs and field materials, individual and group surveys and projects, case studies of institutions, groups and persons, and class talks by community representatives are some of the many kinds of direct

contact experiences. Each chapter in the text offers suggestions for projects of this nature. It suggests also topics for student papers and class discussions, and readings for supplementary study.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is education? When does it begin for the child? When does it end? Why did society organize schools?
2. What is the present educational confusion? How and why has it arisen? What evidence is there of the school's lag?
3. Distinguish between education as the transmission of a heritage and as social guidance. Illustrate the difference in terms of a concrete case.
4. How did the Shady Cove teacher define her function? Summarize her community services. To what extent do you approve of her educational philosophy? Indicate one way in which it could be applied in your community.
5. What are "direct contact materials"? Illustrate their range and variety for the present course. Discuss their class use and value.
6. Formulate as clearly as possible the interests which have led you to consider teaching as a career.

Problems and Projects

1. Lead a class discussion on "our schizoid culture." See Read Bain, *Social. and Soc. Res.*, 19(1933), 266–276. Prepare and give in class a short "attitude consistency" test.
2. Interview a teacher to find out the nature and degree of her participation in community life. To what extent does she use the local area in her teaching? Of what community groups is she a member?
3. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Education as a Social Problem. Boyd H. Bode, "Education at the Crossroads," *Prog. Educ.*, 8(1931), 543–549; James W. Woodard, "Education as a Social Problem," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 6(1933), 290–304.
   b. Training of teachers. Thomas Alexander and others, in Wm. S. Gray (editor), *The Academic and Professional Training of Secondary-school Teachers* (1935).
   c. Educational Sociology: Viewpoints and Problems. E. George Payne (editor), *Readings in Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, Chap. I; C. C. Peters (editor), "Educational Sociology," *Review of Educ. Res.*, 7(1937), 5–14.

Selected Readings

1. Bode, Boyd H.: "Education and Social Change," *Prog. Educ.*, 11(1934), 45–48.
2. Bode, Boyd H.: "Education as Growth," *Prog. Educ.*, 14(1937), 151–157.

3. Brewer, John: *Education as Guidance.*
4. Buckingham, B. R.: "The Relation of the Curriculum to the Textbook," *Reconstructing Education through Research,* 146–150.
5. Canby, Henry S.: *The Age of Confidence* (1934).
6. Dewey, John: *The Way Out of Educational Confusion.* Inglis Lecture, Harvard University, 1931.
7. *Evaluating the Public Schools.* Phi Delta Kappa, National Education Association, 1934.
8. Faris, Ellsworth: "The Sociologist and the Educator," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.,* 33(1928), 796–801.
9. Harlow, Alvin F.: *Schoolhouse in the Foothills;* also *Sat. Eve. Post,* 207(Oct. 13, 1934), 5–7; (Oct. 27), 16–17; (Nov. 10), 18–19.
10. Judd, Charles R.: "Education," *Recent Social Trends,* I: 325–381.
11. Knowlton, P. A.: "Politicians, Teachers, and Textbooks," *Scribner's Mag.,* 45(1934), 421–424.
12. Murrell, James L.: *Principles of Education,* Chap. V, "What Is the Place of the High School?"
13. Patterson, William H. (*nee* George F. Miller): *Letters from a Hard-boiled Teacher to His Half-baked Son.*
14. Reuter, E. B.: "The Problems of an Educational Sociology," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.,* 8(1935), 15–23.
15. Rice, Stuart: "What Is Sociology?" *Soc. Forces,* 10(1931), 319–326.
16. Salisbury, W. S.: "How a Rural Community Adjusted the Social Science Curriculum," *Educ.,* 56(1936), 311–314.
17. Thrasher, Frederic M.: "Social Backgrounds and Education," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.,* 1(1927), 69–76.

PART I

UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNITY

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY IDEA

Three centuries ago, the American frontier was just outside the villages of Boston and New Amsterdam. From 1600 to 1700, it advanced slowly; in another 150 years, it moved across the continent to the Pacific coast. Trading posts and mining camps were replaced by villages; villages gave way to towns and cities, and all were held together by an embracing system of communication. Yet, as the nation took its present shape, there was left behind in the Appalachians and elsewhere a people "beleaguered by nature," the world forgetting and by the world forgot.

It is instructive to study the life of these isolated hill folk. Until recently, our complex civilization has developed about them, leaving almost untouched their eighteenth century culture. At present they face a rapid readjustment the end of which cannot be foreseen. Who are these pocketed Americans and how do they live? Do they form true communities? What is a community, and by what methods can it be studied? These are the principal questions for this chapter. While research on mountain settlements is not all that could be desired, we are not without scholarly studies.[1] To the most representative of these we now turn.

A. HOLLOW FOLK: UNORGANIZED DISTRICTS

Background Data.—Hidden away in the Blue Ridge Mountains, a hundred miles from the nation's capital, dwell the Hollow Folk.[2]

[1] Students of folklore have combed the southern Appalachians for rhyme and riddle, song and story, quaint beliefs and customs, but they have given us no full-length picture of a locality group as a functional whole. Research in progress appears promising. See William E. Cole, "Research in the Tennessee Valley," *Soc. Forces*, 13(1935), 521–527.

[2] These data, and the case study that follows, are based upon Mandel

So far as the records show, the hollows were settled in precolonial days by English and Scotch-Irish migrants. With the Indians ever present, they built their log cabins and established their traditional mode of life. As time went on, incoming migrants forced some of these dwellers to set out for Western prairie lands; others moved on up the mountainsides into sheltered coves. Descendants of these latter groups make up the mountain dwellers of today.

All in all, five localities were studied by Sherman and Henry over a two-year period. The first four are located in the "hollers"; the fifth, Briarsville, is a valley town some distance removed. For the sake of general perspective, each settlement may be ranked on a scale of cultural development.

Highest on the mountain and lowest in culture is Colvin. Its few inhabitants live in scattered mud-plastered cabins. Since virtually all of them bear the family name of Colvin, its use has been dropped in favor of such titles as "Sadie's Benny" and "Dicey's Willie." With three exceptions, adults are illiterate. One cabin is rented by the county for use as a school; otherwise there is no common meeting place. There is no road to the outside world, no church, and no formal government.

Next in the cultural scale is Needles. A rocky trail links it with a road. Here gainful work is more regular, cultivated "patches" of two to five acres are found, and nearly every family owns a pig and a few chickens. A few men are literate; there is a combined church and school, but no formal government. Cabins are easier of access and social ties are more numerous.

On down the mountain is Oakton. It is situated at the head of a rocky road and can be reached by automobile. Agriculture is more regular and more productive. "Work out" money is obtained through apple picking, and surplus produce is sold to valley people. Some cabins have three or four rooms, and nearly every home has a mail-order catalogue. There is a store-post office, a school-church, and two religious sects.

Next comes Rigby, a compact little settlement near the base of the mountains. Three-fourths of its inhabitants are literate. Mail can be sent and received daily. Farms are larger and better

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Sherman and Thomas R. Henry, *Hollow Folk*. Crowell, New York, 1933. It is suggested that the small volume be read as a whole.

cultivated, cabins are more substantial, and the level of living is higher. School is in session about seven months out of each year, and class lines between family groups are apparent.

Briarsville, the valley town used for comparative purposes, is a modern farm and sawmill small town. It has hard-surfaced roads connecting it with the outside world, a general store, an average school, and other social institutions. Many of its residents are hill folk who have come to work in the mills.

Life in the Hollows.—With the foregoing as a background, we may seek a more intimate view of Hollow Folk life and culture.

Living and Dying.—In Colvin, the child is born on a rag bed under the watchful eyes of its siblings. Childbirth is wholly a woman's affair; husbands are said to regard it as a nuisance. One mother of five children has never been attended by either midwife or doctor; another pays a midwife 60 cents to attend her. Childbearing is accepted as a part of nature's unalterable order. "Every woman is goin' to have her number," said a mother of fifteen children. Not in Colvin but far down the mountain, it is whispered that conception can be prevented. "Three women done told me," said a mother. "But do you think it is right?" she was asked. "If'n hit suits 'em (men), hit suits me," she replied.

Once in the world, the infant suckles the breast of an undernourished mother. In Colvin, its welfare is reported as no great concern to anyone save its mother; in Rigby, sickness and death are real tragedies. In the upper settlement, adults trust to their traditional lore in times of sickness—snail slime for coughs, calamus root for diarrhea, sassafras for spring tonic, etc. In Oakton, the third settlement, the midwife is more favored than the doctor, whereas in Rigby the two are about even in popularity. In Colvin and Needles, the toothbrush is seldom found; in Oakton half the children report its use, and in Briarsville nearly every child owns a brush.

Strange as it may seem, the health of Colvin youngsters measures higher on standard scales than that of Briarsville children, and Needles children rate slightly higher than the national norm. It is not known to what extent this showing is due to obscure factors of survival and adaptation, to outdoor life, fresh air, daily exercise, and a diet at times insufficient in quantity.

A typical home in Colvin is a one-room oak cabin with a loose board floor. It may or may not have a lean-to against one wall. Some homes have glass windows nailed in place; a few have front porches. Inside is a bed, a cookstove, a chair or two, an open fireplace, and perhaps a table. One woman papered the walls of her cabin with pages from a mail-order catalogue; many have tacked up pictures of Christ or of

Biblical scenes. Under the roof is a loft used "to sleep" the children or as a storage place for vegetables.

Some Colvin men have "dress-up" suits of denim overalls and jumpers, and some women have "boughten" calico dresses. In the main, the women and children wear castoff garments left by visitors at a near-by summer hotel or homemade clothes of cotton and burlap. Underwear is seldom worn by anyone; hats are most unusual. Shoes are a necessity for adults, but until a year ago children did not wear them. In some settlements, wool yarn is still spun by hand and knitted or woven into garments, coverlets, and rugs.

Passing out of the world may or may not be an event of note, depending on the person's social status and friendship ties. Colvin folk are resigned to death, as to most other things. "If'n the Loard wants my child to die of diphthery, she'll die thataway." In all the Hollows, the dead are buried with their feet toward the East. Usually in Colvin, there is no funeral for infants; in lower settlements, the rites are much the same as in the outer world. In upper districts, graves are overgrown with bushes and people do not go near them. In Oakton, burial plots are marked with field stones.

Work and Play.—Aside from "jest settin," Colvin men spend time in hunting and in gathering roots, berries, wild honey, and other food products. Their nearest approach to regular labor is the care of small gardens. Crops are poorly tended and yields are sparse. The level of living, based on the staples of corn, cabbage, and salt pork, does not equal that of the "poor whites" in many Southern lowlands. Sam Colvin is a notable exception to the lack of industry in the upper settlements. He is the area's combined messenger and carrier. For a quarter, he walks to and from the village, eight miles away, and "fetches" supplies. He hunts on shares, using a neighbor's gun and returning part of the kill.

In Needles, farming is less primitive. Many families own a horse and its care has forced some rotation in crops. One family cultivates 24 acres and markets its surplus crops. Through the sale of crops and with money made on a "road gang," a second family has bought a used car. Oakton's economy is more complex. Woman's work is mostly indoors, fields are tilled with care, employment for pay is more common, and the general store has given rise to a barter system. At the store mail is posted and received, horses are shod, and teeth are pulled. In Rigby, land and labor yield cash crops. Farming is a full-time job most of the year and is supplemented by logging and tanbark collecting.

In the upper districts, adults have few ways of "pleasuring themselves" and no organized leisure pursuits. Colvin children are seldom seen in groups and team games have not taken root. Small boys and girls make dolls out of corncobs and rags; older boys play at "musclin'

rocks." Semi-team games, such as "duck on davey," are not found above Rigby. Colvin has one musical instrument, a 1905 phonograph. Its half dozen records are scratched and worn. Bits of Old English balladry were discovered but only after a diligent search. On down the mountain Fair Ellen and Lord Thomas, and other familiar ballads, are increasingly in evidence.

Mores and Family Life.—Mazie lives in Colvin. She is the mother of four children, each named for its assumed father. "I'se been an awful sinner, miss," she said to a teacher, "but now I'se saved." Her behavior was known but not disapproved until the teacher condemned it. In the upper hollows, boys and girls sleep with each other and with parents from birth to pubescence. Children of ten know of adult personal habits and discuss them freely. Only in the lower hollows is sex immorality a serious offense. Here illegitimate children, though few in number, are looked down upon. In Briarsville alone, parents seek to control child conduct by a planned program.

In Needles, there is little agreement as to the proper age for marriage. Often youngsters in their early teens "talk to" (court) each other. If they decide to live together, with or without a license to wed, they may set up a home for themselves or live with a parent family. A cabin site may be had by "squatter's rights" and little capital is required for furnishings. Where economic requirements are more severe, the age of marriage tends to be higher. Furthermore, where art and literature have made their appearance in popular music, fiction, etc., courtship is less direct and more conventional and romantic.

Fears, Wants, and Worries.—A family group is gathered about an open fireplace. The only light comes from a burning log. Outside the wind rubs together the branches of a tree. "It's Lizzie's hant," whispers the mother as she reaches for her youngest child. Other children wedge in around their parents. The father alone pays no particular attention to the "hant." He has encountered ghosts before.

Upper hollows are fertile places for superstitious fears. Natural forms undergo weird transformations in the shadows, and the world abounds in ghosts and demons and exotic animals. None of these otherworldly specters are good, many are malicious, and some are dangerous. Normally children's fears change with age, but in the upper mountain settlements older youngsters fear much the same things as younger ones. Common fears were of "hants," of lions and elephants, of storms and forest fires, and of scarcity of food. No child reported a fear of school failure or of failure in a career, a fact in sharp contrast to conditions elsewhere.

Colvin children expressed few wants. No gift is more appreciated than a plug of tobacco or a cigarette, and the habitual use of tobacco is a prime school problem. "Tain't right for young boys to smoke,"

said a well-meaning father as he took a cigarette from his son, age five. Essie, age six, continued to puff away in his presence. A lady had told him that "serious things" happen to boys who smoke, but the father had not applied the same rule to girls.

When asked, "What do you want to be when you grow up," the usual reply of Colvin children was "I wants to be what I am." In Oakton, boys desired to be farmers and carpenters—their fathers' occupations—and girls wanted to be "wimmin." Presumably child wants arise from experience and, with contacts so limited, mountain children do not develop the aims and ambitions which characterize valley children.

Child and parent relations, ever a fruitful field for child worries in average communities, are much the opposite in the hollows. Parents are not hard taskmasters; children roam the hills and clutter up the cabins at will. While some parents "know that larnin' makes you," there is little disposition to force the child to attend school. One woman walked three miles to a meeting, carrying her three-year-old because "hit wanted to come." An investigator reported the death of a child because, in the father's words, "no one couldn't make her take no medicine; she was a Baker and you could never make a Baker do nothin' he didn't want to do."

Upper hollow adults appear to have few worries. No man worries over the loss of a job because he has no regular employment to lose. Even sickness and death are accepted with a kind of stoic fatalism. Mental strain, the *bête noire* of high-tension urban life, is not reported. Adults are emotionally placid, taking life as it comes, each day with the next. Parents share freely with children but all persons are expected to face lean times without complaint.

Schooling and Mind.—The old nursery classic is nearing its climax. Little Goldilocks is fast asleep in the baby bear's bed and listeners pay close attention to hear what will happen next. For the tenth time in almost as many days, these adult pupils—some of them mothers of large families—listen to the teacher tell stories written for nursery school children. The teacher had adopted this technique to catch the interest of these illiterates in adult education.

Between 1918 and 1929, Colvin had 16 irregular months of school, Needles 30 months, Rigby 66 months, Oakton 66.5 months, and Briarsville the customary 108 months. Since grade placement is usually left to the teacher and standards are low, it is impossible to estimate the retardation of the average mountain child. On the whole, schools are old and in poor repair; books are few in number and of a miscellaneous nature; teaching, largely a man's job, is confined closely to the three R's; and almost no record is kept of a child's school progress. The average parent is said to be indifferent to school problems.

Intelligence test results were uniformly unfavorable to all mountain children. Individual differences in scores were apparent, but averages on standard tests involving abstract comprehension were much below the national norms. Manipulation tests (form board, as an example) gave higher average scores but these were still lower than "normal" scores. An extensive testing program led to three general conclusions. Marked differences in individual performance were found between areas and among the subjects in a given area. Children did best on tests which were most independent of language ability and school training. Youngsters under six approached national norms more closely than those over six.

A few concrete samples of test results are interesting. Asked to define a postoffice, an upper hollow boy said it was "a place with apples in front" (the general store at Oakton). Asked to copy a triangle, many subjects drew irregular circles; asked where a neighboring family lived, the reply was "over thar a piece." Whether this meant a hundred yards, a half mile or a mile, could not be found out. One question which involved problem-solving is typical. "What is the thing for you to do if it is raining when you start to school?" The universal answer was: "I wouldn't come."

Law and Government.—In small, face-to-face groups there is little need for law and government. Behavior is traditionalized and hence subjected to informal controls, such as custom and opinion. State laws and county rulings embrace the hollows, yet they are seldom observed or enforced. Taxes are not paid by Colvin adults, no interest is manifested in local or national politics, and school attendance laws are virtually unknown. This is not of course to deny the existence of ideas of right and wrong and of ways of enforcing them. For example, a man was killed and the person charged with murder was acquitted at a jury trial in the valley. "Tain't no use foolin' with a jury," said a Colvin dweller, "someone will git him."

Blood feuds, handed down through generations, are not reported for these hill folk but are common elsewhere in the mountains. "Moonshining" is most typical in Rigby, with its greater access to an outside market. Aside from selling distilled liquor, the most serious crime is that of setting forest fires. Dead chestnut trees burn like tinder in "dry spells" and fire fighting is a lucrative source of income. Starting with Needles, "law and order" are recognized as being essential to social welfare. In this settlement, three men are taxpayers and on occasion are registered voters. Since the valley is normally Democratic, the hollows lean toward Republicanism.

Religion and the Church.—Presumably original settlers were churchgoers, many being Presbyterians, yet they brought no clergyman and built no church. With the passing of time, there came an Open Brethren

missionary who organized church groups. Clem Needles felt "the call" and began to preach. His message was always the same: God's wrath is near and terrible, and the road to salvation is straight and narrow. Through the years he won a reputation for hypocrisy, and his congregation dwindled. Today he sits on the front porch of his white-washed cabin, staring out over the hollow. "Folks," he says, "have lost interest in things of the spirit."

In Needles, organized religion is at low ebb. Preachers are self appointed and semiliterate. There is scant reverence at church; people walk in and out at will during services. In Oakton, two religious sects are in open conflict. Each sees a clearer light; neither will move to compromise doctrinal differences. Rigby shares in the vast world culture of one great Protestant religious denomination. About three-fourths of its inhabitants are churchgoers. There is weekly prayer meeting and Sunday school, and twice a month there is preaching by an ordained minister. While major stress is placed on personal salvation, the church has labored to increase literacy, to promote tolerance, and to improve civic welfare.

The Changing Scene.—Without doubt, the highland picture is rapidly changing. Step by step, the hollows are being drawn into the larger scheme of life environing them. Better roads, more mail order catalogues, greater school attendance, the advent of telephones, have tended to break down their traditional shut-inness. Another factor is the growing migration of younger men in quest of work in sawmills, cotton mills, and coal mines. Some do well; others, like Bud, fail to make a satisfactory adjustment.

"Bud," said the schoolteacher, "how does it happen that you came back?" "Wall," he drawled, "hit's much better here. I gits up in the mornin' when I wants and I do what I wants. No gittin' up with a whistle and eatin' with a whistle." Bud felt that he had regained the mountain man's most treasured possession, room to breathe, freedom, solitude.

Case Analysis.—A first point of interest in this case is the mode of life represented. That life is essentially a folk culture. Wherever they are found, folk groups are isolated. Owing to physical barriers, such as mountains, or to cultural barriers, such as language and customs, they are shut off from invigorating contacts with other people.[1]

Another mark of the folk group is its extreme social stability. This is evidenced in the rigidity of customs, the dominance of

[1] B. A. Botkin, "Folk and Folklore," in W. T. Couch (editor), *Culture in the Old South*, 570–593.

traditional beliefs, and the slow tempo of change. A third mark is the high degree of racial homogeneity, due chiefly to in-mating and natural and social selection of physical types. A fourth mark is the relatively low level of material culture and technological processes. The economy of the group is keyed to the immediate region, of a fairly even level of skill, and notably unproductive. The culture as a whole may be described by the prefix "pre," precosmopolitan, preindustrial, prescientific, and so on. Hollow Folk life illustrates to a degree each of these characteristics.

A second point of interest in the case concerns the personality of the hill folk. What general type of person does this mode of life tend to produce? On this point existing studies are fragmentary, subjective, and unreliable. The terms most frequently used to characterize the mountaineer are "natural," "uncouth," "taciturn," "suspicious," "self-reliant," "slow learning," "unimaginative," "independent," and "fatalistic." The extent to which these labels stereotype hill folk personality rather than describe it is not known.

One aspect of personality is intelligence. Is it safe to say that the extremely isolated children of the hills are defective in mental ability? To do so would be to assume the adequacy of the intelligence tests, an assumption denied by the testers.[1] The most general criticism of these tests, and the most serious one, is that they are based upon symbols, skills, and assumptions which are foreign to mountain culture. This is obviously true in respect to any tests making use of word symbols. In the "lost ball" test, for example, upper hollow youngsters were disadvantaged by having no concept of a level field in which a ball could be lost. Even performance tests, such as form board manipulation, assume a time element which is contrary to folk orientation. Speed in life routines is conspicuously absent in the hollows.

It would probably be in error, however, to explain away all the unfavorable showing made on tests by mountain children as due to faulty measuring instruments. On a test involving the identification of common objects in the environment—such as rocks, trees, and birds—Hollow Folk subjects came off a poor

[1] Mandel Sherman and Cora B. Key, "The Intelligence of Isolated Mountain Children," *Child Dev.*, 3(1932), 279–290.

second best to valley children. Granting their handicap in understanding instructions, it is still probable that they are less sensitive than other children to nature objects. If they are deficient in intelligence, there is no evidence to show that the deficiency derives from heredity. There is evidence to show that it comes from an impoverished environment, a social milieu of limited educational contacts. "There is a growing conviction among certain research workers," write Witty and Lehman, "that mental tests are in reality only measures of educational opportunity and attainment."[1] Thus the practical problem is that of providing adequate educational facilities for mountain children. Until this is done the immutability of the intelligence quotient is highly questionable.

A third point of interest in the foregoing case centers on social change. Mountain life is undergoing transformation, and in many parts of the Appalachians it faces a serious crisis. Owing chiefly to an exploitive capitalism in coal areas and to the industrialization of the Tennessee Valley, hill folk culture seems destined for radical alterations.[2] One may regret the passing of America's most authentic Old World survivals, or he may reflect on ways and means of easing the strains of an inevitable transition. The latter is a problem in social planning and educational guidance.

A final point of interest lies in the question of whether or not these mountain hollows form true communities. In last analysis, an answer will depend upon the meaning of "community." It is relevant to note that upper hollows are not organized for collective living. They are lacking in service institutions, in inclusive group consciousness, and in mass action patterns for meeting local problems. As functional groups, localities of this type appear to fall short of true community status. They are best designated as unorganized districts.

B. NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY

Community Defined.—Like other common-sense words, "community" needs careful definition. Even in technical usage, it has

[1] Paul A. Witty and Harvey C. Lehman, "The Dogma and Biology of Human Evolution," *Amer. Jour. Psych.*, 35(1930), 557.

[2] Malcolm Ross, *Machine Age in the Hills* (1933); Drew and Leon Pearson, "The Tennessee Valley Experiment," *Harper's Mag.*, 170(1935), 699–708.

come to mean a number of different things. It may be used to designate a specific social group, such as a *grosse familie*, a gang, or a church. It may be applied to an inclusive racial or cultural group, such as the far-flung Jewish people; or it may be used in reference to the world as an interacting whole. While these usages are different and hence confusing, they are rooted in one common element. In each instance, community indicates a number of persons who feel bound together by common objects of value.

For our purposes, the community is simply a particular type of spatial group plus its culture, an activity circle which embraces the inhabitants of an area and functions in a specific manner. More concretely defined, a community is a population aggregate, inhabiting a contiguous territory, integrated through common experience, possessing a number of basic service institutions, conscious of its local unity, and able to act in a corporate capacity. This definition will bear further scrutiny.

Population aggregate seems preferable to social group because of its broader sweep.[1] The size and make-up of this population cannot be set down á priori. It must be large enough, and homogeneous enough, to function as a community.

The idea of contiguous territory means simply that a community exists somewhere. It has spatial placement, a geographical locus on the land. Unlike a political unit, such as a township or ward, or a statistical unit, such as a census tract or health district, a community area is neither fixed nor formal, neither unchanging nor sharply delimitable. It is in essence a natural area, an area revealing a common culture and a local consciousness, and it can be bounded and mapped. It will have a center of dominance, lines of communication and transportation, and an outer rim or periphery. Families within the area will participate in varying degrees in its life and hence will "belong" to the community. Families at the rim will be pulled in more than one direction because of the overlapping of adjacent communities. They may shop here, vote there, and attend church in still another town center.

[1] The community concept has also been applied to plant and animal collectivities. See Frederic E. Clements, "Social Origins and Processess among Plants," in Carl Murchison (editor), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (1935), 22–47.

Integrated through common experience implies an historic past in which community members took part or of which they are aware. This is not of necessity the authentic history of the area. It is the fact and fiction, the sufferings and rejoicings, as told by the old settler, the local orator, the aged family patriarch. It is the living past, the totality of great landmarks in the group's struggle for existence. To share in this heritage identifies one as a community member, an insider who knows the ups and downs of a people's life and feels a sentimental attachment to that life.

The number of service institutions an area must possess before it is accorded full community status is not known. In reality the question is not how many institutions it has but of what kind. By common consent, it must contain a sufficiently varied pattern of want-satisfying agencies so that its members may live a large part of their routine existence within the locality if they so desire. Presumably this would mean shops and stores, schools, churches, leisure facilities, relief and welfare agencies, agencies of communication and of orderly political action.

Consciousness of local unity is much the same as "community spirit." It means that the community has become an object of thought and feeling on the part of its members. They refer to it by name, keep in touch with its life when away, extol its virtues and "boost" for its betterment. Like self-consciousness, awareness of spatial unity exists in degrees, varies with external circumstances, and is susceptible of deliberate manipulation. On occasion it may divide a town into hostile camps separated by only a road or a river, but held apart by an impassable barrier of ill will and social distance.

The ability to act in a corporate capacity is the paramount test of community unity. A crisis arises—a flood, a fire, removal of a company plant, a population shift, a racial conflict—and normal life routines are interrupted. The community must act to preserve its existence. If the crisis is successfully met, the group may be stronger as a consequence; if it cannot be met, social disorganization results and the community's existence may be endangered. In the long run, the ability to act in a corporate capacity in an age of rapid change is a natural test of fitness for survival. Weak communities become strong and strong communities become weak, depending in part on leadership and organization.

By use of the preceding criteria, the idea of community can be distinguished from related concepts. The unorganized district, as illustrated by upper mountain settlements, does not meet all the requirements. Like a rural or urban neighborhood, it lacks a minimum number and variety of service institutions. Unlike the unorganized district, the neighborhood possesses a limited ability to act in its own interest. It differs from the metropolitan "natural area" in that it has a definite consciousness of local unity. Most urban areas do not appear to have either the capacity for corporate action or the self-consciousness which collective action implies. In cases where this is not true, the area is a neighborhood. Neighborhoods are subcommunities. At the opposite extreme is the region, a supercommunity. Its center is a great metropolis, such as New York or Chicago, and its hinterland contains many rural and urban communities.

Types of Communities.—Aside from the census division of rural and urban, there is no widely accepted classification of American communities.[1] In theory, a division could be made on the basis of any significant variable, such as size, location, dominant industries, or the composition of the population. In practice, the variable most often used is size. Presumably it is most determinative of community life and structure. Our principal need as prospective teachers is for an understanding of the changes that occur as a community increases in size. This purpose may be served by centering attention on three outstanding types of communities: the little town, 1,000 to 10,000 in population; the small city, 25,000 to 100,000; and the metropolis, 1,000,000 and over. We shall investigate each type in succeeding chapters.

Community Studies.—Like other kinds of research, community studies have a history. Their American origins have been traced to the efforts of social reformers to expose and correct "the shame of the cities." A review of these studies reveals a curious mixture of utopian idealism and solid fact, of moral exhortation and emergent science.[2] In 1907, the Russell Sage Foundation con-

[1] In 1910, 2,500 and incorporation was made the basis of division and this standard was used to rework census data back to 1890.

[2] Examples are Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) and *The Battle with the Slums* (1892); Jane Addams, *Hull House Maps and Papers* (1895) and *The Spirit of Youth on the City Streets* (1909); Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904).

ducted a survey of Pittsburgh and thus initiated what is now called the social survey movement. With the World War, a great variety of morale-building community action groups came into existence. Since that date, social workers, sociologists, and others have improved the survey technique and developed additional forms of community research.

Among the many current forms of community study, four are of outstanding importance for the average student of local life. One is the making of a social base map. Such maps vary widely in form, content, and symbolism. Among the data most commonly mapped for the average smaller community are: town street plan; locality boundaries; ecological features, such as rivers and roads; land nature and uses; population composition, density, and distribution; basic social institutions; and child-caring agencies. Maps are of value in that they show spatial relations, indicate the presence or absence of factors of interest, and suggest problems for study.

A second method of community study is the social survey. A survey may deal with all aspects of local area life or with a particular aspect, such as housing or delinquency. While surveys differ in various ways, they are in general initial fact-finding studies. The usual procedure is by way of a schedule to be filled out from observation or through interview, and the final result is a picture of conditions as they are at a given moment of time.

A life history of the community, or of any of its component elements such as groups or institutions, is a third method of research. In some respects communities are like living organisms. They take root, grow, decline, and die or, after a period of dormancy, break out in a fresh cycle of activity. The life history takes account of these time-spaced, socially conditioned periods in a community's growth process. It gives a developmental picture of locality group origins, expansion, maximum power and organization, and possible decline. It makes use of official data, such as census reports, and of unofficial data, such as club records. While less objective than the survey, it is more lifelike. At its best it approaches the qualities of the realistic novel.[1]

A fourth type of community study is the measurement of local area institutions or services in terms of either a life norm or an

[1] Charles H. Cooley, "The Life-Study Method as Applied to Rural Research," *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 23(1929), 248–254.

ideal standard. As a rule, this takes the form of a "scoring system." For example, the score card used by over 350 West Virginia villages contains twelve major items: village organization, community spirit, citizenship, health, homes, churches, schools, recreation, music, nature use and appreciation, farms, and businesses.[1] Each item is defined in a series of statements, each statement is given a point value, and all point values for an item total 100. If a community scores itself or is scored, the points "earned" can be plotted to form a "profile" of locality group status. Thus one community can be compared with another or with others, and its strength and weakness brought to light.

Educational Implications.—Unorganized mountain districts present many problems. In substance, the picture is that of a people of good American stock, possessing a distinctive culture, eking out a living on submarginal land, differing from the less isolated sections of the nation in countless ways, and faced with the prospect of reorganizing their traditional mode of life. If they are to remain in their present habitat, what are their needs and how are they to be met? If resettlement is necessary, how are they to be fitted into valley communities? Students of these questions have recommended the provision of work for employable adults, welfare services for persons in need, the establishment of institutional contacts (school, church, leisure pursuits, etc.) for members of transplanted families, and educational guidance throughout the readjustment process.[2]

Questions for Discussion

1. In your judgment, what factors account for the high health rating of upper hollow children? Explain.
2. If you are acquainted with mountain people, compare their leisure time pursuits with those reported for Colvin.
3. Was the teacher right in condemning Mazie's behavior? State the reasons for your answer. Can it be defended on logical grounds?
4. Account for the showing of Hollow Folk children on mental tests.
5. What are the distinguishing marks of a mountain folk culture? What general type of personality does it tend to produce?

[1] A. H. Rapking, "Education through Organized Community Activities," *Coll. Agr., West Virginia Univ., Cir.* 307, 1934.

[2] W. E. Garnett, "Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians," *U. S. Dept. Agr., Misc. Publ.* 205, 1935; P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, "Six Rural Problem Areas," *Fed. Emer. Rel. Adm., Res. Mon.* 1, 1935.

6. Are upper Hollow Folk settlements true communities? Is your home town and its area a community in the sociological sense? Give evidence.
7. If an outsider wished to write a life history of your town, where could he go for sources of information?
8. In your opinion, what should schools be and do in the Hollow Folk type of settlement?

Problems and Projects

1. If an ocean liner were wrecked near a remote island and its passengers and crew not rescued for a period of time, how would they organize for survival? Would they form a community? What assets and liabilities for group living would come to light?
2. After reading relevant chapters in Malcolm Ross, *Machine Age in the Hills*, lead a discussion on the pattern of "exploitive capitalism" as applied to these soft-coal areas.
3. Prepare a social base map of your community. What types of data will you locate? What set of symbols will you use?
4. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Folk Beliefs and Practices. Charles M. Wilson, *Backwoods America;* Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlands;* Vance Randolph, *The Ozarks: An American Survival of Primitive Society.*
   b. The Community as an Ecological Area. R. L. Sutherland and J. L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology*, Chap. XV, "The Community as an Ecological Area."
   c. The Community and Its Problems. Louis Wirth, "The Scope and Problems of the Community," *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 27(1933), 61–73; E. C. Lindeman, "Community," *Ency. Social Sciences.*
   d. Obligations of the Rural School to Its Community. Charles D. Lewis, *The Rural Community and Its Schools* (1937), Chap. XIX.

Selected Readings

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15. Zimmerman, C. C., and M. E. Frampton: *Family and Society*, Chap. XIV, "A Tenant Problem Family in the Arkansas Ozarks."

CHAPTER III

THE LITTLE TOWN

"Our mountain men," says Miles, "are almost incapable of concerted action. They are knit together, man to man, as friends, but not as a body of men."[1] The same cannot be said of the average village or small town of the nation. Here is loyalty, not only to kin, but to the spatial group as a whole. Here are traditions of the "good neighbor," the town meeting, and action for the common good. Whatever one may think of the little town, it is America's most familiar form of community life. Standing between country and city, it bears the imprint of both. Though facing two ways, it has its own individuality—its own tempo of life, action patterns, and feeling tones.

We know that rural America is changing; everywhere, to a degree, it feels the impact of urbanization. Who are the villagers and townspeople as a population group? How do they make a living and live a life? In what ways does the town serve the surrounding countryside, and is it withstanding city competition? What are some of its most typical personalities and institutions? What are its present needs, particularly the needs of young people? These are the problems of major importance. Let us start with a descriptive account of one small-town situation.

A. MINEVILLE: A CASE STUDY

Town Selected.—Mineville, the town selected for study, is located in a Western mining, grazing, and farming area.[2] In 1932, its population was 1,410. Its "trade area" includes Junction (400), and a number of smaller hamlets. Forty-eight miles away is Gold, a city of 40,000 and somewhat farther is St. Louis, Missouri. During the two years the research was in progress, Blumenthal lived in the community. His principal methods of

[1] Emma B. Miles, *The Spirit of the Mountains*, 71.

[2] Based upon Albert Blumenthal, *Small-town Stuff*. University of Chicago Press, 1932.

study were the common-sense techniques of any "participant observer," *i.e.*, conversation, reflection, and analysis. All in all, the picture presented is that of the "inner life" of a small town. Little attention is given the area of which Mineville is the center.

Small-town Life.—Within the limits set by the original study, we shall select material most typical of the town's everyday existence. Few of these data will be new to the average person, yet all will suggest "home-town" parallels and contrasts.

Bird's-eye View.—Our train is met by the local bus and we are off for a half mile ride to Mineville's main street. Here is a hotel, a bank, bakery, grocery stores, drugstore, movie, barbershops, poolrooms, garages, and other places of business. In a way, Main Street divides the town into a North and a South side, though no sharp lines of social cleavage exist. An Italian shanty may be adjacent to the home of a professional man, or the residence of a day laborer may be on the same street as that of the mine owner who employs him.

A stroll about the town adds a courthouse, a high school, grade schools, four churches, a newspaper office, and a Masonic hall. From a mountain ridge at the edge of the village we look down upon the community as a whole. It sprawls over many square miles of rolling land, of gulches, hills, and terraces. Viewing this area, one could foretell its main economic pursuits—mining and exporting ores, producing and marketing livestock and farm crops.

Day on Main Street.—A day on Main Street suggests the general pattern of town life. About five o'clock, restaurants open and get ready for a brisk breakfast trade. The postmaster may be seen collecting the mail from the single box; the mine chemist starts his work testing samples of ores. About six o'clock, mail and ore trucks appear, along with the cheaper model cars driven by workers to their jobs outside of town. The majority of laborers walk to work, their number peaking between 7 and 7:30 A.M. Business and professional people drift along until nine o'clock. Unlike their office and store help, they walk leisurely, exchanging salutations, and chatting with friends.

At eight o'clock, Catholics may be seen on the way to Mass. Children tramp by going to school, a few early shoppers appear, and then the streets are fairly quiet until about noon. At twelve, children pass on the way home, clerks and office girls hurry to a favorite restaurant for a bite of lunch. A teacher may crowd an errand into her noon hour, and merchants shift their display goods in anticipation of the afternoon's business. "Is the train in yet?" is the most typical question of the late noon hour. After it is speeded on its way, young people and old gather at the post office to await the distribution of mail.

Should the day be Saturday, Main Street will be crowded throughout the late afternoon and evening. Farmers and ranchers are in; mines allow a half holiday, children are out of school. The visiting of neighbor with neighbor blocks the streets and affects all persons with its friendly contagion. Trade is best around four o'clock; by 5:30 the drift homeward has started but only to reverse itself about seven o'clock. Young people go to the picture show, to a dance, drive to the near-by city, or walk to and fro on Main Street. Elderly persons attend a lodge meeting or a church supper, or gather at a favorite place to exchange gossip.

Memories of the Past.—Mineville's history records the ups and downs of dry-land farming, the vicissitudes of gold and silver mining, and more lately the fall in farm values. Its romanticized legends center around Indians on the warpath, cattle raids, old prospectors made rich by a single find, and the happy-go-lucky days of a wide-open town. One illustration of these legends is the famous Nez Percé massacre of 1878. The one white man to survive, so the story goes, crawled for miles in bloody clothing to warn the town. This is taken as proof of the pioneer's bravery and of his devotion to the public good. A local idol smasher views the affair in other terms. His claim is that the "hero" ran for town because it was the safest thing for him to do.

Attitudes toward Mineville.—Attitudes toward the town are said to fall into four classes. The "very enthusiastic" persons are boosters. They praise Mineville's natural beauty and invigorating climate, its fine people, schools, churches, and business opportunities. The "satisfied" are those persons who feel that the town is not all that it should be but is all it can ever be. Many of them have tried life elsewhere yet failed to make a go of it. For one reason or another, they are glad to get back.

The "resigned" do not like the town. "I can't say much for Mineville," said one person, "but it's no use complaining." Such persons are tied to the community by bonds of kinship or property ownership, or by employment possibilities. The "dissatisfied" are active critics of the area and its people. They feel that small-town life is smug and tight, monotonous and dead. They resent its unvarying activities, its enforced intimacies, its factional disputes, and yet they are pessimistic about improvements.

Social Activities.—In contrast to city life, town activities may appear routinized. Many town dwellers find them both exciting and enjoyable. A calendar of Mineville's social events, including all customary holidays and celebrations, would fill several pages. Even the meetings of a typical month number a score or more. One familiar with small-town life will be able to describe both the personnel and the proceedings of the following organizations: county commissioners, city council, town band, Woman's Benefit Association, Altar Society, High School Board,

Rotary, Firemen, Boy Scouts, Redmen Lodge, Masons, Eastern Star, Ladies' Aid, Epworth League, Christian Endeavor, Knights of Pythias, American Legion, Teachers' Club, Bridge Club, Princess Circle, and Deep Thinkers' Club. The last club reviews current books, hears papers written by members, and holds debates on intellectual matters.

Intimacy and Gossip.—A striking mark of small-town life is the dominance of intimate, personal relations. Evidences of this are numerous. Homes are not numbered and lesser streets are not named; directions to a stranger often take the form of "down from Murphy's corner, third house to the right." People are well acquainted with one another. Possibly the postmaster and the politician know most persons by name and the family doctor, the banker, and storekeeper know them most intimately. No townsman imagines that he is not talked about, and every teacher is aware of the fact that her comings and goings are choice morsels of conversation. While gossiping is not confined to women, it appears to predominate with them. Gossips are said to be "impulsively frank" and good at remembering details.

The Family.—Nearly every family lives in a separate home and one suspects that the rate of home ownership is high. Forty years ago, families of six to nine children were the rule; today the average parent holds the view that "four children are enough." Personal aspects of home life are openly discussed by townsmen and approved or disapproved. "The Doyles quarrel all the time," said one informant, "there is no love lost in that household." Divorces are not unusual and when they occur one or both parties often leave town for a while.

"Keeping up with the Joneses" expresses the keenness of family rivalry. "I can't get a new dress," sighed one woman, "without Joan getting the same thing." The influence of family backgrounds is seen by the fact that Mineville's two most prominent kin groups number among their members the city mayor, the sheriff, county treasurer, clerk of court, coroner, superintendent of schools, four school board members, a high school teacher, and three grade teachers. On any matter of local community interest, these families are consulted and respected.

Child Life and Youth.—The unborn babe is a matter of public concern. Women discuss its expected appearance, who the doctor is, and the history of births in the family. After the infant is safely in the world, they appoint themselves advisers to the mother. By the age of three or four, the youngster has been taken "calling," to church, and on shopping trips. At the grade school level, the three R's compete with games and sports for his time. In the main, child play is out-of-doors and unsupervised. Popular indoor games are basketball and volley ball, sports at which both sexes are adept. Friendship groups are

numerous but boys' gangs, as they are known in urban areas, are not found.

Dancing holds a prominent place in adolescent life. Dances are nightly occurrences somewhere in the community and most young people attend one or two per week. "Petting" and drinking are said to be much in evidence; smoking, once a vice even for boys, is practiced by teen-age girls. The automobile has made it possible to escape the controls over conduct which the community was once able to exercise. About two-thirds of the young men and women who go to college do not return to live in the Mineville area.

Schools and Teachers.—In 1873 four pupils attended the town's only school; at present school enrollment averages about 350. Public interest in school improvement is said to be uncertain and spasmodic. As a rule, no more than a tenth of the electorate vote on school matters, and businessmen claim that they make enemies and lose trade by serving on the school board. The parent-teacher association is not active, and local "fans" feel that the high school is not up to par unless it produces winning teams.

Teachers are so completely at the mercy of public opinion that they are reported as occupying political positions. One principal was opposed by a strong element in the community at the end of his first year. His reappointment for a second and a third year dumfounded his critics, but not for long. They filled board vacancies with men opposed to the principal and then ousted him. Few teachers leave the community without a feeling of bitterness. They do not believe that they have been fairly treated or that their work is appreciated.

Politics and Law.—Cases cited show that election to office is more a matter of friendly contact—visiting, handshaking, speechmaking—than of statesmanlike attitude. On analysis of five county elections, the investigator concluded that the real issues were the alleged unfaithfulness of a candidate's wife, a candidate's personal honesty, a crippled man's need for the position, whether a candidate was "corporation owned," and whether a citizen who had spent "a fortune" in the town should be elected to office.

Of late years, crime has been on the decrease as judged by county court records. Only ten cases involving violence have been tried in six years. Minor cases are heard in the justice court where fines are assessed and fees collected much as in any squire's court. Speed laws have been hard to enforce. One man refused to be arrested until an alderman, who had driven at an illegal speed and on the wrong side of the street, was arrested and fined.

Intimacy both aids and retards law enforcement. Officers are acquainted with townspeople by face and reputation and they know the public mind toward law observance. On the other hand, it is next to

impossible at times to arrest a friend or a prominent person. From this standpoint, better policing could be had if it were in the hands of state or federal agents.

Newspapers and Magazines.—The one local newspaper has a circulation estimated at 1,105. It is taken by seven-eighths of the town homes and five-eighths of the homes in the Mineville area. It has many subscribers who were once local residents, a fact indicative of their desire to keep in touch with home-town affairs. A typical issue of the paper contains eight six-column pages. The outside pages are filled with local news—weddings, births, deaths, meetings, visits, and "correspondence." Inside pages carry legal notices, advertisements, odds and ends of local history, and a conglomerate of "boiler plate" material. There is no editorial column, comment being written into the news.

Over 100 different magazines are on sale at newsstands and over 250 copies of periodicals are received by mail. A few persons read the "quality magazines," but the rank and file prefer the cheaper, popular journals. On the average, 25 books are drawn per evening from the public library. Most of these are light fiction and are taken by school children.

Churches and Pastors.—The town has four churches: three Protestant and one Catholic. Women give much time to church affairs, but most men are not regular churchgoers. Religious prejudices are strong; one hears of "the Baptist road to salvation," "the Methodist trade," and the "Catholic vote." Many thoughtful Protestants agree that their churches should be merged, yet no church is ready to take steps in that direction. One pastor feels himself "a puppet," another is described as full of theological preconceptions, a third with a long experience in urban social work has made no effort to deal with the town's social problems.

Health, Age, and Death.—Until 1929, the community had two doctors; since then it has had but one. His report is that health is "good," the most serious diseases being tuberculosis and pneumonia. Old age often makes for an enhanced social prestige. Miss Mary, a former teacher, is a case in point. No one knows her true age; her clothes are those of a "perennial flapper." Many persons may complain of ailing bodies but Miss Mary, as someone remarked, "appears to live on forever." "When I was in Miss Mary's grade," an elderly man may say in relating a story; a young lad may start an anecdote in the same manner.

Deaths are announced by notices printed in the newspaper, and bereavement is marked by crape on the door. Neighbors inquire how members of the family are "taking it." Flowers are sent to the home, the funeral is preached, and mourners accompany the casket to the cemetery. Business places close for the funerals of important persons. Often death releases a new stock of information about the deceased and his affairs.

Community Cooperation.—Local effort for local good has met with many obstacles. Lack of civic pride is marked, leaders holding that it is impossible "to get factions to pull together." Civic clubs and businessmen's associations engage in public welfare projects but their record of achievement is not impressive. Community cooperation is said to arise more from external pressures than from inner motivations.

Unlike comparable studies, the above case cites few statistics and often leaves unquantified the things we would like to know.[1] Its strong points are its emphasis on the social and personal aspects of small-town life. Students often comment to the effect that Mineville "is just like my home town."

B. THE LITTLE TOWN AS A COMMUNITY

Who Are the Townsmen.—Judging from data that are nowise complete, villagers and townsmen have certain distinguishing marks as a population aggregate. They are predominantly of native white stock, disproportionately elders, and skewed in sex ratio toward a larger percentage of females. Each of these characteristics helps us to understand community life. For example, the preponderance of elders is a causative factor in village conservatism. Elders are tradition bearers and mores enforcers. Often, too, they are a propertied class, living from rents and interest. From life they seek stability and security, not excitement and innovation. They may see no reason to tax themselves for "frills" in education, for paved streets, home electrification, a swimming pool or a community house. Thus they serve as checks to social change.

Other characteristics of townspeople can be inferred from the Mineville case. Within the town, an atmosphere of neighborliness prevails. Persons are not hands, numbers, or addresses, as in the great city, but multi-sided human beings, known through a variety of contacts. Though extreme isolation is being broken down, traditional ways are still dominant. Insistence upon conformity makes the town a repressive environment for the eccentric, for the tactless outsider who—like Carol Kennicott in

[1] *Cf.* Bruce L. Melvin, "Sociology of a Village and the Surrounding Area," *Agri. Exper. Stat., Cornell Univ., Bull.* 523, 1931; C. E. Lively, *et al.*, "Some Aspects of Rural Social Organization in Fairfield County, Ohio," *Dept. Rural Econ. and Ohio Agri. Exper. Stat., Ohio State Univ., Bull.* 91, 1936.

Main Street—seeks to change the patterns of life overnight, and for the mobile, experimental young.

In times past more than today, the town dweller viewed the countryman as crude and uncouth, credulous and prejudiced. To the farmer, the town and its people were selfish, snobbish, and immoral. His sons were kept from town as much as possible, his daughters forbidden to go at all, for here were the saloon, the pool hall, and the dance hall. Where such antagonistic attitudes still prevail, due frequently to inadvertent acts by townsmen, area integration is out of the question. With rural people no longer bound to any one trade center, it is essential to win and retain their good will.

Small-town Persistence.—Being dependent upon area patronage, villages and towns are influenced by changes within their service zones. In rural regions, the greatest of these changes has been the ups and downs in agriculture.[1] Though farm output exceeds market outlet, farm acreage continues to expand. In spite of increasing per acre production, as the result of new machinery and better methods, farm population continues to increase. In view of these facts, along with low average purchasing power and widespread tenancy, we may well speak of a "farm problem."[2]

Considering this situation, it is relevant to ask if agricultural centers are holding their own. Apparently such villages and towns are not declining in number, though statistics do not fully prove the point. For example, in 1920 there were 10,239 incorporated villages, and in 1930 the number was 10,661. To this figure should be added the unincorporated villages not included in the census. These villages were estimated as totaling 8,142 in 1920. Assuming that they have increased in the same ratio as the incorporated villages, about 13 million persons lived in some 19,000 agricultural centers in 1930.

While little towns are not declining in numbers, they are decreasing in size. According to McKenzie's figures, 5,000 of the

[1] Various factors have given rise in the nation to three basic types of farming regions: the dairy products of the East, the corn, hog, and wheat belt of the West, and the cotton area of the South. While these sections are unlike in many respects, it is not possible to enter into regional differences.

[2] *Cf.* Alonzo Taylor, "The American Farm Problem," *Proc. Second Dearborn Conf., Farm Chemurgic Council and the Chemical Foundation* (1936), 224–238.

reported 12,500 "villages" in the nation lost population in 1910–1920, and about 6,300 out of a reported 13,500 in 1920–1930 suffered losses.[1] Presumably this trend was checked somewhat by the drift countryward of some 2½ million urban unemployed during the depression.

Finally, village centers are persisting often at the expense of adjacent hamlets under 250 in population. Using the "neighborhood" as the unit in a restudy after six years (1924–1930) of 140 village areas, Kolb and Brunner found 395 of the 513 original neighborhood centers.[2] Thus 23 per cent of the hamlets located in 1924 had disappeared, but 24 new centers had arisen. This gave a net loss of 84 hamlets and neighborhoods over the six-year period, a decrease of about 16 per cent. A fair inference is that the great majority of these smaller centers could not withstand village competition.

Service Center and Area.—While the town center of the rural community is readily apparent, outer margins are problematic until determined by inquiry and observation. The method of procedure in locating community boundaries is essentially that described by Galpin in 1915.[3] With an area map in hand, villagers are asked to locate families who trade at local stores, attend local churches, send children to local schools, etc. Families at the rim of the area can be spotted by field study. With all marginal points determined, lines are drawn in such a manner as to encircle the residences of persons who trade at village stores. This gives the boundaries of the basic economic community. Other "communities," such as the areas serviced by churches or schools, are bounded in a similar fashion. By conventional practice, these service zones are superimposed upon the trade basin so that the final lines follow more or less closely the periphery of the economic community.

Fairfield County, Ohio, provides a convenient illustration of the relation of greater and lesser rural community centers and areas to each other.[4] This county is situated within a few miles of Columbus and comprises a total area of 495 square miles. The

[1] R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community*, 30.

[2] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, 48.

[3] C. J. Galpin, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," *Agri. Exper. Stat., Univ. of Wisconsin, Res. Bull.* 34.

[4] C. E. Lively, *et al.*, *op. cit.*

land is rolling to level, and in 1930 there were 2,985 farms. The county seat and only city is Lancaster, and neither this city nor Columbus is included in the present study.

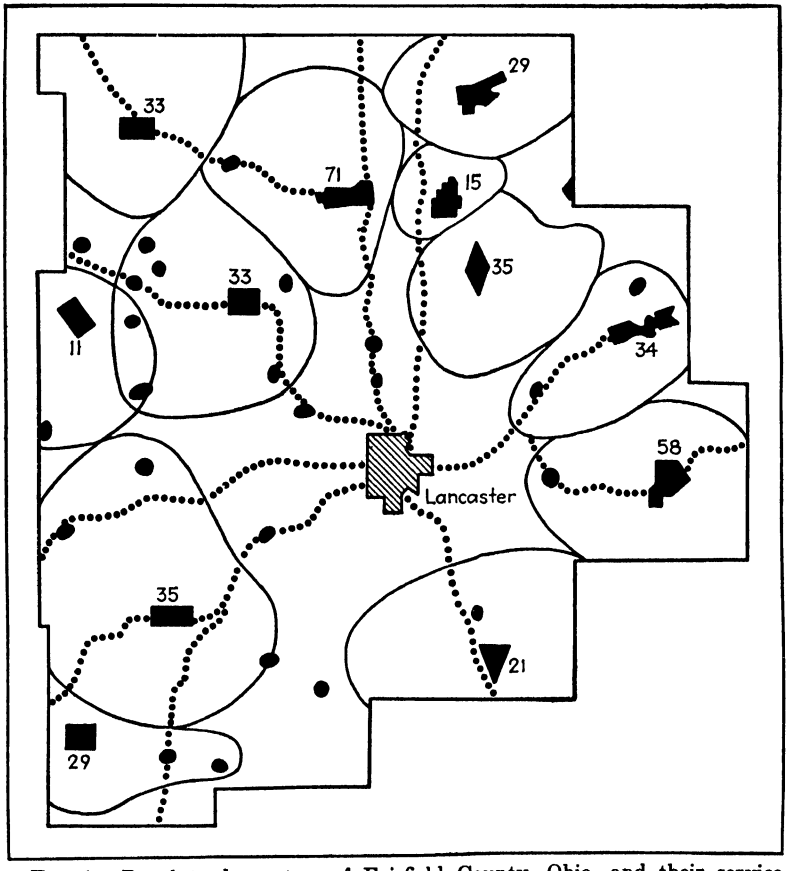

FIG. 1.—Rural trade centers of Fairfield County, Ohio, and their service areas. Numerals indicate the business concerns in each trade center of village status. (*Adapted from C. E. Lively, et al., "Some Aspects of Rural Social Organization in Fairfield County, Ohio,"* p. 12, *Dept. Rural Econ. and Ohio Agri. Exper. Stat., Ohio State Univ., Bull.* 91, 1936.)

From Fig. 1, it will be seen that the county is dominated by twelve major service centers. These villages and small towns range in population from 298 to 1,436. In addition, the county contains 25 lesser centers. These villages and hamlets, along with trade basins and main roads, are located in the diagram. A most significant fact is that no community center of village status

exists within six miles of industrial Lancaster. Villages encircle the county seat at a fixed radius of from six to twelve miles. Thus they define Lancaster's "region of dominance," a region within which no village has been able to thrive.

Table II presents data on the social organization of the villages and their service areas. It indicates the close correlation between village size, number of business establishments and social groups,

TABLE II.—RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN FAIRFIELD COUNTY, OHIO[1]

Service centers				Service areas		
No.	Population	Businesses	Groups	Sq. mi.	Population	Groups
1	1,436	71	87	41	1,271	29
2	1,232	58	80	45	1,308	16
3	557	35	47	61	1,775	8
4	495	35	46	23	690	1
5	339	34	31	33	775	20
6	366	33	33	40	1,120	17
7	351	33	29	37	1,147	10
8	475	29	39	35	878	9
9	393	29	30	22	583	3
10	388	21	26	41	1,205	10
11	430	15	23	11	291	9
12	298	11	31	23	697	6
	6,760	404	502	402	11,460	138

[1] Adapted from C. E. Lively, *et al.*, *op. cit.*

and extent of the service area. For example, the first service center—Basil-Baltimore by name—has a population of 1,436. It has 71 business concerns, principally stores, offices and filling stations, 87 social groups, chiefly clubs, lodges, and religious organizations, and it services an area of 41 square miles. While the area has a population which almost equals that of the service center, its social groups number only 29 and its sole business concern—which is not indicated in the table—is a crossroads store. On the whole, there is a virtual absence of businesses and a scarcity of social groups in the 12 areas. This indicates the extent to which villages have become the functional centers of social organization throughout the county.

Growth of Village Services.—Good roads have brought city delivery trucks to the farmer's door, and his own automobile takes

him through hamlets and villages to the large urban center. Inability to meet the competition offered by the city has led one village trustee to affirm that "small towns are doomed."[1] His analysis of the situation is worthy of consideration.

There are 275 families in our town. Their average earning is about $720 a year, hence our total gross income is $198,000. I would estimate that these families have a fixed expense for utility services, insurances, and taxes of about $47,000. This leaves a balance of $151,000. Let us assume that $100,000 of this is spent with town merchants and professional men. We have 80 of these establishments, and hence each may expect an average income of $1,250.

Within our trade area there are some 500 families. Each will spend perhaps $500 per year, a total of $250,000. Not over half of this will be spent in the village. Divide $125,000 by 80, and each business concern will have $1,562 per year. Totaling, we find that an average business or professional establishment in our town can count on grossing less than $3,000 per year. No ordinary business can exist on that.

The people of course are not to blame. They are bombarded each hour of the day by radio and press advertisements, good-will tours and circulars announcing bargain sales in the city. City trucks will deliver to their doors. It is simply a trend of the times, but unless it can be altered our town cannot pay its bonded debt, keep up its schools and other institutions, and make needed improvements. This will decrease the value of the town for residential purposes, which will in turn lower tax values, which will further decrease business.

Beyond doubt we have too many businesses. One radio dealer would be sufficient but we have six. Five dealers sell electrical appliances and four shoe stores compete with each other. The same is true in other lines. Instead of 80 units trying to live off the earnings of this community, we should have not more than 30.

We need a business manager whose task would be to coordinate our commercial services. People do not desire to drive 30 or 40 miles for the vast majority of their purchases; they want to trade at home—if they can afford it. What could be done by reducing competition and improving methods is seen in the drug field. Here we have but two stores, each well stocked and each prosperous.

The idea of a business manager will be viewed by many persons as impracticable. Another proposal is what has been called "reasonable task" specialization. Towns cannot sell dress suits in face of urban competition, but they can sell work clothes. The

[1] "Are Small Towns Doomed?" *Amer. Mer.*, 33(1934), 72–79.

lines of goods they can sell are still somewhat uncertain, though various profitable specialties have been worked out.[1] Likewise the institutions they can support is a problem for study. For Midwestern states, Vaile concludes that a hospital, if it is to be a clinical and commercial success, must serve an area with 10,000 population, an up-to-date newspaper must have a potential coverage of 2,000 persons; a modern high school, or a well-equipped church with a resident pastor, must draw from a region where there are at least 1,000 persons per school or per church.

Judging from the wealth of data reported by Kolb and Brunner in their restudy of 140 American villages, not all small towns are as hard hit as the one described by the village trustee.[2] Towns are specializing their retail services, broadening their trade basins, improving their banking and marketing facilities, modernizing their recreational offerings, and readjusting their social and educational services. Among the many village institutions, the church has remained most unchanged.

Personalities and Institutions.—Rural village and small town personalities and institutions are to be understood in terms of their socio-economic backgrounds. "Country life," writes Wilson, "is dominated by labor."[3] In many regions, it is still a life of simplicity and self-denial, economical time-use and close bargaining, solitude and a minimum of leisure. It is still limited in contacts and experiences of a truly socializing nature. On this point, J. M. Williams remarks:

> We note that persons who are predominantly in contact with nature are apt to lack attitudes that fit them for getting along smoothly with people. They are not particularly fond of being with any people except their own intimates. For, being with people requires a finer and more thoughtful adjustment than the freedom of solitude.[4]

Without benefit of test findings, Sims concludes that farmers on the average are extremely individualistic, conservative, suggestible in some respects and restrained in others, thrifty, suspicious of

[1] *Cf.* Paul D. Converse, "Retail Business in the Small Town," in R. S. Vaile (editor), *The Small City and Town*, 43–48.

[2] "Rural Life," *Recent Social Trends*, 522–539.

[3] W. H. Wilson, "Social Life in the Country," *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 40(1912), 119.

[4] J. M. Williams, *The Expansion of Rural Life* (1926), 8. Used by permission of F. S. Crofts and Company, publishers.

outsiders, frank in speech, and, direct in behavior.[1] Urbanization diminishes these identifying traits and characteristics.

Little towns, as illustrated by Mineville, tend to exhibit a familiar matrix of social institutions. Each institution is a heritage of the past and each takes on the color of its habitat. Thus the church of the village is not the church of the city, though it may represent the same religious denomination. So with schools, stores, newspapers, lodges, amusement centers, and governmental agencies. Each fits into a locality pattern of life and each, therefore, is different.

Broadly viewed, the social institutions of the small town are based on sentiment and tradition rather than on reflection and and efficiency. They are culture preserving and transmitting devices rather than culture creating instruments. They reflect the intimate nature, the slow tempo, and the relative absence of class lines so characteristic of small-town life. Through them, the community seeks to mold its members into the forms and norms of action, feeling, and thought which it approves.

The church provides an example of these generalizations. In the following account, written by a minister's daughter, the church is seen to be a focal point of community unrest and conflict. The account suggests also the way in which the community fits the minister and his family into the prevalent stereotype of what such persons should be and do.

I can remember four small towns in which we have lived. It seems almost as if we were always on the move . . . always trying to revive dead churches. We took our present charge in Medick, population 873, in April, 1934. Here, as in other places, our coming was an event. "They say he is a right good man," "I heard this was his second wife," "packed 'em in over at Rossiter, folks say," and "three of the children will be in high school." These comments and others were in the air.

The church's problems, or rather the religious problems of the community, drifted to us. J. P. Holt, an aged deacon, would have none of "the newfangled religion." Sam Bolig, converted at the last revival, was already backsliding. Mrs. Sarg, the organist, and Mrs. Manning, a leading member of the choir, were not speaking. Old man Sands was still living out of wedlock with his housekeeper. God's work in foreign fields must be supported in spite of the report (*Rethinking Missions*, Laymen's Inquiry, 1932) criticizing missions. Union services were all

[1] Newell L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology*, 226–238.

right for Klineman, an adjacent village, but not for Medick. The "youth problem" grew worse every day and the preacher, if he was to remain, must somehow win the young to Christ. He must also be a good mixer and be able to increase contributions to the church budget.

I would say that the minister's family is always held in by community beliefs. People seem to see in us children what their own should be but aren't. Were we to sin, and it's difficult not to do so in view of Medick's rigid notions, it would be a reflection on father. I could not date the boy I admired most because he was by way of being a village character. If I went to the Klineman Pool to swim, I was reprimanded by one innuendo or another. My dresses were scrutinized and mother thought it best that I refrain from wearing ankle socks. I dared not attend the public dances . . .

I believe that real religion is at low ebb in Medick. I do not refer to "the sinfulness of the young," or to Sunday leisure pursuits, or to the run-down state of our church. I refer to the intolerance of our congregation, to its petty prejudices, splits, and schisms. We do a great amount of good in the community, yet we cannot do our best because of personal squabbles, doctrinal differences, and a general apathy toward the need for a social program. Sometimes, when I feel in a pessimistic mood, I think of the old, old song: "we are not divided; all one body we." This is, I fear, not true of Medick's churches.

While open country and village churches serve their communities in many ways, it is generally recognized that their major functions are still the saving of souls and the enforcement of traditional mores. Church methods are commonly those of authoritarian ordering and forbidding, and of evoking divine approval and disapproval of conduct. Conflict arises because these views and sanctions have lost prestige with many persons, especially with the young. In Steiner's words, "religious zeal persists but the application of religion to life has lagged."[1]

Community Integration.—In a study of one small town, it is reported that "the villagers cooperated with the churches in beautifying the village green." Like scores of similar undertakings, this is a true community project because it represents an organized effort in the interest of a public good. A felt need exists and is communicated. Action is taken, or issues are discussed, a planning committee created, and a program initiated. All of this implies a degree of like-mindedness and social cohesion.

[1] Jesse Steiner, "Village Mores in Transition" in Kimball Young (editor) *Social Attitudes*, 166–187.

What are the bases of rural community integration? In the past, more so than today, the outstanding basis has been the locality bond. People who lived within a specific area were faced with problems of concern to all, and a community relation naturally developed. Thus an area's population became a kind of inclusive in-group, a we-group conscious of its unity and, by the same token, unfriendly toward outsiders.

An amusing instance of an in-group's reaction to a stranger is told by J. M. Williams. Several farmers were sitting in a country store when a young man, a newcomer, walked in. "Looks like rain," he remarked affably. There was no response from the group. Finally a farmer asked: "What might your name be?" "James Hammond. My grandfather lived just a mile up the road." "Oh, Bill Hammond," with nods from all. "Ye-es, it does look a little like rain." By chance the stranger had hit upon a time-honored method of identifying himself; he had claimed kinship with the locality group.

With the development of modern communication, locality bonds are giving way to special interest ties as a basis of community integration. This shift is less general in rural areas than in large urban centers, yet it is widely prevalent. Over 350 special interest groups were found ten years ago in a sample study of five Wisconsin counties.[1] Wherever found, these associations are organized to achieve a definite end, such as better farming, cooperative marketing, 4-H club work, improved merchandising, the extension of some public utility service, or the expansion of recreational facilities. As a rule, the interest is not common to the entire community and its attainment is dependent upon trained leadership. The group is not held together by compulsory pressures on its members but by an activity program that is intrinsically satisfying.

This shift from locality to special interests has far-reaching implications. It has tended to split a once-unified whole into a number of unlike parts and to alter the technique of social and political action. Area-conscious persons, devoted to the public weal, are being replaced by pressure groups. These groups may promote the good of all, yet their main interest is in the welfare of their own members. To be sure, the two aims are not always

[1] J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wiledon, "Special Interest Groups in Rural Society," *Agri. Exper. Stat., Univ. of Wisconsin, Res. Bull.* 84, 1927.

incompatible; if they were, the concept of community would be only a figure of speech. Whatever the aim, the action technique for realizing it is changing from the town meeting, with its open discussion and show of hands, to the processes of organized promotion and propaganda. In view of these facts, it is evident that the rural community is being reshaped. Possibly it is less of a community than it was, though this does not inevitably follow.

Educational Problems.—Of special interest to prospective teachers is the growing discontent of rural young people. Two-thirds of the high school pupils in Brunner's 140 villages were not looking forward to living in their home towns.[1] Among 300 rural girls in one New York county, more than one-half did not wish to remain in their present communities and only 14 per cent intended to live on a farm after marriage.[2] When asked for reasons, these 15- to 17-year-old girls specified a long list of community lacks and needs. Among these were the need for recreational clubs and facilities, a social center, a better understanding between adults and youth, and "leaders to start something."

Country areas have always produced a surplus of young people, and hence a considerable migration cityward has been a constant feature of our national life. The depression stopped this normal movement; in fact, it reversed the trend. In so far as the "youth problem" is due to population maladjustment, its cure must await the day when a population policy can be planned. This is, however, not the whole story. Many adults assume either that what young people want does not matter or else practice a "do nothing" policy as a matter of economy. They condemn prevalent forms of amusement such as dancing. They do not support club programs, rural extension movements, and adult education classes. They have little interest in organizing the community as a child- and youth-serving agency. To a large extent, these are educational problems.

Questions for Discussion

1. In what respects is Mineville like your community? How does it differ?
2. Describe villagers and townsmen as a population group. How do these characteristics affect community life?

[1] E. de S. Brunner, *Village Communities*, 49.

[2] Mildred B. Thurow, "Interests, Activities, and Problems of Rural Young Folk." *Agri. Exper. Stat., Cornell Univ., Bull.* 617, 1934.

3. Are village centers decreasing in number or in size? Do you know of a hamlet that has "disappeared"? What caused its collapse?

4. Of what significance is the spatial distribution of village centers in Fairfield County? What are the most typical businesses in centers of this type? What social groups meet there?

5. On what evidence does the village trustee base his judgment that "small towns are doomed"? State your reaction to his proposed solution.

6. What do you understand by "reasonable task" specialization? How would this idea apply to institutions? Could adjacent towns cooperate in the support of certain agencies and services? Illustrate.

7. "Religious zeal persists, but the application of religion to life has lagged." Is this true in your community? Explain.

8. Outline the shift now taking place in the bases of rural community integration. What are its consequences?

Problems and Projects

1. Write a paper describing a typical day on the Main Street of a small town. Be specific and realistic in your account.

2. Calendarize the meetings held during one month in your community. Analyze them as to purpose, attendance, and achievements.

3. Is the small town a more desirable place to live in than the large city? Interview a number of college students on this question and classify their points of view.

4. Make a class report on the village storekeeper and his store as described by Charles M. Wilson, *Roots of America* (1936), Chap. IV, "The Store-Keeper."

5. Prepare a paper describing and interpreting some village character whom you have known.

6. Make a study of small-town newspapers. See Malcolm M. Willey, "Socialization and the Country Newspaper," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 33(1927), 326 ff.

7. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   - *a.* Recent Trends in Rural Life. E. deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years*, 1937.
   - *b.* Open Country and Village Population Mobility. C. E. Lively and Frances Foott, "Population Mobility in Selected Areas of Rural Ohio, 1928–1935," *Ohio Agri. Exper. Stat., Wooster, Ohio, Bull.* 582, 1937.
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CHAPTER IV

THE SMALL CITY

City and country, as someone has said, are the two great generic modes of human habitation. There is, however, no hard and fast demarcation—one fading into the other by almost imperceptible degrees. For convenience we make a statistical distinction, yet numbers are important only as they signify contrasting modes of life. Unlike the country, the city is a place of opposites, and the greater its size the sharper its extremes in occupations, possessions, personalities, and conduct. Rural migrants must adjust to its forms and norms, and its culture spreads beyond the urbs into the countryside.

In studying the urban community, we may start with a less complex example, a Midwestern city of about 38,000. How do the people of Middletown make a living and plan a home life? How do they educate the young and spend their leisure? What are their religious beliefs, their problems of health and welfare? And then, to generalize the case, what kinds of migrants does the city attract and how does it sift and sort them? What is its position in our scheme of corporate life and how does it function as a community?

A. MIDDLETOWN: AN URBAN MODE OF LIFE

Introductory.—On a morning in January, 1924, Middletown awoke to find itself under scrutiny. A staff of experts had moved in to study its life and culture, and for a year and a half they conducted field work investigations. Seeing all, a curious native would have understood little. In a word, the aim of the experts was to put under the microscope the total culture of the community. In order to reveal the influences of the past on the present, the years 1890 and 1924 were concentrated upon.

Of the nation's 143 cities in the 25,000 to 50,000 bracket in 1920, why was Middletown selected for study? The answer is, because of its representative character. It was located in a central Midwestern state which ranked high both in industry and in agriculture. The nearest large city was 60 miles away and with

no paved road at the time. Middletown's population was 92 per cent native white, and its economic activities were balanced by a substantial development in leisure pursuits and art. Most important of all, social change and culture conflict had been rapid enough to produce a variety of adjustment problems.

Changing Culture of a City.—Using the findings reported by the Lynds, we shall present a descriptive account of Middletown's routine life as a functioning community.[1]

A Backward Glance.—In 1880, Middletown was an easygoing county seat of about 6,000 population. Although the thin edge of industry had appeared, the basic economic pursuits were agricultural and commercial. And then, almost overnight, natural gas was discovered. A coal-drilling crew, after boring 600 feet into the earth, heard a "deep roaring noise" and promptly plugged the hole. With the discovery of gas elsewhere, this hole was reopened. Shortly a well was producing 5 million feet per day, and in 1891 a well set the high mark of 15 million feet daily. The little town went wild with excitement. A fund of $200,000 was raised to bring in new industries, and land values skyrocketed. A population of 50,000 was anticipated by 1895.

But Middletown was doomed to disappointment. As abruptly as it had come, gas departed. By 1900 its use for manufacturing purposes was outmoded. Population growth stopped, industries moved away, and land values fell. The spirit of boost and boast was replaced by gloom and pessimism, and only later by a realistic view toward the city's future. In retrospect, it is clear that the industrial culture of the "gasopolis days" was never more than skin-deep. Middletown served an agricultural area and has continued to do so. Certain of its original industries, especially glass factories, have prospered with the times and now give employment to several thousand workers.

[1] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown.* Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1929. *Middletown in Transition* has now made its appearance. This restudy (1937) is less a systematic description of cultural traits and patterns and more a sociological interpretation as seen in the chapter on "The Middletown Spirit." It corrects various shortcomings in the original volume. For example, it gives a chapter to the "X family," a kin group of wealthy industrialists whose power ramifies into virtually all aspects of local life. While the general pattern of the city's culture remains unaltered, depression years have brought a growth in population, a severe strain on relief and welfare agencies, a rise of labor troubles, a greater devotion to money-making, an increasing dominance of the business class, and a number of new or accentuated institutional conflicts. Since 1925, the college has grown from a weak normal school to a strong teacher training institution, a development of interest to educators.

Making a Living.—All persons, except young children, the very old, and a fringe of upper-class women, work for their daily bread. Their 400 ways of making a living fall into two great divisions. A first group,

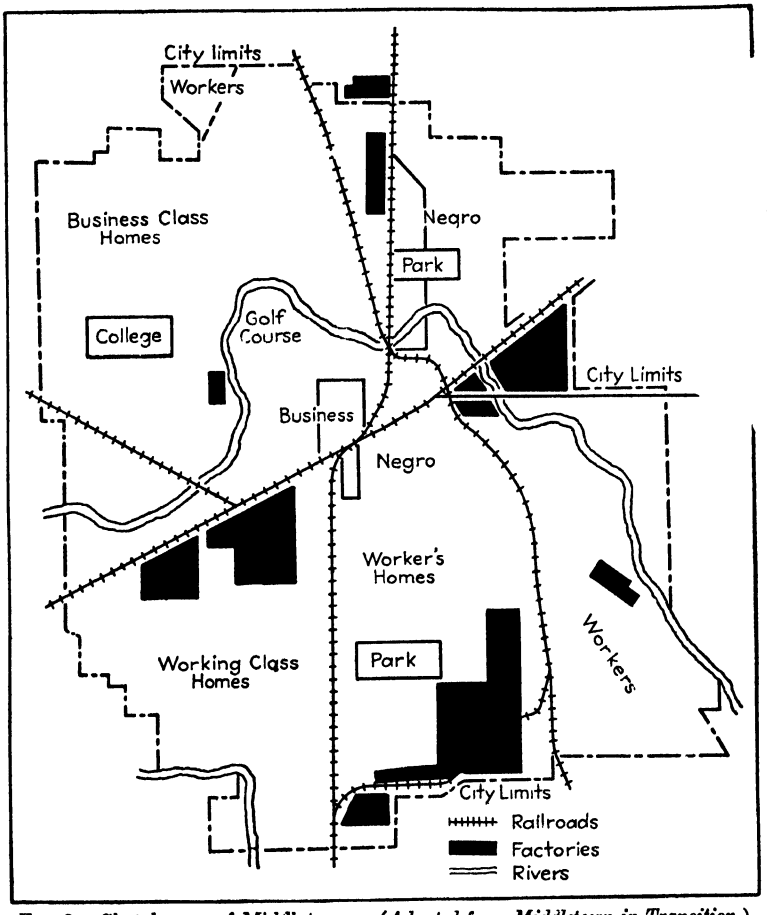

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FIG. 2.—Sketch map of Middletown. (*Adapted from Middletown in Transition.*)

by far the largest, works with things; a second group deals in the main with people. The first is designated as the working class, the second as the business class. The class into which one is born is the great determiner of what he does throughout life—when he gets up, how long he goes to school, whom he marries, the car he drives, his leisure pursuits and religious beliefs.

Out of each 100 persons in the city's population, 43 work at gainful pursuits. Four out of five of these workers are males. Today, as in

1890, a young man loses "face" by not working. Young women, while still expected to enter "the highest art" (homekeeping), are increasingly entering industry and the professions. This creates the difficult problem of combining motherhood and wage-earning.

On the average, employed persons begin to earn earlier than in 1890. Working-class members start work at from 14 to 18 years of age, reach their prime in the twenties and thirties, and begin to fail in the forties. The "old age" dead-line of 45 blocks their further employment and thus helps to make them recipients of public relief. Business-class members stay in school longer, start to work later, and reach their prime in middle life. Many continue in their business or profession until a ripe old age.

Like other small cities, Middletown makes only a fractional part of the fuel it burns, the food it eats, and the clothes it wears. What it does make, and ship over the nation and to many parts of the world, are glass jars, bottles and insulators, wire fences and nails, and automobile accessories and engine parts. One plant has an annual output of $12,000,000 worth of these products, a record indicative of the fact that production has reached large-scale proportions.

With this industrial growth there has occurred a widespread mechanization of production. An example is found in the glass factories. Once the blowing of glass jars was a skilled art which required years of apprenticeship training; today it is done by machines and without a hand ever touching the jars. In 1890, an 8-pot furnace, working 21 men and 24 boys, could produce 1,600 dozen quart jars in a day. Now a single furnace, manned by a crew of 8 men and 3 ten-armed machines, turns out 6,600 dozen jars in a day.

As production increased, the marketing of goods demanded more attention. "We had a fair trade today—sold 20 screen doors," wrote a leading merchant in the 1890's. Businessmen now deal in carload lots. They talk of "advertising" and "personnel," "business cycles" and "credit." Young men seek to break away from the manual labor pursuits of their fathers and to get into "the big money." The masses maintain present levels of living only by means of the "dollar down" plan of buying.

Living a Home Life.—Middletown's 38,000 inhabitants live in 9,200 homes. Only 1 per cent of these dwellings are apartments. Working-class homes average 5.4 members, business-class families 4.7. Houses are closer together than formerly, have smaller yards, fewer and somewhat larger rooms. Parlors and spare bedrooms are disappearing. All homes, except the cheapest, have running water and electricity, and many have the full range of "modern conveniences." Home ownership is still a mark of personal integrity and good citizenship, and building and loan associations provide an easy way of purchasing property.

More perhaps than in the 1890's, "romantic love" is made the basis of marriage. "It just happens," young people say, "and you'll know when the right person comes along." Adolescents grow up singing, even hearing their fathers sing in luncheon clubs, "it had to be you, wonderful you!" Romance or no romance, business-class mothers in particular do much secret planning to direct the courtship process. Unwanted friendships may be fended off; sons and daughters are seen at the right places and with the right persons.

In theory, marriage is for life; in reality, it is frequently much shorter. There were 9 divorces for each 100 marriages in 1889, 18 in 1895, 54 in 1918, and 42 in 1924. The grounds for divorce in order of frequency were cruelty, nonsupport, adultery, and abandonment. Control of family size is very general within the business class, with two, three, or four children being considered ideal. With the increase of out-of-home contacts, children develop an early sophistication. "But, mother, you're so old-fashion," is a stock adolescent comment. "Times out at night" and "time we got in" were listed by high school students as the most common causes of friction with parents. Other points of disagreement concerned dress, conduct, grades, spending money, and the use of the family automobile.

Child rearing is chiefly the mother's task. "I adjust my entire life to my little girl," said one mother, thinking no doubt of music lessons, dancing lessons, and help with schoolwork. Working-class mothers complain of lack of time to be with their children, and many parents are puzzled as to effective methods of child control. "I am going to bring up my daughter just as strictly as I can," remarked one mother. "Strict obedience doesn't accomplish anything," retorted another. Her idea was "to be a pal and do things" with her children. Fathers score low in time spent with children; some few are striving to invent ways of "being a dad."

Many aspects of home living have been changed by the sweep of industrialism. Winter diet and summer diet differ less than formerly, due to cold storage and rapid transportation. Alterations in dress and beautification are noticeable; elders gasp at the sheer silks, fine satins, gay colors, and modish lines of the smartly dressed young woman. Nowhere is transition more apparent than in housework. "Marriage brings a woman a life sentence in her home," wrote Dorothy Dix, "and her work is the most monotonous in the world." If this was ever the case, it is now far less true, for the city's homes have a score of labor-saving devices and appliances. Finally, many of the home's routine tasks, such as cooking, sewing, and washing are done outside by commercial concerns.

Training the Young.—Among the many child-shaping agencies and influences, the school alone gives systematic training in education. It

is a highly regimented world, a world of fixed seats, required subjects, rote learning, and classroom order. Four-fifths of the teachers are women, the majority of them unmarried and under 40 years of age. On the average, they are said to have more professional training than the teachers of the 1890's but less experience in dealing with children. They take little part in community life, and the city pays them little more than the salaries of experienced store clerks.

An epitome of changes in things thought important for children to learn is seen by contrasting the seventh grade curriculum of 1890 and 1924. At the former date, the subjects studied were reading, writing, arithmetic, language, spelling, drawing, "object lessons" (science), geography, composition, and declamation. In 1924, the last two subjects had been dropped; those added were civic training, history, manual art, home economics, and physical education. Thus the trend is toward relating school training to "the more practical problems of life."

Schools also provide experience in what pupils call "school life." Here are athletics and dramatics, clubs, "parties," and casual age-level contacts. Among students, the athlete is the greatest prestige bearer. The city itself "goes wild" when the "Bearcats" begin their tournament play for a state basketball championship. Parents believe that youngsters have a better time in school now than in bygone days. In the same breath, they ask: "when do they study?"

Spending Leisure.—Owing to the city's location in the flat land of the "corn belt," the beauties of nature are almost nil. There are no hills nearer than a hundred miles. White River, once a good-sized stream, has become a sluggish creek polluted by industrial wastes. In spite of these conditions, Middletown probably spends more time at play than ever before. This is due in part to shorter working hours, to the felt need for relaxation, and to the prevalent habit of buying one's leisure-time pursuits.

Little diminution is reported in the city's delight in talk. No occasion, from an ice-cream sociable to a funeral, seems complete without at least one speech. "There's nothing I like better than a real good speech," said one citizen. It took no less than eight speakers to dedicate one public building. Short talks on technical subjects appear to be replacing the humorous lecture, the patriotic oration, and the "pep talk."

There has been a marked increase in the reading of books and magazines. Almost 6,500 books are drawn from the public library per 1,000 persons as against 850 in 1890. The library contains 225 periodicals as contrasted to 19 in the latter year. Music lessons are more popular today, as a result perhaps of the interest in "jazz," and to the prestige value of being able to play some instrument. "We went to L—s' and

serenaded them," relates a diary of the 1890's. Group singing is being replaced by radio programs and orchestras.

Middletown has a veritable maze of social clubs. A survey in 1924 revealed 458 active groups, one for each 80 persons in the city. The largest is the Women's Club, with its various departments. "The whole town is overorganized," said a Rotarian. Special interests have tended to replace "next-door neighborliness" as a basis of association. Sports are popular, yet they are enjoyed mainly from the side lines. The automobile, the radio, and the motion picture have played important roles in shaping leisure pursuits.

Getting Information.—Among the several inventions which have enlarged Middletown's contacts with the world, the newspaper is outstanding. About 8,850 homes take a morning paper and 6,715 an evening paper. The circulation of nonlocal papers, said to be negligible a generation ago, now reaches 1,500 copies daily.

A first purpose of the paper is to give the news. News today is less personal in nature, less local in origin, more timely, and more accurately reported. Papers also make editorial comment on events. No local paper has hesitated to champion "our nation against another nation," to take the business-class point of view, and to support the Republican cause in partisan politics. A third purpose of the press is to sell goods. Almost two-thirds of the morning paper consists of advertisements of things to eat and to wear, to use, see, and do.

Religious Beliefs and Practices.—One day in seven is set aside for "rest and worship," and the city's 42 churches are opened for devotional services. Some of the churches are imposing structures; others are no better than the poorer dwellings. With the exception of the Jewish group, they all represent branches of Christianity, a major cleft being found between Protestants and Catholics. Congregations range in size from one of 2,000 to one of a dozen persons or so. Religious differences are felt to be profound and significant, thus fostering denominational rivalry.

What does one believe if he is a Christian? The question at first brought answers synonymous with being civilized. Apparently basic beliefs are that Christianity is the one true religion, the Bible is sacred and infallible, God is revealed in Christ, and there is life after death in a real heaven or hell. While these beliefs pervade the entire community, they are shared most completely by working-class members. Shifts in the religious climate are taking place. On finer doctrinal beliefs, there are many shades of individual opinion. In the second place, there has been a sharp decline of worship in the home. Family prayers, blessing of food, Bible reading, and religious counseling appear to be less prevalent than in the 1890's. Thirdly, churches are asked with greater frequency to change their hours of meeting—except on Sunday morning

—for nonreligious affairs, and the traditional week-night prayer meeting has been abandoned altogether. Finally, the Sabbath is being defined as a holiday, instead of a holy day in the older sense.

A first requirement for pastors is that they be good speakers. In addition to regular sermons, they are asked to participate in a wide array of civic and social meetings. A second expectation is that they be "good fellows well met," and a third that they "draw young people." One pastor, aware of the difficulty of persuading a city to adopt a way of life which stands so sharply in contrast to its chief beliefs and practices, feels himself isolated from the real world of men. Pastors have little time for reading and reflection. "My only chance is late at night before I drop to sleep," stated one clergyman.

Children are encouraged to join the church at an early age. Their formal union may be through baptism or conversion. Once a churchgoer, they pass from class to class in the Sunday school, and every effort is made to teach them "Christian character." They may sing in a children's choir and take part in special programs. To hold the adolescent, several churches have tended to institutionalize their services. In one church, this includes clubs, athletics, dramatics, scouting, and educational movies.

Politics, Law, and Order.—In 1890, elections were taken seriously. They were dramatic events, with parades, orations, and public debates. At present, they arouse little community interest. About half the electorate voted in the 1920 presidential election. In general, the political process has lost meaning for the average citizen. Unable to understand the issues, unacquainted with candidates, suspicious of graft, he casts a ballot as a kind of formal gesture. "Our politics smell to high heaven," said a businessman. In his opinion, "better citizens dare not mix in politics."

Though the common man is presumed to know the law, an attorney holds that "no one knows what ordinances are on the books." Jury service, well adapted to a leisurely age, is evaded by busy persons. Severity of punishment is seemingly ineffective as a crime deterrent. Suspended sentence and probation for adult offenders, and juvenile court procedures for delinquents, are hailed as foretelling a new day in the city's efforts to cope with crime.

Archaic though the political system may be, public business somehow gets itself done. Laws are made, bonds issued, streets paved, public improvements carried on, and public service departments operated. Proposals for a city manager plan of government have met opposition from both major parties. On this one point, it is said, they are "well agreed."

Health and Well-being.—In spite of its sophistication, Middletown is not wholly rational in health matters. Home cures, quack doctors,

and patent medicine advertisements still attract a gullible public. The city's 50 qualified doctors admit their inability to deal with quackery. "People should know better," said one physician; "we ought to take more responsibility," remarked another. As a whole, the medical profession is against socialized medicine. While the city has only one public health officer, his services have immeasurably increased. Among his more recently added duties are food inspection, free public clinics, and health examinations for school children.

Under normal conditions, many persons are unable to care for their own primary needs for food, shelter, and clothing. In times of economic depression, the number of dependent families more than doubles. Neighborly giving and the "charity work" of volunteer groups, such as churches and lodges, are being superseded by public and semipublic relief and welfare services.

Community Action.—When, in the 1890's, a "town father" returned from Europe, the entire community was invited to meet him at the train and to attend a reception in his honor. Life has grown too impersonal for such an affair today. Differences of class, race, education, and religion divide the city not only into two worlds but into many. Special interest groups are ever forming, shifting, dissolving, and re-forming. When the community acts, it acts as a loose federation of these power units.

Among the groups most representative of the community, the chamber of commerce is outstanding. Created to advance business, it has sponsored or initiated many movements of a civic nature. Other fairly inclusive groups are the women's clubs, the luncheon clubs, the council of social agencies, and the federated churches.

Time and again in the original study the city as a whole or in some part is described as "confused" and "bewildered." John Dewey views this situation as typical of Middletown and of the nation.[1] It is in the main a consequence of the rapid and uneven changes of the past two decades. With all phases of community life interdependent, and with one phase changing more rapidly than another, personal and institutional maladjustments seem inevitable. Making a living and spending leisure appear to have altered most, while religion has altered least. The young adopt new ways before the old, men before women, and the business class before the working class. Thus Middletown reveals not one mode of life, but many patterns of living struggling for acceptance.

[1] John Dewey, "The House Divided against Itself," *New Republic*, 58(1929), 270–271.

B. THE CITY AS A COMMUNITY

Urban Migration.—It is a well-known fact that our great cities are largely aggregates of migrants from foreign countries and rural areas.[1] Since 1900 the cityward drift of rural people has been fairly uniform, dropping a little in 1930, and reversing itself —temporarily perhaps—with the peak of the depression.[2] In 1930, 56 per cent of the population lived in incorporated places of 2,500 or more. The movement toward cities of all sizes over the past 40 years is seen in Table III.

TABLE III.—PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN URBAN CENTERS 1890–1930[1]

Size of center	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
2,500 or more	35.4	40.0	45.8	51.4	56.2
10,000 or more	27.6	31.8	37.0	42.4	47.6
25,000 or more	22.2	26.1	31.0	35.8	40.2
50,000 or more	18.6	22.4	26.6	31.0	35.0
100,000 or more	15.4	18.8	22.1	26.0	29.7
500,000 or more	7.1	10.7	12.5	15.5	17.1
1,000,000 or more	5.8	8.5	9.2	9.6	12.3

[1] R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community*, 27. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1933. By permission of author and publisher.

Whether the index of urbanization be 2,500 or 1,000,000, the trend toward increasing urban living is apparent. Almost as high a percentage of the nation's people now live in cities of 50,000 or more as lived in centers of 2,500 in 1890. Population is not only moving cityward, it is concentrating in or near the larger urban communities.

With the reputed advantages of city life known to rural dwellers, and with some drifting cityward and others not, it is evident that selection is taking place.

From a study of six million persons who left the country for the city during the period 1920–1930, Baker concludes that the

[1] It is said that if New York City had been forced to rely on her own natural increase since 1790, her population would be 3½ per cent of its present size. W. R. Tylor, "Exodus from Rural America," *Cur. Hist.*, 35(1931), 405.

[2] Over a million and a third more persons were living on farms on Jan. 1, 1935, than on April 1, 1930, and on the former date the farm population was 31,800,907, the largest in our history. U. S. Census of Agriculture, *Summary of Mid-decennial Census*, July 10, 1935.

individuals most inclined to migrate are young people, females, and the sons and daughters of tenant farmers.[1] All migrants are more or less discontented and maladjusted, but not all such persons migrate. In general, "push and pull" factors operate simultaneously and are almost inseparable, though in recent years—owing to the plight of agriculture—the former factors have probably been stronger. Reasons most often given by rural migrants for leaving home are adverse economic conditions, personal restlessness, and institutional lacks and needs.

In the aggregate, urban population differs from rural population in several ways. It has a higher percentage of persons in the most productive years (25–45) of life, a lower proportion of children and perhaps of elders, a higher percentage of females, and a more heterogeneous ethnic composition. Per contra, the rural population has relatively more elderly persons, fewer women, more children, and a more homogeneous racial make-up. The urban population has a higher literacy rate, more of its youth in school, a higher reported crime rate, greater mobility, and a tendency toward greater personal disorganization as measured by commitment rates to institutions.

The Urban Community in Corporate Life.—Along with the cityward drift of open country and village people, there has gone an unprecedented growth in communication and transportation. A principal result is that communities of all sizes are wedged into an inclusive corporate pattern of life. Each community center competes with other centers for patronage, position, and power. Area boundaries are unstable and shifting, symbolizing a continuous struggle for existence in which the "fit" survive.

Figure 3 illustrates in schematic diagram the position of the small city in the pattern of corporate life. It is the recipient of varied influences from the state capital, from the metropolis dominating the region, and from Washington, the center of much legislation and relief. In turn, it influences adjacent hamlets, villages, and towns. Here and there in the hinterland are "contested areas," and bordering the city's spatial rim at all points are the incoming influences of rival centers.

In point of fact, it is not known how far the average Middletown of the nation casts its shadow. Presumably it is the center of trade and industry, professional services, news, fashion, and

[1] O. E. Baker, in *Recent Social Trends*, 110–111.

art for miles around. Having a "will to grow," it diffuses over the countryside its goods and services, skills and patterns, art forms and moral codes. This is the process of urbanization; ruralization, the opposite, is so inconspicuous as to make illustration difficult. Our school term may be that decreed by the country school, the vacation period coming when farmers need their children in the fields. Our tax system, with its emphasis on visible personal property, is a more convincing example of the nation's rural backgrounds. Various institutions, such as the family and the church, are said to be transplanted rural structures.

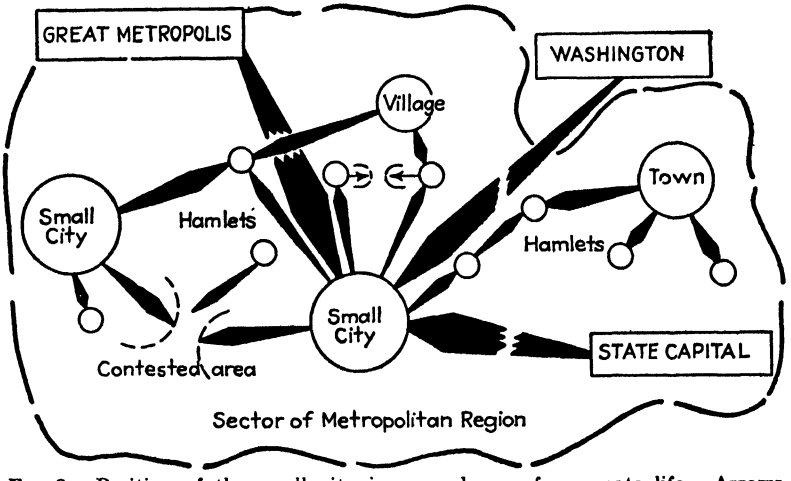

FIG. 3.—Position of the small city in our scheme of corporate life. Arrows indicate direction of dominant influences.

Publicity campaigns to promote the prestige of specific cities are a part of the urbanizing process. Wroe found these campaigns to be most typical of "middle-class cities" (50,000–300,000) and to involve thousands of dollars.[1] Judging from his data, advertising funds were spent as follows: tourist business, 22 per cent; business promotion, 21 per cent; good will, 17 per cent; conventions, 14 per cent; farming development, 13 per cent; residence, 11 per cent; other objectives, such as college attendance, 2 per cent.

Participation and Organization.—It is known that locality groups differ in what is called "community spirit" and that this

[1] Alderson Wroe, *Advertising for Community Promotion*, 6.

difference affects all aspects of community life. Hence it would be of value to have a yardstick with which to measure these variations. To the sociologist, community spirit is indicated by the extent and quality of individual participation in local civic groups and activities. In its quantitative aspect it is the ratio of actual participation to potential participation.[1] Binnewies has expressed this in the formula:

$$\text{(Number of activities)} \times \frac{\text{actual participants}}{\text{potential participants}} = \text{index of community spirit}$$

To illustrate, city *A* affords its inhabitants 100 opportunities to participate in community activities; for example, church services, parent-teacher programs, elections for office, a county fair. Its potential participants number 10,000, but only one-half take part in any organized activity. Thus its index of community spirit would be $^{10}\%_{100}$ times 5,000/10,000 or .5.

Aside from a failure to indicate the quality of the participation, a chief limitation of this formula is that it takes account of only the gross participation in local groups and activities. Thus a community could have a high index of community spirit even though a sizable number of its people took no part in its organized life. Other persons might be members of a half dozen or more organizations. In failing to eliminate duplications of membership, we are not given a picture of community organization as it really is.

Komarovsky has overcome some of these limitations in her study of two suburban communities.[2] Located close to New York City, these towns are more urbanized than small cities elsewhere. Each has a population in excess of 6,000. Community *A* is a better-class residential suburb, highly homogeneous in race and in culture. Community *B* is a lower middle-class suburb, heterogeneous in all respects. To determine the participation of persons in community activities, membership lists were secured from all voluntary civic clubs and associations, and names were checked and cross-checked. Chart 1 shows the

[1] W. G. Binnewies, "Measurement of Community Spirit," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 12(1928), 264–267.

[2] Mirra Komarovsky, "A Comparative Study of Voluntary Organizations of Two Suburban Communities," *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 27(1932), 83–93.

proportion of adults in *A* and *B* who are members of one or more clubs. It presents also an analysis of club membership by race and sex.

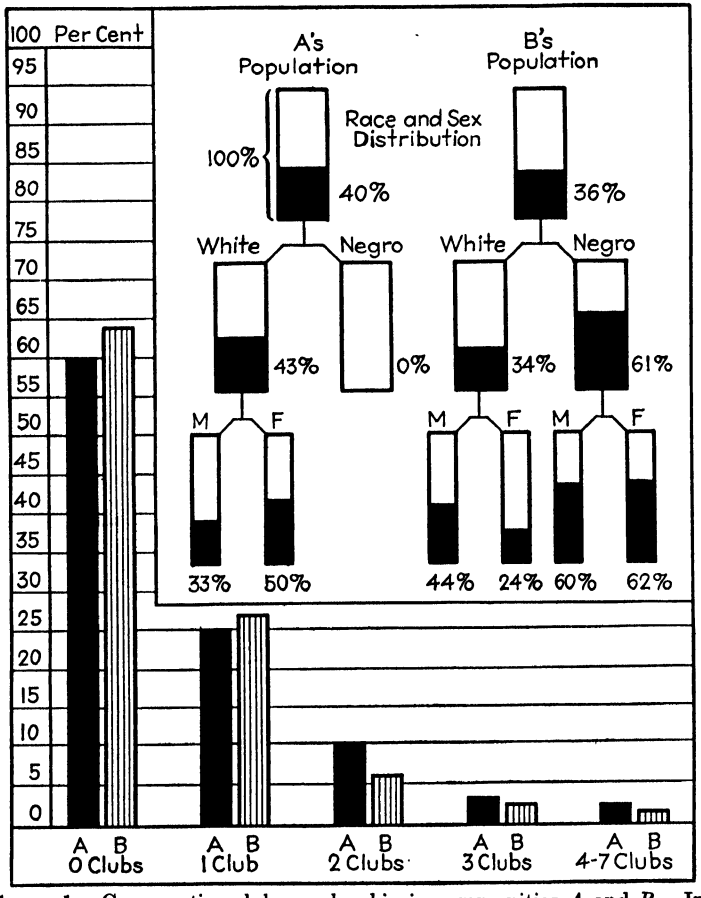

CHART 1.—Comparative club membership in communities *A* and *B*. Insert shows club membership (solid color) as a percentage of the total population and its distribution in terms of race and sex. (*Mirra Komarovsky, op. cit., pp.* 85, 87. *Used by permission of the author and the University of Chicago Press.*)

A striking feature of this chart is the fact that 60 per cent of *A*'s total adult population, and 64 per cent of *B*'s, are non-participants in organized community life. While *B* is reputed to be "overorganized," only 36 per cent of its total adult population belongs to any voluntary civic association. Thus whatever *B* does as a community is done by this third of its potential par-

ticipants. Likewise two-fifths of *A*'s population carries on its organized community life. Ten per cent of these persons and 6 per cent of *B*'s participants belong to two associations. Only 2 per cent of *A*'s adults and 1 per cent of *B*'s belong to four or more civic groups.

From these facts, the general conclusion may be drawn that the vast majority of persons in these suburban communities take no active part in local life. The extent to which this is true in other communities is not known, though some comparable data are available. Komarovsky reports the following indices of average membership per adult in civic clubs and movements: two rural communities, 0.6 and 0.7; three suburban communities, 0.6, 0.5, and 0.5; two small cities, 1.1 and 1.2. These findings are not sufficient to support a generalization, yet it is probable that the small city is more highly organized than either the rural or the suburban community.

The analysis of suburban community participation by race and sex is of interest. Forty-three per cent of *A*'s white adult residents and 34 per cent of those in B belong to one or more local associations. No Negro resident of *A* and 61 per cent of those in *B* are club participants. Thirty three per cent of *A*'s white men and 50 per cent of its white women belong to clubs, while the corresponding figures for *B* are 44 per cent and 24 per cent. Negro men and women in *B* rank high in club membership: 60 per cent and 62 per cent, respectively.

From the chart, it would appear that *A*'s relatively high participation average is due to its women. Exactly the reverse is true for *B*, where the men together rank higher than the combined score of the women. Almost three-fourths of *A*'s men are commuters, a fact which accounts for their lack of interest in local civic clubs. Only a third of *B*'s men are commuters and over a half are locally employed. While commuters are not concerned with community life, their wives are, and hence the women of *A* are more highly organized than those of *B*.

But commuting back and forth to New York City is not the only factor accounting for these differences. *A* is a more highly integrated community. Being homogeneous and hence like-minded in civic affairs, it needs fewer organizations to conduct community functions. *B* stands in sharp contrast. Being heterogeneous, its population has many divergent aims and is divided into various special interest groups. For example, where

A has no "neighborhood improvement association," *B* has five. Each one seeks to further the interests of its own small district, and thus deals with matters which in *A* are the concern of the entire community. Again, *B* has 12 associations classified as "political," whereas *A* has none. Paradoxical as it may sound, *B* is disorganized because it is overorganized. It has split into so many groups that one blocks another and effective action is difficult.

If *B* is disorganized, why has this not increased the club membership of its women as it has of its men? A first reason is that politics, neighborhood improvement, etc., are the traditional tasks of men. A second reason is the difference in occupational and economic status of the two communities. *B*'s women are semiskilled workers such as house servants, and *A*'s women are professional workers and housewives. In general the lower the occupational status the fewer the number of clubs a person joins.[1] Thus community participation has a positive correlation with income and leisure. A third factor is the prestige value of club membership. In *A*, membership in "the right organizations" paves the way into the elite of local society; in *B*, this is not the case. Finally, a number of *B*'s women are Italians. The Italian family is patriarchal and its mores do not sanction the participation of women in community affairs.

In *B*, the Negro women stand in sharp contrast to the white women. They are more highly organized even than the colored men. This may be due to the Negro woman's traditional role as head of the family, or to her greater financial independence.

From studies of this nature one can sense the meaning of urban community organization. As the city grows in size it becomes more heterogeneous in make-up and more diverse in interests. Stresses and strains arise, and eventually the whole fractures into integral parts: a North Side, a West Side, a Negro section, an exclusive residential district, a street organization of property owners, and so on. Loyalty to the city as a whole tends to be replaced by loyalty to one of its many parts. Community

[1] This accords with findings in *Middletown*. The average businessman (p. 308) belongs to 3.0 clubs, the average workingman to 0.9 clubs; the businessman's wife belongs to 3.2 clubs, the worker's wife to 0.7 clubs. If the city is "clubbed to death," as the authors aver, it is a "business class phenomenon."

betterment comes to mean neighborhood improvement, and organization means mobilizing the nigh-dwellers for an appeal to city council. To be sure, there is an organization of another kind, *viz.*, the consensus of feeling and action which arises spontaneously from the association of these same nigh-dwellers. It is a working agreement, arising either from division of labor or from cooperation or conflict, but it is not what the locality leader has in mind when he "organizes the community."

Educational Questions.—Only about 10 per cent of the nation's 256,000 grade schools (1932) and 22 per cent of its high schools are urban, yet about three-fifths of the current national expenditures for public education are for urban schools. In contrast to rural schools, they are better staffed and equipped, have longer terms, and a higher ratio of attendance to enrollment. City school curricula are changing more than rural as indicated by courses added and dropped, yet the average urban school is still highly inflexible, intellectualized, and unadapted to the "whole child."

John Dewey once said that there is no place in the city for the child. He meant that the city, with its dangers to life and limb, its limited play space, diverse patterns of living, and varied moral climates, is a hazardous and repressive child environment. These features of urban living place new burdens on the schools. How well are schools performing their "personality functions"?[1] To what extent are they becoming places where pupils go, not primarily to acquire knowledge, but "to carry on a way of life"? What community services, such as adult education, are schools offering? To be meaningful, these questions must be answered in terms of specific urban communities.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why was Middletown selected as typical of cities in the 25,000–50,000 bracket? Should its 5,000 Negroes have been studied as a distinct ethnic group?
2. Summarize the ways in which the business class differs from the working class. Are these class or caste differences? Explain.
3. How has industrialism affected the process of making a living? What are its effects on the home?
4. What changes have occurred in Middletown's leisure pursuits? Are these changes typical of your community? Illustrate your answer.

[1] William F. Ogburn, "Non-Intellectual Aspects of Personality Facing Education," *Educ. Rev.*, 16(1935), 293–300.

5. What does one believe if he is a Christian? Is the answer as given in the chapter satisfactory in all respects?

6. How has politics changed since 1890? With what effects?

7. It is said that life in Middletown moves along at "a bewildering variety of gaits." What is the evidence of this? What are the effects?

8. Why, in your judgment, have people been moving cityward? How has this movement affected rural and urban life?

9. How do city people differ as a population aggregate from rural people? Do they differ in other ways? Explain.

10. What is urbanization? Ruralization? Illustrate each process from your observations and experiences.

11. What impresses you most concerning the organized life of the two suburban communities? Explain: "*B* is disorganized because it is overorganized."

Problems and Projects

1. Review Middletown's "gasopolis days" from the original study. Compare the town's psychology with that of the "boom town" reported by Thomas Wolfe in the *Amer. Mer.*, 33(1934), 21–39.

2. What has happened to the traveling salesman, the man who "spread the gospel of city life over the nation?" Report on R. L. Martin, "Twilight of the Gods of the Sample Case," *New York Times Mag.*, Apr. 19, 1936, 6 ff.

3. Apply the formula given by Binnewies to campus organizations. Do seniors take part in more "all college" events and associations than freshmen? Do girls participate more than boys?

4. Investigate the civic associations of your community. Study their membership, purposes, and *modus operandi*. What are their implications for community organization?

5. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   - *a.* Outlook for the Future. Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, Chap. XIII, "Middletown Faces Both Ways."
   - *b.* Rural and Urban Differences. P. A. Sorokin, *et al.*, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, Chap. XIII; P. A. Sorokin, *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 23(1928), 223–238.
   - *c.* The City's People. William F. Ogburn, *Social Characteristics of Cities* (1937).
   - *d.* The City as a Community. C. C. North, *The Community and Social Welfare*; C. C. North, *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 20(1925), 215–218.
   - *e.* Community Relations. George A. Lundberg and Margaret Lawsing, "The Sociography of Some Community Relations," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 2(1937), 318–335.

Selected Readings

1. Albig, William: "The Mobility of Urban Population," *Soc. Forces*, 11(1933), 351–367.

2 Binnewies, W. G.: "Measurement of Community Spirit," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 12(1928), 264–267.

3. Cassady, C.: "Escape from the City," *Atlantic Mon.*, 157(1936), 344–350.
4. Chapin, F. Stuart: *Contemporary American Institutions*, Chap. III, "Political Institutions of the Local Community."
5. Elliott, Mabel and F. E. Merrill: *Social Disorganization*, Chap. XII, "Men in Industry."
6. Finney, Ross L., and Leslie D. Zeleny: *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, Chap. I, "A Typical Small City."
7. Gist, N. P., and L. A. Halbert: *Urban Society*, Chap. XI, "Urban Personality."
8. Hart, J. K.: "Failure of the Country School in the Modern City," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 18(1912), 92–114.
9. Komarovsky, Mirra: "A Comparative Study of Voluntary Organizations in Two Suburban Communities," *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 27(1932), 83–93.
10. Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M.: *Middletown.*
11. Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M.: *Middletown in Transition.*
12. Matherly, W. J.: "The Changing Culture of the City," *Soc. Forces*, 13(1935), 349–357.
13. Ogburn, William F.: "Non-Intellectual Aspects of Personality Facing Education," *Educ. Rev.*, 16(1935), 293–300.
14. Willey, M. M., and S. A. Rice: "Agencies of Communication," *Recent Social Trends*, 167–217.

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT METROPOLIS

One pleasure of travel, writes Von Ogden Vogt, is "the discovery of places that are descript." From "house building to worship," they reveal "a common view of life" and hence impress one with their "unity and charm." By implication, there are communities of another kind. There are nondescript areas, areas of polyglot peoples and divergent cultures. The metropolis, with its million or more inhabitants, is of this nature. Ever alive and ever changing, it is not restful to contemplate; it is, on the contrary, exciting and problematic.

Chicago is representative of the world's great metropolitan centers. Second largest city in the nation, it is a place of towering skyscrapers and shabby tenements, extreme wealth and unbelievable poverty, art and music, crime and vice. It is not one world, but many worlds which meet and mingle but do not merge and lose their separate identities. To describe in detail its life and structure, its personalities and institutions, is manifestly impossible. Our aim will be to approximate such a picture. After this, as in preceding chapters, we shall generalize for the community type set forth.

A. CHICAGO: AN OVERVIEW

A Great City and Its People.—Chicago has been selected for study not only because it typifies the extremes in urbanization, but because it has probably been the object of more sociological research than any other great city in the nation. While no one volume deals with the whole of its complex structure, the work by Zorbaugh is more complete than any other. This volume and others have been made the basis of the following account.[1]

A Century of Growth.—It has been said that Chicago's past is so recent that one can reach out his hand and touch it all. Men still living recall

[1] Harvey Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (1929); Edith Abbott, *The Tenements of Chicago* (1937); Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (1933).

the defense of old Fort Dearborn against the Indians, and the parents of the present generation rebuilt the city from the ashes of the great fire of 1871. Mud flats and recurring floods, cholera and malaria, Indian wars and trade rivalries, race riots, strikes, and depressions have all been taken in its stride by this lusty giant of the Midwest.

Tradition has it that the first log cabin on the site of what is now Chicago was built by a Negro. It was acquired by John Kinzie, a white settler, about 1804. After the War of 1812, a frontier trading post grew up between the Y-shaped branches of the Chicago River. Wharves were built along its banks, the lake harbor was developed, lumberyards and machine shops made their appearance. In 1848, the first stockyards, the "Bull's Head" yards, were constructed at Madison and Ashland avenues, the first boat passed through the canal, and a large field in the center of the village was set aside as a camping ground for incoming migrants. Lines of prairie schooners were a common sight, as was the weekly steamer from Buffalo bringing mail, supplies, and settlers. Chicago at this time was a community of male workers, adventurers, fur trappers, land speculators, and pioneers.

In 1837, when Chicago was incorporated, its north and west sides were in effect separate towns; its south side was still an expanse of sandy beach and mud flats. In 1840, its population was 5,000. Cincinnati at that time had a population of 46,000, Pittsburgh, 21,000, Louisville, 21,000, and St. Louis, 16,000. Cleveland, Columbus, and Dayton, each with a population of 6,000, outranked the "Windy City." New York, then as now, was the nation's colossus with 312,000. Baltimore and New Orleans ranked next with 102,000 each, and then Boston and Philadelphia with 93,000 apiece.

Chicago's growth is a story of its conquest of the "midland"—the region stretching westward from the lakes toward the Pacific. Nature was not stingy when she made this rolling country with its fertile soil, plentiful rainfall, lumber, coal, and iron resources. Located at a strategic break in land-water transportation, Chicago was in a position to profit by its exploitation. But the log town, as noted in the population figures, was a late comer. Cincinnati and St. Louis were already prosperous port cities, and Detroit was forging ahead year by year. How to ward off this competition was the city's great problem.

To an extent, the Civil War made Chicago. With corn and wheat fields depleted of man power, the city poured out its reapers and binders and farm machinery. With the government buying for armies, it became a collector, depositor, and reshipper of grains and meats, goods and equipment. Over the years it has increased its lead on older rivals. Today it is a center of the nation's meat-packing, grain-exporting, machine-making, and mail-order business.

The great fire of 1871 checked for a moment the upswing of the prairie capital. The site of the O'Leary barn, where the fire started, is marked

by a tablet a few blocks south of Hull House. The North Side was virtually wiped out, the old Water Tower being almost the only "sight" dating back to the fire. Rebuilding took place immediately, starting in the central business district. It crossed the river within a year and spread on into new territory. Brownstone fronts replaced frame cottages, pretentious business structures the earlier brick buildings of the "Loop." To say that a new city arose from the ashes of the old is a proximate truth.

In 1850, Chicago ranked twenty-fifth in population among the cities of the nation. In 1890, and in all succeeding census counts, it was second only to New York. Since 1890 its rate of growth has exceeded that of New York. In 1930 it contained 3,376,438 persons, and its first decrease in numbers was recorded in the local census of 1934.

The Urban Pattern.—Long before the city reached its present proportions, its pattern of development was apparent. Business concentrated in the canyonlike streets of the Loop. Light industries and "sweated trades" appeared in an irregular belt fringing the Loop. Heavy industries arose along the river and, with the congestion at the city's center, they spread outward toward its rim. Incoming migrants, native and foreign, white and colored, settled near their jobs at the city's center or in industrial districts such as the "back of the yards" area.

Bordering the "slums" there grew up a region of furnished rooms, and farther out, in the middle city and along the lines of rapid transportation, workingmen built their modest homes. A Latin Quarter, Chicago's nearest approach to the bohemias of the Old World, took root near the old Water Tower. To the north, along the Lake front, and later southward along Lake Shore Drive, the "four hundred" found lodgment in spacious homes and imposing hotels.

Smaller towns and cities, which had been made parts of Chicago by incorporation, continued as neighborhood business centers. Skirting the city's rim was the commuters' zone, and on beyond for miles into the country were the fingerlike chains of suburban towns and satellite cities.

To "see Chicago" one must visualize it in terms of these interlocking parts. Each part is wedged into the *cadre* of the city, belonging where it is found and having its own distinctive role and function in metropolitan economy.

Central Business District.—Chicago's "Loop" is the nerve center of its corporate life. Here are banking houses and stock exchanges, trade marts and department stores, smart specialty shops, newspapers, theaters, art galleries, and libraries. Steel-ribbed and air-conditioned skyscrapers provide innumerable cubicles for commercial and professional offices. Each concern, from a hole-in-the-wall headquarters of some national association to department stores sprawled over a city

block, has had to struggle for the space it occupies. Land values are higher here than at any other place in the city. At the intersection of Madison Avenue and State Street, reported as the busiest corner in the world, land has a front foot value of $24,700 (1930). Values tend to fall at regular intervals along radial arteries outward toward the suburbs.

By day the atmosphere of the central business district is that of bustling commerce; by night its crowds change to noisy, pushing thrill seekers in search of entertainment. Out from the area go swift traffic lanes, bringing in possibly a fourth of all the city's people in an average day. With main thorofares unable to handle the rising tide of traffic, Chicago long ago double-decked certain streets and more recently triple-decked a few.

Unknown to the vast majority of local inhabitants, a tunnel system 62.5 miles long runs under the principal uptown streets. Trams shuttle back and forth between merchandising concerns and the river. They bring in some 600,000 tons of package freight in an average year and they take out 300,000 tons of cinders and waste materials. Were these undersurface convoys suddenly suspended, the traffic jam would be of unbelievable proportions.

Blighted Areas.—Throughout the city's broad expanse but mainly abutting the Loop are "the slums." These are the most nondescript areas of the great city, and West Madison is fairly typical. Here are cheap movies and vaudeville, dance halls and vice resorts, saloons and rescue missions, flophouses and relief shelters, restaurants and employment offices, pawnshops and secondhand stores. Here is a basic working population of bewildered immigrants, Negro migrants, and others. Here are charwomen, raucous-voiced peddlers, homeless men, young transients, sex perverts, skin-game artists, racketeers, ward heelers, numbers barons, soap-box radicals, and rampant soul-savers. Here, too, are great humanitarians who, like the late Jane Addams and Mary McDowell, have given a lifetime of service to these congested areas.

Crisscrossing the "main stem," as the hobo calls West Madison Street, are narrower streets lined with dingy tenements, basement dwellings where the sunlight never penetrates, and row on row of two- to four-room "cold-water flats." Within the area are small parks with field houses and gymnasiums, settlement houses, and the tall spires of Catholic churches.

The slums are a region of blight and transition. Their population is incessantly on the march. Newcomers, from the four corners of the world, move in, and those who can afford it move out and "up." Properties are deteriorated; rentals are low and land values high, land being held for a possible expansion of the business district. On every index of social disorganization, the slums outrank any other part of the city. They are the city's ever-resistant problem; no one willed them,

no thoughtful citizen wants them, and yet their elimination has defied social planners.

The Gold Coast.—Clinging to the Lake shore, yet within a stone's throw of what the newspapers are wont to call "Death Corner" (Milton Avenue), is the famous Gold Coast. Here Vanity Fair lives in luxurious mansions and exclusive apartment hotels, glides up the avenue in imported limousines with liveried attendants, deigns to speak to the hoi polloi in the accent known only to the select few, and keeps the rest of the literate city agog with its comings and goings, its smart parties and social affairs. Here is the habitat of the Four Hundred—the clubman and society woman, the sportsman and "playboy," the social climber and patron of the arts, the philanthropist and civic reformer.

Like other areas, the Gold Coast has a life of many hues. One aspect of its existence centers around "the social game." This is a never-ending maneuvering for social position. It involves the fine arts of personal publicity, of "good form" in all things, of being seen with the right persons at the right places, of finesse in staging social events. Among the types to which the social game has given rise is the social secretary. Her duties include answering correspondence, making appointments, planning receptions, keeping files of birthdays, of family movements, and of eligible bachelors.

A more serious side of Gold Coast life has to do with civic affairs and charities. Many persons of wealth and ability take an active part in welfare work. They support settlements and nurseries, churches and clinics, and other projects which, for the moment or for life, appeal to their conscience and imagination. Without this support, present civic enterprises could not exist.

World of Furnished Rooms.—Behind the Outer Drive and meshing with the slums is an area of furnished rooms. It is one of many such areas, each found within convenient access to the Loop. It is a world of mobile young people, a childless world and almost a marriageless one. Its streets have a monotonous sameness, its buildings a shabby respectability. Once-fashionable homes have been converted into rooming houses with "hot plate" privileges. Here are waitresses and shopgirls, salespeople, office help, students of the arts, taxi-dancers, and others. Here are thwarted ambitions, sex restlessness, and anonymous relations.

Within the area are cheap cafeterias and gaudy tearooms, cigar stores and newsstands, corner groceries and beauty shops, cabarets and small night clubs. More than anything else, the rooming house gives color to the district. Unlike the old-fashioned boardinghouse, where gentlemen callers were entertained under the watchful eye of the landlady, the rooming house is completely commercial. When asked if the couples in her house were married, a landlady said: "I don't know; I don't care.

I want to rent rooms." Her interest was wholly impersonal; she expected the rent in cash and when due.

Towertown: The Latin Quarter.—Sprawling out from the base of the old rustic Tower is "the village." Here are studios, art shops, bookstores, little theaters, night clubs, and cabarets. Here are dabblers in exotic forms of self-expression, egocentric poseurs, tired radicals, underworld characters on display, and bourgeois intruders. Here "arty folk"—more psuedo than genuine—wear flowing ties, give fantastic parties, and live in the midst of what the tabloids call temptation. "It's all crazy, I calls it," said an old Irish scrubwoman, a judgment in which others may concur.

Villagers are not to be confused with the district's basic population or with the stream of sightseers who visit the Quarter because of its glamour and glitter, its freedom and nudity. Village dwellers are as a rule maladjusted persons, at war with themselves or seeking to escape the mode of life into which they were born. They scoff at eminent artists who have made money, poke fun at Babbittry in all its guises, repudiate traditional values, in short, make of unconventionality an abiding convention. In seeking complete emancipation, they have become individualistic and irresponsible. Towertown offers an outlet for their energies but not a solution to their problems.

Ethnic Colonies.—One can, as it were, travel around the world in Chicago. Here are Irish shanty towns, German villages, Jewish ghettos, little Italies, Chinatowns, Polish quarters, and black belts. Within these little islands of transplanted peoples are found a variety of alien institutions. There are foreign groceries, kosher shops, lodges, churches, benefit associations, nationalistic societies, athletic and recreational clubs. Here are seen the "boss" of the colony, the padrone, steamship agents, vice lords, racial hybrids, and race leaders. Here also are social workers, public health nurses, and club organizers.

At least 28 ethnic groups are to be found in Chicago. In some sections, wave after wave of Old World invaders has swept in, won a tentative abode, and moved on under competition from an incoming people of a lower level of living. No group has sought the slums, much less created them. It has entered the city at the point of least resistance —the point of toleration, cheap rents, and nearness to the job.

Like other industrial centers, Chicago has shared in the Negro's cityward migration. The recency and magnitude of this drift from the southland is startling. In 1910, the city's colored population was only 44,103; in 1920, 109,594; in 1930, 233,903. Negro districts are found throughout the city, yet the point of greatest concentration is easy to locate. It extends southward from above 22nd Street to 71st Street and is wedged in fairly well between Cottage Grove and State Street.

This "black belt" is not a slum or a fringe; it is a city within a city, the capital of the Negro's Midwestern urban world.

Middle-class Homes.—From the Tribune Tower or Wrigley Building one sees miles of housetops in seriate rows to the north, the west, and the south. Within this mid-city live the mass of Chicago's millions. Typical places are one-family homes, kitchenette apartments, four- to eight-room flats, and family hotels where housekeeping has been reduced to a minimum. Here, too, are "around the corner groceries," meat markets, bakeries, delicatessens, hand laundries, dry cleaners, shoe repair shops, garages, and other personal service institutions.

Neighborhood Business Centers.—Many retail stores and personal service agencies are found either in local business centers or on "string street" developments. String streets are main traffic lanes which radiate outward from the Loop like spokes from the hub of a wheel. Commercial concerns line each side of the street at irregular intervals but seldom spread any distance on intersecting roads and avenues. They cater to a transient trade, persons who pass along the street or are employed near by.

Chicago has perhaps a hundred neighborhood business centers. Some were once the center of a village or town and were added to the city by incorporation. Others have sprung up to serve a new subdivision. Only a few, such as Cottage Grove, are at all complete replicas of the downtown business district. Here are shops and retail stores, movies, dance halls, a newspaper, and the usual community agencies. Local self-consciousness is strong, and in many ways the center functions as a subcommunity.

Commuters' Zone and Suburbs.—Bordering the city's rim is the commuters' zone. Along with suburban towns, it has been called a "bedroom area." Its adult inhabitants, chiefly male family heads and professional women, leave home early each weekday for shops and offices in the Loop and return in time for the evening meal. While statistics are not available on the commuting radius, it is known to be expanding due to motor travel and rapid transit lines. Beyond a 10- to 15-mile limit, the inflow of traffic shows a sharp tapering off.

Around Chicago, within a 50-mile arc from north to south, are Evanston, Waukegan, Elgin, Aurora, Joliet, Gary, and more than a hundred smaller towns and villages. Each of these suburban centers is located on a main highway emptying into the Loop. These highways run in fingerlike formation from the city's center, and towns and villages resemble chains or strings of overlapping settlements. Some are residential towns, others centers of heavy industry, and still others harbors of vice and crime.

The Hinterland.—The hinterland region, the midland area already discussed, comprises some twenty states. This tributary country, with

its many local centers of influence, constitutes the metropolitan region of which Chicago is the dominant center. Measures of this dominance, its nature, extent, and changes, have been made via newspaper circulation, addresses of buyers who visit Chicago, railroad tickets, bank transactions, public utility services, and so on. Eventually the city's "pull" meets that of some other great metropolis, such as Detroit, Cincinnati, or St. Louis. One can in theory bound Chicago's hinterland, but no line can have much permanence. Technological improvements and competitive conditions keep the region fluid and mobile.

This account has described the several parts of the metropolitan community. Emphasis has been placed on area mode of life, on persons and institutions. One's lasting impression of Chicago is that of complexity; nothing seems stable, nothing seems typical. More than anything else, the huge abattoir by the Lake resembles a vast motion-picture set designed to illustrate the full range of differences in urban personality and culture.

B. THE METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY

Great Cities: Nature and Types.—"It cannot be too strongly emphasized," writes McKenzie, "that the modern metropolis is practically a new social and economic entity."[1] To be sure, cities are very old in human history, yet those of the ancient past differed on all major points from those of the present. They were much smaller in size, less complex in structure, more homogeneous in population, simpler in functions, and held commercial sway over less extensive territory. Then as now the city and its region formed an organic whole. The community extended as far as the inner city exerted a dominant influence.

Great cities do not rise promiscuously here and there on the land. Their location is determined by a number of factors. To Charles H. Cooley we are indebted for the theory that "population and wealth tend to collect wherever there is a break in transportation." In the main, these breaks occur at junctures of land and water routes, cases in point being New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Cities grow to metropolitan status because of nearness to raw materials, markets, labor supply, and sources of power. To a degree, they are the product of modern trans-

[1] R. D. McKenzie, "Rise of the Metropolis," *Recent Social Trends*, 444.

portation, large-scale production, steam and electrical energy, and feats of engineering in amassing people on a limited space.

We know also that cities are not alike in all respects. A sufficient specialization of function has taken place to permit a classification into types. At least five major kinds of cities are recognized: industrial centers, such as Pittsburgh and Detroit; commercial centers, as for example Chicago and New York; political capitals, illustrated best by Washington; resort centers, such as Atlantic City; and "shrine cities," as exemplified in Salt Lake City. The larger the city the more its industrial and commercial functions predominate.

Physical Growth.—As population increases, metropolitan structure and life tend to change. One type of change may be designated as physical growth. Great cities begin as villages or towns. As they increase in population, urban facilities and land area expand. In general, this expansion is in three directions: outward, upward, and downward.

New York provides a spectacular example of these processes of physical growth. Its hub and center is the borough of Manhattan, an island 2 miles wide at its maximum point and 13 miles long.[1] Some 1,800,000 persons live on this narrow neck of land, making it perhaps the most densely populated place in the world. In addition, a large proportion of New York's total population finds its way in and out of this area in the course of a business day. One result has been the development of a most complex traffic system. For example, instead of the usual three-deck streets, as in many great cities, New York at Herald Square has a six-deck rapid transit system. A model of this arrangement on display at the Franklin Institute is so novel that a reproduction (Fig. 4) has been included.

Reading from top to bottom in the picture, there is an elevated line, bus lines and automobile traffic on the street level, pneumatic mail tubes, two subways one above the other, and finally the tunnels of the Pennsylvania and Long Island railroads.

Bounded by rivers and the bay, Manhattan has not been able to obtain additional space by spreading outward. It has, therefore, grown up into the air and down into the solid rock. In

[1] In 1898, Manhattan consolidated with Brooklyn, Queens County, and Staten Island (now Richmond) to form the present New York City with an area of over 300 square miles.

1932, it had 493 buildings of over 20 stories, 93 of over 30 stories, and the tallest reached 1,200 feet in the air. It has been said that the 48 passenger elevators in the Equitable Building carry an average of 96,000 persons per day.[1] During a year they travel 275,000 miles, or eleven times around the earth at the

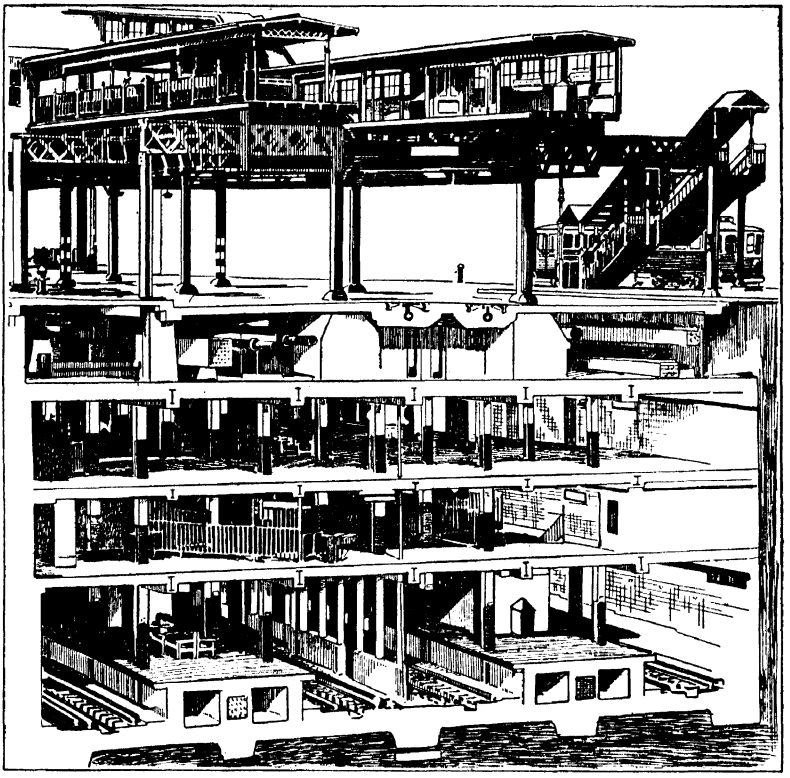

FIG. 4.—Replica of traffic intersection at Herald Square, New York City. (*Drawn from a photograph by Gladys Muller. Courtesy of The Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.*)

equator. The building has 40 stories, 1¼ million square feet of rentable space, a permanent population of 12,000, and 135,000 persons pass through its portals each day. These figures, inadequate as they now are, give some idea of New York's aerial expansion by way of its "vertical streets."

How far upward will the skyscraper go? In general, the limit seems to be an economic and not a mechanical one. The deter-

[1] W. C. Clark and J. L. Kingston, *The Skyscraper*, 128.

mining factor in business buildings is "the ratio between land area and rentable floor space."[1] To achieve a rentable floor space of more than 25 times its ground area, the Empire State Building had to go to 85 stories. Other buildings, such as the Chrysler, the Woolworth, and the Metropolitan Tower, have a lesser ratio. Since ratios do not increase in direct proportion to height, because of additional space given to elevators, it is possible that the skyscraper has already attained or even passed its maximum economical height. Apartments have broken the custom of a "walk-up" height and joined the skyscraper class, since professional people desire to live close to their work. They now compete with office and hotel buildings for high land-value sites.

While New York's sky line has been well publicized, its underground empire is almost unknown even to New Yorkers. One is amazed at its nature and size and at the extent to which the upper city depends upon it for numerous routine services.

Without ever coming to the street level, a person may travel 840 miles by subway, trade at stores varied enough to equip an expedition, dine and dance in a dozen restaurants, swim in one of the largest indoor pools in the world, attend a motion-picture show, and sleep in any one of five large hotels.

In brief summary, New York's "underworld" contains more than 5,000 miles of gas mains, 35,669 miles of cables carrying electrical current, 48 miles of steam mains, more than 4,000 miles of water mains which connect with the Catskills 100 miles away, untold miles of telephone and telegraph wires, fire alarm and police signal systems, 3,000 miles of sewers with main arteries 7 feet high and 16 feet wide, 22 traffic tunnels beneath the East and Hudson rivers, and acres of trains at two major railway termini.

These veins, arteries, and nerve centers feed the city and animate its life. They carry the light that illuminates Broadway, the current that runs the factories, the gas that cooks the meals, the steam that heats the buildings, the water that makes existence possible. Thousands of persons work in this underground empire under artificial light and by artificial ventilation.

New Yorkers are unconscious of this city beneath a city until something goes wrong. But let a water main burst and a torrent spouts 50 to 90 feet in the air, crumbling pavement, cascading through streets, blocking traffic, flooding basements, causing short circuits, fires, and

[1] R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community*, 222.

explosions. Such calamities are rare. Sixty thousand manholes are the windows through which hundreds of experts keep watch on the winding miles of labyrinths.[1]

Ecological Processes.—Changes in urban structure imply shifts in the spatial distribution of the city's people. Toward the inner city, where cheap hotels and rooming houses predominate, drift the transient adults, chiefly males. In the mid-city, where apartments and family hotels abound, are found the mass of middle-class workers with a high proportion of females. At the city's rim, where living conditions are most desirable, the better off business and professional people tend to concentrate. As a matter of fact, this outgoing tendency has caused the residential suburbs to grow at a greater speed than any other part of the city. Their population is above average in the ratio of children to adults.

Underlying this segregation of persons are the factors of income and wealth. Whether or not, as Robert E. Park has said, each person in the city tends "to find a moral climate in which he can expand and feel at ease," he does drift eventually into the environment where he can afford to live. Thus a city groups its people according to their purse, much as a theater arranges its audience into various priced sections. An exception to the rule is found in the case of the Negro. His income may enable him to afford the residential section which he desires, but his color is wrong. Race is made a basis for exclusion.

Institutions are sifted and assigned to place in much the same way as are persons. Financial institutions are centered in one district, commercial concerns in another, recreation agencies in a third, and so on. Further specialization occurs within these larger divisions, as for instance when competitive businesses such as wholesale houses are clustered together within a few blocks. Unlike the premotor city, the present metropolis has differentiated its institutions and at the same time spread them out into distinctive districts.

As men and institutions become segregated, their habitat takes on the appearance of a "natural area." The area is natural in two senses: it is not the product of design or of planning, and it shows a marked homogeneity in race and in culture.

[1] Based upon Milton MacKaye, "Underground Empire," *Sat. Eve. Post*, 209(July 11, 1936), 10 ff.

It can be delimited from adjacent areas in terms of the frequency or intensity of social traits, such as occupation, homeownership, and nationality.[1] Natural areas, as illustrated in the Chicago case, disclose the kinds of institutions which their inhabitants support or permit.

Urban Personality.—The great city is more than sticks and stones and ecological organization. It is also a state of mind, a way of feeling, thinking, and acting. Urban dwellers are said to have "a different psychology," though its exact nature is still a matter of speculation. City life is so varied and changeful that its imprint on personality can scarcely be other than multiform and confusing.

As compared with country folk, urban people tend to be more specialized in work and play pursuits and hence more interdependent. They show a wider range of variation in interests and achievements. They are more highly time-conscious, stressing precision in behavior and living the day round in a clock routine. They are more mobile and, owing in part to this fact, more insecure. The typical mind-set is realistic and experimental. Contacts are more impersonal and more competitive. Primary controls, such as neighborhood opinion, are ineffective, and conduct is guided more by fashion, personal code, and law. Much of life is lived in terms of "face" and "front." Externals, notably clothes, manners, automobile, and bank account, are accepted as signs and symbols of a person's inner nature and worth. No one of these traits is uniquely urban, yet as a whole they give to urban personality a measurable distinctiveness.

The Metropolis as a Community.—The metropolis is not always regarded as a community, and for just cause. Its physical size is so vast, its history so little known to inhabitants, its population so diverse and mobile, its problems so far removed from ordinary experience, its achievements so little a matter of common pride, that the average dweller makes no pretense of understanding urban life as an organic whole. He can visualize his own street or neighborhood but not the city. Like his country cousin, he learns about its personalities and activities from the newspaper. He has a vote but no voice in government, a civic duty but no way to perform it intelligently. When he takes thought of the

[1] Murray H. Leiffer, "A Method for Determining Local Urban Community Boundaries," *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 26(1932), 137–144.

situation at all, his mind centers on the points where the urban organism breaks down as a community—its unemployment, sweatshop conditions, organized crime, protected vice, corrupt politics, and festering slums.

And yet the metropolis is a community because it functions as one. It collects taxes and revenues; it makes ordinances and enforces laws. It provides a host of indispensable public utility services. It protects life and property, establishes relief and welfare agencies, provides free public education, and organizes recreational activities for needy children. It zones the city for building purposes, regulates commercial concerns, advertises the area's resources and advantages, and plans for its future expansion. If the concept of community is not to be discarded as outworn, it must be applied to corporate undertakings of this nature.

While the metropolis is not unlike the country village in many of its corporate aims, it differs in basic organization. Its unity does not derive from kin ties or inclusive locality bonds, or from intimacy of social relations or benevolent impulses. It derives from the ceaseless struggle of power units for privilege and advantage. A locality feels certain needs. Issues are publicized, public opinions are created, city council is petitioned or other action is taken. If the cause is not carried, the losers accept results until a new balance of power can be effected.

It is evident that urban development has been too rapid and too diffused for the central city to keep pace with the needs of its many parts. Community organization has not been all-inclusive; it has been multinuclear, *i.e.*, around a great number of subcenters. As estimated by the number of civic groups, their membership and achievements, the city's center and its rim are best organized to secure their objectives. By contrast, the mid-city is lacking in community spirit. The slums are the most unorganized part of the city. Their social problems are greatest, their area consciousness least, and their development most retarded.

Metropolitan Regionalism.—Almost every great city, observes McKenzie, is "regionally conscious." By newspaper, radio, and automobile, it seeks to expand its area of dominance. In the New York "district"—the inner core of the New York region—there were (1930) 272 towns and cities which depended upon the

metropolis for one or more basic services. The picture for the nation today is that of many smaller centers grouped around supercities, like lesser planets around the sun. While much of the mapping now in vogue is done for advertising purposes, the delimiting of these metropolitan areas is a first step toward regional planning.

Possibly the best of several regional maps is the one by McKenzie. In this map (Fig. 5) the heavy lines include all cities and towns in areas which receive one-half or more of their daily newspapers from the metropolis dominating the region.

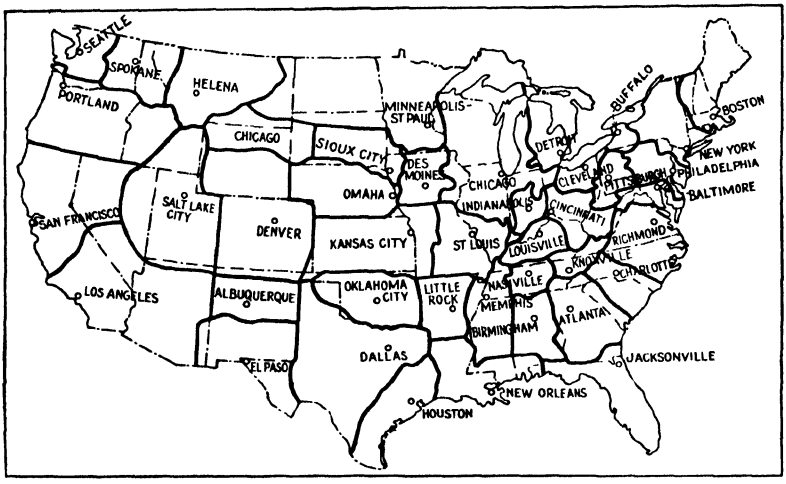

FIG. 5.—Metropolitan regions in the United States as defined by daily newspaper circulation in 1929. (*R. D. McKenzie, Recent Social Trends, p.* 453. *McGraw-Hill*, 1933. *Used by permission of author and publisher.*)

On this basis, the nation is divided into 41 regions. A curious feature of the map is the area lying between Helena and Denver and labeled "Chicago." Either because of its resort character or because of a carry-over from mail-order days, this region receives more copies of the *Chicago Tribune* than of any other paper.

The significance of regionalism lies in the fact that it calls attention to the emergence of a new type of community, the metropolis plus its sphere of influence. This indicates in turn the necessity of large-scale social planning by governmental units, such as the National Resources Board, which are commensurate with the size and complexity of the problems involved.

Educational Problem.—Just as the pretentious and well-kept homes of one urban area fade off into the shabby dwellings of another, so social institutions vary spatially in appearance and efficiency. As a rule, the city's children most in need of good schools, supervised playgrounds, free health clinics, and the like have least access to them.[1] Is it possible to build up in these localities an organization and a morale capable of planning for child needs? What is the school's responsibility in an undertaking of this nature and how should it proceed?

Questions for Discussion

1. In what sense did the Civil War "make" Chicago? Outline the city's history before and after this event.
2. Moving from the "Loop" outward, discuss in turn each of the city's component parts.
3. In what directions does the metropolis grow? Illustrate your answer by reference to Manhattan. What is the situation in other great cities with which you are familiar?
4. What is a natural area? How does it originate? Why are the principal slums of a large city always adjacent to the central business district?
5. Do city people have a different "mind-set" from country people? Describe the urban type of personality and account for its origins.
6. What do you understand by metropolitan regionalism? Indicate its social significance.
7. Have our great cities grown too big? What is your personal view and on what do you base your judgment?

Problems and Projects

1. Prepare a paper describing some large city area or district with which you are familiar.
2. Examine several metropolitan newspapers. What evidences of urban life and problems do you find?
3. Visit some city institution, such as a relief office, police court, Urban League, or social settlement. Report your observations to the class.
4. Distinguish between physical distance and social distance. As the city grows in size, what changes occur in each type of distance? E. S. Bogardus, "Social Distance in the City," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 13(1928), 572–577.
5. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Cultural Areas of Cleveland. Howard Whipple Green, *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 38(1932), 356–367.
   b. Growth of the City. R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *The City*, Chap. II.

[1] H. G. Campbell, "Problems Facing Young People in Urban Centers," *Educ. Rec.*, 16(1935), 288–292.

c. Villagers. Caroline Ware, *Greenwich Village*, Chap. VIII.
d. Slum Clearance. *Social Work Today*, 4(1937), 7–8.

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1. Burgess, E. W.: "The New Community and Its Future," *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 149(1930), 157–164.
2. Cressy, Paul: *The Taxi-dance Hall.*
3. Duddy, Edward A.: *Agriculture in the Chicago Region.*
4. Frazier, E. Franklin: *The Negro Family in Chicago.*
5. Gist, N. P., and L. H. Halbert: *Urban Society*, Chap. XX, "Social Welfare."
6. Johnson, James Weldon: *Black Manhattan.*
7. Kennedy, A. J., and K. Farra: *Social Settlements in New York City.*
8. Kiser, C. V.: *Sea Island to City.*
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13. Merriam, Charles E.: *Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics.*
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15. Park, Robert E., and E. W. Burgess: *The Urban Community.*
16. Thompson, Warren S.: *Population Problems* (2nd ed.), Chap. VIII, "Composition of Population."
17. Wirth, Louis: "Chicago: The Land and the People," *Survey Graphic*, 23(1934), 468–471.
18. Wirth, Louis: *The Ghetto.*
19. Wood, Margaret M.: *The Stranger: A Study in Social Relations*, Chap. IX, "The City."
20. Zorbaugh, Harvey W.: *The Gold Coast and the Slum.*

CHAPTER VI

PLANNING FOR COMMUNITY LIFE

"Viewing the primitive world as a whole," says Wissler, "we see man as a camp dweller. To us, what we call the family seems the elemental social unit, but among primitive peoples the important unit is the camp, or community."[1] One cannot convey in a word the inclusiveness and vitality of this early community. Men acted as individuals, to be sure, yet they lived in integrated wholes. Life routines were synchronized and traditionalized; they were passed along to new generations as a matter of course. Group control was social, not political, for it rested on the spontaneous loyalty of all persons to self-enforcing mores.

That this pattern of life is alien to the America of the present is an evident fact. Nowhere, not even among isolated hill folk, is the locality group so completely integrated. Everywhere, as instanced in preceding pages, communities are in flux. Under the impact of social change, they are more or less disorganized as a normal condition. Coordinated effort, such as it is, derives from deliberate thought and conscious social planning. To object to further planning seems shortsighted; to adapt it more closely to human needs seems imperative. It is fitting, in concluding Part I, to reexamine community life from the standpoint of its disorganization and reorganization.

A. COMMUNITY DISORGANIZATION

Change and Disorganization.—One statement of the relation between social change and community disorganization is implicit in the concept of culture lag.[2] In brief outline, the theory is as follows: Any cultural system consists of two great parts—material traits, such as tools and machines, and immaterial traits, for example social beliefs and conduct codes. While both are changing at an accelerated speed, alterations in material

[1] Clark Wissler, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, 14.

[2] William F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, 200 ff.

culture tend to precede those in immaterial culture.[1] Since one aspect of culture is dependent upon the other, a lag occurs. Cultural maladjustment gives rise to social problems, and these in turn indicate a state or condition of community disorganization.

From the above it follows that a community is organized when it can assimilate new ideas and objects to its mode of life and use them to further its own corporate growth and well-being. It is disorganized when its members cannot agree on a program of action in meeting the problems and crises occasioned by social change. There is a measurable breakdown of area unity as evidenced in the rise of divisive factions within the group, the loss of control over individual conduct, and the general weakening of group morale. As a rule, disorganization is preparatory to reorganization but, in extreme cases, it leads to community decline and ultimate disappearance.

Eno Mills: A Disorganized Community.—Eno Mills, a small town in northeastern Texas, provides an example of a community that has passed from organization to disorganization. As described by Steiner, it indicates no signs of a third stage, that of reorganization, and hence has virtually ceased to exist as a community.[2]

Origins.—About 1840, pioneers from across the border pushed into what was then Mexican territory, took possession of the land, and put it under cultivation. Clusters of two or three families settled together for protection and neighborly contacts. Corn and cotton were grown for the market, but their sale was made difficult because of lack of roads. After the Mexican War, other settlers came in. Those from Southern states brought slaves and ideas of a planter aristocracy. A grist mill was built on Eno Creek for the purpose of grinding corn into meal.

Growth.—As more families settled at the mill, a general store was established. Roads were built to contact the "big towns" 20 to 40 miles away. Shortly stagecoach lines were started, and there was talk of building a church and a school.

At the end of the Civil War there came a new influx of settlers. These newcomers were mainly farmers, and each family took a claim on a hundred-acre tract, cleared the land, hauled logs to the sawmill,

[1] Woodard holds that data are not sufficient to establish this order of precedence as invariable. James W. Woodard, "Critical Notes on the Concept of Cultural Lag," *Soc. Forces*, 12(1934), 388–398.

[2] Jesse Steiner, *The American Community in Action*, 42–64.

and built a home out of the lumber. By 1885, Eno Mills village had perhaps 20 families, a store, and a school. It had relocated some distance from the creek to escape the periodic overflows.

There was community spirit and leadership at this time but no formal organization. Men helped each other in a neighborly way, families visited back and forth, mutual aid was strong, and social relations were highly democratic.

Expansion.—The advent of a railroad in 1887 initiated the period of greatest community expansion. More farm land was brought under cultivation, village population grew to 100, and business establishments included two general stores, a bank, a hardware store, a drugstore, a lumberyard, a livery stable, two blacksmith shops, and several cotton gins. The village had three churches, a school, and a weekly newspaper.

During this period there were many indications of community organization. The men formed a town band, secured a teacher-conductor, and played at local gatherings. The newspaper was viewed as "a real force in community progress." Questions of local interest were discussed at public meetings and courses of action planned. Business concerns cooperated in furthering community projects, and the several lodges stimulated area solidarity.

Disorganization.—From 1912 onward, disorganizing forces have been stronger than integrative forces. One of these influences is the rise of sectarianism. No church is satisfied for long with any pastor, and no pastor has risen above the petty squabbles of his congregation. Churches have attempted to control school affairs, and denominational viewpoints have been injected into many secular undertakings.

A second disruptive influence is the presence of small cliques and personal factions. A third influence is class feeling. The community has been fractured by the rise of a well-to-do set of families who feel themselves above the average. A fourth influence centers around education—"higher education" being favored by some and opposed by others. High school graduates, who find their way to college, seldom return to Eno Mills to live.

A fifth factor, and the most basic, is the economic saturation of the farming area. Due to the custom of "setting up" married sons in farming, the land has been divided and subdivided into uneconomical units. Furthermore, tenant farming has developed and cotton has fluctuated in price, with a tendency toward lower prices. These conditions have caused business failure, higher taxes, and migration. Church attendance has trended downward; lodges and clubs have been weakened. Aside from a baseball team and occasional carnivals, there is little that can be called community activity. There is no young people's organization. The town has an inactive farm bureau, one civic club, and a moribund parent-teacher association.

Eno Mills is one of the 20 studies made by students of their own communities. Though Steiner did not rate these cases as to degree of organization and disorganization, ratings have been made by Queen.[1] While these evaluations are tentative and subjective, they indicate some of the factors making for and against area unity and growth. A community was judged to be well organized if it had "a number" of the following attributes: a well-defined tradition, local pride, teamwork, rivalry kept within reasonable bonds, interest in local affairs, and support of community institutions. Of the 19 small country towns in the above case studies, 4 were judged to be well organized, 2 organized to a moderate degree, and 13 more or less disorganized.

In general, the four strong communities showed a slow rate of social change, marked racial homogeneity, well-defined traditions, considerable local pride, ability to unite in achieving common goals, moderate contacts with the outside world, no serious inner conflict, no marked social stratification, and strong leadership.

Weaker communities were characterized by racial divisions, general apathy and indifference, clashes over common community concerns, personal factions and malicious gossip, economic inelasticity, numerous outside contacts, divided leadership, and considerable personal maladjustment.

Slums as Problem Areas.—Since disorganization implies a preexisting state of organization, urban slums may or may not be disorganized areas. Nevertheless, they are the outstanding problem areas of the metropolitan community. The dollar and cents cost of one small district (six census tracts) in downtown Cleveland is suggestive of conditions elsewhere.

The 5,244 families in this district form only ½ of 1 per cent of Cleveland's population, yet they show 5.5 per cent of the city's jobless and 8 per cent of the families on relief. In 1934, the district was responsible for 21 per cent of the city's murders and 8 per cent of its reported delinquencies. It contained 26 per cent of all known vice centers, produced 10 per cent of all illegitimate births, and 12 per cent of all deaths from tuberculosis.

It accounted for 14 per cent of the total costs of fire protection, 6 per cent of all money spent for police services, and 8 per cent of all public health expenditures.

[1] Stuart A. Queen, W. B. Bodenhafer, and E. B. Harper, *Social Organization and Disorganization*, 211–213.

The direct cost of maintaining the district is $2,000,000 per year, as against a possible income of $225,000. Thus every person in the area is subsidized by the city to the extent of $78.78 annually. An average family of four costs taxpayers over $315 per year.[1]

Studies support the conclusion that slum dwellers, wherever they are found, live in the city's most outmoded buildings, among its castoff institutions, and on its crime-breeding streets. Yet these same people ride in the city's public carriers, patronize its public places, work in its homes, offices, and plants. Thus they affect the health of all persons. They are in need of help—decent housing, a living wage, and opportunities to better themselves.

Disorganization: Factors and Indices.—As in other complex social processes, the factors causing community disorganization are not always visible. Often they must be inferred from indices. Since these symptoms of community disunity are legion in number and variable in nature, any attempt to list them will be incomplete. Table IV suggests the chief types of factors and indices which students have found most useful in studying the organizational status of urban areas.

TABLE IV.—CRITERIA FOR JUDGING COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND DISORGANIZATION

Processes and Factors	Symptoms and Indices
I. Physical Changes	
1. Shifts in land use	Rise or fall in land values
	Building permits and new buildings
	Changes in zoning ordinances
2. Transportation pattern	New roads, streets, rapid transit
	Clock-count of motor vehicles
	Passenger travel: miles, tickets
3. Housing conditions	Properties: nature, upkeep
	Room space per dweller
	Conveniences in homes
II. Population Changes	
1. Increase or decrease	Births and deaths: census data
	Migration: inflow, outflow
2. Composition	Age and sex ratios
	Race and ethnic origins
3. Movement	Periodic shifts: home and room rentals
	Interarea migration: addresses
	Racial invasion and succession

[1] Howard Whipple Green: *A Sheet-a-Week*, 1, No. 52 (Sept. 22, 1934); R. B. Nathan, *An Analysis of a Slum Area*, 88–89.

TABLE IV.—CRITERIA FOR JUDGING COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND DISORGANIZATION.—(*Continued*)

III. Institutional Maladjustment	
1. Economic	Business failures
	Unemployment, strikes
	Persons on relief
2. Familial	Divorce rate, desertion, etc.
	Illegitimacy, sex delinquency, etc.
	Loss of family functions
3. Political	Machine politics, graft
	Law enforcement: police and courts
	Citizen participation: voting
4. Educational	School finance, equipment
	Pupil retardation, truancy, misconduct
	Teachers: number, training, etc.
5. Recreational	Public agencies: number, use
	Commercial agencies: number, use
	Supervised play programs
6. Religious	Churches: membership, attendance
	Church programs, youth and adult
	Public attitudes toward religion
IV. Personality Maladjustment	
1. Individual mobility	Physical: addresses, travel, etc.
	Mental: news reading, moviegoing
	Social: club membership, participation
2. Socioeconomic status	Pauper deaths, infant deaths
	Shifts in occupational levels
	Unemployment, families on relief
3. Antisocial conduct	Adult crime: court records
	Juvenile delinquency: court cases
	Street gangs, vice resorts, etc.
V. Leadership Activities	
1. Promotional groups	Civic groups: number, support
	Group aims and achievements
	Traits of local leaders
2. Intragroup cooperation	Coordinated community activities
	Divisive factors: race, class, sect
	Conflicts: nature, number, effects
3. Outside leadership	Use made of outside resources
	Nonlocal agencies working in area
	Area view toward outside leadership

The relation of mobility to area instability is well known. McKenzie has shown that where mobility is excessive, local area life is highly disorganized.[1] An effective public opinion cannot

[1] R. D. McKenzie, *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio* (1923), 157–159.

exist, traditional codes of conduct are disregarded, and personal behavior is individualized. Many adults disqualify themselves as voters because of changes in residence. Voluntary associations, such as trade-unions, churches, and civic bodies, cannot function because of incessant population movements. Child-caring agencies, especially the schools, find their problems multiplied and their services impaired.

B. TOWARD COMMUNITY REORGANIZATION

Social Planning.—The past lean years have produced a plethora of planning agents and agencies, boards and offices. On every hand are found relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement units. In the main, programs have been made in Washington and imposed as emergency measures on local communities. "Social planning," once heard only among technicians or in academic circles, has become a commonplace. While its meaning is decidedly variable, it usually connotes a program of action. That action ranges from the issuance of food orders to the financial assistance of students, from small make-work projects to reforestation and the construction of hydroelectric dams. It is social more in the sense that thousands share in its fruits rather than that they participate in its initiation. It is definitely experimental, seeking to inject human will and purpose into an apparently chaotic social order.

In essence, social planning is simply cooperative effort in the interest of an assumed public good. It involves three basic processes: the determination of objectives, the development of a program, and the implementation of mass action. Its outstanding quality, as previously stated, is that it seeks to direct the course of change in line with a conception of group welfare.

Area Planning: Dayton.—Local area planning is of course a form of social planning. Its chief distinguishing mark in contrast to regional or national planning is the extent to which area inhabitants share in policy making and program execution. Like other kinds of planning, it may envision short-time or long-time goals; it may deal with the minutiae of individual maladjustment or with the broad aims of locality development.

Dayton, Ohio, provides an example of coordinated local effort. For more than a century the Miami River and its tributaries—two of which flow through the city—have flooded this section of

the state. The worst of all floods occurred in 1913. Between three and four hundred persons were drowned and, in Dayton alone, property damages ran to over $66,000,000. The city's cleanup records are suggestive of the toll taken: 3,420 dead animals removed, 133,600 wagonloads of debris hauled away, 12,131 houses cleaned and disinfected, and 580,000 rations of food and clothing distributed to stricken victims.

In January, 1937, when thousands of people in Cincinnati—an hour's drive away—were shivering in fear and darkness due to flood waters, when two-thirds of Louisville's population were driven from their homes, Dayton rode high above the Miami's overflow. The same heavy rains had fallen on its watershed as in 1913 but at no time was the city in danger. The mastery of the Miami is an instructive account of engineering skill and community action.

Immediately following the 1913 flood, Dayton's civic leaders took steps to "end this threat to our very existence." Meetings were called, committees organized, and deliberations publicized. One citizen urged that $250,000 be raised for the "war against water"; another increased the amount to $2,000,000 and pledged $120,000 himself. Within 60 days, Dayton's 23,000 residents had subscribed approximately a $2,000,000 budget for flood control.

Impressions had gone out that plans of flood control were already perfected and that work could be started at once. This was far from the truth; in fact, no one knew just what to do, for there was virtually no American precedent to follow. Weird schemes were advanced. One idea was to construct a series of paddle wheels to push back the water above Dayton; another was to sink wells in the river bed and open trap doors in times of flood. After a period of uncertainty it was decided to spend all the money if necessary to find out what should be done.

At this stage an engineer was hired. The expert selected was Arthur E. Morgan, a man who had specialized in water control and who was later chairman of the New Deal's TVA program. He was commissioned to study the problem "comprehensively, completely, and conclusively." For months, data were accumulated on local rainfall, topography, river channels, water velocity and dissipation. The flood records and programs of foreign countries were consulted. At last it was decided to build five dams and thus create storage basins, to deepen and alter numerous river channels, and to replace and strengthen the levees.

This, in substance, was the plan as outlined by the engineers. They believed that it would provide flood protection; they did not know in

detail what it would cost or when it could be completed. There remained the tasks of legalizing its execution and of "selling it to the public." There were the farmers, the city dwellers, the industries, the politicians, with their many doubts and interests, hopes and fears. Several counties were involved and at least a half dozen towns and small cities.

As was to be expected, the plan met with strong opposition. It was denounced at county mass meetings, and one editor wrote that "Dayton was willing to ruin any number of farms in order to help herself." Many persons feared that the dams would not be safe, and with great patience the principles used in their construction were explained. Much of the opposition centered around property interests. On the sites of the proposed storage basins were scores of farms, several highways, a railroad, and a village of 1,000 inhabitants. The fight was sharpest in the state legislature and for days the debate waged. Finally, in 1914, the Conservancy Act became a law.

Work on the first dam did not start until 1917, when most persons had forgotten the flood because of the World War. Three years had been spent in assembling experts, labor, and materials, and in securing court rulings as to Conservancy authority.

Not the least of the problems facing the planners in this initial period was the clearance of storage basin areas. For the most part, farms were bought outright. Curiously, many of these were later sold back to their original owners. Only twice have growing crops in the basin areas been seriously damaged by waters, and the periodic silt deposits have enriched the land. Highways and the railroad were relocated; Osborn, the little town, was purchased *in toto*. Its inhabitants bought a tract of land above the flood line, replanned their town, repossessed many of their former homes and rolled them to the new location.

The fifth dam was completed in 1923. Thus it took Dayton ten years to get its present flood protection at a total cost of about $67,000,000. Taxes have been assessed in terms of estimated benefits and at present the indebtedness is more than 60 per cent paid out. While the technical engineering was without precedent at the time, the social engineering is equally impressive. Without the latter, the former could not have taken place.[1]

That flood control was the problem at issue is of incidental importance in this case; the crisis facing the community might have taken any one of many forms. The significant thing is the way in which a recurring threat to area life was met. In addition

[1] Based upon Conservancy District Reports and Neil M. Clark, "Waters No More," *Sat. Eve. Post*, 209(Mar. 27, 1937), 8–9.

to revealing the three basic processes in social planning, the case discloses the technical aspect of modern social problems. It indicates also the role of the expert in policy making, the function of local leadership, and the necessity of winning public support by the persuasive methods common to a democracy.

Community Reorganization.—In view of the present interest in improving community life, it might appear that planning is a product of depression psychology. This is not the case, for coordinated action is as old as human groupings. As a social movement, rather than a general principle, planning gained attention at the time of the World War. It was known as community organization (or reorganization) and as such has accumulated a literature.[1] Its rise has paralleled the breakdown of the old-time community, the self-sufficient in-group of the horse and buggy days. While this type of area unity has all but passed, nigh-dwellers still have many needs in common. They are still motivated by the strongest of impulses—enlightened self-interest.

One question of general interest in community planning is the size of the unit that can be most effectively organized. In rural areas, the small school district often coincides with recognized neighborhood boundaries and hence is favored as a unit of planning. The consolidated school district is rapidly growing in popularity. It has a larger population, a broader economic base, and a more clearly defined status in the law. Farm and home demonstration agents, 4-H club organizers and others have used it to advantage. In New England, the township has been the traditional unit of planning; here and elsewhere the village and its service area have also been used. More recently, especially in the Middle West, the county has been made the major basis of road-building, public health, and New Deal activities.[2]

In urban areas, the organizational unit has varied from the sociological block to the neighborhood, the city as defined by its corporation limits, and the city plus its region. In respect to neighborhood organization, McKenzie concludes that (1) integration is most easily effected where the local area is set apart ecologically from the larger community, (2) area sentiment

[1] W. W. Petit, *Case Studies in Community Organization* (1928); Jesse Steiner, *Community Organization* (1930); Thomas Adams, *Outline of Town and City Planning* (1937).

[2] Paul H. Landis, "The New Deal and Rural Life," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1(1936), 592–603.

thrives best where there are homogeneity and stability of population, (3) the larger the territory and the more numerous the families included the greater the difficulty of maintaining interest in civic affairs, and (4) neighborhood sentiment is seldom of spontaneous growth. In the main, it is created, guided, and sustained by the efforts of a few energetic leaders.

A second question centers on the problem of resolving community conflict. Conflict is of many kinds, such as personal, economic, religious, and racial, and it takes many forms. It is of varying degrees of emotional intensity and community inclusiveness. All in all, it is a symbol of the dynamic society in which we live, a society in which group alignments and institutional clashes are fairly inevitable.

In his analysis of small-town conflict situations, Lindeman gives the impression that social strains and tensions can be solved if only we find the right formula.[1] While his proposals for policy initiation would avoid many of the tangles now marring community life, one additional fact should be noted. Much social conflict today lies below the level of reflective thought and action. It is in the mores, not in the mind, and hence is highly immunized against the impact of new facts. It involves not surface misunderstandings, but incompatible viewpoints and values. The best that can be done is to work out a tentative arrangement which, while accepted by all, is liked by none. The arts of the peacemaker and compromiser, along with the techniques of the conference and the committee, would seem to promise more than the dictatorial policies often pursued by local leaders.

A third question of major importance concerns the organization of community coordinating councils. Instead of a scarcity of promotional groups and social agencies, as in rural communities, the average city of 10,000 or more shows a multiplicity. Where studies have been made of this situation, disagreement in aims, overlapping of services, and interagency conflicts have been discovered. Good municipal housekeeping, as well as the human needs to be met, demands that this condition be remedied. A coordinating council will not in itself effect a cure; it will, however, provide the mechanics for community integration if the groups concerned elect to cooperate.

Role of the School.—That communities, in the original sense of *communis*, have ceased to exist is now apparent. Our mode of

[1] E. C. Lindeman, *Community Conflict.*

life is increasingly urban and industrial, complex and divisive. Aside from regimentation as practiced in certain European countries, there seems but one way of recapturing the solidarity of thought and feeling that makes democracy possible. This is through public education.

"Schools," it is said, "function at the center of a swirl of forces. They could not, if they would, stay aloof from the processes of conflict and change."[1] All of this appears to be true, yet the school's effectiveness as a builder of community morale has not been convincingly demonstrated. Either its inner motivation has been too weak, or outer pressures have been too strong, or else the intricate issues have been too little understood. Whatever the facts, the teacher's task today, as in times past, is to educate young people for a more satisfying kind of social participation. If this is to be done in a creditable manner it will involve the assumption by the school of a greater responsibility for child and adult life than heretofore. It will involve a greater understanding of the community influences shaping the child than is possessed by the average teacher now in service.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is cultural lag? How is it related to community disorganization? When, in your judgment, is a community disorganized?
2. What caused the decline of Eno Mills? Compare its life cycle with the towns reported in Paul H. Landis, "The Life Cycle of the Iron Mining Town," *Soc. Forces*, 13(1934), 245–256.
3. Among the factors and indices of community status as listed in the chapter, which do you think are most indicative of area disorganization? Give reasons for your answer.
4. What do you understand by social planning? Does the Dayton case illustrate its three basic processes? Discuss.
5. Describe a community conflict situation with which you are personally familiar. How could it have been resolved?
6. Does your community need a coordinating council? If so, what persons, groups, and agencies should be included? What should be the role of the school in a project of this nature?

Problems and Projects

1. Prepare a paper rating your own community as to the nature and degree of its organization and disorganization.
2. Imagine a large factory or mill moving into a small town. How could it set going forces destructive of community unity? What would happen if an established plant suddenly moved away?

[1] Glenn Frank, *America's Hour of Decision*, 9.

3. Report to class on the Dale County case (W. W. Petit, *Case Studies in Community Organization*, 89–167). Discuss the needs of this area, the procedures of the organizers, and the resistances met. Why did Miss Curry succeed and Miss Engle fail?
4. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Urban Slums as Problem Areas. R. Clyde White, "Relation of Felonies to Environmental Factors in Indianapolis," *Soc. Forces*, 10(1932), 498–509.
   b. Community Conflict. E. C. Lindeman, *Community Conflict.*
   c. Community Coordinating Council. Harry A. Wann, "Social Planning in a Community," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 9(1936), 494–508; V. E. Dickson, "Coordinated Community Council in Meeting Child Needs," *Elem. Sch. Jour.*, 35(1935), 409–412.

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15. Ryan, F. L.: *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities.*
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17. Wood, Edith E.: "Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States," *Fed. Emer. Rel. Adm., Housing Division, Publ.* 1, Washington, 1935.
18. Znaniecki, F.: "Group Crises Produced by Voluntary Undertakings," in Kimball Young (editor), *Social Attitudes*, 265–289.

PART II
SOCIAL FORCES SHAPING THE CHILD

CHAPTER VII

GROWING UP IN THE COMMUNITY

Children must go to school because the law requires it and schools must take them as they come. How do they come? Consider a teacher's notes on her 7B pupils. Sonya does well in some subjects and poorly in others. She likes romantic fiction and wants to be an actress. Jimmie is a bundle of nerves; his parents are divorced. Angelo's deportment was good until he fell in with a corner gang. Jane, a transfer pupil from the country, is bewildered by urban life. Blackie, oversize and overage, hates school; his tastes run to baseball and the comics. Stella, a colored pupil, is in the group but not of it. Frances, a cripple, makes the highest grades in the room. Other pupils call her the teacher's pet.

Children come to school with years of experience in living, with attitudes and habits already well defined and developed. If teachers are to understand them, they must know their out-of-class life and backgrounds. They must know the social forces playing upon the individual pupil and often making him a school problem. For a first perspective on the process of child personality development, we may study a concrete case. The case is not given as typical, but as suggestive. The boy, Stanley, is a delinquent. For this reason alone he should be of interest, because misconduct has always challenged good teachers and causes poor ones no end of trouble. After analyzing the case, a sociological conception of personality and its making will be outlined.

A. COMING OF AGE: A LIFE HISTORY

Background Data.—Stanley's life is as puzzling as it is dramatic.[1] From the age of 5 or 6 to 17, it reveals a variety of

[1] Adapted from Clifford Shaw, *The Jack-Roller: A Delinquent Boy's Own Story*. University of Chicago Press, 1930. Used by permission of author and publisher.

antisocial activities, ranging from "junking" and truancy to "jack-rolling drunks" and burglary. The boy was arrested some thirty times and thus made the rounds of the state's correctional institutions. While in school, he must have been a difficult problem, though little is written about this part of his life. He was undersize in stature but had no marked physical defects, and he was average or above in intelligence. His home life was marred by persistent conflict and his work record, starting at the age of twelve, shows more than 30 positions. The first seventeen years of his life were spent in two highly disorganized areas in Chicago, and the last five years in an average middle-class neighborhood. Stanley was a prodigious reader, a fact said to account in part for the literary quality of his life story.

The Boy's Own Story.—The boy's own story technique of child study is a fairly spontaneous account by the person of his own life.[1] Its major values are three: it discloses the real world, the effective environment, to which the child responds; it reveals the inner nature of this response, the attitudes and values of the subject; and it presents the flow of experience in a sequential order so that time-trends may be discerned. One act grows out of another, and each gets meaning in terms of a cumulative history. These values are illustrated in Stanley's autobiography.

"To start out in life, everybody has his chances—some good and some very bad. Some are born with fortunes, beautiful homes, good and educated parents; others are born in ignorance, poverty, and crime. In other words, Fate begins to guide our lives even before we are born and continues to do so throughout life. My start was handicapped by a no-good, ignorant, and selfish stepmother, who thought only of herself and her own children."

The boy's mother died when he was four years old and his father remarried a year later. Like the father, the stepmother was of Polish stock; both had come as adult immigrants. Her husband had died and left her with seven children. On marriage to Stanley's father, she brought her family to live at the boy's home, a flat of four basement rooms. The father, while said to be "a good provider," was not affectionate toward any of the children. Soon Stanley came to hate his stepmother with "a burning hatred."

"My father and stepmother began to argue and quarrel about us children. From a quiet woman, she changed into a hell-cat full of

[1] For a general critique of this method of approach, see John Dollard, *Criteria for the Life History* (1935).

venom and spite. The first time she struck me was when I was in my favorite nook behind the stove. She pulled me out and beat me. After many beatings I became more and more afraid. My father gave me no comfort. He spent his time at work, at the saloon, and in bed. Never did he pet or cheer me."

As a consequence of this mistreatment, the boy spent increasing time on the streets. His boon companions were William, a stepbrother, and Tony, a neighborhood gang leader. The latter in particular was "a guy to look up to," brave, daring, and strong. From the gang, Stanley claims to have learned many petty delinquencies, including stealing and sex misconduct. These activities were the grandest kind of play.

"I began to have a great time exploring the neighborhood. This romping and roaming became fascinating . . . because it was freedom and adventure. We played 'Indian' and other games . . . then we gathered cigarette butts along the street and took them to the shed, where we smoked and planned adventures. I was little and young, but I fell in with the older guys. He (William) taught me how to cheat the rag peddler. He also took me to the five and ten cent stores . . . and would direct me to steal from the counter while he waited at the door. I was usually successful, as I was little and inconspicuous. How I loved to do these things! They thrilled me."

Stealing was a common practice in the area and more or less condoned by parents. Often the stepmother sent the boys to the market to steal vegetables or to boxcars to steal merchandise. Youthful thieves admired older ones and patterned on them. With all this excitement, Stanley was not contented. When accused of leading William astray, he ran away from home.

"For the first time in my life I was out of the hole called home. But where would I go? A boy of six years and four months. I didn't lose much time, but went back to our old home in Bridgeport. I met my old chums and told them I was bumming from home. We played together all day, but at night I got afraid and lonesome. I roamed the streets until late at night, and then found a dry spot under a doorstep, where I curled up and slept till morning. Thus I roamed and begged and stole food until four days later, when I was arrested."

Having run away once, other times were easy. In fact, he ran away so often that his father got tired of going to the police station after him. For the most part, the boy went to the West Madison Street district, an area of slum institutions and "human wreckage." "My feelings," he writes, "were to roam without a care." He said that school never appealed to him; it was like "being confined in a prison all day." In school, "I would sit and think of traveling. I always wanted to play hooky." After one of his repeated truancies, he was arrested and

confined in the juvenile detention home. Here he met young delinquents of all kinds and was impressed with their exploits.

"Inside the Detention Home I found a motley crowd of aspiring young crooks. In their minds they had already achieved fame in the world of crime, and proceeded to impress that fact upon the other boys. The whole thing seemed to be a contest . . . to see who was the biggest and bravest crook. The older crooks are gods and stand around telling of their exploits. Much of it is bunk, but they succeed in making the other boys believe it. I listened to the stories and fell into the web myself."

After his release and on the way home, he stopped along West Madison Street and begged money for a movie. Two days later he was arrested for picking food out of restaurant garbage cans. Time and again he is released from the detention home, runs away, and is rearrested.

"Everybody knew me at the Detention Home, and they were always looking for me to come back. They saw that I was hopeless, so they booked me for a hearing. Everybody thought there was something wrong with me. They had my head examined to see if I was 'dummy' and I guess they found I was, for they said I'd have to be committed. I was becoming a dangerous character, for the teachers at school said that I was 'a menace to society.' Now that was strange for I was only a harmless little boy of eight who had a roaming instinct."

At the age of nine, Stanley was sent to a parental school. The "quiet and peaceful" country was a novelty. From the first, however, he resented the school's inflexible discipline. Among the forms of "punishment," he names "muscle grinders, squats and benders" (calisthenics), whipping, deprivation of food, and strenuous labor. Finding no congenial companions, he withdrew into himself, taking pleasure in "childish dreams of the world outside." On the third day, after being paroled home, he left to forage for himself. He slept under a porch along West Madison Street and in the morning was awakened by a policeman. This time commitment was to St. Charles, a state school for problem boys. Stanley was elated. "I was going out on a train ride, and it would be the first one in my life."

From first to last, his attitude toward St. Charles was hostile and resistive. Here again he encountered a great variety of young delinquents. He writes at some length concerning the "criminal code," a chief feature of which was to trust no one and never "to squawk on a pal." Here, too, he developed reading and daydreaming as compensatory adjustments to the "monotony" of institutional life.

"I learned to read books and to dream, and these books took me out of my miserable surroundings into a new world of novelty. I read all of Alger's books, some of them many times, and other books of adventure,

and dreamed of becoming a success in the business world, like Alger's heroes. I wanted a chance to make good, for I had the ambition, but who would monkey with a little mite like me?"

Released on parole, Stanley reentered public school but was unable to settle down to "such monotonous work." Soon he was returned to St. Charles and here he made up his mind that when he got out again he would go "so far away that they'd never find me." This time he was paroled to a farmer.

"The farmer was full of pity for me. He had a nice wife who was very kind, and they took me out to family parties and picnics, gave me extra money and were nice to me in every way. But I began to dream about being in the city with the lights shining around me. The call was inevitable, and I could not fight it off, so I became dreamy and indolent about the work. The farmer bawled me out . . . so I planned to leave."

For weeks after running away he begged and stole, found and lost a number of jobs, went to live with a woman of the streets, and wound up in the same school for boys. On release this time, he had "a little ambition to make good but expected some help." On arriving home, he was told that his father had died, news which he received without comment. After supper on the first day, William introduced him to the gang as a boy who had "done time three times." "They made a place for me immediately," writes Stanley, "and I told them about my experiences."

The next morning he found a job at a spring factory where he worked for five days. "I was fired for smoking in the toilet, but I hated the work anyway." Another position was lost for "joking and fooling around." With $12 in his pocket, he planned to run away for good. "Feeling great, I spent my money right and left."

After another trip to St. Charles, the parole officer found him a job in an engraving company. This is the most romantic part of the boy's varied career. The company's vice-president took a personal interest in him, bought him clothing, took him into his own home, and intended to adopt him as a son.

"The first day at the foster home was like a sweet dream. The new luxury seemed to dazzle and blind me. My new father rode with me to work every morning and home in the evening. We had nice lunches together at noon. He talked nice to me, gave me spending money and good clothes. But I missed the old pals and the gay life we had lived. Here I did not have any boy chums, but had to spend my time playing the victrola. My foster parents didn't have much life, but spent their time reading and playing a tame game of cards. They had lots of company of snobbish people and they looked down on me. My adventurous spirit rebelled against this dry life and it soon won out."

The break came one day when Stanley bought a punch on a punchboard. The president of the company saw him and asked him not to gamble. The boy promised and then, as soon as the official had gone, bought the whole board. He sold all the punches and, with $20 in his pocket, he "debated temptation and right." "Temptation won without a struggle."

Accompanied by two chums, Stanley boarded a freight for New York. He was arrested in Michigan for "bumming." After returning to West Madison Street, he organized a "United Quartet Association" for "jack-rolling bums" and burglarizing homes. Encouraged by a number of successes, the gang grew more reckless. The inevitable happened, and Stanley was sent to the state reformatory at Pontiac. Here his "education in crime was continued by experts." Being a "punk," he failed to rate with older immates and hence resolved "to do a real job next time." On release, he went to live with a half sister in a better neighborhood than the one he had been accustomed to. The boys of his own age in this area were problems to him. He could not adjust to them by his usual techniques, for they lived in a different world.

"These fellows were all working and doing well. They knew that I had served time. I overheard their remarks and they peeved me. Many times I got into brawls on that account. I tried to mix with them and spent my money lavishly. I was ignorant of their ways, and they looked down upon me. What could I do? I couldn't fight the whole bunch at one time and that was the only way one could fight them."

Job after job turns out to be "humdrum," or else "some person tried to tell me what to do." Disgusted with life, the boy drifted to Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he struck up a friendship with a girl of his own age (sixteen). On the return of her steady beau, the two boys fought and Stanley came off a poor second best. Again "disgusted," he beat his way back to Chicago—promising Ruth he would write, a promise that was never kept.

His regular "rackets" soon brought a sentence to city prison. "I planned to be more careful next time," wrote Stanley, but "Fate" had something new in store for him. Feeling "broken and confused," he decided to drop in and see Clifford Shaw who had talked with him in city prison.

"I arrived at my destination . . . rang the bell and was admitted. Mr. Shaw greeted me pleasantly. I started to apologize for my coming and my rags, but he interrupted by saying: 'Forget it, sit down and make yourself comfortable.' He was very happy that I had come, and said that he would get me a job and a new home. He already had a new set of clothes for me, which I put on immediately. That made me feel much more respectable. Mr. Shaw's friend came in, and we sat around talking that entire afternoon. I got to telling about my experiences and

they showed great interest. We all went out to dinner and spent the evening together."

Shaw found Stanley a job and a home as promised. Moreover, the boy was encouraged to write his life history, a major step in his reformation. The home in which he was placed "radiated warmth and comfort." Mrs. Smith was "a pleasing personality," her son was "not a tough guy but a gentleman," and the two daughters were "refined and intelligent." The boy's reactions to these influences are apparent.

"When I went up to my room that night my mind was flooded with feelings and emotions. I compared myself with Mrs. Smith and her children and saw the awful contrast. They took me at my face value and treated me as if I were an honest young man. The whole thing seemed strange and beyond my comprehension. I pictured myself in a good job with nice clothes and able to act like respectable people."

The new neighborhood struck him as "in utter contrast to the back of the yards," and the new life had many appealing features. Yet he longed for, and at times lapsed back into, the old life. The curious thing is that these lapses were never complete.

"At times when I would feel blue, I would often go to the West Side, to see my half sister and to be with the gang. But I compared this neighborhood of squalor and filth with the beauty where I lived and saw the difference and was disgusted to think that I felt drawn to the West Side. Yet my pals held lures over me. I felt close to them, yet I was beginning to think myself above them. As I began to think myself above them, I began to break away from them. They noticed the change and told me that I was getting stuck-up, and that pleased me more than anything else."

Little by little the boy adjusted himself to the new conditions. All his problems and doubts were told directly to Mrs. Smith and Mr. Shaw. Neither ever upbraided him but told him that, with more education, he could fit completely into the new life. Despite marked progress, the loss of his job sent him back to West Madison Street pals.

"I did not worry about my dismissal. Going out of the building with my pay check, I walked on air. I had money in my pockets and I was free. I went to a baseball game, to movie houses, and idled my time away. Working for a living is similar to jail in one sense, and that is the monotony of working at something which is not interesting."

Evenings were spent in petty gambling and days in search of work. Job after job was found and lost in much the same way. One instance is typical. After working for a few weeks in a mail-order house, he was dismissed for refusing to take orders from a check girl. In his words, "I simply told her where to get off at." Not until he began caring for experimental animals at a hospital did he find a job to his

liking. "No more was work monotonous." He respected the young interns and he liked the nurses. More than ever before, he saw the need for an education.

"Mr. Shaw had talked to me many times about getting more education. When I started to work at the hospital and associated with well-trained people, I saw the value of education. I enrolled in evening classes, and began to complete my high school education. I liked school. I was learning things and doing things that I liked to do, and by going to school I solved my greatest problem, gambling."

This new point of view was further fixed by his contacts with a girl whom he later married. Wanting to look well in her eyes, he began to pattern after the conventional social types at the hospital and outside. One example is illustrative.

"In the morning going to work, I would board the elevated. Sitting in the car, I would try to imitate some of the big businessmen by scanning a morning paper hurriedly . . . and putting on an air of reserved dignity. I felt like somebody and wanted to act like one."

While Stanley had moved a long way toward the conventional mode of life, the battle was not yet won. An attendant at the hospital was offended by the boy, a fight ensued, and Stanley was discharged. There followed in quick succession a number of jobs but none bring to light anything new in his occupational history. At last, and in a tentative manner, Shaw talked to him about salesmanship. He said, writes Stanley, "that he felt that I was especially qualified for this type of work." On his very first trial, the young man found the work "the most fascinating" he had even done. It challenged his best abilities and at no time was his moderate success in doubt.

Four years after his last term in city prison, he writes about his home and his work.

"I am now settled in the warmth and congenial atmosphere of my own home with my wife and child. For once in my life I have something worth while to work for. I want my child to have all the advantages denied me. Already I have taken out a life insurance policy which will mature when he is old enough for college. Nothing in the world could now take the place of my wife and child in my life, as they mean everything to me.

"Salesmanship is hard work, but I've learned to like it. It pays well and it puts a fellow on his mettle. You have to know how to meet different types of people in an easy and diplomatic way. I get a big kick out of putting over a deal on a customer, especially a stubborn customer. I have not gone back to the stockyards for almost two years. I want to forget the people over there."

Case Analysis.—Thrilled by the developments in this case, we would agree offhand that a remarkable change has taken place,

and yet our meaning might be far from clear. Where has change occurred? What influences account for it? How basic and permanent is it? These are difficult questions. They involve one's personal opinion and they must be formulated in ignorance of the boy's first four or five years of life. That is, we must begin where the record starts and hence have no knowledge of the conditioning influences at work during the early formative period. Thus no answer can be conclusive, yet a recanvassing of the facts will throw some light on each question.

Stanley came from an immigrant family and from a conflict home. "Home conditions very bad," wrote one of the court workers when the boy was eight years of age, "and boy should be placed in new situation." No one knows what would have happened if this recommendation had been followed. As it was, Stanley was badly maladjusted in his home environment. His covert response was to develop attitudes of fear and hatred; his overt response was to run away. It is evident that these responses were carried over into all other aspects of life.

To the boy, school was dull and meaningless. It was confinement when he dreamed of "roaming." It meant work, and all work was "monotonous." Though "very bright, rather ahead of his age," he was probably incorrigible in class. Thus the school, like the home, was a hostile environment, and his behavior reaction was to run away. So far as the record shows, no teacher tried to understand him and to deal with his problems. One did call him a "menace to society," which in a sense he was, but merely calling names only intensified his maladjustment. Later in life, his attitude toward education underwent a complete transformation, yet no school had any part in causing this change in point of view.

A prevalent idea is that child corrective institutions are in reality schools of crime. Without generalizing on the matter, it is evident that they served this purpose in Stanley's experience. Step by step, we see him assimilating the criminal code—the attitudes and habits of the criminal underworld—and after each incarceration he looks forward to a career of bigger and better crimes. Under more favorable circumstances, parole officers have been instrumental in the remaking of incipient criminals, but no such result is evident here.[1] Pontiac in particular pro-

[1] *Cf.* Hickman Powell, "Enemy of Society," *Probation*, 15(1937), 33–35.

vided Stanley with what he most avidly sought, petty gangsters after whom to pattern.

Until Stanley established his own home, he lived in three distinctive areas of Chicago. Area *A*, known as the stockyard district, and area *B*, a roominghouse district west of the Loop, are regions of extreme social disorganization. They were similar to, though not so bad as, West Madison Street. Area *C*, where his half sister lived, was a region of middle-class homes. Stanley's change in personality coincides with his change in habitat from *A* and *B* to *C*.

This change is worthy of careful analysis. It is more than a shift in physical habitat; it is an alteration in social worlds. A basic principle of Stanley's life is his tendency to pattern on associates. Where other children might have discounted the gangland culture of areas *A* and *B*, he absorbed it. Time and again the pull of these areas is evident; for example, when Stanley runs away from the farm or when he rebels agains the "dry life" of the vice-president's home. In area *C* the boy makes contact with a new social milieu. Young men work steadily at honest labor; they talk, dress, and behave according to conventional standards. The fact of "having done time three times" won Stanley status in the first two areas; it caused him to be looked down upon in area *C*. He resorts to the only adjustment techniques that he knows, spending his money lavishly and fighting, but both fail to win him prestige. Meantime he has met Mr. Shaw and Mrs. Smith and fallen in love with a girl much above him in social status. These forces motivate him to achieve a conventional mode of life, yet his progress is marked by frequent backslidings into the criminal activities of areas *A* and *B*. A reasonable inference is that the major cause of his maladjustment has not been discovered.

This maladjustment was vocational in nature. Ever sensitive about his personal appearance and of a most friendly nature, Stanley had no trouble in getting a job, yet he could not hold one. Each position proved monotonous and distasteful, and shortly he was discharged. The work at the hospital was exciting, which is noteworthy, and yet the position was lost. A rechecking of these job failures as reported in the original study will disclose a significant fact. The boy would not, or could not, take orders. "The farmer bawled me out, so I planned to leave," or "I hated

to have a girl give me orders and I simply told her where to get off at." This resentment of authority is a consistent feature of Stanley's life. It was expressed in the home situation, in the schools, and in the correctional institutions.

At what type of work could a boy of Stanley's personality succeed? Shaw's happy guess was salesmanship of the house-to-house canvassing type. Obviously it ran with the grain of the boy's nature. It capitalized his pleasing qualities, gave vent to his self-assertive tendency, and made him to some extent his own boss. Stanley found it "fascinating" from the very first. Undoubtedly his successful vocational placement laid the foundation for his new conception of self and for his normal personal and family life.

Of incidental interest are his reading habits. While he was an avid reader, his reading was confined to books of the Alger, Curwood, and Zane Grey type. What are the effects of such literature on a youngster of Stanley's nature? Perhaps no one knows. To hazard a guess, it whetted his appetite for roaming and daydreaming, it distorted real life by making success too easy as in the Alger tales, and it may have contributed toward his persecution complex.

Aside from his resentment of authority, Stanley's most dominant attitudes were those of self-pity, injustice, and distrust of other persons. Lacking insight into his own nature, he could not understand the play of social forces upon him. For example, on page after page of his own story he views himself as the victim of malevolent forces over which he has no control. What the boy never saw was that his life was not unlike a game of chess in which he was beaten, not by an opponent's moves, but by his own. He could not face the fact of self-responsibility.

The boy's strong self-assertive tendency, plus related traits, marks the egocentric personality type. Presumably this integration of traits, like any other pattern, was formed in early infancy under the pressure of environmental influences. Alterations occurred only in the outer expressions of personality. That is, the same resistive impulses which had led Stanley to do battle with his stepmother, with teachers and police officers, were redirected toward overcoming sales resistance. "I get a great kick out of putting over a deal on a customer," wrote the boy, "especially a stubborn customer." The difference in Stanley's

combativeness is social and not organic; society approves the tactics of a salesman whereas it condemns those of a person who resists conventions and authority.

In summary, the change in Stanley has been an alteration in the outer aspects of personality rather than in its inner core. Whether a more thorough reconditioning could have produced changes of the latter type is a moot question. Furthermore, there is no assurance of the permanency of the change, and in this respect the case differs only in degree from changes in the personality of any person. Among the many influences which led to Stanley's reformation, the work of the persons whom he contacted toward the end of his recorded life experience is outstanding.

B. PERSONALITY: ITS MAKING AND UNMAKING

Personality Defined.—Like other abstractions, personality has been defined in many ways. In sociological usage it connotes the sum and integration of all those traits which affect a person's relation to and with other individuals. Trait is used in an inclusive sense to designate the totality of human qualities and attributes, and integration refers to their organization into functional patterns.[1] Theorists differ as to the nature of the integrative process, yet there is general agreement that personality results from the impact of experience and education on the inborn capacities and equipment of the child. Disintegration connotes the opposite process—the disorganization of personality. An individual can no longer act as a "unified whole." Ambivalent impulses cannot be harmonized; conflicts and tensions remain unsolved.

A somewhat simplied view of personality and its organization is presented in Chart 2. As an entity existing at a moment of time, personality may be diagrammed as a number of traits. Conversely, the world in which the person lives may be represented in terms of its aspects. As a process, personality is ever changing, and these changes are designated as organization and disorganization. Paralleling these changes in the person are changes in his

[1] It is recognized that social psychologists are not agreed on either the nature or the number of personality "elements," and that the use of the concept of trait in an inclusive sense to designate this totality is contrary to the several specific meanings given to the term. For a review of attempts to resolve personality into its component parts, see Ellsworth Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature* (1937), Chap. XV, "Of Psychological Elements."

world—world expansion and world collapse. Finally, as set forth in the chart, personality and personal world rest on the twin bases of original nature and preexisting culture. Each of these concepts may be given further definition and illustration.

Personality Traits.—For present purposes, three major classes of personality traits may be recognized. The first class, physical and physiological, comprises the structural facts linked with race, age, sex, bodily form, facial features, etc., and the functional facts

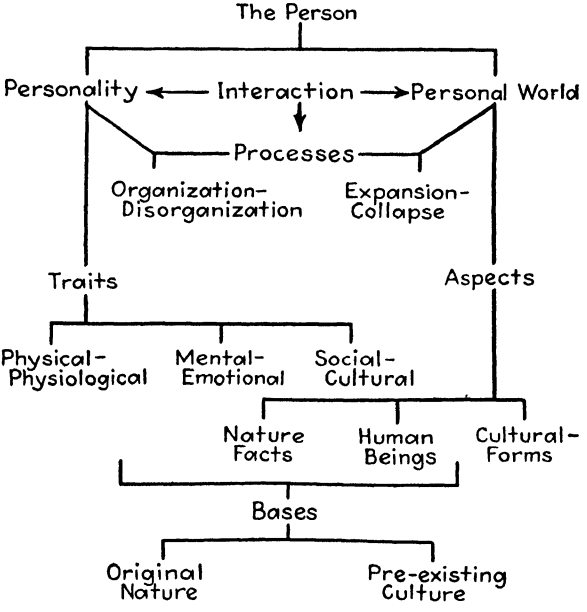

CHART 2. Personality, personal world, and interactional processes.

associated with glandular reactions and basal metabolism. The second class, mental and emotional, groups together such traits as intelligence, emotional states, and feeling tones. The third class consists of social and cultural characteristics, chiefly attitudes, values, and habits.

Each of these general divisions contains many specific traits and each trait affects a person's relations to and with other persons. To list even the outstanding traits which affect one's role and status in any of his groups—for example, a boy's position in a delinquent gang—would be a considerable task. One thinks of stature, muscular ability, a knowledge of the gang habitat,

skill in eluding pursuit, in-group loyalty, and attitudes toward adult authority.

Of particular importance in an understanding of personality is the constellation of ideas and attitudes which Cooley has called "the looking glass self."[1] This is the self as reflected in the attitudes and behavior of others; it is one's reaction to the imagined reactions of others. A crippled child feels that his handicap causes him to be pitied and helped, tolerated and perhaps avoided, disliked and mistreated. He becomes conscious of himself as defined by others and this awareness is instrumental in determining his philosophy of life and social participation.

Organization-Disorganization.—The newborn infant is almost a pulp from the standpoint of posture control. At birth he can grasp a rod; after a year he can walk, and at two years he can run. By the age of six he can play ball and may try to ride a bicycle. Physical maturation is paralleled by socialization. The birth cry, scant in social significance, marks the low level of language. In two years communication of meanings rises to the level of sentences and in six years to syntactic speech. By another six years the child has passed through a succession of primary groups. Nor is his socialization limited to direct contacts; he participates vicariously in historical and fictional situations as found in reading materials, motion pictures, and radio broadcasts. As his experiential world enlarges, his memories, attitudes, and habit patterns grow in number and change in character. Step by step he is transformed by society from a human animal into a social being.

Personality organization is the outcome of these life experiences. It is an ongoing process of integrating new learnings and old learnings into satisfying and consistent patterns of living. It is inclusive of all functional aspects of personality—skills, ideas, ideals, memories, wishes, and conceptions of self. It is facilitated by the carry-over of past learnings, by the sloughing off of beliefs and response patterns which will not work in new situations, and by the ability and willingness to perceive and correct contradictions and maladjustments in behavior. Integration may take place at the level of consciousness, as when we thoughtfully discard or modify a point of view. As a rule, however, it is unintentional and unnoticed.

[1] Charles H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, 183–185.

Preadolescent children are notably unorganized in personality. Adolescence itself is an age of divided personality. The youth is awkward in physical movements, unstable in emotions, and confused in ideas and beliefs. With increasing age, muscular coordination becomes more certain, habits and imagery more firmly fixed, and social roles less varied. When behavior shows a basic consistency, we infer that "an effective unity" of personality elements has been achieved. Added age tends to produce greater consistency, and old age normally brings tenacity of beliefs and rigidity of habits.

From time to time in the growing-up process, a person may feel himself unable to make a satisfactory adjustment to the world about him. He may be incapable of solving some personal problem or of meeting some crisis in his life. To the extent that he feels blocked and frustrated and worries over his faults and failures, he becomes a problem to himself. He is, for the moment, a disorganized personality. Normally disorganization is partial and transitory; it is preparatory to reorganization. Where mental conflicts cannot be resolved, disorganization produces complexes, psychoses, and insanities.

Personal World: Expansion and Collapse.—Successive phases in personality development are marked by the emergence of new personal worlds. The latter concept refers to the effective environment in which an individual lives, the inclusive universe to which he responds. This environment consists of nature facts, human beings, and cultural forms and objects. The first is illustrated by the elements of the physical world—land, climate, the sky, etc., and by plants and animals. The second comprises other persons as known in, and defined through, person-to-person interaction. The third includes the body of heritages to which the individual is heir—the beliefs, practices, institutions, and material objects of the group.

From the present standpoint, the coming-of-age process is that of world expansion. Step by step, the child learns the names and content of natural phenomena, the nature and uses of other persons, the forms and functions of customs and traditions. These learnings can be traced by noting the child's expanding concepts in any of these areas, for example, his changing definitions of the wind, death, God, self, truthfulness, and roles of family members. A change of residence, as from a rural to an

urban milieu or from a home situation to college, brings a new world to be mastered.

World expansion implies the possibility of world collapse. Old norms of living lose their meaning, old friends are revalued, old relationships become untenable. Once familiar habitats appear to be different for commonplace objects are given new, perhaps repellent, connotations. Adolescence provides many instances of world collapse, yet the resultant psychological shock is seldom as severe and prolonged as in adult life. An example of the latter is found in the readjustment problems of adults following divorce, bereavement, or financial loss.

Bases of Personality.—As outlined in the preceding chart, personality rests on the twin bases of an original nature and a preexisting culture.

Original nature connotes the sum of an individual's biological inheritance. Usually it is defined as the child's nature at birth and consists of those bodily characteristics, behavior patterns, emotional tendencies, and intellectual capacities which appear to be inborn and unlearned. From a more critical point of view, original nature can exist only at a moment of time, the instant of conception, for after that the embryo is influenced by a prenatal environment. So defined, original nature can consist of nothing more than a unique set of potentialities.

Culture has already been defined. The error most frequently made in student usage of the concept is to make it synonymous with refinement, appreciation, and skill in the so-called finer arts of life. Viewed as a mode of life, culture is the heritage of all human groups. All peoples possess socially acquired and socially transmitted belief systems, behavior patterns, forms of association, norms of conduct, and material objects.

All persons do not share alike in a cultural heritage, and this fact has been made the criterion for a novel classification of cultural elements.[1] First are the "universals," the aspects of a cultural system in which virtually all sane adults participate. Examples are language, modes of dress, and ideal values such as a religion. Next are the "specialties," the aspects which are particularized for segments of the population. Illustrations are the manual skills of specific craft groups, the technical knowledge

[1] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (1936), Chap. XVI, "Participation in Culture."

of a learned profession, and the ideology of a social movement. Lastly, there are the "alternatives," the more or less optional ways of doing the same thing. This category is exemplified in our present competing methods of travel. Admittedly this classification is more appropriate for stable and homogeneous societies than for their opposite.

A significant fact about culture is that it precedes the individual. It is imposed upon the newborn child from out of a timeless past. It appears to him in the guise of nature; it is natural for him to act, feel, and think as associates do. Thus culture shapes the child when he is young and plastic, and is often confused with original nature inheritance. Identical twins reared apart provide the best known situation for disentangling these two sets of forces. Although research to date is not conclusive, significant personality differences are shown to be the result of environmental conditioning.[1]

Differential Response.—While groups shape the child, it should be kept in mind that he is an active agent in his own acculturation. From the outset he is a dynamic, outreaching organism with a tendency to live and to grow. As experience broadens, goals and purposes develop, intelligence increases, and responses to stimuli grow more selected. Now he accepts, now he rejects, depending upon his needs, wishes, inhibitions, and controls. Where Stanley assimilated gangland culture, another boy in the same type of area rejected it.[2] Differential responses of this nature are a common occurrence and can be understood only in terms of the effective environment. One may live in an area in a physical sense and yet pattern his conduct on an entirely different set of models, a set of models found in some other social world.

School Responsibility.—In succeeding chapters we shall study a representative variety of the social forces shaping child personality. Time and again questions will arise concerning the school's responsibility in dealing with conditions and associations which affect child life and learning. Genuine differences of opinion exist and should be frankly recognized. From the present

[1] H. H. Neuman, "Mental and Physical Traits of Identical Twins Reared Apart," *Sci. Mon.*, 34(1932), 169–171; Frank N. Freeman, "Heredity and Environment in Light of the Study of Identical Twins," *Sci. Mon.*, 49(1937), 13–19.

[2] Walter C. Reckless, "Suggestions for Studying Problem Children," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 2(1928), 158–159.

point of view, the basic aim of education is child guidance and adjustment. Schools exist as service institutions for the whole child, and if their work is to be most effective it cannot be limited to the classroom. It must extend to the type of experiences canvassed in the Stanley case.

If this point of view is accepted, the value of a school to its community may be roughly gauged by the nature of its work along four closely related lines.

Furthering the child's curricular progress is, and has been, the school's outstanding service. This involves assisting the child in a mastery of tool subjects, in gaining an insight into the nature of self and of the world, and in the development of critical judgment and artistic appreciation. The school has the obligation of eliminating so far as possible any factor or condition which interferes with the attainment of these objectives.

Diagnostic service is called for if the pupil is known to be maladjusted but the causes remain unknown. Teachers are not specialists in personality problems, yet they can be taught to detect the more obvious kinds of child handicaps and difficulties. They can be encouraged in the making of controlled observations of pupils, the use of tests and questionnaires, the collection of guided life histories, and the keeping of cumulative case records.

Reference service is indicated when the school should assume the initiative in bringing a child to the attention of a specialist, a clinic, a family welfare bureau, or any other community agency. Presumably the school has neither the equipment nor the technical knowledge to give treatment, but it can initiate the treatment process and cooperate in its progress.

Consultative service is needed when parents, court officers, social workers, or others seek information and advice from the school concerning child conduct and behavior problems.

Many progressive schools are now performing these services as a matter of routine and with varying degrees of efficiency. Other schools recognize the need for social service work of this nature and would organize it were it not for heavy teaching loads and the press of classroom duties. Until, and unless, a community can be educated to the view that these services are of greater social worth than many tasks which now take the teacher's time, there is no reason to anticipate basic changes in the school's program.

Questions for Discussion

1. List the various influences which affected Stanley's personality. Comment on the nature of each influence and on the boy's covert and overt reaction to it.
2. Formulate a definition of personality. Does the chart in the chapter give a reasonably accurate picture of its nature and development? Give evidence for your point of view.
3. Distinguish between an organized and a disorganized personality. Relate these concepts to one's personal world. Illustrate your answers by observations and experiences.
4. What child guidance services should an average grade or high school in a community the size of Middletown be expected to provide? Were these services attempted in any public school you attended?
5. If we are to understand the child's out-of-class life, what specific child-shaping influences should be studied?

Problems and Projects

1. Prepare a paper describing the development of your own personality. At times, have you felt disorganized? Include these incidents, and your adjustments, in your paper.
2. Lead a class discussion on the items to be included in a comprehensive case study of a child. See Elsie M. Smithies, *Case Studies of Normal Adolescent Girls;* Clifford R. Shaw, "Case Study Method," *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 21(1927), 149–157; Pauline Young, *Interviewing in Social Work*, Chap. VI, "Content of the Interview."
3. Make as complete a case study as possible of either an average or an atypical child. Summarize your findings for the class.
4. Does your college maintain a student personnel or guidance service? If so, invite a representative to discuss the work of the bureau.
5. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Nature-Nurture and Identical Twins. H. H. Neuman, in *Sci. Mon.*, 34(1932), 169–171; F. N. Freeman, *Sci. Mon.*, 44(1937), 13–19.
   b. Personality and Culture. James S. Plant, *Personality and the Culture Pattern* (1937), Chap. II, "The Personality-Culture Balance"; Ellsworth Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature* (1937), Chap. III, "The Subjective Aspect of Culture."
   c. Personality Disorganization. R. T. LaPiere and P. R. Farnsworth, *Social Psychology*, Chaps. XIV and XV; S. A. Queen, W. H. Bodenhafer, and E. B. Harper, *Social Organization and Disorganization*, Chap. XV.
   d. Community Influences Shaping the Child. F. M. Thrasher, "Social Backgrounds and Informal Education," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 7(1934), 470–478; H. S. Dimrock, "The Social World of the Adolescent," *Child Dev.*, 6(1935), 285–302.

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CHAPTER VIII

FAMILY LIFE AND THE CHILD

The home is of primary importance in child life. It is first in time as a child world and it is the "twig bender" par excellence. That its influences carry over into the school is a well-known fact. And yet few teachers have an intimate knowledge of family backgrounds. Aside from chance contacts or conferences with parents, often with irate parents, and an occasional home visit, the pupil's family situation remains a kind of vaguely imagined quantity.

Teachers cannot understand young people unless they have some knowledge of their home life. From what kinds of families do children come? What are the effects of homes on personality? How do they advance or impede the learner's school progress? What is a "bad home" and what can the school do about it? While these are the basic questions for study, a first need is for perspective on the family institution itself. It is not the same as it was nor can it remain as it is. What are the great trends of change in family life and what do they portend for the future?

A. THE CHANGING FAMILY

The Traditional Farm Family.—Over the greater part of our historic past we have been predominantly a rural people. In 1870, for example, well over one-half of our population lived in the country; in 1930, almost three-fifths lived in urban centers. Thus our traditional family type has been the farm household. To a generation unfamiliar with agrarian economy, the nature of this now disappearing familial form is known only by hearsay. As a type, this family was large in size, stable in structure, patriarchal in organization, self-sufficient in its life, closely attuned to nature in the rhythm of its activities, and tightly wedged into a pervasive neighborhood culture. Many of these traits are suggested in an account of a lower middle-class Tennessee family.[1]

[1] Based upon Andrew T. Lytle, "The Hind Tit," in *I'll Take My Stand*, 201–245. Used by permission of Harper and Brothers, publishers.

The house is a small ell-shaped frame structure of four or five rooms with a hallway through the center and with porches front and rear. A brick walk runs from the porch to a horse block, and from the block a road lined by tall cedars goes out to the pike. The trees in the yard are whitewashed around the base and the grass is kept grazed down by sheep. Over the front doorway is a horseshoe, turned to bring good luck to all who pass beneath its lintel.

A large rock fireplace is the center of the main room. Homemade hickory chairs are gathered about it, and to the left of the arc is a hand-made rocker reserved always for "mammy," the leathery mother of the farmer. Here she sits and rocks and smokes dry-leaf tobacco. A pair of andirons rest on the hearth and a quilting frame is drawn up to the ceiling. Rag rugs cover the pine board floor.

This is the heart of the house, but the kitchen is its busiest part. Here all the meals are prepared and all the food necessary for the winter is canned and preserved. Cooking itself is a complicated art. The fire must be kept at the right temperature, and without an oven regulator, or the bread won't rise; too much or too little seasoning will ruin any dish. These things are learned only through experience.

The kitchen leads out to the back porch. On its railing or upon a washtable are a bucket of water and a gourd, a tin basin, soap, and towel. The towel rack may hold long strings of red peppers drying in the air. A bell post rises up near by, and beyond are the smokehouse and several outhouses. Iron kettles tilt to one side in the ashes of an old fire, and an ash hopper lies up against the buggy house. Like other items of material culture, it has fallen into disuse, lye for soap and hominy making now being bought in town. Close to the kitchen is the woodpile of different size sticks—some for the stove, some for the fireplace. The wood has been cut in the early fall, just as the sap started downward, so that the outer surface will be dry while the inside will be sappy and burn slowly.

On an average day, the farmer gets up at daylight or before, makes the fires, and rings the rising bell. Each family member starts his day's work, according to the season and his place in the scheme of things. The farmer and his sons go to the barn; the wife and a daughter or two start breakfast, and another daughter sets out with the milk pails. Breakfast is a full-size meal—fried potatoes, bacon and eggs, hot bread of some kind, and coffee.

Without undue haste, the men go to the field and the women about their dishes. If it is spring, the women can be of help in the garden. Very likely cutworms will be after the young corn, and cutworms do not like the heat. If someone gets into the garden before the sun gets hot, the worm can be found under a clod near the top of the soil. Like the multitude of pests with which the farmer must contend, the cutworm

has the distinction of its ways. One must learn the habits of each "varmit" in order to combat destructiveness.

Before going to the fields, the farmer consults the signs. If smoke from the chimney is blown to the ground, there will be rain. Lightning in the North early in the evening means rain before morning. If there is enough blue in the sky to make the Dutchman a pair of breeches, the weather will be fair. If the moon lies on its back, it is holding water, and so on for many other signs and omens. These are folk attempts to predict natural phenomena, and according to them the work for the day will be hard or leisurely.

At eleven o'clock the dinner bell rings. Plowmen take out and come to the house. Teams are watered, put into their stalls, and fed. Like all meals in the country, the midday meal has a good deal of form. To be late is a grave matter, since it is not served until everyone is present. Family members are unhurried; they are together with their experiences to relate. Dishes are relished, not only because of the appetite which comes from outdoor labor, but because each offering of food has a history. Somebody planted the beans and worked them. Somebody staked them and watched them grow, felt anxious during drought and gave silent thanks for rain. Townsmen cannot understand these matters. The worst that rain can do for them is to slow down the speed of travel by making the paved roads slippery.

After the noon meal is over, the family takes a rest. Then the men go back to the fields and the women to those things yet to be done—canning, preserving, house cleaning, washing, ironing, mending, and knitting. By sundown all persons are gathered about the supper table, and afterward they sit before the fire if it is cool or on the porch in warm weather. One of the boys will get out his guitar and play ballads handed down from the past. Neighboring young people will drop in and, if the gathering is large enough as it will be after the crops are laid by, it will turn into a play party.

Many of the games are adaptations of old English folk games. For example, the "Hog Drovers" is a version of the English "Three Sailors." Being inland, Tennessee people could only speculate on the habits of sailors, but they knew about hog drovers for the driving of "razorbacks" to Eastern markets was once a common sight. Drovers stopped at farms along the route and, being nomadic and careless like sailors, they could not be made to keep their promises. Parents, therefore, were careful about their daughters.

The game comes from this phase of local life. A boy seats himself on a chair in the center of the room with a girl on his lap. He is the head of the house and she is his daughter. Other girls are seated around the walls, waiting their turn. The boys enter two abreast, jig around the room, and sing stanzas of the folk song. The first stanza is:

Hog drovers, hog drovers, hog drovers we air,
A-courtin' yore darter so sweet and so fair,
Can we git lodgin' here, oh here,
Can we git er-lodgin' here?

At first the old father refuses and then, gradually, he relents. He names a boy who may have his daughter if he will place another girl on his lap. This done, the game starts over and continues until each couple is paired. Then they promenade all and seek quiet places suitable for courting.

Homemade games of this nature, along with sociables, barn dances, picnics, and Sacred Harp singings, will fill an evening and break the monotony of the workaday world. Unlike the leisure pursuits of urban life, they are spontaneous in nature, relatively unorganized, and wholly uncommercialized. They insure the participation of all—men and women, young and old—and no ulterior purpose lurks behind them. No one hopes to make a profitable business contact by catching his prey in a relaxed moment, and thus defeat the basic purpose of all play.

Before the farmer industrialized, the structure of his neighborhood culture remained unbroken. Agrarianism enforced the closest cooperation, and it made a place for each family member. Today the farmer's children are taught to despise this life. They are pushed (and pulled) cityward.

In industrializing, the first thing the farmer does is to trade his horses for a tractor. This throws his boys out of a job, except those who stay to run the tractor. Time now is money and the boys can't hang around the place with nothing to do. If they are lucky, they will find work in a factory or a store, but these already have a surfeit of farmer boys. The farmer next buys a truck and later a car—on the installment plan. Now he has three vehicles which must be fed gas and oil, and the costs are greater than for corn and hay, or even for kerosene. In fact, he no longer uses kerosene, having installed a Delco plant. This plant pumps water for the stock, lights his home, cuts his wood, cleans his house, and cooks his meals. His wife becomes a machine manipulator and his daughters drift away to find work elsewhere.

In numerous other ways the farmer must alter his traditional practices. For one thing, machines do not reproduce themselves; cash is required for their repair and replacement. Thus he has to produce more money crops and to keep books on land yield and labor costs. Moreover, he becomes many times more dependent upon world markets and he finds, to his consternation, that greater yields not infrequently mean lower prices. To diversify crops is no certain remedy, for several cash crops all overproduced are no better than one. Good roads drive like a wedge into the heart of his provincial culture. They bring salesmen of all kinds, the advance agents of industrialism.

Lytle, from whom the above case was taken, can see no good in industrialism. That it has another side is perhaps too obvious for comment. Instead of evaluating it as to good or bad, it is sufficient to recognize that labor-saving machinery is one factor disintegrating the traditional farm family. Other important factors are the increase of mobility and education, the decline of religious sanctions, the new freedom of women, the commercialization of leisure, and the romantic complex.[1] Viewing these changes as a whole, it is evident that a new family form is evolving.

Emergent Urban Family.—While the emergent type of family is not confined to any given area, it flourishes best in the residential sections of large urban communities. It differs from the disappearing farm family in at least five important ways.

The first difference is in size. Defining the family as inclusive of all persons in the household, census figures show a consistent decrease in family size: 5.6 persons in 1850, 5.1 in 1880, 4.7 in 1900, 4.5 in 1910, 4.3 in 1920, and 4.1 in 1930. Defining the family as comprising the kin group of husband and wife, parents and children, or widowed persons, its average size in 1930 was 3.57.[2] This figure was reached by sampling families in the various types of local communities. By the same procedure, differences in family size were found to vary with economic status. Professional-class homes averaged 3.01 members, clerical workers 3.04, business-class proprietors 3.25, unskilled workers 3.91, and farm owners and renters 4.48. Family size varied also by community type. For example, 18 per cent of open-country families had no children, 25 per cent of small-town homes, 33 per cent of small-city homes, and 49 per cent of the families in Chicago, the only metropolis studied.

The second difference is in stability. All external indices of family disorganization, such as divorce, desertion, separation, broken homes, and illegitimacy, show that the emergent urban family is less stable than was its predecessor. For instance, while the marriage rate has not varied greatly for 40 years, the divorce rate has been steadily rising. In 1870, there were 8

[1] Joseph K. Folsom, *The Family*, Chap. VII, "The Family in Modern Social Change"; Kimball Young, *Source Book for Sociology*, Chap. XII, "The Modern Family."

[2] *Recent Social Trends*, 685.

divorces for every 10,000 married persons; in 1930, there were 36. In 1870, there were 33 marriages to every divorce; in 1930, less than 6. In only five years during the past 43 years (1887–1930) has the number of divorces been less than in a preceding year and these were periods of acute depression. Apparently our nation leads all other civilized countries in the looseness of family ties.

A third point of difference is in the loss of many family functions. One after another and always to varying degrees, traditional services have been transferred to commercial agencies.[1] The preparation of foods, house cleaning, clothes making, laundering, etc., have been shifted to outside agencies or else consume far less of the homemaker's time. Women at work for pay have increased in number sixfold since 1870. Married women so employed increased 60 per cent from 1920 to 1930, whereas their total number in the population increased only 23 per cent. These trends point to the decline of the family as a producing economic unit.

Much the same thing has happened in other aspects of family life. Schools take the child younger, and keep him longer, than ever before. Recreation has been individualized and commercialized. In the field of religion there has been a decline in family prayer, grace at meals, and attending church as a group. The family's control over its members has waned, and its function of conferring prestige on them has suffered with the increase of mobility. Its loss of time-honored protective functions is seen in the rise of public health and police services, in relief agencies, hospitals and clinics, in homes for the aged, the dependent, and the socially inadequate.

Of the many services which the farm family once performed exclusively for its members, only the "affectional function" is said to have held its own. On this point there is no clear proof.

The fourth and fifth ways in which the family differs from its rural prototype are in its greater detachment from the larger kin group and its increasingly democratic organization. At the earlier period, newlyweds were incorporated into the *grosse familie* and were subjected to its control. Today the trend is

[1] For statistical evidence, see *Recent Social Trends*, 661–708; also W. F. Ogburn, "What Is Happening to the Family," *Jour. Home Econ.*, 25(1933), 660–664.

toward the establishment of a new home and the living of a fairly independent existence. Again, equality between marriage mates, and the participation of children in deciding matters concerning their welfare, are more common than under the patriarchal type of family life.

Ecology of Family Life.—In studying urban family life in Chicago, Mowrer has shown the close correlation between the family and its habitat.[1] Five types of areas have been found: nonfamily areas, at or near the center of the metropolis; emancipated family areas, the rooming house, kitchenette, and residential hotel districts; paternal family areas, workers' homes in tenement sections and especially in immigrant colonies; equalitarian family areas, upper-class residential districts; and maternal family areas, the commuters' zone and suburbs where the wife tends to become the practical head of the family because of the husband's absence.

Urban areas differ also in the nature and degree of family disorganization. For example, desertion and divorce rates are highest at the city's center and decrease as one goes outward toward its rim. The distribution is not perfect, yet it roughly mirrors the social forces which tend to break down family life. The average family in the city is a rural transplantation and it thrives best where urban conditions most closely approximate those of the country, *viz.*, toward the city's periphery. The problem of adjusting the family to the shifting conditions of urban living has not yet been solved. It involves the working out of many new habits, new ideas and ideals.

B. HOMES AND THEIR INFLUENCE

Differential Home Environments.—We know from observation that homes as child worlds are anything but alike and equal. The most comprehensive study of homes as differential cultural environments is a recent White House Conference survey of about 3,000 families selected as a national sample.[2] Families

[1] Ernest R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (1927); *Domestic Discord* (1928); and *The Family* (1932).

[2] *The Young Child in the Home* (1936). Almost three-fourths of these homes were from areas rated as "comfortable," while only 1.5 per cent were from "destitute" areas. Parental socioeconomic status was measured by combining the Taussig and Barr occupational scales.

were rated as to socioeconomic status, and child backgrounds were found to correlate closely with economic levels. A comparison of the two extremes, Class I, the professional group, and Class VII, day laborers rural and urban, is instructive.

Permanency of residence decreases as one moves down the scale from class I to VII. One-half of the first-class families own their homes as contrasted to one-fourth of the seventh-class families. Almost all class I homes have over five rooms and over a fifth are single-family houses. Class VII dwellings are smaller, families are larger, and homes are more crowded. In all items of material equipment—bathtubs, radios, telephones, automobiles, etc.—professional-class families far surpass the homes of workers. Play apparatus is found in three-fourths of their yards as compared with one-third of class VII yards. Children owning the most common types of toys decrease regularly from class I to VII.

Only one-fifth of the fathers and one-fourth of the mothers in class VII have attended high school, whereas in the first class almost all have, and many have a college education. In class VII virtually none of the homes have as many as 100 books, in class I two-thirds have that number. Two-thirds of the mothers in this class, in contrast to one-fourth of those in class VII, attend parent-teacher or child study meetings.

The lower the socioeconomic status, the poorer the parents' health and the poorer the health of children. One-half of upper-class mothers consult pediatricians as opposed to one-tenth at the lower level. Much the same ratio holds in respect to child clinics. All infants in the first class are fed regularly as compared with two-thirds of those in class VII. Furthermore, their diets are far more likely to contain the necessary food elements in correct proportion. It is interesting to note that less milk is drunk by children of the farmer group (class IV) than in either of the above classes. Class I youngsters go to bed earlier and sleep longer than those at lower levels. The latter children show superiority on only one point, skill in dressing self.

All children studied have much the same fears, but the methods of removing them differ. In class I, two-thirds have situations explained to them, while in class VII two-fifths do. As methods of child control, reasoning and deprivation of pleasure decrease as we move down the scale and scolding and whipping increase. Less than one-half of class VII children (6–12) have an allowance, whereas one-half do in class I. Only two-thirds of lower-class families have all their children up to grade in school. Only one-twentieth of them take lessons outside of school, such as instruction in dancing, music, and art, as compared with over one-half of all upper-class children.

Incomplete as this summary is, it shows the profound variations in homes as cultural worlds. Opportunities for child development favor upper-class children from the moment of birth onward. In other cases the child would seem to have little chance to do more than follow the patterns set before him by incompetent or unfortunate parents.[1] It is a significant fact that in 1932 an estimated 8,000,000 children lived in homes where economic independence no longer existed.[2]

Accord, Discord, and Broken Homes.—From the standpoint of the human relations involved, a community's homes may be classified on an accord-discord scale. Accord homes are integrated and cooperative; discord homes are the opposite. Though average families fall midway between these extremes, an example of a home that scored high in ideal social values may be used for illustrative purposes. The case is reported by a high school student.[3]

Our family activities, whether work or play, were shared by the whole family. Wherever my mother or father were, there we two boys went also. As a child I can remember very few times when we were ever left at home alone. Quite often when my dad was home, we would go out and play together. We would go to church and Sunday school together almost every Sunday. There were few individual activities that I recall in our family life.

There was a vast amount of unity in regard to family ideals and ambitions; in fact, I do not recall any conflict or disagreement on that point. My mother always seemed satisfied with the degree of success that my father achieved, and practically there was no quarreling between them. My parents have always been in good health.

As far as I know, my parents have always treated me as a blessing. Within reasonable limits, I have had practically everything I wanted. They were always anxious to see me advance and win honors in school; they always kept me in prominence when we had company. This I more or less detested because I hated to be in the limelight.

My mother would always tell us what we could do and what we couldn't do. On the first disobedience, we would get a talking to or

[1] See H. W. Gilmore, "Five Generations of a Begging Family," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 37(1932), 768–774.

[2] Douglas A. Thom, "Mental Hygiene and the Depression," *Men. Hyg.*, 16(1932), 570.

[3] Adapted from E. W. Burgess, "Implications for Parents of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection," "Toward Understanding Children," 40 ff. *Univ. Iowa, Ext. Bull.* 283, 1931.

a scolding. This was always given by my mother. I can never remember being punished by my father. Never were we punished without knowing definitely what we were being punished for.

I never received any sex information at home. Because my parents always evaded my questions, I have learned about sex in a very undesirable way, and as a result got a very distorted view. I feel that I could have been more intimate with my parents had they given me this information at my early requests.

Our religion has always been of a very practical type. As children, my mother taught us simple little prayers. My parents were both regular churchgoers and so we boys went regularly as a matter of course.

I have always felt a sense of love, respect, and companionship for my parents. They have meant a lot to me and I feel this more strongly every year.

I never considered the idea of superiority and inferiority with respect to my parents. As I recall, there was nothing which they did to which I objected. I never ran away from home and, what's more, never considered it.

My dad is quite willing to deal with me as a man, while my mother still thinks of me as a little boy. She does, however, allow me to make my own decisions, helping me whenever possible.

Aside from giving my children sex information when they asked for it, I would raise them the way I have been raised. I consider it ideal.

From cases of this nature, as well as from other materials on family life, it is possible to generalize for accord and discord homes. The first home as a type is marked by cooperative relations between family members, a basic unity of purposes and ideals, democratic methods for resolving differences of opinion, a feeling of intimacy between children and parents, a belief by the child that his welfare is an important family concern, and a system of discipline that is intelligent and consistent and is understood by the child. A discord home, on the contrary, is marked by conflict relations. Parents are irritable, quick of temper, critical, suspicious, and self-centered. There is a loss of common aims and hence an inability to plan for the future. Family morale is low, mutual services are withheld, and children feel blocked and frustrated.

Broken homes constitute a third type of family situation. By definition, they are families from which an adult member has been removed by death, divorce, desertion, or other cause. In a White House Conference survey of 13,000 junior high school

pupils, one out of each four urban children lived in a broken home as compared with one out of each five children from open-country and village communities.[1] Being deprived of one parent, the child lives in an abnormal home situation. It would be impossible, however, to say whether the child is better or worse off unless conditions before and after the break were known.

Effects of Homes on the Child.—While never divided definitely into two groups, well-adjusted children tend to come from accord homes and poorly adjusted children from discord homes.[2] The present need is to determine the specific phases of the home situation which are related to child personality.

A tentative answer to the above problem has been set forth in the White House Conference studies already cited. Adolescents were asked to fill out two types of questionnaires. One made possible a personality rating and the other measured home backgrounds. By correlating the two, family conditions affecting the child were ascertained. In summary form, the principal findings were:

Marked Effect on Child Personality.—Children who did not criticize either parent rated better in personality adjustment than those who did. Those who reported neither parent "nervous" showed a better adjustment than those who did not. Children who confided in both parents scored higher than those who never told father or mother of their "troubles." The same was true of adolescents who liked both parents "the best in the world."

Where both parents were living, and living together, children were better adjusted than otherwise. Those who reported no punishment during the past week, who came from homes where neither parent was ill during the past year, and who brushed their teeth every day, outranked in personality adjustment the children who indicate opposite practices. Since brushing the teeth shows slight correlation with child health, it presumably signifies family unity and control.

Moderate Effects on Child Personality.—Adolescents who said they received their first sex information from parents, who attended the theater with parents, who were given an allowance, who were the recipients of affection in the home, who were without superstitions,

[1] *The Adolescent in the Family*, 33.

[2] Recent studies do not prove the broken home to be so disorganizing to child personality as once believed. Apparently it is not the formal break in family life that is harmful, but the antecedent condition of conflict and the subsequent period of economic insecurity and psychological disunity.

were on the whole better adjusted personalities than those reporting alternate practices.

Slight Positive Effect on Child Personality.—With boys, the greater percentage of those well adjusted have fathers in skilled labor pursuits; with girls the reverse was true. With boys, good adjustment decreases somewhat with the increasing education of the father, but with girls it rises. Employment of the mother is unfavorable to satisfactory child adjustment, and so are broken homes and overcrowded homes.

The effects of homes on child personality have also been studied by singling out some dominant aspect of family life. For example, Watson studied "lax" and "strict" homes.[1] The latter home was defined in terms of 17 items, such as severe punishment, regular bedtime, and compulsory Sunday-school attendance. About 60 per cent of the sample investigated (260 graduate students) were judged to come from strict homes. In general, the students from these repressive home environments revealed a much greater dislike of parents than either the lax or the average home group. They showed greater degrees of infantile dependence, more quarrelsome and combative attitudes in social relations, and a stronger tendency toward fear, guilt, and worry feelings. They reported fewer playmates and more imaginery play companions as children, had fewer friends and more broken engagements as adolescents, and gave evidence of indecision and vocational misplacement as adults. In sum, they were unable to conduct their life on an average level of maturity and success.

As a rule, the accord home offers the child more than a place to sleep, food to eat, and clothing to wear. It provides him with a number of psychological necessities—protection, security, guidance, and encouragement. It gives practice in the techniques of group living, and it motivates toward conventional moral standards. It interprets the outside world to the child and mediates its influences on him.

Discord homes have much the opposite effects. Marked as they are by persistent conflict and divergent aims, the child loses the sense of family unity and hence of personal security. If he obeys one parent or patterns on his conduct, he finds himself at cross purposes with the other parent. If he compares his home with other homes, his treatment with the treatment of other children,

[1] Goodwin B. Watson, "A Comparison of the Effects of Lax Versus Strict Home Training," *Jour. Soc. Psych.*, 5(1934), 102–105.

he comes to regard his parents as unfit. Feeling the inadequacy of his backgrounds, unable to advance his own plans and ambitions, he may become a rebel within the home and a delinquent outside.

C. HOME LIFE AND SCHOOL PROGRESS

Transition from Home to School.—"Going to school," writes one child specialist, "may be regarded as a major crisis in the life of the child."[1] He passes from a range of familiar contacts into a strange world in which his own self-worth remains to be demonstrated. He finds in school a novel scheme of life, a life more impersonal than at home, more authoritarian and routinized.

An average child adjusts to the school with only normal difficulties, but many children are unable to make the transition in an expected manner. They fall behind their class in the mastery of subject matter, and they cannot accommodate themselves to teacher dominance and school rules. They do not associate readily with their age-group or else the group fails to accord them the status they desire. In general, they exhibit more than an average amount of inferiority feeling, withdrawing behavior, nostalgia, and other maladjustments.

Cooperative-to-school Homes.—From the school's standpoint, a community's homes are infinitely varied. Each home presents a pattern of personalities, conditions, and problems that is more or less unique. For study purposes, these homes may be classified into three large divisions: cooperative-to-school homes, antagonistic-to-school homes, and average homes between these logical extremes.

From student papers on family backgrounds, one may abstract traits of each type of home. The cooperative-to-school home sends the child to school on time and prepared to do a day's work. It places emphasis upon the same basic attitudes that the school seeks to teach—punctuality, courtesy, fair play, and the like. It equips the learner with needed materials, feels a continued responsibility for his school progress, and takes time to get acquainted with his teachers. It cooperates with the school on special problems, such as health conditions, mental deficiencies, and unsocial attitudes. It encourages extracurricular participa-

[1] Helen M. Bott, "Contrasting Disciplines of Home and School," *Child Dev.*, 11(1935), 205–208.

tion, recognizes the value of friendships, and makes an effort to further their development. In many specific ways, it supplements the school program and affirms its aims and purposes.

Antagonistic-to-school Homes.—This home as a type tends to discount and negate the school's influence. By precept and example, it tolerates poor attendance, condones practices which are incompatible with school aims, and encourages in the child an active hostility toward classroom requirements and teacher authority. Often disorganized itself, this home fails to provide conditions favorable to the physical growth, emotional maturity, and social adjustment of the child. It passes on to the school its own defective functioning as a child world.[1] Teacher requests for home cooperation are ignored and enforced conferences are treated by parents as conflict situations.

Between these extremes is the average home. It predominates in all typical communities and is found at all cultural levels. Its attitude toward education ranges from interested to fairly indifferent. Owing to adult ignorance of child needs, or to preoccupation with some economic pursuit or leisure-time interest, its cooperation with the school is formal and apathetic. The prevalent assumption made by this home is that the child's education can be delegated *in toto* to the school.

Improving the Home Situation.—Assuming the need for improving the home situation, what course of action can be taken by the school? In dealing with immediate problems (attendance or discipline cases), the teacher's usual procedure is to report the child to the principal. He may contact the home directly or place the case in the hands of a truant officer or visiting teacher.

School administrators agree that teachers should visit the homes of their pupils as a routine matter, yet the average teacher visits few homes. Less than one-third of 155 elementary and high school teachers in one unpublished survey of teacher community contact visited as many as 11 pupil homes in an average semester. Classroom instructors are not visiting teachers in a technical sense, yet they should be encouraged to contact children in their home situations, and they should be familiar with the mental hygiene and case-work principles which underlie visiting teacher work.

[1] Miriam Van Waters, *Parents on Probation*, Chap. IV, "Nineteen Ways of Being a Bad Parent."

If the home, when judged by modern family welfare standards, is in need of material aid, such as food or clothing, the visiting teacher will place the family head in touch with relief agencies. As a rule, handicapped or dependent children are now entitled to state or federal assistance in some form, and the home visitor brings them to the attention of the proper authority. If the home is hopelessly inadequate as a child environment, the child may be removed by court order and placed under custodial care. If the home is good but not strong enough to offset area influences, the family is assisted in finding a new location. If personal relations within the home are not conducive to child well-being, home counseling is undertaken.

The classroom teacher may supplement the services of a full-time home visitor. She may give diagnostic tests or make case studies and thus locate the causes of maladjustment. She may give special assistance to problem children in their schoolwork, advise with them concerning family situations, supply factual data to interested persons or bureaus, and refer children to behavior clinics and welfare agencies for remedial treatment.

From the standpoint of preventing child maladjustment due to defective parental functioning, the school's educational services can be made more efficient. While no one expects the school to remake family life, a more adequate program of parental education is a step in this direction. Since parenthood is a voluntary occupation, its improvement must rest upon the desire to be an effective parent. Through adult education, the school can motivate toward this goal and give instruction in the ways and means of achieving it. Common approaches are by way of parent-teacher associations, child study groups, mothers' clubs, forum discussion, and radio broadcasts on school and home relations.

Another aspect of the school's program might well be a realistic course on family relations and child well-being. Time was when young people drifted into the traditional pattern of marriage as a matter of course. Today homemaking and the rearing of children are highly variable and complex undertakings. Perfunctory lectures on these topics are manifestly inadequate. The need is for competent instruction at the high school level. In a course of this nature, sex adjustment will receive the attention which its importance merits, yet major emphasis should probably

be placed on the mechanics of living together and rearing children.

Questions for Discussion

1. Describe the farm family. What forces have tended to bring about its disintegration?
2. How does the urban family now emerging differ from the farm household? Is the individual in the newer type of family better or worse off?
3. Distinguish between homes as cultural worlds and as human relational systems. Discuss a community's homes from each standpoint.
4. What aspects of family life appear to be most closely related to child personality development? Do Watson's findings concerning the effects of strict homes agree with your own observations?
5. In what ways can a school deal with an unsatisfactory home situation? Illustrate your answer.
6. Should a course in family relations be given at the high school level? If so, of what large units of study should it consist? Who should teach it?

Problems and Projects

1. Prepare a paper on your own home backgrounds, paying particular attention to items related to personality development.
2. Interview a teacher or school principal to determine the ways in which homes affect the work of the school. Report your findings.
3. Make a survey of the home contacts of teachers and classify your findings under appropriate headings. What is your judgment as to the adequacy of the school's services in this area?
4. Visit a social agency doing work with children. Describe its clients and its aims and methods. How does the agency relate its work to the school?
5. Make a study of the attitudes of teachers toward social workers, or of the latter toward teachers. What do you conclude concerning the viewpoints of one group toward the other?
6. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Changes in the Family Affecting the Child. William F. Ogburn, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 151(1930), 20–24; L. K. Frank, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 160(1932), 94–102.
   b. Parent-child Relations. S. A. Queen, W. B. Bodenhafer, and E. B. Harper, *Social Organization and Disorganization*, Chap. V, "Parent-Child Relations"; J. K. Folsom, *The Family*, Chap. XVI, "The Parent-Child Relation"; E. B. Reuter and Jessie F. Runner, *The Family*, Chap. XII, "The Interaction of Parent and Child."
   c. The Child's Initial School Adjustments. Rhea K. Boardman, "The Transition from Home to School," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 7(1934), 371–378; L. H. Meek, "Relation of Family and School Life in the Education of Children," *Teach. Coll. Rec.*, 36(1935), 271–278; Maud E. Watson, "Preschool Experience and School Adjustment," *Prog. Educ.*, 11(1934), 480–484.

d. The Visiting Teacher. Ethel Reynolds, "The Visiting Teacher in the Cincinnati Public Schools," in Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Preventing Crime* (1936); Harry N. Rivlin, *Educating for Adjustment*, Chap. IX, "Reducing Conflict between Home and School."

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CHAPTER IX

PLAY LIFE AND GANGS

It is said that the Rust cottonpicker threatens to displace three million or more workers in the South. This is typical of the widespread mechanization of industry, a process which has reduced the number of men employed and shortened the working day.[1] Time-saving appliances in the home, school attendance laws, and the depression with its enforced idleness have contributed toward the same end. The results today are a "new leisure" for all and a public concern for its use. That it can be spent in ways not conducive to personal growth and social welfare is the burden of a recent and more critical literature.[2]

Since so much of child life consists of leisure activities, we shall study them under various headings and at length. Play life and gangs are intimately related and hence may be included in the present chapter. After a survey of recreational backgrounds, we shall explore the nature and role of play in child experience, describe and analyze the delinquent gang, and conclude with a discussion of the school's function in the guidance of a community's recreational pursuits.

A. LEISURE AND ITS USES

Leisure and Labor.—As an inclusive concept, leisure is usually defined as the antithesis of labor. Labor is viewed as any activity for which one is paid; leisure, by contrast, is any nonwork pursuit. While this distinction has the advantage of objectivity, it cannot be accepted as complete, because it overlooks important subjective differences. For example:

Looking out of my window on Tuesday mornings, I see a little procession of men with dusty aprons marching down the street beside a truck

[1] R. Schorling and H. Y. McClusky, *Education and Social Trends* (1936), Chap. IX, "The Influence of the Machine."

[2] C. D. Burns, *Leisure in the Modern World* (1932); P. T. Frankl, *Machine-made Leisure* (1932); J. B. Nash, *Spectatoritis* (1932); M. H. and E. S. Neumeyer, *Leisure and Recreation* (1936).

laden with ashes. They are a riotous crew, exchanging loud banter as they drag out my ash tins, dump them, and return them ostentatiously and with loud reverberations to my doorstep. The can is not laboriously lifted, but is thrown and caught, and its contents skillfully distributed with a series of dexterous movements. A spirited teamwork pervades the performance. Here are rhythm, bodily exercise, cooperation, rivalry, display, and even a little bit of the spice of hazard; while through it all runs the worker's ancient prerogative of airing his reflections as well as his grievances upon life at large.[1]

Ordinarily the activities of an ash brigade would be regarded as onerous labor, but here are elements of play and recreation. The difference is a matter of attitudes. Work is a compulsory activity, undertaken as a means toward a utilitarian end. It is felt by participants to be tiresome, exacting, and monotonous. Leisure pursuits, on the contrary, are voluntary activities which are felt to be inherently interesting. They bring the emotional satisfaction called pleasure. To the extent that labor is still creative, it contains elements of play. It is evident, however, that our mode of life is trending toward greater mechanization, and hence labor and leisure are becoming more sharply differentiated and compartmentalized.

Our Changing Play Heritage.—Reflecting on our history, it would seem that we have been faced with three alternatives: more things, more children, or more leisure. Our relatively high standard of living and a declining birth rate provide some basis for the belief that we have chosen the acquisition of things. At any rate, the sum of our popular arts, sports, and play forms is not an impressive total. Being a polyglot, mobile, and industrial people, we have not developed a folk art comparable to that of older European nations.[2]

This statement is not to be taken as meaning that we have no historic play heritage. Early immigrant peoples brought their games, dances, festivals, and sports. While Puritans and other ascetics looked askance at these play forms, many were adapted to conditions of life in this country and have survived in some form until the present time.[3] Thus a play heritage came into

[1] Floyd H. Allport, *Institutional Behavior*, 261. Used by permission of the University of North Carolina Press.

[2] F. P. Keppel, "The Arts in Social Life," *Recent Social Trends*, 958–1008.

[3] Alterations in the German *Turnverein* are illustrative. See E. A. Rice, "The American Turners," *Jour. Health and Phy. Educ.*, 5(1934), 3–8.

being. Open-country and village dwellers had friendly visiting, sociables, husking bees, singing schools, literary societies, and the like. Cities had prize fighting, horse racing, grand operas, and various forms of artistic expression. The South in particular was noted for the arts and rituals of its courtly mode of life, its hospitality and sociability.

The passing of time has brought changes in our prevalent forms of leisure interests. According to Steiner, five recent trends are of general importance:[1] (1) There is an increasing emphasis on public recreation as represented, for example, in the growth and expansion of playgrounds, parks, and fieldhouses. (2) There is a notable increase in travel and in outdoor life. (3) More time is devoted to competitive games and sports, such as football and baseball, and to amateur golf, tennis, and basketball. (4) Various leisure organizations, particularly athletic and luncheon clubs, dancing and card-playing groups, are increasing more rapidly in proportion than population. (5) There has been a notable expansion in commercial amusements, especially in motion pictures and radio broadcasting.

It is not known how the depression has affected these trends. With millions of persons still out of work, the patronage of all commercial agencies has probably declined.[2] Moreover, the depression has created a mental attitude which, on the one hand, is not conducive to the enjoyment of leisure and, on the other, has whetted the desire for emotional excitement. It has brought a limited reversion to inexpensive home pursuits, and has witnessed an enormous expansion of government provision for the leisure time of unemployed and underprivileged persons.

It reviewing these trends, it is evident that leisure pursuits have had to adjust to our increasingly urbanized mode of life. They have become highly commercialized, passive, and mechanized. Big business has taken them in hand and has sought to sell the kind of show that patrons would find thrilling enough

[1] Jesse Steiner, *Americans at Play*, Chap. XVIII, "Americans at Play."

[2] In a newspaper article of Apr. 9, 1937, Lewis H. Bean is quoted as estimating the nation's unemployed employables as 12,832,000 in 1933. At the start of 1937, this group was judged to number 9,773,000. This same survey, made for the Secretary of Agriculture, estimated the average annual wage of gainful workers in 1929 as $1,388; in 1933, $933; and in 1936, $1,120.

to buy. Private initiative has forged ahead, public control has lagged behind, and the effective regulation of certain urban leisure pursuits now seems next to impossible.[1]

B. CHILD PLAY AND GANGS

Developmental Pattern of Play.—Infancy is a period of random exploration for the child. He strikes a rattle with hand or foot, and head and eyes follow its noisy swinging. He reaches and grasps, splashes and gurgles, bangs and crumples. At nine months, he can make crude rhythmic responses to music and play "peekaboo." When a year old, he waves good-bye, scribbles with a crayon, and plays with near-by toys. At two, he plays in a sandpile, builds houses with blocks, rides a kiddie car, and tries to throw and catch a ball. So far, his play activities have been individualistic, experimental, and unregulated.

During early childhood, the above abilities continue to develop and new ones appear. At four, the child walks, runs, jumps, and climbs; at five, he hops, skips, turns somersaults, and paddles about in water. These sensorimotor abilities are paralleled by mental and social changes. Play is more definitely imitative. It may be patterned on the role of a favorite adult—a parent, the storekeeper, a relief worker. Routine events are dramatized, "make-believe" characters are created, and worlds of fantasy are built. With later childhood, social rivalry appears and continues to grow through adolescence.

True team games are a development of adolescence. Group loyalty and group prowess, gang spirit and team action, become important. Girls experience the restrictions decreed because of their sex, but boys adventure farther away from home. They find chums whose opinion and approval they consider superior to the views of adults, and they encounter an increasingly varied range of social situations. Group identification reaches its height in camping and hiking, interschool athletic contests, and gang conflict. Scout and campfire organizations attract these adolescents, and progressive schools win them over by group projects and club activities.

Variables in Child Play.—Children do not climb the play ladder in the same way or at the same pace. Variations in interests and

[1] For example, Paul G. Cressy, *The Taxi-dance Hall*, Chap. XIII, "Taxi-dance Hall and Social Reform."

abilities are always present and are as impressive as the many similarities. These variables may be dichotomized as those within the organism and those within the environment.

Within the organism, four kinds of variables have been extensively studied. Age has already been discussed in tracing the developmental pattern of play. Sex differences have been investigated most thoroughly by Lehman and Witty.[1] Their researches show that both sexes take part in most play activities and in many with equal frequency. While differences were not conspicuous, they were present. From the age of eight onward, boys engaged more frequently than girls in active and vigorous play, in games involving muscular dexterity, competitive games, and organized team play. Girls engaged more frequently in sedentary activities and in games of a more conservative nature. Sex differences were most pronounced at ages 8½ to 10½ years and decreased with advancing age levels.

While sex differences in play, in intellectual and emotional responses, in social interests and activities, in school abilities and achievements, are unquestionably present, it is doubtful if they are due to innate factors.[2] From early infancy to maturity, the child is shaped by a cumulative social heritage, by contacts, experiences, and education. Girls are brought up in one tradition of right conduct and boys in another. Where these traditions differ from those of our own culture, the usual sex differences are not reported or the expected sex roles are reversed.[3]

Racial differences have also been investigated. Defined as biological differences which derive from racial heredity, instead of family line inheritance or environmental conditioning, their existence has not been proven. If Negro children are more sociable in their play, as has been claimed, and if various groups of immigrant children differ in their play forms and preferences, the variations reported are apparently due to differential traditions and contacts. When native white and Negro children are equated in sex, mental age, and socioeconomic backgrounds,

[1] H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty, "Sex Differences, Some Sources of Confusion and Error," *Amer. Jour. Psych.*, 42(1930), 106 ff.

[2] Catherine Cox Miles, "Sex in Social Psychology," in Carl Murchison (editor), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (1935), 683–797.

[3] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928); *Growing Up in New Guinea* (1930).

their variations in play interests are negligible. Play preferences of immigrant children tend to approximate those of native white or colored children in the same area, and thus are an index of their participation in area culture.

Individual differences, as opposed to the foregoing mass differences, are ever present and are rated as "conspicuous" in all psychological studies of play activities.[1]

Outside the organism, the factors and conditions influencing child play are geographical setting, population, personal interaction, group membership, and cultural heritage. Taken together, these influences form constellations of child-shaping forces. Rural areas differ from urban areas, and urban areas range from the slums to exclusive residential sections of the city. To the extent that play is a patterned activity it will vary broadly in terms of area limitations and advantages.

The Gang: Origin and Nature.—When repeated calls fail to bring little Tommy, his mother looks in the neighbor's back yard. When a rock crashes through a store window, the proprietor starts in pursuit of "the little rascals." Child play usually connotes associated activity. Whom do children choose as play companions? Apparently friendships are based on propinquity, like socioeconomic status, a similar level of intelligence, and an age range of approximately one year.[2] When contacts are intimate in nature, fairly continuous over a period of time, and involve various aspects of child life, they are called primary group associations. There is an orderly succession of primary groups in childhood experience, a natural sequence from preschool associations to adolescent courtship groups. Somewhere within this sequence is the gang.

It is known that the great majority of boy gangs arise from the spontaneous contacts of youngsters who live on the same street or meet at the same school or settlement house. The origin of such a gang, as well as its integration through conflict, is seen in the following example.

Our gang was the outgrowth of a play group formed by nine boys living in the same block, who became acquainted through the usual

[1] H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty, *The Psychology of Play Activities*, 194 ff.

[2] Gladys G. Jenkins, "Factors Involved in Children's Friendships," *Jour. Educ. Psych.*, 22(1931), 440–448; P. F. Furfey, "Recent Research on Children's Friendships," *Educ.*, 54(1934), 409–413.

outdoor games. Then we began to meet in Tommy's attic. For greater privacy, we built a shack on the alley where we could isolate ourselves and smoke without the interference of our parents. When my parents were away, we used our basement for a rendezvous, but we were careful to enter by a window so as to escape the attention of the housekeeper.

The desire to escape family supervision marked the beginning of our feeling of solidarity. Our first loyalties were to protect each other against our parents. Sometimes the latter were regarded with great dislike by the gang. The mother of one of the boys, who was very unkind to him, viewed us with equal hatred and once threw a pan of dishwater on us when we were whistling for our pal.

First it was the gang against members of our households, and then it was the gang against the neighbors. Our collective enterprises soon gave us the name of the "Cornell Crowd" (street name), but we preferred to call ourselves the "Cornell Athletic Club." We took in only two new members during our six years' existence, but for them we devised a special initiation, copying some of the stunts from the *Penrod and Sam* stories by Tarkington.

Our solidarity was greatly augmented by clashes with other gangs, whether in raids or in football games. We formed an alliance with the Dorchester gang against the Kenwoods who called us "sissies" and "rich kids," and when the latter stole the stove out of the Dorchester shanty we joined forces and invaded 55th Street to bring it back.

Danger from other gangs was always sufficient to eliminate internal friction and unite us against a common enemy. On one Hallowe'en night two of our members got into a fist fight, and no argument or pulling could get them apart. Just then another gang came along and hit Tommy with a soot bag, whereupon the combatants forgot their quarrel and helped us chase and beat up the invaders.[1]

Judging from Thrasher's data on 1313 gangs in Chicago, play gangs flourish best in the "interstitial areas" of large cities—along railroad tracks and water fronts, in vacant land spaces and unused buildings, and where population mobility is high and social control is weak. As a rule, they are loosely organized adventure groups, appearing and disappearing with great irregularity. While girls were all but absent from the Chicago gangs, they are present in numbers among the transient groups to be discussed in another connection. To members, the gang offers the thrill of roaming and adventure, flouting adult authority and raiding rival gangs, playing games together, smoking,

[1] Taken from Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (rev. ed.), 31–32. Used by permission of the University of Chicago Press, publishers.

reading cheap literature, attending picture shows and other amusements, "junking," and petty stealing.

Spending time together furthers group unity and morale. It provides opportunities for group planning and action. It gives rise to a distinctive argot, to a code of unwritten rules and regulations, and to informal control devices such as ridicule, ostracism, and physical punishment. Where initiations consist of anything more than hastily devised byplay, their purpose is to pledge new members to secrecy, loyalty, and mutual aid. Leaders are seldom elected to office, as in a school club, but are selected informally because of their strength, smartness, or gameness.

Delinquent Gang: A Life History.—Gangs, like other social groups, have a life cycle; they arise, grow in power, decline, and disappear. A fairly general pattern of development is from play group to athletic club to the "mob" of adult racketeers. Thus petty misconduct shades off into serious delinquency and lengthens into organized crime. One version of this developmental cycle is found in the life history of Rocco Marcantonio, member of the "42" gang.

Rocco was born in this country of Italian parentage.[1] His father came as an adult immigrant 32 years ago and has worked steadily on railroad section gangs. Five of the seven children in the family had a grade school education or better and are now regularly employed and law-abiding. One brother, Tony, has been "singed with crime," but to no great extent. The "42" gang had its origins in a typical neighborhood group of small boys. For ten years it frequented Chicago's West Side. Though now in virtual eclipse, it has passed on a heritage so that "children are growing up into a criminal life." Rocco tells his story in a matter-of-fact way and with an unusual memory for details.

Beginnings in Truancy.—My schooling at Dante was regular and I attended to my work while there. I always, from a very small child, wanted to be an altar boy, and one day when one of the altar boys came and told me that I was chosen, I was very happy. I went to church every morning, arose at 6 and served the 7 to 8 o'clock Mass. The altar

[1] Case adapted from John Landesco, "The Life History of a Member of the '42' Gang," *Jour. Crim. Law and Crimin.*, 23(1932), 964–988. Used by permission of author and publisher.

boys were my playmates. There was a little clublike room in the basement where we played games. In the wintertime we went to Hull House and spent some time in the playroom. Sometimes I went on hikes. I was never truant from school.

After we moved to Taylor and Sibly, I had to transfer to the Rees school. I arrived from Dante in the fifth grade and with a good record. I first met Peter and Louie in this room. At Dante I had never bummed. At Rees I didn't like the school because I didn't know anybody. Once in a while we would bum and run back to the old neighborhood. It was always in the afternoon so I could wait for my friends. We got so we would go to school only once in a while.

Conflict with the Family.—I began to have trouble in school and it was reported to my father. He talked to me and punished me. It was time, too, for my lessons for confirmation, and my father transferred me to Pompeii school. Here I behaved a little better. The principal gave me a talking to right at the beginning. Later I began to find my old friends again. I was kicked out of Pompeii and went back to Rees, where I quit in the seventh grade. By this time we were bumming and stealing.

My parents used to be notified by mail that I bummed yesterday. My mother at first tried talking and pleading with me, sometimes with tears in her eyes. "What's got in your head, Rocky? Why don't you go to school?" "I don't like that school," I said. But she never gave these notices to my father. One day the teacher brought the letter herself. She gave the letter to Albert and asked him to give it to father. He did that night. From then on my father arranged to be notified by the teacher about my absence.

After a few beatings at different times, he got disgusted and let me go. There was nothing said between us; he would just frown at me. At the table I would sit as far away from him as I could. One day he said, "You are not going to school. You are just bumming around. Why don't you go to work?" Then I got my work certificate. From then on I bummed all day every day, and at home told them I had a job.

Every morning I was out at 7:30 and returned at 5:30. On Saturday, I brought home ten dollars as "pay." When one of them asked me, I told them I was working downtown at the Board of Trade.

How my mother found out that I wasn't working, I don't know. When she did, she began to ask me how I got my money. I tried to lie out of it (stealing). "If your father finds out, he'll kill you. Where did you get your money?" I told her. She cried and said: "Don't do that, Rocky, you'll go to jail and never come out again." It always hurt me to see her cry, but I couldn't change. I met those fellows (the gang) every morning, and when I said I was going to look for a job

they'd laugh at me. Albert's warning has always been, "You'll wind up in the gutter." He always had another set of friends.

First Rackets.—We first started stealing from clotheslines while bumming from school. The first day we went out west, near Oak Park. We took the street car, with a little sack under our arms, filled it and came home. We "picked" silk shirts and would sell them for only a dollar or two apiece. We would shoot craps on the sidewalk, buy delicatessen, go to shows, and worry the girls.

Our next racket was robbing pennies. One of us would take a sledge hammer and with a partner start down Roosevelt Road, looking for penny machines. One smash and the pennies would come rolling out. We would get four or five machines in an evening. If we were chased, we knew the streets like a book and would run through alleys like lightning, or over a fence into an open lot. We used to study getaways day and night, and we were never caught.

A little later we began to steal bicycles. We would go out to the Oak Park district on the streetcar, take the bikes and ride them home. We were partners and would use the same basement storeroom. We would sell these bikes, some worth $55 or $65, for $4, $10, or $15. We always had a half dozen bikes in the basement.

One day a man came around and said he would give us $9 for a 29 x .4 tire. He told us it was easy. He explained that we could get a bar clip at a hardware store, which we did, and with it take the spare tire off the car. We delivered the tire and he gave us the $9. Through him another customer heard of us, and these passed us on to still others. We soon got a list of phone numbers of tire customers, leaving orders for sizes in advance. Many of our customers were legitimate working people. We stole tires all over the city. I soon owned a little Ford coupé and we cruised around until we found what we wanted.

In the delicatessen store (gang hangout), we "stoshed" some of our money. I suppose the four of us in good weeks made as high as $200. Our biggest expense then was shooting craps, and we wanted to go with girls like older fellows. We picked up two, one a German and the other Polish. They lived in a hotel. When it got hot for us, we would go over there and stay. We were suckers for those girls, bought them clothes and gave them money.

Trouble with the Police.—We got into our first jam when I was about sixteen and we had been a few months in the tire business. We had our basement fixed up with shelves and marked tire sizes. When a customer wanted a tire, we would take him down, switch on the light, and pull out the right size. Getting into a jam was not new to us, as we had heard a lot from older fellows about fixing the police, springing writs, and getting bail.

We were picked up around the Empire Theater by the old Marmon squad with a gong on each side of the wagon. They took us down to the Desplaines Street station. They thought the Ford I was driving was stolen, and they had us under suspicion for stealing tires. They gave us some beatings, and we didn't know anything. We were booked for disorderly, and the court discharged the case.

After that we began to be watched and the coppers began to pick us up. I learned that when you are picked up and have money in your pocket, you can fix the cop. Twenty-five dollars will fix it on the spot.

Code of the "42" Gang.—When Figlio opened his poolroom, we started hanging out there. The poolroom drew more fellows around the neighborhood who were in little mobs of two and four and eight, and the mobs got close, got acquainted, that way. It was there that the name "42" sprang up. The bunch were all acquainted; I could approach any fellow and ask him to go on a job. There was an elderly man there we all trusted. We left our guns, left our money to bank, and would drop him a fin or a sawbuck. You could eat there, sleep there; you could get your phone calls and call up the mouthpiece.

If you were "in," the mouthpiece knew that the mob boys were good. He'd spring a writ for you or do anything, and collect afterwards because he knew where to find you and that you'd pay if you belonged to the gang. If you didn't have it (money), the boys would take up a collection.

One time I was pinched seven Sundays in a row. We never talked, no confessions. In some cases, they'd take us down, question us, beat us, and bring us up every two or three hours. One time a young copper came down, first talked rough, then slapped me in the face, but could get nothing on us. He came down later in a kinder mood and told us that he was an ex-hood himself. He did some favors for me and I met him later when I was out and took him to a good Italian dinner.

Alliance with Politicians.—On election day, Vito, Frankie, Bozzi, and Chiochio were busy at the precinct polls. All the others came around. I was an election judge and Frankie was a worker with a badge. They told me that in the ward it was agreed that votes were to come out 50-50. There would be no trouble that day.

Truck and Auto Rackets.—The last six months in the tire business we would go out after 1 P.M. We averaged about $75 a week—all sweet (clear), nobody to pay off. But I thought, "if I went out with the big fellows, I'd be a big shot too." Then we started getting in with the older clique. They hijacked us into their gang, but we wanted to be with them. They were 20 or 21 years of age. They were in the big money, after butter-and-egg trucks, dry goods, and shoes in loads. They were driving Chryslers, and having bigger and better times—

cabarets, shows, beer joints. We didn't know how to dress and we felt that they were smarter. They taught me how to match ties and suits, what color shoes and hats to wear.

We were down in the basement at Figlio's. Vito asked me if I wanted to try a pistol, showing me how to aim. Pointing at the target, he showed how a pistol must be aimed lower than the object to always allow for the jump. Later he sold me a .36 Colt's. The older fellows were in the pistol racket (holdups) even then. They went into the pistol racket just as the butter-and-egg business was waning.

I don't remember the first time I went out after a truck, but I can give you an instance. We met one morning at Edgemont and Loomis at the appointed time. We got into Salvi's Ford and cruised around. This cruising around sometimes took an hour before we met up with anything. At Kedzie and Flournoy, there stood a truck, butter and eggs. The driver was in the store. I jumped in the truck and drove east, Salvi and the Ford behind me. His work was to cut off anybody following me in a machine by crowding him to the curb.

We had our garage in the neighborhood. Once there, we would unload the stuff and take the truck out of the district. We knew the places where we could dispose of the stuff and we knew the prices. The two big "fences" would buy anything. You could get money from them any time you brought in the stuff. This racket lasted about a year when I was 19 years old. . . .

We took Gene (a newcomer) for a sucker, but he was a good head for auto work. He took us out to a saloon hangout and we started taking orders for cars. By this time we knew how to take the ignition switch off, make connections, break the steering lock, and drive away. We would take orders for machines from the saloonkeeper. Bootleggers wanted the numbers changed, and we would have to hold cars until we got numbers from New York. We would write the make, model, and year, and the man would watch for cars of the same description. Then he would send us their license numbers.

Sentenced, Paroled, and a Job.—In this one (and only) conviction, I got an 18-month sentence to St. Charles (Boys' Reformatory). First I was downhearted and lonesome. I didn't like the fellows around me. They were punks, wanting to be tough. I attended to work and kept quiet. I was moved to C cottage, where I met some kids from my neighborhood. One day I separated a pair of kids who were fighting, and Colonel Whipp heard about this. He called me to the office and made me a sergeant. I received no punishment in the time I was at St. Charles.

For six months after my release, I reported to a probation officer. That's the guy that got me a job as errand boy. When I went out to an employer, I tried my best not to get the job. Finally, after about four

months of stalling, he took me himself. He took me to four places altogether; he pleaded with employers. I never heard anyone lie so much in one day. I worked for two months as errand boy at $15 a week. Of course I did some stealing, just enough to average around $40 a week. I quit the job after my probation period was over.

The Gang in Dissolution.—On returning to the mob, I found that it was scattered and broken up. Babe Ruth had been killed by a cop, and Jit Pargoni and one of his brothers. The rackets had changed. The trucks had two guys on them. The police had found a way to bring out original numbers on automobiles by using acid. Other numbers hard to find (body numbers) were being put on cars by manufacturers. The police could find them through charts furnished by the company. The chain stores and later the tire war made tires so cheap you could buy legit tires for less than we sold stolen ones. I nosed around among the fellows, but they were all going out with the pistol.

We did our first stick-up in a cigar store. We stayed there a full twenty minutes . . . and we got $700 in money and merchandise. In 1928–1929, I used to go out regularly with the same two fellows. This was on no tips at all; all blind joints. Working on tips is more lousy (dangerous), unless they are the right kind. The tipster may be a stool, leak, or trap. Tipsters and bad luck come together.

We're not gangsters any more. We're just hoodlums. I'm a hoodlum and a small one at that. It would be a good thing if we had a gang and somebody with money to organize us.

This case shows the process by which a fairly average boy becomes a play gang member, a truant, a petty thief, and a member of an adult criminal gang. Where Rocco's brothers and sisters went one way, he traveled another and he never outgrew the influences of his childhood. Two facts are worthy of emphasis in this connection. One is that Rocco's first delinquencies had their origin in the play group. Time and again the correlation between leisure pursuits and misconduct has been established. In a study of 500 children on probation, Beard lists play interests as contributing toward the delinquency of one-third of the boys and almost one-fifth of the girls.[1] Likewise Healy and Bronner report "poor recreations" as figuring in 20 per cent of their cases.[2] The second fact is that Rocco hated the Rees school. In a recent study of 105 delinquents, almost 40 per cent expressed a marked dislike for school in general, and 13 per

[1] Belle Boone Beard, *Juvenile Probation*, 104.

[2] William Healy and Augusta Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking*, 179.

cent a marked dislike for some teacher. Only 4 per cent of the controls evidenced any such dislikes.[1]

Rocco's life history contains much material descriptive of the delinquent gang—its activities, appeal to members, codes, and ultimate dissolution. Such gangs can exist only with the connivance of crooked politicians, shyster lawyers, corrupt business outlets for stolen goods, and an ineffective or dishonest police. These community influences, more so perhaps than the repressed drives and desires of the maladjusted child, make the reshaping of conduct most difficult. Until they can be controlled, society will continue to pay the high costs of youthful crime.

C. SCHOOL GUIDANCE OF LEISURE

Personality Values of Play.—That play makes positive contributions to child personality cannot be denied. It develops muscles, aids digestive processes, strengthens bodily organs, and in other ways nurtures a healthy, growing organism. Its psychological effects are also apparent. It provides real life learning-situations, gives practice in interest satisfaction, habit building, and self-control, and it offers an escape from stresses imposed upon the child by an adult world. Sociologically, its basic role is that of socialization. In the freer contacts of the play group, a child learns to take the role of "the other," to analyze the motives of self, and to get along with other children. This is child life, to be sure, yet it is also an induction into the cooperative activities of the adult world.

That play may also produce negative personality effects has already been demonstrated. It may impede well-rounded physical development, instill more tensions than it removes, give practice in demoralizing activities, create a will to win which brooks no interference, and transmit attitudes that menace the existence of organized social life.

[1] William Healy and Augusta Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment* (1936). The methodology of this research is commendable. Case materials consisted of 153 delinquents from 133 families which had in all 194 delinquent children out of a total of 461 children who were old enough to be delinquent. A study was made of the 105 delinquents who could be paired with an equal number of nondelinquent controls, each control being a sibling of the same sex where available, and of about the same age. Eight of these pairs were identical twins.

Gangs well illustrate these opposing values of play. An average child gang, with its rough-and-tumble life, its myths and legends, heroes and villains, incentives and controls, makes many positive contributions to personality. A child learns lessons no adult can teach him—leadership, subordination, teamwork, loyalty, and morality. Because children have power over children exceeding that of adults, they will follow gang teachings rather than those of parents, schoolteachers, or ministers.

On the other hand, a delinquent gang cannot be expected to point its members in a desirable direction. Its leaders are inevitably the toughest, most fearless, and most antisocial; its activities predatory, irresponsible, and demoralizing. Children are under pressure to use the argot of the gutter, to snarl and to threaten, to engage in sports without sportsmanship, to disregard property rights, to hate school. Thus, in final analysis, the social worth of any gang will depend upon its nature and leadership.

School Training for Leisure.—While the school is only one of many agencies dealing with child and adult recreation, its responsibility is great. It is a child's institution, and children form the great leisure class. It provides an ideal experimental situation for discovering the needs and talents of young people and for adapting leisure pursuits to their needs. Again, the school is a community institution, financed by public funds. It is equipped with facilities that can be used to serve adult recreational interests, and it is staffed with a corps of trained persons. It has always provided some leisure pursuits and opportunities for the adult nonschool community and there is reason to expect an expansion in these services.

Routine school training for the worthy use of leisure is of two kinds: curricular and extracurricular.[1] Curricular subjects are vocational, for example the three R's, and avocational, for example physical education and fine arts, and both affect the pupil's many in-school and after-school free-time activities. Extracurricular subjects, such as athletics, dramatics, orchestra, a school paper, were once viewed as "wasteful pursuits." School heads boasted of their absence and made dire threats if they were initiated. Few educators now question their rightful place in the

[1] *Cf.* George Lundberg, *et al.*, *Leisure: A Suburban Study*, Chap. VIII, "The Suburban School and Training for Leisure."

school program, and, if properly planned and controlled, their social worth is a matter of proved record.

Play as a Corrective.—That play is a useful tool for the correction of physical inadequacies and social maladjustments is an educational axiom, yet teachers have been slow in exploring its uses. Physical educators are probably an exception. Faced with the necessity of winning a place for their work, they have stressed its therapeutic and adjustive values. Likewise lower grade teachers have found in play an invaluable ally. A first grade teacher suggests a theory and practice of play which, with appropriate modifications, could be applied at any grade level.

An awkward child lacks motor control. One must consider the stage of his development and provide toys and activities with known values as muscle builders. A dependent child lacks initiative; he should be placed with playmates who are slightly inferior to him in motor ability. A nervous child cannot keep still and may be highly irritable. His play activities should be made as calm as possible. Action toys should be avoided, though physical exercise should not be eliminated. A timid child is lacking in self-confidence; the need is to help him turn failures into successes by finding tasks within his reach.

A bossy child has an exaggerated ego feeling; his leadership qualities should be directed along social lines. Teach him to share playthings with others and to fit into the group. An indifferent child shows no strong play preferences. Efforts to interest him should be made on a higher or lower play level than his age suggests. The crybaby is a product of too much petting; the cure is to teach self-reliance. A bashful child is ill at ease. He should be worked into the play circle by degrees and with full praise of his achievements. Tomboys and sissies usually call for no special treatment; if let alone they will outgrow it. Often a place can be made in active games for a crippled child, but in the main he must be taught to enjoy passive pursuits.

Control of the Gang Boy.—Members of delinquent gangs are obviously not in a position to profit by the character-building work of school or community agencies. The need is to redirect their interests and energies, to tie them into an activity program that will in time supersede the gang in their life. A sound approach to the gang boy, and one adaptable to large city schools, is seen in the program of the Union League Boys' Club in Chicago.

A well-equipped building was provided and a director who "knew boys" was employed. The aims were to serve all eligible boys in the

district, to provide constructive ways for them to spend their time, and to advise with them on vocational and other problems. As a rule, gangs were not taken in as groups but enrolled as individuals. Leaders were interested, perhaps put on a team, and the rank and file tended to follow.

A curious device was the "fly trap," a clubroom close to the street entrance containing five pool tables. Here boys on the street could see and hear the games and they would gradually edge in and take part. Club leaders circulated among them, getting acquainted and connecting them with other features of the organization's program.

The club maintained athletic teams, various musical organizations, handicraft classes, a summer camp, a scholarship fund, a dental clinic, and two home visitors.[1]

While boys' clubs, under school or other auspices, are important means for the redirection of leisure, they have met with no unqualified success. In the most conclusive study to date, a study of the New York Boys' Clubs with 4,000 members, a chief finding was that these organizations had not decreased delinquency in the area or among their own members.[2] Since the study was made, these clubs have improved their personnel and techniques. Without doubt, boys' clubs in general are overcoming defects in their program, including the marked inability to reach the children who are most in need of their services.

Wider Use of the School Plant.—Time was when schools were local centers of youth and adult leisure pursuits, but with increasing urbanization this practice was all but discontinued. Lately a reverse trend has been noted. While only 10 per cent of the schools in Lundberg's study of suburban communities (1932) were centers of local area leisure pursuits, the percentage is probably too low for the nation today.[3] Evening classes and adult study groups, generally abolished during the depression, have been restored and expanded under federal Works Progress Administration funds. Folk arts and fine arts, handicraft and citizenship classes, nursery school and junior college work, have made their appearance. While there is no assurance of permanency in these efforts to educate for life and leisure, it seems likely that they will grow in public favor.

[1] Adapted from W. I. and D. S. Thomas, *The Child in America*, 188–189.

[2] Frederic M. Thrasher, "Boys' Clubs and Juvenile Delinquency," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 42(1936), 66–80.

[3] George Lundberg, *op. cit.;* also Eleanor Glueck, *The Community Use of the Schools;* E. T. Lies, *The New Leisure Challenges the Schools.*

Questions for Discussion

1. Outline the major trends in the nation's use of leisure. To what extent are these found in your community? Give examples.
2. Trace the developmental pattern of child play. What variables influence child play? Illustrate the effects of each.
3. Describe a play gang to which you have belonged. What is the gang's appeal to the average boy? Discuss its activities, leadership, and unity.
4. What interests you most about Rocco's gang life? Of what significance is this case to a prospective teacher?
5. In what specific ways can the school further the leisure pursuits of all groups within its community?
6. "If I had my life to live over," wrote Charles Darwin, "I would make a rule to read some poetry and listen to some music at least once a week." What rules for the use of leisure would you make?

Problems and Projects

1. Make a study of the leisure-time pursuits of some child group to which you have access.
2. Lead a class discussion on Bertrand Russell's essay, "In Praise of Idleness," in his *In Praise of Idleness, and Other Essays*, 11–34, or Henry P. Fairchild, "Exit the Gospel of Work," *Harper's Mag.*, 162(1931), 566–573.
3. Map the recreational facilities—public, private, and commercial—of your own community. Discuss their present uses and adequacy.
4. Make a case study of a boy gang, indicating its habitat, history, membership, admission, activities, delinquencies if any, leadership, and relation to the school.
5. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. The Play Movement. C. E. Rainwater, *The Play Movement in America.*
   b. Rural Recreation. Wilson Gee, *Social Economics of Agriculture*, Chap. XIX; N. L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology*, Chap. XXIII; Carl Taylor, *Rural Sociology*, Chap. XXI.
   c. Urban Recreation. M. R. Davies, *Problems of City Life*, Chap. V; Nels Anderson and E. C. Lindeman, *Urban Sociology*, Chap. VIII; N. P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society*, Chap. XVIII.
   d. Play and School Progress. H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty, "A Study of Play Activities in Relation to School Marks," *Soc. Forces*, 8(1930), 409–415.

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2. Anderson, C. S.: "All Nations Boys' Club, Los Angeles," in Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Preventing Crime: A Symposium*, 431–438.
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6. Hardy, M. C.: "The Out of School Activities of Well Adjusted and Poorly Adjusted Elementary School Pupils," *Psych. Bull.*, 31(1934), 750–751.
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8. Landesco, John: "The Life History of a Member of the '42' Gang," *Jour. Crim. Law and Crimin.*, 23(1932), 964–998.
9. Lehman, H. C.: "A Comparison of the Play Activities of Town and Country Children," *Pedagog. Semin.*, 38(1926), 455–476.
10. Lies, Eugene T.: *The New Leisure Challenges the School.*
11. Mitchell, E. D., and B. S. Mason: *The Theory of Play.*
12. Pangburn, W. W.: "Recreation," *Social Work Yearbook*, 1935, 405–415.
13. Partridge, E. D.: *Leadership Among Adolescent Boys.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 628. Columbia University, 1934.
14. Selling, L. S., and S. P. Stein: "Vocabulary and Argot of Delinquent Boys," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 39(1934), 674–677.
15. Thrasher, Frederic: "Boys' Clubs and Juvenile Delinquency," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 42(1936), 66–80.
16. Thrasher, Frederic: *The Gang* (rev. ed.), 1936.
17. Waller, Willard: *The Sociology of Teaching*, Chap. XIII, "Primary Groups among School Children."

CHAPTER X

SCHOOL LIFE

The march from Central High to the station had been staged as befitted a potential champion. And now the team was boarding the train which would carry it to the state tournament. As hero after hero swung down the narrow lane of cheering fans, he was given many slaps on the back and much last-minute advice. With the appearance of the coach, pandemonium broke loose. The noise was deafening. The crowd saw the coach shake hands with the superintendent of schools as a farewell gesture, but it did not hear the exhange of words between them. "What silliness," said the superintendent, a veteran of many years, "what unmitigated silliness. I don't understand it." Though the coach is not known for repartee, his reply made local history. It was, simply, "Don't you wish you could?"

It is commonplace to remark that we need not cross the seas to find strange customs. Within the school, behavior takes many curious forms. Here is a network of activities, exercises, traditions, folklore, and moral codes. Here is a special culture adapted or created to serve the out-of-class interests of the young. This is "school life" as the pupil defines it, and if we are to understand the many forces that shape personality, the culture of the school cannot be dismissed as inconsequential. It must be studied as is any other aspect of the child's social world.

A. ASPECTS OF SCHOOL HISTORY

Growth of Schools.—Public schools are not old as basic institutions go, yet we take them very much for granted. In 1830, the typical school of the nation was a poorly equipped frontier institution.[1] A few larger cities maintained adequate schools for the times, but pioneers on the expanding rim of settlement were forced to shift as best they could in educating their children. Many communities were without schools and others held meetings in private homes. Teachers were usually

[1] Charles H. Judd, "Education," in Charles A. Beard (editor), *A Century of Progress*, 357–379.

men, and the school year was seldom more than 10 or 12 weeks in length. Until well after 1840, the average schooling is reported as 208 days per year.

The frontier school had one great virtue which was passed on to all succeeding school systems. It was democratic in spirit and in organization. The little education it did provide was open to all the children of all the people. In this respect, it differed from European schools. There society was divided into the aristocracy and the common people, and schools were dual in nature. One division admitted only children of the upper classes; the other gave a limited training to children of the lower classes. Many American seaboard cities, old and aristocratic, tended to imitate the European pattern. Boston, for example, had its Latin School, which was distinct from the common school. Wealthy Virginians sent their young people to England to be educated, and several colonies established "pauper schools" for the poor.

On the frontier, there was no disposition to imitate Europe. Hereditary class lines were not recognized, the struggle for existence was severe, and society knew little of culture in a literary sense. Public education reflected each of these traits. As outposts developed into towns and towns into cities, schools increased in number and improved in offerings. They continued to take boys and girls of rich families and poor on an equal footing, the exception being the children of nonwhite races. Schools were called "common" or "district" and were elementary in nature. In 1840, there were less than 25 public high schools in the nation. As late as 1850, most pupils who went beyond the elementary level attended private and denominational academies. Such schools numbered about 6,000.

The years 1890 to 1929 are viewed as the era of greatest public high school expansion. The time was one of palatial school buildings, enormous increases in registration, enrichment of the curriculum, and marked improvement in teacher training. From 1880 to 1930, enrollment in secondary schools increased from 110,277, or 2.8 per cent of all persons 14 to 17 years of age inclusively, to 4,354,815, or 46.6 per cent of all 14- to 17-year-olds.[1] This is a significant development in view of the fact that

[1] Grayson N. Kefauver, *et al.*, "The Secondary School Population," *Off. of Educ., Wash., Bull.* 17, 1933.

European countries register less than 10 per cent of their youth in schools corresponding to our high schools. In 1930, the United States had 20,000 high schools and more than 900 colleges and junior colleges. These institutions enrolled more than 29,000,000 students.

Population and Schools.—Apparently America is destined to enter a new phase in its national history owing to the end of what has been a spectacular population growth. The western movement of peoples is a thing of the past, immigrant outgo since 1924 has equaled or exceeded inflow, and the birth rate has dropped precipitately from a 1921 peak.[1] From all indications we may expect a stationary population or even a decreasing one by 1950 or 1960, and this reversal of our historic growth process will affect all aspects of national life and culture.

The point of special interest to educators is the diminishing child population. In 1930, and for the first time, there were fewer children under 5 in a census count than in any preceding census count. Furthermore, there were fewer children under 5 than between 5 and 10. In 1924, births totaled about 2,900,000; in 1933 and 1934, they had dropped to around 2,300,000.[2] There were about 9 per cent fewer children in 1934 than in 1930, and 7 per cent fewer in the age group 5 to 10. In 1935, there were 100,000 more youngsters finishing elementary school than ever before in our history—or likely ever again—for the falling birth rate had not yet affected the upper grade level. By 1940, it is estimated that there will be 200,000 fewer children 14 years of age than in 1930, and by 1950 possibly 600,000 to 700,000 less.[3]

Being a vast country and with profound local differences, all sections of the nation will not be affected in the same way by the decrease in child population. Farming districts in the West and South will be least influenced and the urbanized East and Middle Atlantic states most influenced. In 1930, many cities reported decreases in elementary school enrollment and, at the same time, increases in the upper grades. Losses for 1936–1937 are not yet known, but they will be severe. By this date, the first grades

[1] *Recent Social Trends*, Chap. I, "Population."

[2] For a detailed analysis, see Rufus D. Smith, "Population and Schools," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 9(1936), 449–468.

[3] O. E. Baker, *Commercial Agriculture and National Welfare*, 1. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1935.

will reflect the low 1930–1931 birth rates.[1] Barring unforeseen factors, this downward trend in elementary pupils will be felt with time at upper grade levels, then in high schools and colleges.

A decreasing child population will force many changes on education. Up to the present, the problem has been to build schools fast enough to keep pace with population expansion. On the wave of this "booster psychology," many communities have taxed themselves to the limit in an orgy of school building.[2] If the competition in "million dollar plants" should continue, it can result in nothing other than a wasteful overexpansion of educational facilities.

From the standpoint of educational planning, the need is not for more schools. It is for the relocation of schools in the wake of rural and urban population shifts, and for rural school consolidation. It is a well-known fact that traditional one-room schools are disappearing. Of the 217,000 rural public schools in the nation (1935), 143,000 were one-room, one-teacher affairs with an enrollment of from one to forty pupils. About 250 of these schools had only one pupil and 7,000 had five or less.[3] State aid to weak districts has been a trump card in forcing the elimination of one-room schools. Fearful of losing state funds, local areas have joined in the support of a centralized school.[4]

Further implications of a decreasing child population may be noted. Presumably the need for new teachers will lessen and the demand for better teachers should increase. Parents may be expected to show more interest in education, as in other aspects of child life. Instruction can be further individualized in the school, and in time child guidance may assume the importance to which it is entitled. A knowledge of these changes and others should have permeated teacher training institutions and led to basic alterations in their programs. Colleges may anticipate difficulty in placing the present large quotas of prospective

[1] For instance, New York City's 1936 enrollment for all schools dropped by about 9,000 from the 1935 total. On the first day of school, elementary schools were about 17,000 short of the figure for the preceding year. Junior and regular high schools reported increases over 1935.

[2] See Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, Chap. VI, "Training the Young."

[3] Press release April 22, 1935, of the United States Office of Education.

[4] *Cf.* T. C. Holy and J. A. McKnight, *Study of Local School Units in Ohio.* Ohio State Dept. of Educ. and U. S. Office of Educ., 1937.

teachers and this, in turn, suggests the possibility of further teacher specialization.

The College Pattern.—High school officials are wont to protest the domination of their curricula by college entrance requirements. Domination of another kind is found in the shadow cast by the campus over the social life and activities of the lower school. In countless ways, the pattern of its extracurricular pursuits is set by the college and the university. Thus it is relevant to inquire into the ways in which the average college student spends his "leisure time."

To many high school pupils, college life has been advertised as so much unchecked rah-rahism. Its high spots are alleged to be petting parties, bull sessions, hell weeks, football riots, proms, politics, a dash to class now and then, and cramming for examinations. That this picture is overdrawn is obvious; in fact, as a result of the depression, its opposite is coming into existence. The college student is portrayed as extremely serious because a troubled world rests on his shoulders. He is overburdened with doubt, work, and worry.

To hold that both portraits are caricatures does not make known the facts in the case. Fortunately, the undergraduate's out-of-class activities have been surveyed at one large Midwestern university.[1] Seven hundred students were interviewed and time-use schedules filled out. From the findings, we may create John Jones, a typical undergraduate. Endowed with the composite traits of his fellows, he behaves as follows for an average week.

John rises in the morning after seven or eight hours of sleep, and dashes off to an eight o'clock class. During the next hour he eats breakfast and at ten o'clock he is back in a lecture room. By noon, or with an additional afternoon hour, he is through with class attendance. If he has a job, and chances are about one in four, it is likely to be in a restaurant where he works three hours for three meals. After work at noon, he goes to his room, catches up on sleep, studies, or loafs with housemates. He has about six hours per day left over from studies, work, and sleep for leisure pursuits. One hour disappears from mind; the remaining hours are spent in a number of ways.

At some point in a typical day, a session with fraternity brothers or rooming-house friends is called for. John is amazed to find that the

[1] "Undergraduates: A Case Study," *New York Times Mag.*, Jan. 12, 1936, 6 ff.

ensuing discussion of sports, dates, lessons, and social problems consumes about five hours per week. He is one of five students who can play a musical instrument but the practice is discouraged by his fellows. Like them, he prefers the radio, devoting three and one-half hours per week to broadcasts. Among three students, John is the one who admits drinking. He cannot afford to drive a car but one in seven students can and does. With considerable regularity, John joins him for a trip to an athletic contest, a dance at a night club or elsewhere. Dancing, exclusive of other forms of dating, uses up about three and one-half hours of an average week.

John averages one and one-half hours per week at card games. Among amusements, ping-pong is the favorite; billiards, bowling, and chess scarcely exist. All nonathletic games take less than two hours a week. Five out of seven of John's housemates devote three hours to some form of physical exercise, swimming, basketball, and walking being most popular. The time given to all sports falls short of that given to two passive amusements: reading and theatergoing. These interests account for six hours per week. Reading is likely to be light and aimless, and motion-picture attendance is not confined to the week end.

One and one-half hours a week go to organized campus activities, such as student government, club programs, and class events. Contrary to popular impression, extracurricular interests form no real threat to John's scholastic progress. Public lectures, the unorganized activity that ranked highest in popularity, are attended by only a third of the student body during the year. Concerts, plays, art exhibits, public forums, and educational pictures attract from eight to thirty-four per cent of all campus students.

This account does not argue well for the undergraduate's use of leisure. Too much of his time is spent in aimless and unplanned activities. In theory, the classroom reorients many of his ideas and attitudes toward life, but it leaves relatively unaltered the pattern of recreational pursuits which he brings from home and high school. Having had little preparation for being "on his own" in respect to leisure, he misses much that the campus has to offer. Aware of this, a few colleges have studied their recreational offerings and reorganized their program.

B. SCHOOL LIFE AND THE STUDENT

School Life: A Student View.—With the bell marking the passing of classes or the end of a workday, halls are jammed with young people. Their animated chatter fills the air. Dates are made, meetings arranged, and incidents of the day relived.

Nowhere, so far as is known, is there a diary record of a student's participation in the social life of the school over a period of time. The following random bits of experience at the high school level are suggestive but not complete.

I entered Pilgrim High as a sophomore and hence escaped the hazing meted out to freshmen. Pilgrim enrolls about 2,000 students and its sheer bigness left me gasping. For the first week I was thoroughly lost. My homeroom teacher helped some and I made some friends, but I felt like a stranger in a strange place. The reason was that everybody was busy. Everybody was going somewhere or doing something, and the life of the place seemed to pass by me at such speed that I could not catch on.

For one thing, I was inexperienced. I had country written all over me—my clothes, my personal appearance, my mannerisms. I could not meet other students in a free and easy way, and I felt very self-conscious in their presence. I had no special talent, like dancing, singing, or playing a musical instrument, which would give me a social rating, and I had no important friends or backgrounds. My family was just another set of Smiths, and there were too many claims on our car for me to use it in hauling around the gang.

That first year at Pilgrim was discouraging from every point of view. We had a good many clubs and activities but I made very few of them. I dated a little but guess I was in love only once. I thought she was the real thing until I found her using the same line on other fellows. It was: "You know, Jack, you could make something of yourself, something big and important." And then the boy would say: "Would that make a difference?" The answer never seemed to vary: "I'd be so proud of you, honey, so proud." I guess she sent more fellows to do and dare for alma mater than all the assembly pep talks put together.

In my junior year I knew more people and things were better. More than anything else, I wanted to play football. I had played in grade school. In fact, dad had been center on his college team and was resolved to make a player out of me. When the call came, I turned out. After a practice or two, I was put on the scrubs and that life was no bed of roses. So many plays were run over me or against me that I used to check on arms and legs just to see if everything was still there. Our varsity was tough and it was good, else it could not have won its schedule that year and the next.

At the start of my senior year, I resolved to make the first team. Everything in school, including classwork, took a dim second place in my mind. I turned out regularly for practice and gave everything I had, but the best I could do was to warm the bench as a sub. I have no regrets now for those two years because I learned a lot in playing foot-

ball. I learned to keep on fighting when the odds are against you. I learned self-discipline, the self-bossing that makes you do the right thing when you know it is right. I learned that a person can do his part without an iota of credit and yet feel he has had some share in making the school what it is. That sounds like "applesauce" for the eighth grader but I subscribe to it now as then.

In my senior year I made the best fraternity at school. Greek letter organizations were banned at Pilgrim, yet they flourished on the quiet. They had initiations, pins, grips, and dues, much as in college. I missed the honorary societies by a mile, and as for taking part in dramatics and the like, the gang looked on all that as pretty sissy. We had lots of fun that last year and little of it centered around the things the school taught.

This case indicates something of the way in which an adolescent becomes immersed in the life of the school. It is reasonable to expect that a more detailed record would show a cycle of change in attitudes and behavior from isolation, through initial contacts, competition, conflict, tentative adjustments, and eventual assimilation. This process at the college level is suggested in the experiences of an immigrant boy.[1]

The School: An Interpretation.—As a "social organism," the school is said to have five distinguishing characteristics.[2] It is a population aggregate. This population is divisible into those who teach and those who learn. Teachers and pupils are separated by maturity and authority, social status and educational role. Whether we think of one group or the other, the school's population is highly mobile, transient, and unsettled.

The school is a political structure. With a human content of heterogeneous and often hostile elements, the school's existence involves a perpetual struggle for control. Ultimate control may rest in an organized student body, as often affirmed, yet faculty rule is the present reality. In general, this takes the form of a "line and staff" organization reaching down from the superintendent through the principals to the supervisors and teachers. Real student government is rare, school morale being maintained by informal controls, the supervision of extracurricular activities, and disciplinary actions.

[1] M. E. Ravage, *An American in the Making.*

[2] Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching*, Chap. II, "The School as a Social Organism."

The school is a unity of interacting personalities. For a fractional part of the day, boys and girls, men and women, live there. They meet and mingle but usually in conventional roles and at the social distance deemed right and proper. Within the student body, in-group attitudes arise and complicate the teacher's task of keeping order and punishing culprits. The same attitudes define the pupil's struggle for wish satisfaction within the school, the struggle for new experience, security, recognition, and response. Student groups mete out to their members prestige and disrepute, reward and punishment, as no teacher can do. Pupils classify their fellows: the clown, the goat, teacher's pet, the bully, the talebearer, the good fellow, and the leader. They classify their teachers: the young teacher who is unsure of himself, the kindly and tolerant adult, the unbending disciplinarian, the easy mark, the benevolent despot, the flirt, and the incompetent. These and other aspects of school life define the school as scheme of social relations.

The school is marked by a pervasive we-group spirit. This is an identification of the individual with the school as a collective representation in a sociological sense. The most dramatic occasion for the expression of school spirit is found in the recurring celebrations and public spectacles associated with competitive athletics. Football, an example par excellence, lifts the average spectator to the pinnacle of emotional excitation.

Whether John Doe is a student or an old grad, he is a relatively unknown person. He has never counted for much in the life of the school. At present he is sitting in the stadium, his shoulders wedged against the shoulders of persons next to him. For an hour he has been in this position and the cold has started to nibble at his toes and fingers. "Oh, well," he reflects, as the sun drops farther over the concrete wall, "the boys put up a real fight. To lose by a point to that bunch of giants isn't so bad."

And then, like a clap of thunder, a bellow comes from behind John Doe's neck. A knee hits him between the shoulders. Without realizing it, he stands up, drawn to his feet by everyone around him. Still in a daze, he sees a boy in Old Gold colors running down the field. He yells into a wall of yells that rises in crescendo as the boy flashes on. He clenches his fists and threshes about as if to protect the runner and pull him on. The boy sidesteps, straight-arms, meets the opposing safety man, and then is running free for a touchdown. "Who was it?" "Who was it?" John Doe shouts to all who will listen. Some face he

never saw before—will never see again—shouts to him: "Tippy! Good old Tippy Bronson!"

John Doe does not sit down. Five minutes later he is standing there, crumpled hat in hand, keeping time with the band and surrounded by a crowd that refuses to believe what it has just seen. He is warm now, warm through and through. There is a peculiar look on his face as he relives Old Gold's unexpected victory.

Spectators do not attend football games and yell themselves hoarse because they understand the intricacies of the sport. Nor would they go solely because the crowd is going, or because of the showy pageantry of the occasion. In time of war, robust patriots and timid ones rally to the support of the nation, and so with a school population on the day of a big game. Football is conflict. Before the game and during its occurrence, the atmosphere is that of combat. "Fight," say the school orators at pep sessions; "fight," yell the cheerleaders on the field, and the cry is reechoed by delirious fans; "go out there and fight," exhorts the coach. Football is sublimated battle, and in it persons can find release for pent-up emotions. For the moment, they break away from the routines of daily life; they find emotional catharsis and expand their ego. To the extent that the individual is caught up in the contagion of the crowd and feels *en rapport* with its changing moods, he becomes a unit in the we-group that is the school.

Finally, the school is a special cultural world. It has a distinctive heritage of conduct codes. It has fashions in dress and in personal beautification—informal rules which dictate the color of ties and crease of trousers, tint of face powder and wave of hair. It has ceremonials and traditions, such as those governing assembly exercises, the awarding of letters, and commencement day services. It has a stock of legendary heroes with a mythology glorifying their achievements. In one university, the following story has gained wide circulation.

A wild kick landed the pigskin near a group of student spectators. One of them picked up the ball and fired it all the way back on a dead level and with unerring accuracy. Knute Rockne hurdled two benches and a student manager to reach the unknown thrower.

"Are you eligible?" he demanded. "Sure," grinned the student. "Can you play football?" "Sure," came the laconic reply. "I'm not kidding," shot back the great Rockne, "get a suit and report." The lad

obeyed; his name was George Gipp, and for football fans no more need be added.

Presumably the culture of the school comes into being to meet the life needs of youth. It provides interests and outlets which make the school livable. It may be created *de novo* or brought in from the larger world outside, but it cannot be made overnight. Recognizing the beauty and utility of established traditions, some schools have sought to create them by faculty fiat or student committee report. Such efforts, as a rule, are both pathetic and abortive, for traditions are a growth and they require the stabilizing process of time. From an administrative standpoint, the culture of the school unifies divisive elements within the population and provides a mechanism for social control.

Extracurricular Activities.—Of particular importance in school life are the culture complexes known as extracurricular activities. By definition, these are out-of-class pursuits in which pupils enjoy a degree of freedom in planning and control. Such pursuits grew up around the formal program of the academies in the late eighteenth century and were carried over into the first high schools. In modern schools of less than 500 enrollment, extracurricular activities range in number from ten to fifteen; in larger schools, as a student paper indicates, they vary from perhaps twenty to thirty-five or forty.

I never knew all the clubs and activities at West High but those I remember can be grouped under eight headings. Art: painting, ceramics, basketry, and leathercraft; Athletics: football, basketball, baseball, gymnastics, tennis, and track; Clubs: departmental, honorary, hobbies, Scouts, Campfire, 4-H, and Hi-Y; Forensics: debating, oratory, dramatics, and class plays; Music: band, orchestra, and glee clubs; Publications: annual, monthly magazine, weekly newspaper, school directory; School Affairs: general assembly, school council, homeroom organization; Social: class, fraternities (sub rosa), and special cliques.

In an unpublished survey of 154 Ohio high schools, it was found that all schools had clubs under the headings of forensics, sports, and music.[1] Schools enrolling 1,000 or more students had approximately the activities program listed above. Pupil

[1] Irving E. Blume, *Social Activities in Ohio Secondary Schools.* Ohio State University, 1937.

participation was voluntary in all cases except homeroom organization and general assemblies. Without exception, participation was supervised, and in most schools it was scheduled as a part of the student's daily program, though it carried no academic credit.

Data secured from 161 school principals and 115 teachers' colleges show that (1) 76 per cent of all high school teachers participate in guiding and directing extracurricular activities, (2) the vast majority of principals desire teachers who are trained in this work, (3) 97 per cent advocate that students participate in such activities while in college, and (4) 88 per cent of teachers' college students actually participated in one or more activities.[1]

C. PLANNING FOR SCHOOL LIFE

Personality Outcomes.—Many personality values have been claimed for pupil participation in the school's social life. It has been said that such participation provides an outlet for the student's surplus energy. Whether this energy be physical or psychological, it is drained off into the school's varied play program. A second value frequently cited is that extracurricular pursuits of all kinds tend to divert pupil attention from undesirable channels of interest, such as an overpreoccupation with sex. A third value, and one more inclusive than any other, is that of socialization. School life offers the student abundant opportunities for creative self-expression, a widening circle of friends and acquaintances, and a chance to take part with others in inherently interesting forms of activity. Thus it leads to good citizenship, an increasing social sensitivity, and a sense of school loyalty and responsibility.

That school life may carry negative values is also recognized It may fall too heavily on the shoulders of a few students and thu result in physical strain, mental fatigue, and overstimulation. I may be noneducative in the sense that it involves repetition o skills and abilities already mastered. It may consume an undu amount of student time and thus interfere with classroom work

Furthermore, student activities may be so organized as t exclude a major part of the school population. Highly skille

[1] Eugene S. Briggs, *The Preparation of Secondary Teachers in Teache Colleges for Guiding and Directing Extra-class Activities* (1935).

or competitive pursuits, exclusive social clubs, a faculty drive to develop winners in state scholarship contests, illustrate ways in which the participation base is narrowed. Nonclass activities may degenerate to the level of superficial performance. The banality of some school newspapers, the tendency to copy certain features of the college annual, the rowdyism of minstrel shows, the inartistic production of class plays, the manipulation of school elections, the recitation of meaningless arguments in debates, all suggest an unhealthy emphasis in personality development. Lastly, faculty control may become so complete as to reduce pupil participation to mere formalism.

For the above reasons, a teacher may well approach the activities program of a school with caution. Extracurricular pursuits of all kinds make their maximum contribution to pupil growth only when they are intelligently devised and directed.[1]

Social Guidance in the School.—The control of extracurricular activities cannot be divorced from the school's larger problem of social guidance. From a common-sense view, guidance is a thoughtful attempt to help a person meet a crisis in his life; it is an effort to aid him in reaching an intelligent solution to a problem. In what areas of life do high school pupils need guidance? Given the opportunity, what questions do they ask? Love studied this problem over a two-year period.[2] Conferences were held with some 360 high school seniors in 14 high schools. Among the hundreds of questions asked, the most common dealt with college, a job, a career, love affairs, health and sex problems, athletic ambitions, making friends, inferiorities and antipathies. Typical questions were:

Should I go to work or go to college? Which college is best? Can a boy work his way through college? What will college cost? What kind of work am I best fitted for? How can I find out what one should know to be a machinist? Do big companies take high school graduates for special training? Should I plan to be a trained nurse? What do you think of girls smoking? Why is it so hard for me to keep friends? Should I learn to dance even if my parents disapprove? If sex is normal, why don't people act like it is? Is petting dangerous to morals? Is birth control wrong? How can I break away from the gang I am

[1] Edgar M. Draper, *Principles and Technique of Curriculum Making* (1936), Part II, Chap. III, "Relating Curricula to Life."

[2] Leston L. Love, *Guidance Problems of High School Seniors.* Ph.D. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1932.

running with? Can a person study science and believe in the Bible? Should I leave home because I am so unhappy there? Can I write to you sometime about some of the things that bother me so?

For boys, 71.4 per cent of the questions were classified as vocational, 22 per cent educational, and 6.6 per cent personal or social adjustment; for girls, the percentages were 65.9, 26, and 8.1.

It is a significant commentary that the 14 schools at the time of study were apparently offering no effective guidance along these lines. If the school is to play a part in adjusting the adolescent to the world about him, it must organize itself for dealing with the types of problems reported. The quality of its services will vary with its orienting philosophy, mechanics of guidance, and teacher personnel.

That each school has a social philosophy of some kind is a fairly evident fact. Issues arise, decisions are made, and action is taken. Whether the school's outlook is narrowly academic or broadly social, authoritarian or democratic, teacher-, subject-, or pupil-centered, it is a determinant of school policies. Certain questions concerning the school's philosophy appear to be basic to an adequate guidance program.

Is the conduct of the school conducive to group thinking by all persons concerned, including teachers, pupils, and parents? Is the school's philosophy a growing point of view which attempts to foresee new problems and to plan for their solution? Does it provide a sense of social direction in all areas of school life? Does it integrate class and nonclass activities so that both contribute to pupil growth? Is it adjusted to local community resources and conditions? Is the school program evaluated in terms of personality effects and replanned in view of these findings?

The mechanics of guidance, as it reaches down from the principal to the subject teachers, the homeroom teachers, class advisers, faculty sponsors, outside agencies and specialists, is much too complex for concise presentation. One aspect of the process that is often underrated is that of records and their use. As "tools" in the study of children, records have four major values.[1] They should supply information of use in classroom teaching and in guidance. They should provide a basis for

[1] Marion Brown and Vibella Martin, "Records as Tools in the Study of Adolescents," *Educ. Res. Bull.*, 15(1936), 207–215.

reports to state and local authorities. They should be of assistance in planning research within the school. Finally, if pupils know that their significant activities are made a matter of record, this knowledge may motivate behavior in a desired direction.

If school records are to serve these purposes, they should be inclusive of all students, cumulative over time, and readily accessible for use. They should give both a cross-section and long-range view of pupil development. They should contain data on home backgrounds, leisure pursuits, school entrance and attendance, marks and credits, health examination and mental test results, personality inventories and achievement scores, the subject's own life history, extraclass activities, vocational aptitudes and plans. Whether record keeping of this nature will justify its time and costs remains to be determined by actual test.

Opinions will differ as to the type of teacher needed for guidance work. If the guidance point of view pervades the school as a whole, the average teacher should possess a personality that is attractive to students, an intimate knowledge of their world, a sufficient maturity to command their respect, a broad general education, and a record of successful experience as a teacher. Since so many guidance problems are personal and social, the teacher should be a participant in, and a student of, the pupils' social life and community backgrounds.

Directing Extraclass Activities.—These generalizations may be applied more closely to the pupils' out-of-class activities. It is not enough that all students be encouraged to participate in extracurricular events; the nature and outcomes of that participation should be studied from a guidance standpoint.

"Participation," writes Ruth Strang, "should proceed in an ascending spiral throughout high school into college and throughout college."[1] This suggests that pupil participation should be graded in somewhat the same way as regular classwork. A student would not be placed in a class for which he is not prepared, nor would he be permitted to repeat a course which he has mastered. So with nonclass pursuits. It is unwise to precipitate young persons into activities for which they have neither aptitude nor training, or to allow them to continue year after year in groups and events which have lost their educative values. Subject to pupil approval, an orderly progression can be worked

[1] Ruth Strang, *The Role of the Teacher in Personnel Work*, 273.

out. For example, a first position held by one high school boy was that of reporter. He was advanced to sports editor of the paper, next to editor, and, in his last year, to editor of the annual.

Even though studies show that school leaders are average or above in health and in scholarship, many report engaging in school affairs to the neglect of their studies and to their own fatigue.[1] A guidance program must find a way to help the able student in budgeting his time. Point systems have been used with success. Control is maintained by assigning point values to school positions and club membership, these values being roughly commensurate with the time and energy demanded by the activity or office. Students are rated as to the "weight" of the extraclass load they should carry and are then permitted to select units of participation up to their point quotas.

It may be taken as a matter of course that the educative values of clubs, activities, parties, exercises, and the like, are lost if the sponsor dominates the situation. While a teacher may be able to plan a more appropriate or successful program than students can arrange, to rob the latter of the right to manage the undertaking is poor pedagogy. Thus a cardinal principle of guidance should be to give students as much responsibility as they can discharge. So far as possible, and the limit will expand under guidance, pupils should be left free to plan the details of time and place, to make decisions, and to manage things and people. Students are quick to catch the inner attitudes of school officials, counselors, and others. They know whether or not they are trusted and how far they are trusted. When authority is taken out of their hands, they not unnaturally lose interest in the project.

Finally, the conclusion of each undertaking should be made an occasion for evaluation. Immediately following the activity there should be an open discussion of its success or failure, contributing factors, and apparent values. These deliberations, plus the suggestions which they generate, should be made a matter of record for succeeding groups of planners.

Questions for Discussion

1. What great change in population is significant for the school? Comment on its immediate and remote implications.

[1] Marion Brown, *Leadership among High School Pupils.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 559. Columbia University, 1933.

2. What impressions of college life were current in your high school? How did they affect pupil attitudes and behavior?

3. Discuss your own high school as a population aggregate. A political structure. A scheme of social relations. A cultural world. On what occasions was its we-group feeling most evident?

4. "A teacher may well approach the social activities program of a school with caution." Why? Comment on the personality values of extracurricular participation.

5. What is social guidance? Relate it to the school's philosophy. Discuss the nature and use of cumulative pupil records. What qualities should school counselors and sponsors possess?

Problems and Projects

1. Make a study of the "school spirit" of your college. List the principal ways in which it finds expression. What is its function in student life? In school control?

2. Catalogue the ceremonials of your high school. Analyze one as to forms and rituals, reasons for pupil participation, parts played by students and faculty members, and role in uniting the student body.

3. Make a study of several high school newspapers or annuals from the same school and from different schools. Trace the changes over time by comparing their content. Do these publications justify their effort and costs? On what evidence do you base your judgment?

4. Keep a "time-use" chart of your nonclass activities for an average week. Compare your findings with those reported for the typical undergraduate in the chapter.

5. Read Booth Tarkington's *Seventeen* or Robert Herrick's *Chimes.* Write a paper on student attitudes, quoting cases and materials descriptive of situations, points of view, and conduct.

6. Describe some school strike, riot, dissatisfaction, or scandal, and comment on its effects on the school population.

7. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. The Campus. Robert C. Angell, *The Campus: A Study in Undergraduate Adjustment.*
   b. Popular Songs. Sigmund Spaeth, *The Facts of Life in Popular Songs.*
   c. The Dance-hall World. Paul Cressy, *The Taxi-Dance Hall.*
   d. Adolescent Crushes. E. B. Hurlock and E. R. Klein, in *Child Dev.*, 5(1934), 63–80; Winifred V. Richmond, "Sex Problems of the Adolescent," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 8(1935), 333–341.
   e. Social Groups in the School. *The Grouping of Pupils*, Chap. V, "The Social Group in Education"; Chap. XII, "The Administration of Grouping in Secondary Schools." Thirty-fifth Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education.
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CHAPTER XI

CHILDREN WHO WORK

Hannah was four when first left at the end of a beet row to mind Tabia, age two years, and Alex, two months. At six, she crawled on hands and knees on the ground, grasping beet plants and pulling out the extra ones. "Adam yelled eternally that the beets had to be thinned. He got them up before daylight and he kept them at work until it was too dark to see." At ten, she split her knee with a beet knife. At sixteen, "make a move. We never get 'em thinned. Already we lose a day mit the funeral." This at dawn after the burial of her mother, a woman who hoed beets until the day before the birth of her eleventh child, the day of her death. So Hannah, product of the beet fields, gave up her dreams of high school and settled down to the care of a family.[1]

What is child labor? Most of us think of it as farm chores and routine household tasks. A boy slops the pigs or beds the horses; a girl dries the dishes or helps with the cleaning. Such experiences, and even the mine run of part-time jobs, are admittedly beneficial to young people. But beyond a certain point gainful work becomes injurious. Who are the nation's young workers? Where are they employed and under what conditions? What are the effects of their work on health, physical and mental growth, and social relations? If these effects are harmful to school progress, to what extent can the situation be improved? These are not new questions but they are significant ones to educators.

A. CHILD LABOR IN THE NATION

Young Workers.—It is impossible to know the exact number of gainful workers of school age. The only source of information is the census and it grossly understates the number.[2] Available

[1] Hope Sykes, *Second Hoeing* (1935).

[2] Census data are limited to children "reported" gainfully employed, include only the age range ten to seventeen years, and since 1910 have been taken in January when there is little demand for child labor in agriculture.

statistics, though incomplete, are not without value. In 1930, as seen in Table V, the nation's ten- to seventeen-year-old children totaled in round numbers 18,964,000. Of this number 2,146,000, or 11.3 per cent, were reported at work for pay. Almost two-fifths of the nation's seventeen-year-olds were at

TABLE V—YOUNG WORKERS: NUMBER, AGE, AND SEX (1920–1930)[1]

Age	Total			Male			Female		
	Total in thousands	Gainful workers		Total in thousands	Gainful workers		Total in thousands	Gainful workers	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
1930									
10–17 years	18,964	2,146	11.3	9,562	1,425	14.9	9,401	721	7.7
10–13 years	9,622	235	2.4	4,862	162	3.3	4,760	73	1.5
14 years....	2,382	158	6.6	1,206	111	9.2	1,176	47	4.0
15 years....	2,296	274	11.9	1,155	188	16.3	1,141	86	7.6
16 years....	2,367	588	24.8	1,182	387	32.7	1,185	201	17.0
17 years....	2,296	891	38.8	1,157	578	49.9	1,139	313	27.5
1920									
10–17 years	16,331	2,773	17.0	8,198	1,818	22.2	8,133	956	11.8
10–13 years	8,595	378	4.4	4,336	258	6.0	4,259	120	2.8
14 years....	2,046	258	12.6	1,033	175	16.9	1,013	83	8.2
15 years....	1,861	425	22.8	926	281	30.4	936	144	15.4
16 years....	1,973	779	39.5	977	501	51.3	996	278	27.4
17 years....	1,855	934	50.3	926	602	65.0	929	331	35.7

[1] Fifteenth Census, *Occupational Statistics*, U. S. Summary, p. 86.

work, and 235,000 children aged ten to thirteen were gainfully employed. At all age levels, the percentage of boys at work was about twice that of employed girls, being higher in upper brackets and lower at younger age ranges. Finally, the table shows a sharp decline in child labor over the two census periods. In 1930, for example, young workers of ten to fifteen totaled 667,000 as compared with 1,061,000 in 1920, a decrease of 37 per cent.

Occupation, Area, and Race.—Almost half (45.5) of the employed ten- to seventeen-year-olds in 1930 were in agriculture. As indicated also in Table VI, manufacturing and mechanical pur-

suits ranked second with 21.7 per cent. Domestic service and trade came third and fourth, with remaining occupations dwindling off to low percentages. Clearly agriculture is the one greatest user of children. Almost 9 out of each 10 persons in the ten to thirteen age group, and over 7 out of 10 at the fourteen-year age level, were in this type of work.

TABLE VI.—YOUNG WORKERS BY OCCUPATIONS: 1930[1]

Occupations	10 to 17 years		10 to 13 years		14 years		15 years		16 years		17 years	
	Number in thousands	Per cent	Number in thousands	Per cent	Number in thousands	Per cent	Number in thousands	Per cent	Number in thousands	Per cent	Number in thousands	Per cent
All occupations	2,146	100	235	100	158	100	274	100	588	100	891	100
Agriculture	976	45.5	206	87.4	114	72.1	150	54 8	231	39 2	275	30 9
Forestry and fishing	7	0 3	...	0 1	...	0 3	1	0 3	2	0 4	4	0 4
Extraction of minerals	20	0.9	...	0.1	...	0.1	1	0 3	6	1 1	12	1 4
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	466	21.7	5	2.0	14	9 1	49	17 9	150	25.5	248	27.8
Transportation and commerce	75	3.5	1	0.2	2	1.2	6	2 3	22	3.8	44	4.9
Trade	188	8.8	15	6.3	12	7 5	23	8.4	54	9.1	85	9.5
Public service	5	0.2	. .	0.1	...	0 1	...	0.1	1	0 1	3	0.4
Professional service	28	1.3	1	0 4	1	0.7	3	1.0	8	1 3	16	1.7
Domestic and personal service	209	9.8	8	3.2	11	7.1	27	10 0	66	11.3	97	10.9
Clerical occupations	172	8.0	1	0.3	3	1.8	13	4.8	48	8 2	107	12.0

[1] Fifteenth Census, *Occupational Statistics*, U. S. Summary, 87.

In respect to geographic distribution, the East South Central states ranked first with 26.9 of all children gainfully employed.[1] The South Atlantic states ranked second (18.8), and the West South Central states were third (15.5).[2] Nearly nine-tenths of all ten- to fifteen-year-old children in agriculture were found in these three Southern divisions of states. In nonagricultural pursuits, chiefly industrial and commercial, the South Atlantic,

[1] This census division includes Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi.

[2] South Atlantic States: Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; West South Central States: Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

New England, and Middle Atlantic divisions of states ranked in order named.[1]

As to be expected from the nation's ethnic make-up, the great bulk of employed children—about three-fourths of the total—are of native white stock. In the ten- to fifteen-year bracket, 61.1 per cent are native white, 36 per cent Negro, 2.3 per cent "other races" chiefly Mexican and Chinese, and the remaining 0.6 per cent foreign-born whites. These figures are not so significant as the ratio of employed children to total children in each ethnic classification. In 1930, the Negro race had almost five times as many of its ten- to fifteen-year-olds at work for pay as did the native white stock. "Other races" had twice as many and the foreign-born whites about two-thirds. These facts point to economic need as one principal cause of child labor.

Trend in Child Labor.—Table VII indicates the trend from 1870 to 1930 in the employment of children aged 10 to 15 years. It will be seen that the percentage of young workers increased

TABLE VII.—TREND IN EMPLOYMENT OF WORKERS 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE: 1870–1930[1]

Year	Number of children in thousands			Gainful workers					
				Number in thousands			Per cent		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1870	2,840	2,764	5,604	548	191	739	19.3	6.9	13.2
1880	3,376	3,273	6,649	825	293	1,118	24.4	9 0	16.8
1890	4,219	4,103	8,322	1,095	409	1,504	26.0	10.0	18.1
1900	4,852	4,761	9,613	1,264	486	1,750	26.1	10.2	18 2
1910	5,464	5,364	10,828	1,353	637	1,990	24.8	11.9	18.4
1920	6,295	6,208	12,503	714	347	1,061	11 3	5.6	8.5
1930	7,223	7,077	14,300	461	206	667	6.4	2.9	4 7

[1] Ninth Census, I, 698; Fifteenth Census, *Occupational Statistics*, U. S. Summary, 86.

from 13.2 in 1870 to 18.4 in 1910. The rate of increase was most rapid from 1870 to 1890, the period when machinery which children could operate was beginning to make heavy changes in industry. After 1910, the trend of child employment is down-

[1] New England: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; Middle Atlantic: New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

ward. While the number of children reported at work has continued to decline, it is necessary to recall that 2¼ million children ten to seventeen years of age were employed in 1930. Their number has decreased since the last census count, yet there is no doubt that a child labor problem still exists.

Four factors are of general importance in accounting for the downward trend in the employment of children. One is the economic depression. "Job scarcity" has affected young workers as well as older ones; in truth, children have been unable to compete with the host of unemployed persons beyond school age. Another factor is the fact that many industries can no longer use children to maximum advantage even in normal times. Child workers are found incompetent to handle complex and expensive machinery, or else work tasks have been mechanized and the workers reduced in number.[1]

A third factor is prohibitive legislation. Much of this, such as state child labor laws and the pending amendment to the federal Constitution, aims directly at the control of child employment. Other legislation, notably compulsory school attendance laws and the now defunct National Recovery Administration codes, attacks the problem indirectly. A fourth factor, of real but incalculable significance, is the growing recognition of the "rights of children" to full physical, educational, and social development. This has been the stimulus for various kinds of child welfare movements.

B. WORK EXPERIENCES AND YOUTH

Fields of Child Labor.—Occupations of young workers parallel adult economic pursuits and are almost as complex. For study purposes, the ten census classifications may be regrouped as outlined in Chart 3.

A first division is between agricultural and nonagricultural occupations. Farming, the sole agricultural field, is divisible into general farming, one-crop staples, and migratory farm labor. Nonagricultural pursuits comprise four fields, each with various subdivisions.

Farming Pursuits.—Most children in general farming are employed on the home farm and seldom receive a specific wage.[2]

[1] Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Handbook*, 1929, 6356.

[2] *Cf.* White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *Child Labor*, Part II.

They assist in the planting, tending, and harvesting of grain crops, take care of stock, and do various kinds of labor as the need arises. Much of their work is out of doors, and hence healthful; much, too, is under the watchful eye of a considerate father. But whether or not these conditions prevail, children at work cannot be at school. Moreover, where circumstances enforce long hours and arduous labor upon the parent, the strain of similar work on immature children may not be appreciated.

Staple crops, such as cotton, tobacco, and beets, make considerable use of school children in numerous hand processes.

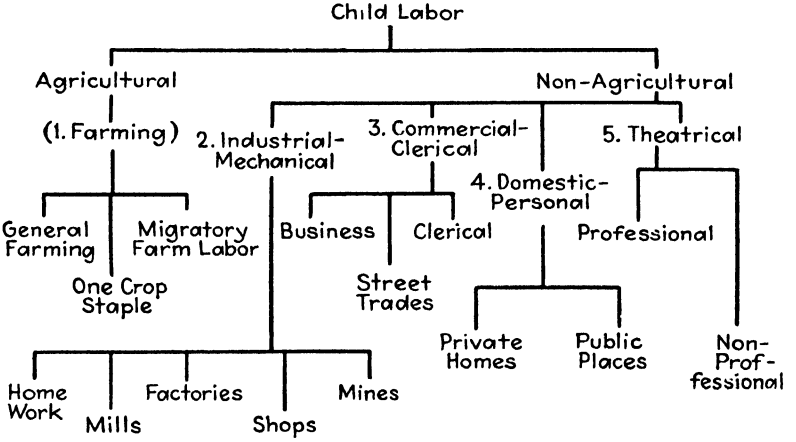

CHART 3.—Principal fields (1–5) and subdivisions of child labor pursuits.

The nature of this labor, as well as some of its obvious physical effects, is suggested in a 1926 study of 2,200 children in Southern tobacco fields.

In March or earlier, children help prepare plant beds—cutting, carrying, and piling up the brush to be burned. They also work the soil with hoe, spade, or plow, help plant the seeds and cover the beds. They assist in preparing the patches or fields in which the plants are to be reset. These plants are drawn from the beds, dropped in the field at marked spaces in rows, and set up by hand. Much of the cultivation is done by machines, but children do some hand hoeing.

Topping begins about the middle of July and suckering follows and continues until the tobacco is harvested. These are "stoop labor" tasks and are done through the hottest months of the year. Children complain of backaches; hands become blistered, skin irritated, and the odor of green tobacco is nauseating.

Harvesting starts about the middle of August and continues until late September. Where the method is still that of cutting, children cut. Others carry and drop the "sticks" upon which the green leaves are hung, fill the sticks and carry them to the barn or wagon. Filled sticks, weighing 25 pounds or more, must be kept off the ground, and a child under twelve can carry them only with difficulty.

Where tobacco is harvested by picking, small boys hitch along from plant to plant, turning from side to side to cover two rows at a time. At the second picking, some children stand but many kneel, preferring this to constant stooping. Younger workers must stand during the last few pickings, and even then they have to reach higher than is easy for them. Boys collect the leaves in baskets, dragging loads up to 55 pounds to the edge of the field.

Once the tobacco is in the barn, girls sit at long tables and help string or sew two leaves together, face to face, until there is a bunch of about 40. Stained hands and sore hands result from this operation. Children also help in housing the tobacco, handing sticks to men who hang them in tiers to dry. After curing has taken place, they help put the sticks in piles. Many do stripping, the removal of the dried leaves from the sticks, and they also do sorting and other tasks.[1]

Though migratory labor is used in many kinds of crops, children are engaged chiefly in berrypicking, in beet fields, on truck farms, in hop and onion fields. Often they are employed under a contract system. With their family or with one parent, they leave home in early spring, tend a crop or harvest a run of different crops, and return in the fall. Prior to the depression surplus of workers, various methods of recruiting a labor supply were in use. For instance, sugar-beet companies contracted with tenant growers for beet acreage and assumed the responsibility for obtaining their own workers. Frequently the promises made to these workers, many of whom are immigrant parents and their children, were not kept. During beet harvesting in particular, work is done under great pressure.

Perhaps the worst single feature of migratory farm labor is the matter of housing. Some families bring their own homes, arriving in automobiles or wagons laden with tents. Others become tenants, "taking up" in some vacated one- or two-room shanty. Still others, probably a majority, live in labor camps.[2]

[1] Adapted from Harriet A. Bryne, *Child Labor in Representative Tobacco Growing Areas.* Publ. Child. Bur., Washington, 1926.

[2] Corrington Gill, "WPA Replies to Farm Critics," *New York Times Mag.*, July 26, 1936.

One type of camp consists of long barracklike buildings known as "row houses"; another of separate buildings, often rude shacks; a third, found infrequently, is simply one large room in which workers of all ages and both sexes eat, live, and sleep. In some cases, labor camp buildings are kept neat and in repair, but commonly they are dingy and dirty, have leaky roofs, sagging floors, and dark, unsafe stairways.

Industrial-Mechanical.—Of the nonagricultural fields of child labor, the industrial-mechanical claims the most young workers. In 1930, it gave employment to one-fifth of the children engaged in gainful labor. As diagrammed in the chart, five lines of work are outstanding.

Industrial homework, the manufacturing of articles in the worker's home, has long been noted for its sweatshop conditions. It is a family industry, and all persons work. In a sample study of 298 tenement houses in one New York City district, about 60 per cent were found to be licensed for homework in 1930.[1] The bulk of their work consisted of needle trades and the making of artificial flowers at piece-rate prices so low as to net no more than $3 to $5 per family per week. Parents affirm that homework can be made to yield a living only with the aid of children. Studies have indicated that from 5 to 15 per cent of the boys and girls employed are under 8 years of age.[2] In the main, children work after school, in the evenings, and over week ends. Lighting in the workroom, usually the kitchen, is poor and eyestrain is common. Long hours and late hours send children to school fatigued and irritable.

Industrial homework is a shifting type of employment, rising and falling with the whims of fashion, the enforcement of prohibitory laws, the activity of relief agencies, and other factors. Apparently it is decreasing, but there is no reason to think that it will disappear.

Textile mills employ thousands of young workers. Eastern and Southern cotton mills are reported to be the greatest users of children, with silk mills employing about half as many, and woolen and worsted mills lesser percentages. Operatives are chiefly girls, the great majority of whom are beyond school age.

[1] Caroline Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 48–49.

[2] "Some Social and Economic Aspects of Home Work," *Bureau of Women in Industry, Spec. Bull.*, 158, New York, 1929.

While little is known about the conditions of work, industrial accidents, eyestrain, and skin poisoning are not unusual. Apparently machines are replacing hand labor.

Factories are of many kinds. Furniture, shoe, and paper plants are reported as employing workers of high school age, with perhaps the largest number being found in food factories. In a study of 560 fruit and vegetable canneries in 1925, about 80 per cent were using minors, the proportion under sixteen ranging from 10 to 90 per cent.[1] These workers sort, trim, and peel tomatoes; husk corn, shell peas, and snip beans; they hull and sort berries, clean and pack fruits, and do a variety of factory odd jobs such as moving, weighing, and labeling cans.

Without doubt the employment of minors in canneries has decreased, and the work has lightened. Still the peak of season rush may produce conditions dangerous to children of school age. Perishable products must be cared for without delay. Rush work and overtime work mean strain and fatigue. As the result chiefly of stringent workmen's compensation laws, many hazardous conditions of labor have been eliminated, yet workers may still be subjected to the dangers of wet floors, steam under pressure, extreme heat and cold, sharp knives, poor sanitation, and obstructed stairways.

Metal and woodworking shops and coal and iron mines are not heavy users of minors. The unsuitable nature of this work for immature persons is widely recognized in law and in employment practices.

Commercial-Clerical.—In 1930, over one-fifth of all workers seventeen years of age and under were in commercial-clerical occupations. The most important ones for boys were messengers, clerks, office boys, newsboys, peddlers, and helpers of one kind or another; for girls, salesgirls, office girls, clerks, and telephone operators.

Among business pursuits, the work of salesgirls is representative. Thousands of young workers, most of whom are beyond high school age, find employment in dime stores, novelty shops, and department stores. While the department store has been studied as a business concern, we know little about it as a social world. Donovan, a public school teacher, has made an explora-

[1] *Children in Fruit and Vegetable Canneries.* Publ. Child. Bur., No. 198. Washington, 1930.

tory investigation along the latter line.[1] A brief summary will suggest the nature of this study.

The large department store of today is founded upon sales, and sales are a matter of responsible service. Thus to hold customers, the store is at great pains to insure employee efficiency. It hires salesgirls only after physical and mental tests, gives them intensive in-service training in sales routine, care of stock, store history, etc. It provides a variety of "morale institutions," such as gymnasiums, a library, and a savings bank.

A salesgirl may be a person sixteen or sixty, a common school graduate or a professionally trained college woman. She must be in good health, neat in dress, punctual in habits, above average in intelligence, considerate of customers, cooperative toward fellow workers, and able to stand the physical fatigue and mental strain of store work. To her, the "store" is an ever-varied world of people on both sides of the counter, people with whom she must live for the work hours of the day, people who influence her success or failure, and shape her outlook on life and human nature.

"Shoptalk," an index of interests, hopes, and ambitions in the salesgirl's life, centers around the ordinary activities of young employed urbanites. In intimate circles, conversation drifts to friends and dates, new styles and how to wear them, a movie star who bought a handbag at counter 4, and bonuses and advancements. Where O. Henry had his shopgirls live in an attic room, many modern salesgirls live at home or in small efficiency apartments. In home pursuits and leisure-time activities, these girls reflect their lower middle-class origins.

Street trades are of special interest because they employ so many young children. They are predominantly part-time jobs, giving work to youngsters before and after school, on vacations and over week ends. They include paper selling, peddling, bootblacking, bill passing, commodity vending, stand tending, and a miscellany of odd jobs such as watching parked cars. Workers are often recruited from the lowest income level, and unfavorable home backgrounds are linked with equally unfavorable work conditions. Newspaper passing and selling claims more boys than any other street trade and hence may be taken as illustrative.

Boys who pass papers on routes are known to be a little older than average street trade workers.[2] In one study, they averaged

[1] Frances R. Donovan, *The Saleslady* (1929).

[2] Nettie P. McGill, *Children in Street Work*. Child. Bur. Publ., No. 183. Washington, 1928.

over twelve years of age, and sizable percentages were fourteen and fifteen. Paper passers are more likely to come from better homes, and their work is more closely supervised. Not uncommonly paper sellers are children under 12 years of age who secure their papers by agreement with older boys. While this practice is not condoned by responsible newspaper companies, it is evident that they are aware of what takes place.

Case studies show that street venders specialize in the sale of afternoon papers, starting when school is out and continuing until the demand falls off. In some instances, they work until ten o'clock or later on weeknights, and until midnight or after on week ends. Cases are on record of boys who left home Saturday morning, sold papers until a late hour, spent the night in a distributing room, sold Sunday morning papers, and returned home that afternoon. Weekly earnings range from a few cents to $5, with the average around $2.50. While a few studies of newsboys report adverse physical effects, due chiefly to exposure and irregular habits, the more serious effects are probably social in nature. They arise from contacts with downtown night life, from the sale of papers in places usually closed to children, and from experiences in unsupervised distributing stations.

Clerical workers, illustrated by office help, present no unique problems and hence may be passed over without comment.

Domestic-Personal.—Well over a tenth of all young workers are in domestic-personal services. A majority are house servants, waiters, and waitresses. Among boys, chore boys and bellboys, and among girls, nursemaids and beauty parlor operatives, also rank high. Less common are laundresses, janitors, ushers, cooks, pressers, caddies, and rackboys in pool halls and bowling alleys. In general, this type of labor is of public concern because of the dangers of long hours, low pay, trying work conditions, and sex exploitation.

Employment in private homes may be illustrated by nursemaiding. The following account, taken from a longer record by a student who was for a time a nursemaid, throws some light on experiences which are by no means unique.

Among a number of applicants, I got the job because the woman was French and I had learned this language in my own home as a child. My employer was in her late thirties and her husband, an army officer

stationed temporarily in the city, was much older. They had been married in France after the war, and had two children, a pair of badly spoiled little sons. After my first night with them, a long series of disobedient acts and temper tantrums, I was ready to quit and go home. But I stayed, and next morning, with Rufus and Dawson sleeping ever so soundly, "Janet, Oh, Janet! I do not permit the children to be left in bed after they awaken, dear. Take them out for their morning romp." This from a bundle of covers which I soon came to know and to dislike. Amid kicking and screaming, the little "dears" were dressed and taken out.

I knew that I could not hold the place unless the children could be brought to terms, and so I concentrated on Dawson, age six. Rufus, age four, only imitated his brother. I well remember that first breakfast. One cup of milk was welcomed, but a second was poured on the floor. Prunes were spit out and a dish of oatmeal upset in my lap. With no word of scolding, I prepared more prunes and more oatmeal. This induced another temper tantrum, and it brought madame who slapped Dawson so hard that his chair tipped over. He picked himself up without a whimper, his blue eyes filled with rage. Giving one look at his mother, who was by now stuffing sweet rolls, he dived at me and bit me on the leg. Mrs. Riley took no further notice of either of us, merely motioning me to take the children out to play.

At first I was criticized for not spanking the boys when they misbehaved, but the Captain said to let me try "my way" whatever it was. The afternoon bath, more so than the meals, was a battle royal. A former maid, so the housekeeper said, was discharged because of her inability to break Dawson of his "destructiveness." The routine was to see that the boy undressed, or undress him if need be, and put him in the tub. Here he kicked, screamed, splashed water over everything, threw soap and toys. On the second day, I slipped into an old dress and the boy had a real bath. The next time, I made a boat from a cake of ivory soap, suggested that he make the sail, and we sailed it together at bathtime. Little by little, the boy was won over by turning activities into play and by treating him as he had not been treated by any member of the household.

Several weeks after these first experiences, the family went to Mexico City on a vacation. Both boys were left in my care, and we had almost no trouble. On the family's return, Mrs. Riley rushed in to Rufus and smothered him with caresses—a greeting which surprised him as much as it did me and was obviously staged for the Captain's benefit. The boy ran to me and hid behind my dress. Mrs. Riley grew angry and said that I was turning her children against her. From then on, nothing I did was right. When half a cake disappeared, she said that I had eaten it. When her husband's ash tray was broken, "Janet gave

it to Rufus to play with." And then she became jealous of her husband on my account.

There was good reason to worry over the Captain's conduct. Both the housekeeper and I had no use for him. One day, on my day off, I missed the trolley to my home, and he offered to take me in his car. On the way, he made an improper proposal and I threatened to tell his wife. From that time on, he did not like this and that about my work. Furthermore, he became increasingly vulgar, coming into the children's room at night with next to nothing on. Knowing now that things were hopeless, I quit without notice and hence was not paid for the last four days of work. Though I needed the money, there was no way to collect it.

Unlike work of minors in private homes, their employment in public places has long been subject to regulation. Presumably the latter type of labor exposes them to more undesirable conditions. Waitresses have been studied more than other kind of workers in this area. The following personal history document is fairly typical. The writer, now a college student, obtained her first position in 1927 when she was thirteen and in the sixth grade. Her father was then an unskilled laborer and her mother did housework. She was the oldest of eight children, one of whom worked in a bowling alley and another as a bootblack. Her experiences are revealing both as to conditions of work and effect on attitudes.

I began at the Midway, in my home town, carrying out "dead dishes," went on after two weeks to counter trade, and ended there by making table setups. The Midway is found in every small city—cigars, sodas, roast beef, and soggy pies. When the family moved to Cleveland, and as long as we lived there, I worked in restaurants. Since I was in school, I worked night shifts except over the week ends.

Once I got fired for getting caught in the revolving doors and spilling a tray of dishes. Another time I slapped a smart little waitress who took my tip. For the most part, I just got tired of the dirt, the extra hours, the attitude of the boss or of some customer, and quit.

The Palace is typical of these restaurants. Nick, the owner, was Greek; Big Ben, the head cook, was black; bus boys and kitchen help were black, but all "front" help was white. Pay for the night shift averaged about $6 per week and tips. Unlike some of those gold diggers for dimes, I never ran over $2 a week in tips. It was here at Nick's that I learned a first big lesson. A waitress cannot be insulted and hold her job; the customer is always right no matter what he does or says.

My first work in New York was at a big chain cafeteria. All I can remember about it was the "step lively now, girls" and the frequent "you'll have to work extra tonight, dearie." The work was heavy and the pay—with tips included—was about $8.50 a week. The girls had no education to speak of, and as a group they were crude and vulgar. They lived in cheap lodging houses, entertained men in their rooms, and didn't read anything much but the tabloids.

When my family moved to Columbus, they wanted me to come back home, which I did. I found work at the ———, a classy little restaurant near the main hotel. Here I met a boy who was attending the state university. On his urging that I make something of myself, I got on the night shift and then I started to Central High School as a last-term junior. Since the restaurant was next to the hotel, we had many traveling men. They pay well in tips but I can't say that I like them. Some are all right but a good many are not. The latter I sent to an hotel bellboy whom I knew and he paid me a part of whatever they paid him.

From this lunch shop, I went to an "atmosphere tearoom" near the university. Customers here were always well-mannered and polite, even to waitresses. Here services had to be just so-so, salads set at the right angle and all of that. It was here, too, that I saw myself as I really was—a menial, always attentive to some person's needs, listening to conversations but taking no part in them. I decided then and there to quit the racket for good.

I like my present place all right (part-time work at a university club), but I think now of hopping tables as a stepping stone to something I really want to do.

Theatrical Pursuits.—Children find employment on the stage, at night clubs, in radio programs, and in motion pictures. They act, sing, dance, play musical instruments, do acrobatics, pose, model, and demonstrate household appliances. The number of school age children so employed is not known. Where records of any kind are available, the count is limited to those who possess work permits.

"Stage children" are usually divided into two classes, professional and nonprofessional, depending upon the extent and regularity of their employment and their acceptance of pay. The first are school pupils only incidentally. Some are kept in school in compliance with the law, others are returned to school after detection, and many have private tutors. The second class comprises school children to whom paid work is secondary. These youngsters are often talented persons. They are launched

on a "career" by their own parents, by dancing teachers and music teachers, by promoters of amateur nights, and by radio and screen "talent scouts." That a child actress or two make a fabulous salary is well known, yet the rank and file of stage children are "not particularly well paid."[1]

Stage children are better protected than in earlier days, but conditions of work are far from perfect. Among the factors singled out most frequently as definitely harmful are constant travel, irregular habits of living, prolonged rehearsals, worry over failure, denial of a normal play life, suggestive songs and dances, and associations of a questionable nature.

C. CHILD LABOR AND THE SCHOOL

Labor as One Factor.—Before relating child labor to school life, it is well to recognize that work for pay is only one factor in a multiple-factor situation. For example, where the employment of young people on the farm is heaviest, as in the South, there are found inferior schools, poor attendance laws, economic want, and parental ignorance. Or, to take an urban counterpart, street workers come predominantly from the most blighted areas of the city, areas of lowest socioeconomic status and highest social disorganization. Which is cause and which is effect? Apparently child labor is both an effect and a cause of these conditions. It is one link in a chain reaching from generation to generation, ever tending to perpetuate itself. Unless associated factors are isolated, the influences of labor can only be estimated in a general manner.

Effects on School Attendance.—Educational facilities in rural areas are not so good as in urban areas, yet rural children take less advantage of those offered. One reason, as already suggested, is the prevalent custom of using children in agricultural work. This is a contributory cause of late enrollment, irregular attendance, "crop vacations," shortened school terms, and the early withdrawal of pupils from school. To charge off the employment of children as due to "a callous streak in human nature," is to deal loosely with the social realities of the situation, *viz.*, the tradition of child labor and the economic necessity for

[1] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *Child Labor*, 180–209.

it. Where people are living in unbelievable poverty, the wisdom of attacking the problem by way of prohibitory legislation is not above criticism. The needs are for economic readjustment and adult education.

Gibbons attempted to gauge the weight of the child labor factor by studying all the pupils aged 14 to 17 in three selected Ohio communities.[1] About one-sixth of these 31,496 pupils were not enrolled in school. Of this number, 73 per cent were out ostensibly for employment. Three-fourths of the children at work were engaged in domestic service, factory labor, selling goods, delivery and messenger work. One-half gave economic reasons, such as "had to go to work," as the cause for leaving school. A majority of those remaining gave reasons connected with the school itself, such as "didn't like school." Four-fifths of the child workers had completed seven grades or more, and almost one-half did not have work certificates.

Effects on School Progress.—Research findings support the generalization that child workers show greater grade retardation, lower standards of achievement, and earlier withdrawals than do nonworkers. For example, for the 832 rural pupils with an eight-year record of school attendance—elementary grades through to high school in 1915 to 1922—in the Delaware public schools, nearly 40 per cent had fallen two or more years behind the norm.[2] Teachers ascribed this retardation to the short term of rural schools, irregular attendance, late entrance and early withdrawal in accordance with crop seasons, pupil indifference, illness, and low intelligence. In the one-teacher schools included in the study, both boys and girls incurred as many absences for work as for all other causes combined.

Migratory farm labor presents difficult problems in this connection. In California alone and prior to the depression, there were some 5,000 known transient workers under 16 years of age. The vast majority were Mexicans who followed the crops virtually the year round. Itinerant labor is one of the several factors which impede school progress. Many migratory children are not in any school long enough to adjust, and there is a tendency for the school to "let things slide" until they move on. Cali-

[1] C. E. Gibbons, *Administration of the Child Labor Law in Ohio* (1931).

[2] Herman Cooper, *An Accounting of Progress and Attendance of Rural School Children in Delaware* (1930).

fornia, with its schools which follow the pupil, is a possible exception to the rule.

On the whole, child labor interferes with school attendance, and irregular attendance plus the added strain of productive labor lowers scholastic achievement. It is to be regretted that no investigation has been undertaken to prove what one has every reason to suspect, namely, the positive correlation between school attendance and possible school progress. Children of average ability or above may be irregular in attendance and still be promoted. The question that needs to be answered is: what could the pupil have achieved had he been regular in attendance?

Control of Child Labor.—The idea that school life is more conducive to child development than is gainful work has been the basis for a vast amount of protective legislation.[1] With the exception of agricultural work, all kinds of child labor are now regulated by state laws. These laws set standards as to the age, health, and educational status of minors, and as to the hours and conditions of employment. They prohibit the work of young people in occupations defined as hazardous to life and limb, and provide for the issuance of work permits to children who qualify for them.

While the present trend is toward uniformly higher standards, the great differences from state to state in these laws and their enforcement has led to repeated efforts to secure federal legislation. Two child labor acts (1916, 1919) have been passed by Congress and each in turn declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. In 1924, an amendment to the Constitution was passed by Congress. It gave that body the power "to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age." Though it needs the ratification of eight additional states to become law, friends of children are still hopeful of its acceptance.

Child labor is regulated indirectly by compulsory education laws. Since 1918, all states have had laws requiring school attendance within variable lower and upper age limits. Usually attendance is required up to the age of sixteen.[2] Every state

[1] For an historical study of child labor legislation in one state, see Mary S. Callcott, *The Historical Development and Administrative Practices of Child Labor Laws in the State of New York: 1905–1930.*

[2] In 1935, 7 states required attendance up to the age of eighteen, 6 states to the age of seventeen, 31 states and the District of Columbia to the age of

permits exemptions, and those approved by some states clearly pull whatever teeth the school attendance law may have.[1]

Role of the School.—While any "final solution" for the child labor problem will depend upon far-reaching economic readjustments, schools are forced to deal with the situation from day to day. One point of attack is an immediate check on each and every absence from school. Whether or not such absence is "legal," it should be investigated because of what it may signify and to what it may lead. Should the cause be gainful labor, the teacher can discuss the problem with pupil and parents and take whatever further action may seem necessary. The school functions here more as a counselor than as a policeman, diagnostic and reference services being most frequently called for.

A second approach is through a better enforcement of attendance laws. For an attendance officer to serve properly, it is necessary to know how many children there are in the district, the date each child comes of school age, and the person responsible by law to see that he enters school. Every state now provides for a school census (33 for an annual census), yet child accounting is of all degrees of efficiency. Many rural communities seldom use this census for any purpose other than to secure school funds.

A third proposal, and one related closely to the two already listed, is an improvement in the personnel of attendance officers. In general, truant officers are selected by the local school board. Studies show them to be on the average without special training for their work, advanced in years, and guided by a child-chasing conception of their job.[2] The need is to professionalize this important service, and to give it over to persons who are trained and certified for the work.

A fourth step is the more general recognition of the responsibility placed upon every community to make it possible for children of school age to attend school. If the child lives some

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sixteen, 1 state to the age of fifteen, and 3 states to the age of fourteen. Data supplied by the Children's Bureau, Washington, November, 1935.

[1] See "Compulsory School Attendance Laws and Their Administration," 15–22, *Off. of Educ., Washington, Bull.* 4, 1935.

[2] C. C. Liebler, "Qualifications and Compensations of Persons Charged with the Enforcement of Compulsory Education," *Elem. Sch. Jour.*, 27(1926), 705; White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *The Delinquent Child*, 388–389.

distance away and transportation is lacking, if he does not have adequate clothing or proper school equipment, he is entitled to state aid and welfare services.

Finally, it is not enough to get a child to attend school; he must be provided for in the best way possible at school. It is evident that not all children drop out of school because they are forced to go to work by economic necessity. Many fail in their studies, grow dissatisfied with the school program, or see no value in their day-by-day activities. If the aim of education is to enrich the life of the learner and to assist him in making the most of whatever abilities he may possess, then the school must always be ready to adopt new and better ways of dealing with individual children.

Questions for Discussion

1. Summarize the pertinent census facts concerning the 2,146,000 children 10 to 17 years of age who were employed for pay in 1930.
2. What is the general trend in child labor? How is it to be explained? What effect has the depression had?
3. Why are so many children employed in agriculture? Under what arrangements do they work? With what effects, in your judgment?
4. What is industrial homework? How does it affect young people?
5. Have you observed school age youngsters at work in mills, factories, shops, or mines? Discuss their employment.
6. State the general ways in which exploitive labor influences the child's school life. What is the present status of the child labor amendment? Discuss the reasons for and against this federal legislation.
7. In what ways can schools take a more active part in dealing with the child labor problem?

Problems and Projects

1. Prepare a paper on your own vocational experiences, citing concrete examples of employment for pay and reflecting on their effects on your health and personality development.
2. To what extent are the young people of your community engaged in gainful work? Where are they employed? Lead a class discussion on this topic.
3. Investigate the work permit system in your community and make recommendations for its improvement.
4. Invite a social worker, school attendance officer, or other local representative to speak to the class on child labor.
5. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Patterns of Migratory Work. "The Migratory Casual-worker," *Works Prog. Adm., Div. of Soc. Res., Washington, Res. Mon.* 7, 1937.

b. Cost of a $5 Dress. Frances Perkins, in *Survey Graphic*, 22(1933) 75–78.

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CHAPTER XII

YOUTH ON THE ROAD

The freight came to a stop at the water tower and five boys and two girls dropped off. They hiked up the road and cut through the woods to an abandoned stone quarry. One girl, attired like a boy, took charge of "jungling in." A boy was sent down to the water hole to wash some leftover tins; another was dispatched to collect brushwood, and the others were sent to forage for food. Shortly the latter returned with their findings—a bag of new potatoes, a glass of jelly, three chickens, two heads of cabbage. The girls prepared the meal. Their hunger appeased, the young vagrants stretched out near the fire. The air had a threat of frost. When it gets cold, what then? "Then," said Texas with a yawn, "we'll go to California."

That other countries have their bands of child vagrants, destitute and criminal gangs of young migrants, is well known. What is not well known is that America is developing a similar army of restless young people, an army of penniless drifters, hoboes, and beggars. Who are these youthful transients and why do they leave home? How do they travel? Where do they live and what kind of a society are they creating? What are the effects of their experiences, and what programs have been devised to care for transient young people? Each of these questions gains in significance if viewed in the light of our national backgrounds.

A. MOBILITY IN AMERICAN LIFE

Restless America.—America today presents a picture of perhaps the most mobile society the world has ever seen. Nomadism, wanderlust, migration, and transiency are woven into the pattern of the nation's past and present existence. One thinks of the woodsman, the plainsman, and the pioneer. One thinks, too, of the immigrant stream, the cityward drift of rural dwellers, the horde of transient unemployed, the more or less aimless movement of trailer tourists, hitchhikers, and panhandlers.

Whatever the depression has done, it has not created *de novo* the tradition of mobility.

By the nature of things, we cannot know how many people are on the move at a given moment of time. Statistics are always incomplete and behind the procession. In 1924, Nylander estimated that from 1,700,000 to 2,000,000 men and boys were "beating their way" about the country.[1] A year earlier, Anderson put the number of homeless men in Chicago at 30,000 in good times and 75,000 in hard times. He reckoned that from 300,000 to 500,000 passed through the city in an average year.[2] Since 1929, the number of migratory persons has more than doubled. In 1930, the traveler's aid societies in 33 cities gave services of some kind to over 350,000 needy persons.[3] The Federal Emergency Relief Administration's transient program was liquidated in September, 1936, but not the transient. He remains. American railways report ejecting over 400,000 "trespassers" from trains during July, 1936.[4]

Since vast numbers of transients are drawn from the ranks of unemployed and dependent families, it is of interest to note the relief situation as it was near the peak of the depression. As of May, 1935, about one-seventh of the nation's population was wholly or in part dependent on public relief.[5] Almost one person in six was on relief in cities and one in eight in rural communities. Persons under 20 years of age made up about one-half of the relief load. As compared with the nation's population, this age group was greatly overrepresented because of the larger average size of destitute families. During 1933–1935, federal transient bureaus cared for 200,000 unattached persons and 50,000 family units.[6] About two-thirds of the first group and one-half of the heads of families were between the ages of 16 and 35.

Migrants Past and Present.—Man is distinguished from other animals by his mobility. From the beginning of history, he has been a wanderer over the face of the earth. In times of famine and war, social chaos and economic want, persons have

[1] Towne Nylander, *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 30(1924), 129.

[2] Nels Anderson, *The Hobo*, 23.

[3] U. S. Child. Bur. Publ. No. 209, 11.

[4] *Soc. Work Today*, 4(1936), 6.

[5] *On Relief*, p. 1. *Fed. Emer. Rel. Adm., Washington, Res. Sec.*, 1935.

[6] "The Transient Unemployed," *Works Prog. Adm., Washington, Res. Mon.* 3, 1935.

sought to escape by taking to the road. At other times, as during a colonizing movement, they have attempted to better themselves through migration. The New World colonies knew Old England's "poore roags" and "stronge, sturdie beggars." Like the motherland, they enforced the punishment of "XLII strip upon his beare skynne" or put on "the yong roag or idle loyterrer without fayle some clogge, chaine, or manacle."[1]

Accurately speaking, we had no serious vagrant problem in the nation before the exhaustion of free lands in 1890. Prior to this date, the ever-present need was for workers in the many and varied demands of nation building. From time to time, however, labor reserves were created for the building of canals, post roads, and railroads. On completing the work, these men were left to roam about and prey on the countryside. Numbers of persons were gathered up in the Civil War, held for the moment, and released to a still moving frontier and to the work of transcontinental railroad building.

With time, it has become apparent that our economic system rests upon a shifting and mobile supply of unskilled labor. The harvesting of crops, seasonal peaks in industrial production, the building of roads and bridges, depend upon this labor pool. In normal times, it is seldom drained, and its dregs become the transient unemployed. In periods of economic disorder, tens of thousands of steady workers are uprooted and thrown on the labor market. Jobless, bewildered, and in need, they drift from place to place in search of employment.

While the migrant has made such a breach between himself and the rest of society as to make distinction in type of limited value, such distinctions have been drawn. Hoboes are migratory casual workers; tramps are migratory nonworkers; bums are nonmigratory nonworkers. In the main, bums are alcoholics, drug addicts, the crippled, the aged, and the social parasites who live by begging, thievery, and petty rackets. To these should be added the types produced in part by the present depression: the unemployed steady worker already referred to, transient families, homeless women and gangs of child itinerants.[2]

[1] Frank Bruno, *The Theory of Social Work*, Chap. XXIX, "Homelessness."

[2] Wilson classifies transient families into tourists, job hunters, job evaders (mendicants), health seekers, and chronic dependents. Robert S. Wilson, "Transient Families," *The Family*, 11(1930), 243–251.

For the first time in our history, young migrants have within their ranks a considerable number of unattached girls.

Homeless Men at Home.—A glimpse of the homeless men "at home" will give an idea of their predepression nature and life. The following account is of hobohemia as Anderson found it in 1923.[1]

In an average year, well over 300,000 homeless men pass through Chicago. They are most numerous, and stay longest, during the cold winter months. Among them are casual workers of all kinds, beggars, peddlers, cripples, immigrants, black sheep of respectable families, criminals, and persons who, for some reason, wish to lose themselves in the stream of anonymous humanity. They have far more than their share of the unskilled and incompetent, uneducated and maladjusted.

They come to Chicago because of unemployment, industrial inadequacy, crises in personal life, and wanderlust. They come, too, because the roads lead there. If they ride the rails as most do, 39 lines make the city the railroad capital of the Midwest. They come to get by during lean winter months. If city relief gives out, there are endless opportunities for begging, for pilfering garbage cans, and for fleecing suckers. At the worst, they can work at dishwashing, dock walloping, or other intermittent jobs and make the 40 cents which it costs to live a day. They come, finally, to get medical attention. If a man gets sick on the road, he knows that chances for treatment are best in the large city.

The homeless man's habitat comprises four areas. West Madison Street, the "slave market," is so named because of its many employment agencies. It is a childless, almost a womanless, area. Its streets are thronged with "bindle stiffs" fresh off the road, with peddlers, petty gamblers, moochers, and "con men." State Street, hobohemia's "playground," is lined with burlesque shows and flophouses, pawnshops and barber colleges, gambling places and disorderly houses. Clark Street, the "main stem," is a center for hobo radicals and soapboxers, "bug clubs," I.W.W. bookstores, and the one "hobo college." The Lake Front is known as the "jungle." Here vagrants cook their mulligan stew, mend and patch clothing, sleep on the ground or on benches, and enjoy the company of their kind.

The problem of what to do with these footloose men has met no satisfactory solution. Alarmed at times by their influx, the police adopt methods of repression. Missions, with their indiscriminate feeding of all who get religion, are a dubious asset. More successful is the

[1] Nels Anderson, *The Hobo* (1923); also Alice M. Solenberger, *One Thousand Homeless Men* (1911); Josiah Flynt, *My Life* (1908); Lenox Kerr, *Back Door Guest* (1930); Ben L. Reitman, *Sister of the Road* (1937).

remedial program of public welfare agencies. A chief feature is the municipal lodging house. Here men may find three nights of free lodging, baths and clothes bakes, medical treatment, and a new outfit of reconditioned clothing. Efforts are made to find them work, to help them get in touch with relatives, and to send runaway boys home.

Shelter Population.—With the fuller impact of the depression, shelters for homeless men were established by state and federal relief agencies. They consisted of schools, warehouses, abandoned factories, and even jails in which lodging, meals, facilities for cleanliness and recreation, were provided. Many characteristics of the homeless man are set forth in a recent study of 20,000 men in Chicago's 20 shelters as of January, 1934.[1] These men are classified as residents and not as transients, yet the two groups have much the same backgrounds. As a matter of record, 40 per cent of the men surveyed had been relatively mobile and migratory during their entire life. An all-transient population, such as is found in Chicago's federal shelters at the time, would probably be somewhat younger in age and more independent in attitudes.

About 65 per cent of these 20,000 men had lived in the lodging house area or in adjacent districts prior to shelterization. They had not moved into increasingly lower rental areas as the depression grew worse, but had come directly to the shelter. Some regarded emergency relief in all its phases as a "racket." Their view was: "get what you can out of it." Others, the great majority, came to the shelter only after complete destitution and after overcoming an unwillingness to "go on relief."

About one-fifth of the men gave Chicago as their place of birth. A third came from other parts of the United States and the remainder were from foreign countries. Fathers of 34 per cent of the men were farm workers, and of 29 per cent unskilled day laborers. The average shelter man left school at the age of 13, after attaining 5½ grades. Before the age of fifteen, 36 per cent had lost their fathers and 33 per cent their mothers. Almost one-fifth left home before reaching the age of 15, and since leaving home four-fifths reported little or no contact with the heads of their parental families.

The average shelter dweller was 45 years of age, the age which industry makes its dead line for regular employment. Only 2 per cent were

[1] Edwin H. Sutherland and Harvey J. Locke, *Twenty Thousand Homeless Men* (1936). Observations were made, schedules filled out, life histories taken, and examinations given by sociologists, psychiatrists, and others.

under 20, and 2 per cent were over 65. Over a third of the men were incapacited for hard labor by chronic illness or physical handicaps. A fifth were found to be psychopathic, and 5 per cent had mental problems of a serious enough nature to warrant hospitalization.

The mean mental age (Army Beta tests) was 41.7. This is the equivalent of an intelligence quotient of about 68 and of a public school grade placement of 5.1 grades. The fifth grade was the average level claimed by the men. Beyond this level defective intelligence tends to operate as a severe handicap. From the standpoint of social adjustment, the men were said to differ from an average population in their lack of emotional restraint, lack of initiative, and tendency to squander meager earnings.

Though the above summary does not delineate types of homeless men, it does describe the kind of person who seeks a public shelter. Inmates have the common characteristics of destitution, homelessness, semitransiency, and a willingness to accept public relief. From other studies, it appears that they are more unstable than the general population and that there is a tendency for them to lose faith in themselves or in the social order in which they live.[1] They are relatively inefficient as workers, are handicapped by physical and mental conditions, and are unprepared by family training and formal schooling to live a normal life. While they are forced to be mobile to meet the demands of industry, neither industry nor society has taken steps that are adequate to counteract the demoralizing effects of extreme mobility.

B. BOY AND GIRL TRANSIENTS

A Boy Tramp: Diary Record.—The relative absence of adolescents in the preceding shelter house population does not mean that boys and girls are not adrift. On the contrary, conservative estimates placed the number on the road as in excess of a million and a half in 1936. At the same time, thousands of older youths were in federal transient shelters and Civilian Conservation Corps camps. Early in 1937, 1,287,000 persons were enrolled in these camps. Of this number, 325,000 were said to range in age from 17 to 19 years inclusively.[2]

[1] B. Culver, "Transient Unemployed Men," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 17(1933), 519–534; W. H. Brentlinger, "Emotional Stability and Other Characteristics of 225 Transients," *Psych. Bull.*, 32(1935), 682–683; H. B. Woolston, "Psychology of Unemployed," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 19(1935), 335–340.

[2] A. C. Oliver and H. M. Dudley, *The New America*, 26.

More than any other student, Thomas Minehan has tramped with these young migrants, lived with them on the road, and made known their attitudes and behavior. Under the pretext of wanting to follow the route a boy had taken, he was able to copy several diaries. The case of Blink is illustrative of routine transient experience.[1]

Blink left home in August, 1932, because of a quarrel with his father. He thumbed a ride on a truck going to Louisville, and on the way stole melons and apples for his food. He left the truck at Covington and hitchhiked to Cincinnati. Here he found lodging in a flophouse until he teamed up with Frank, a road-wise vagrant, who took him to a mission "soup kitchen." Shortly he "picked a ride" to Chicago, and another chance acquaintance showed him how to get meals by "making" the relief agencies. He was caught raiding a fruit stand, but the policeman let him go on his promise to leave the city. On the road again, he begged food from door to door, begged dimes on the street, did chores for meals, and slept wherever night found him.

Cryptic, thumb-marked jottings in his diary show the course of his itinerary over a period of months. During this time, he covered a number of states, changing his course in an aimless manner, avoiding the small towns which he marked "N.G.," and returning to places where he had fared well. In the main, he rode freights, lived in "jungles" with other young vagrants, "hit the stem" for meals and money, wore such castoff clothing as he could obtain, and developed an evident skill in eluding the police.

This diary suggests the process by which a runaway is initiated into the life of a tramp. Step by step, Blink learns the routines of hobo life—drifting, begging, stealing, and "getting by." The account does not reveal the more unsavory and antisocial side of tramp life as does, for example, a recent autobiography. In this record, the boy associates with adult tramps, criminals, and sex perverts, and to an extent adopts their patterns of behavior.[2]

Who They Are.—All in all, Minehan contacted 1,377 boys and 88 girls over a three-year period. Only 24 boys and girls out of a sample of 529 cases reported a birthplace outside the United States.[3] Those born within the country came from thirty states,

[1] Thomas Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps of America*, 204–206.

[2] John Worby, *The Other Half* (1937).

[3] Comparable data are given by A. W. McMillen, "Migrant Boys," *Soc. Ser. Rev.*, 7(1933), 64–83; A. W. McMillen, "Army of Boys on the Loose," *Survey*, 63(1932), 388–393; George E. Outland, "Sources of Transient Boys," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 19(1935), 429–434.

with Eastern industrial states predominating. The average transient had been on the road from one to two years when contacted. In well over half the cases, the father (or family head) had been unemployed for from one to two years when the boy or girl left home. "Hard times" was given by the vast majority of the boys as the reason for leaving home. Other reasons were hatred of school, trouble with a girl, and liked to travel. Over a third reported frequent whippings at home and another third said they hated their father (or other family head).

Fully half the 1,465 boys and girls interviewed by Minehan were judged to be under eighteen years of age. In 577 cases for which statistical data are given, a sixth were under fifteen and approximately one-half were less than seventeen. Out of 520 subjects reporting, 120 had stopped school at less than the sixth grade, and only 143 reported eighth grade graduation. Twenty-seven had had high school experience and 25 claimed a year or more at college. Two were college graduates. Out of a sample of 413, 273 denied any participation in Scout groups, Sunday school, or boys' clubs. Twenty-three had serious physical handicaps, such as deformities, and the great majority wore clothes and shoes in need of replacement.

Where They Travel.—Young tramps are said to average less than a week in any one community. Prior to the transiency services provided in the federal relief act of 1933, local areas forced them on. Police combed bread lines and soup kitchens, arrested transients for loitering or begging, and raided their camps at the edge of town. Boys kept on the move also because of their urge to travel and in hopes that things would be better "somewhere else." "Where have I traveled," said one runaway, "why, in every drag in this country." He named California, Alabama, Georgia, and "Seattle."

For the first years of the depression, California and Florida were the beckoning meccas, but with time severe transient policies in these states checked the north to south migration. In 1934, a greater movement was reported from east to west.

Boy and girl tramps travel by a variety of means. Early in the "big trouble," thumbing a ride was the most popular form. As hitchhikers grew more numerous, motorists became less sympathetic and state police more intolerant. Under these conditions and with the practice of moving in gangs and living in

jungles, travel turned largely to the railroads. This type of locomotion has three advantages. Young tramps can protect themselves against their enemies on the road, chiefly adult hoboes and sex perverts. Foraging for food is easier, and they can mingle with their kind.

In boxcar "busting," the usual practice is to sneak into an empty car and close the door, or climb on top a gondola, or catch the train as it pulls out. In the latter case, grabbing for hand and toe holds, climbing ladders, jumping for doors, pulling in companions, maintaining balance with the train accelerating its speed, are all hazardous undertakings. Few young tramps "ride the rods" or attempt to travel on fast passenger trains. Having an abundance of time, they make their movements as safe as possible.

How They Live.—It is a significant fact that a fourth of the several hundred conversations recorded by Minehan concerned food. Other topics in order of importance were clothes, travels, shelters, police, fights, and girls. In a way, these items symbolize tension points in the youthful transient's struggle for existence.

That boxcar travel interferes with regular life routines, including meals, is a foregone conclusion. Runaways gorge themselves one day and starve the next. They seldom buy food with the dimes begged ostensibly for that purpose; they beg and steal it. They beg from missions, welfare stations, bakeries, restaurants, and private homes. Food is stolen by raiding a farmer's garden, orchard, or hen yard, by boarding produce trucks and tossing off vegetables or fruits, and by petty thievery from curb markets and stores. It is prepared and cooked in the jungle, and usually by the girls. If the latter are forced to shift for themselves, they may beg, steal, work, or commercialize sex. Ordinarily they are supported by the boys in the gang.

The road is hard on clothes. While nearly all relief stations supply needles, thread, and patches, not many have clothing to give away. Caps, coats, shoes, shirts, and trousers are obtained by begging at back doors, by "fishing" them off clothes-lines or through open windows with a hooked stick or pole, and by stealing them from unoccupied buildings after dark. Inner garments are almost unknown and outer clothing is inadequate for protection. It is ragged, dirty, and infested with vermin.

In towns, young transients sleep in welfare stations, missions, jails, police stations, on park benches, and in cheap lodging

houses. Admission to welfare and relief stations is usually by a routine that involves registration, a bath, and clothes fumigation. If the boy tramps lodge in a "flop," they squeeze in with other derelicts in wall bunks, on benches and tables, and even under them on wood or cement floors. Frequently they lie head to head in rows or tiers, breathing air heavy with the smell of human bodies and chlorine or creosote, and hearing at intervals the deep cough of a consumptive or the hiccup of a restless drunk. Such places are centers for the diffusion of contagious diseases, crime and vice attitudes and practices.

In the country and between trips, boy and girl tramps live and sleep in jungles. These are camps located close to the railroad tracks and near train stops. They may be in a cluster of trees, in an abandoned shack, or under a viaduct. Wherever the camp is located, it is essential that access be had to water, fuel, and food. A lean-to of willows or sheet iron may be built, or members of the gang may sleep in the open. They sleep on the ground, on piles of leaves, burlap sacks filled with straw, or mats of grass and papers. Usually a smudge fire is kept going through the night, but this offers little or no protection against mosquitoes, sand fleas, lice, and other insects.

What They Learn.—"You gotta be quick" sums up much of the philosophy of roadwise tramps—quick to dodge a watchman and hop a moving freight, to jump on the tailgate of a truck as it slows down for a crossing, to form judgments of men and dogs, and to size up a town. Those who are slow may drop off a redball freight, fall victim to exposure, be beaten up by their fellows, or shot by a property owner. Muscular coordination and mental agility are two of the principal learnings of the road.

While young transients are not invariably distance travelers, they do "see the country." Their conversations are of the skyscrapers of New York, the heat of New Orleans, the green hills of Shiloh, the glitter of Hollywood, the height of the Rockies. Seeing all, they apparently learn little of national life and history. Memories are not of historic sites or nature's beauty, but of the quest for bread. One boy recalled with evident pleasure a block in Des Moines where he could always beg a meal.

Young vagrants, like the older ones on whom they pattern, learn how to "hit the stem" and "pitch a line." Begging itself is an art with many techniques. Favorite approaches are to

"act polite like," to "tell a sob story," to offer to work, to "scare 'em by acting tough," and to fake deformities. Some boys simulate blindness, others cripples, and some are able to "throw fits." Many transients are "trailers," following circuses, carnivals, fairs, and conventions. When mooching gives out, they resort to a racket, such as peddling knickknacks or running a con game. Failing these, they engage in petty thievery, such as snatching purses.

While Minehan's data are not of a nature to permit valid generalization, one notes in his observations and descriptions of young tramps the appearance time and again of a few basic attitudes. One is a feeling of hopelessness and frustration; another is an antigovernment bias. "A government that can't feed its own people," said one boy, "ain't no government at all." "Every mother's son of them," said another youngster, "is crooked." "Yeh," replied a third, "bankers hold the strings." Of patriotism the young tramps are said "not to have a shred," and much the same is true of religion. Where old hoboes reject communism as "furrin'," adolescents accept it. They believe that America is going to have a workers' revolution, though they are vague as to who will lead it or how it will be brought about.

Society They Create.—To some extent these young migrants have created a society of their own. The basic unit is the "gang," a group of a dozen or less. Smaller units are not strong enough for protection, and larger units are too unwieldy for quick movement. Furthermore, their very size excites citizen opposition and encourages police raids. Each transient group is made up of members who come from widely different backgrounds. It originates without a childhood culture in which all its members share. Moreover, it has little permanency of membership or of *locus*. While these conditions mitigate against the rise of a strong we-group sentiment, the group does achieve a measure of social solidarity. For one thing, its members have cut themselves off from the controls and responsibilities of organized society. Thus they are united by an enforced isolation. Again, the gang must act to preserve itself from destruction. Forages and raids tend to weld members together, to develop leadership and group morality, a division of labor and a rudimentary culture.

The culture of the transient camp originates from four sources. One is the boy's experience on the road. Another is the nation's

pioneering tradition of adventure and freedom as romanticized by cheap novels and Western pictures. A third is the pervasive culture of penal institutions. Many young transients have been incarcerated for short periods in jails and workhouses, and most of them have contacted habitual criminals on the road. The fourth source consists of the various types of relief agencies and missions. From these several storehouses, the transient group draws many of its myths and legends, its action patterns and in-group loyalties, its special argot and social controls. Thus the society which the transient creates not only provides a world in which he can satisfy his wishes; it is passed on from person to person and tends to perpetuate transiency as a life pattern.

C. PROBLEMS OF CONTROL

Transiency and Personality.—It has been said that an adolescent, who starts as a vagrant, will end as a street beggar or criminal. This statement implies an inevitability which does not exist, yet life on the road is conducive to antisocial conduct and personality disorder.

One type of adverse influence centers around health. Irregularity and insufficiency of food, hazards to life and limb, exposure to the weather, unsanitary conditions of lodging houses, all contribute to malnutrition, disabling accidents, and diseases. These factors are in part responsible for the substantial number of transient youths who are physically unfit and mentally ill.

Another set of factors relates to the migrant's position in organized society. Like the hobo as an historic type, the youthful wanderer is to an extent "a man without a cause and without a country."[1] Though constantly in motion, he has no fixed destination. He is on his way but knows not where or why. Being cut off from home and locality, from friends and family, he posts no forfeit for good behavior as does the resident, and he is peculiarly immune to community mores and control. Always on the move, living as best he can, he is in effect a nonparticipating member of society. He has desocialized himself in the sense that he has become unsocial or antisocial.

The main evidence for personality disintegration is found in the migrant's change in basic life pattern. This involves, in its

[1] Robert E. Park, "The Mind of the Hobo," in Robert E. Park, *et al.*, *The City*, 158.

totality, the degeneration of a runaway boy to the level of an habitual vagrant. The nature of this process is suggested by successive stages in shelterization, though the two cases are not alike in all details.

Judging from data already cited, a man seeks a public shelter to satisfy two basic needs—something to eat and a place to sleep.[1] Usually the questions to which he is subjected appear to him as irrelevant. He is irritated and depressed. Shortly he comes to anticipate the questions and to develop a "line" to meet them. Once admitted to the shelter, he associates with persons who are more habituated to vagrancy than he is. At this stage in his assimilation to shelter house life, he may grumble at the coarse diet and mass feeding, the lack of privacy in eating, and the table manners of his associates. "They eat like pigs," said one young transient; "they just guzzle their food." The average man complains also of the rules under which he must live. "In time," writes a shelter resident, "we all get the bread-line shuffle." Overt behavior is brought into conformity with institutional regulations.

Shelter life contributes in many ways to personal tensions and conceptions of role and status. "Nobody respects you if you are a bum," said a dejected transient, "and I guess I ain't no good anyway." Being treated as an outcast, the subject came to take the same view toward himself. In general, the acceptance of public charity is regarded by the recipient—and by others—as indicative of personal defects and lack of moral stamina. It leads to individual self-criticism, to inferiority feelings, and to general loss of morale. Loss of personal self-respect finds expression in attitudes of distrust and bitterness, apathy and indifference.

At this point in the process, the tendency to rationalize the situation is most pronounced. A man may believe himself the victim of fate, a casualty of the depression. He may magnify his own physical or mental handicaps and contend that he never had a chance. He may argue that being honest "buys no groceries," that all relief is a racket, and that any man is entitled to beat the game if he can.

Attitude changes of the above nature find expression in new behavior patterns. Where the man has once complied with

[1] Sutherland and Locke, *op. cit.*, 144–165.

conventions in respect to dress, appearances, and personal habits, he no longer makes a pretense of outer respectability. He seeks the company of persons who do not care how he looks or what he does. Complete demoralization is frequently marked by an unchecked indulgence in the four great vices of the professional vagrant—drinking, gambling, irregular sex habits, and begging.

To what extent the road alone, as opposed to a combined road and shelter life, would produce the above sequence of changes in personality is not known.

Remedial and Preventive Programs.—Plans for public reemployment and for old-age security have recently been embodied in substantial legislation. While care for the indigent aged, unemployed family heads, and handicapped children is a pressing need, the plight of young people who are now ready to enter a normal period of self-maintenance is also of major social concern. In 1934, three million youths aged 16 to 21 were reported out of school and not at work.[1] Too old for school or unable to attend, and not wanted by industry, these persons are in need of assistance. Two types of programs have been developed: remedial, to care for those who are already on the road, and preventive, to make it possible for those at home to stay at home.

The aim of the local community in dealing with transients has been to feed them and to send them on. More recently, a determined effort has been made to send adolescents home. One modification of this policy is the establishment in several states of federal transportation camps. In these camps, runaways are given the opportunity to work out the costs of transportation. A sample study of 165 boys, who were returned home from California in one four-month period, reveals that 163 actually reached home.[2] Without doubt, this percentage of "successful returns" is too high to be taken as representative.

A major limitation to any general back-to-the-home program is the home itself. To return young people to destitute homes, or to homes with morals that contribute to child delinquency, is a futile gesture. Such families are liabilities in the rehabilitation of youth and are themselves in need of economic aid and case-

[1] Estimated by Katherine F. Lenroot, Chief of Children's Bureau, *New York Times Mag.*, Dec. 30, 1934.

[2] George E. Outland, "Is It Worth While Returning Transient Boys to Their Homes?" *The Transient*, 2(1935), 9.

work services. Other homes, especially those of the "depression poor," are invaluable assets in stabilizing young transients. At least a score of government relief and reconstruction measures have sought to bring them to a more efficient level of family functioning.

Among the many federal measures which bear directly on the young transient, the Civilian Conservation Corps program is outstanding. These camps, numbering well over 2,000 in September, 1936, are located in rural areas throughout the nation. They are in charge jointly of an army and a technical staff, enroll applicants aged 18 to 24 from relief families, sponsor a program of outdoor work, recreation, and education, and pay regular enrollees $30 per month of which $25 is sent to the boy's home for the support of dependents. During the past four years, they have enrolled over 1,600,000 young men at a total cost of $1,460,000,000.[1] About one-half of this sum was spent on wages and salary, and the remainder on food, clothing, living quarters, and work materials. The following account, written by a graduate student who served as an educational adviser in a number of camps, gives a closer view of camp nature and purposes.

A CCC camp is a little community. It is set up on an army plan with officers' headquarters, barracks for men, a mess hall, a canteen, and so on. Where commercial current is not available, it has its own light plant. It has water tanks or towers, a sewage disposal system, a laundry, a garage, reading rooms, recreational facilities, etc.

The camp is divided into two administrative units—the army staff, consisting lately of two lieutenants, a physician, and an educational adviser, and the technical staff, made up of a superintendent and from five to nine assistants, such as an engineer, forester, and agronomist. The first staff is responsible for the enrollee's food, clothing, shelter, welfare, and conduct, and the second supervises all work projects.

When a new quota of "rookies" arrives at a railhead, the men are met in army trucks. On reaching camp, they are given a complete physical examination, are vaccinated and inoculated, and held in quarantine for a 10-day period. During this interval, case records are made or assembled for each man and several kinds of camp records are started. One is a record of camp behavior, including "AWOL's," other breaches of discipline, fines, and penalties. A man is given a dishonorable dis-

[1] Summary of CCC activities by Administrator Robert Fechner. *New York Times Mag.*, Dec. 20, 1936, E-7.

charge after seven AWOL's, or for serious misconduct such as habitual insubordination, intoxication, or sex abnormalities.

The workday is from 8 A.M. until 4:30 P.M. The nature of the work depends upon the location of the camp. In camps where I have been, CCC boys have fought forest fires, constructed roads, telephone lines and shelters, engaged in soil erosion and flood control, planted trees and done landscaping. While some enrollees find this work backbreaking or monotonous, others make little or no complaint. The general tendency is for them to toughen up and to acquire the attitude which makes of labor a regular habit. Boys who cannot or will not "take it," usually disappear "over the hill" and are given an administrative discharge.

After the day's work and of evenings, the men spend their time in recreational and educational pursuits. Camps differ in their leisure program, but in general they have baseball, volley ball, boxing, ping-pong, horseshoes, cards, checkers, and pool tables. As to be expected, camps call into existence at near-by towns a fringe of social parasites —bootleggers, gamblers, and prostitutes.

While education has played a weak second fiddle to work in these camps, its formal aims are to create in each man an ability for self-expression, to improve physical and mental health, to instruct in current socioeconomic problems, to give work training and if possible vocational education, and to develop an appreciation of nature and rural life. Classes are organized, books and periodicals are borrowed from schools and public libraries, educational pictures and radio broadcasts are used. Teachers come from near-by colleges and high schools or the men are taken by truck to these places for evening classes.

Thousands of older adolescents, who have had little or no formal schooling, have been taught many useful things. Among these are improvements in the basic skills of reading and writing, improvements in personal hygiene, and some training in a handicraft such as leather-craft. The most difficult of all unsolved problems is how to advance the boy of higher educational status, such as a high school graduate.

Although supposed to be liquidated first in September, 1936, and then in March, 1937, Congress in June, 1937, extended the Civilian Conservation Corps for a two-year period. Plans are to reduce enrollment from 350,000 to 300,000, to decrease the number of camps, and to lower the minimum age to seventeen years.

While these camps have been criticized as militaristic and political, as noneducational and costly, there is much to be said in their favor as a remedial program. They absorb young men whom industry does not want and cannot use for years to come.

They make possible a healthy, out-of-door life, give training in regular work habits, do work which local communities and society at large needs to have done, and help keep families off direct relief by sending home a substantial share of the worker's earnings.

The creation of junior camps for boys aged sixteen to eighteen, the development of special camps for delinquents who are now put in workhouses, sent to correctional institutions or released on probation with almost no supervision, a replacement of military personnel with trained boys' workers, and a reorganization of the camp's educational program, are to be recommended as practical next steps.

Another New Deal measure worthy of special comment is the National Youth Administration. With its 48 state units operating in hundreds of schools and colleges, it provides part-time employment and advisory aid for thousands of young people who can profit by further schooling. In Ohio alone during 1936 some 19,400 students were paid on an average of $150,000 per month for their work on NYA projects. Whether or not student aid continues, the National Youth Administration has performed a task which state and local boards of education have been unable or unwilling to assume.

Many local communities are deeply cognizant of the problems of the transient unemployed. On their own initiative, with or without federal assistance, they have developed various kinds of services. In general three types of programs seem most promising: counseling projects, including vocational and adjustive services for adolescents; educational projects, such as extension courses and junior college work; and emergency work projects, chosen because of their suitability for the present and future needs of young people and integrated with other programs.

The Educational Task.—To imply that school maladjustment is a sole cause of transiency or that it will be cured by an appropriate education would be naïve. And yet, all things considered, a more realistic and flexible system of public education has merit as a preventive program.

Schools have long since assumed a major responsibility for the welfare of children under sixteen, and the day is at hand when the age limit should be extended at least to eighteen. The type of education needed is one that will be related to the limitations

of the child who drops out of school. It will provide a better preparation for earning a living, making a home, participating in community life as a citizen, and engaging in satisfying leisure pursuits. Schools alone cannot keep pupils in school, but educators can make conditions as favorable as possible.

Questions for Discussion

1. What types of evidence support the view that "America is perhaps the most mobile society the world has ever seen"?
2. Do the "depression poor" differ from the dwellers in hobohemia? In what respects? Summarize the major characteristics of Chicago's shelter population.
3. Who are our young tramps? Where and how do they travel? Describe their mode of life, their learnings, and their society.
4. How do vagrancy and transiency contribute to personality demoralization? Discuss the remedial and preventive programs of control.
5. Should schools take a measure of responsibility for the welfare of boys and girls over sixteen? What could they do?

Problems and Projects

1. To what extent is the life of the "hotel child" similar to that of young transients? See Norman S. Hayner, *Hotel Life*, Chap. IV, "Hotel Homes," and Chap. IX, "The Hotel Child."
2. Lead a class discussion on "Life in a Transient Camp," *Sat. Eve. Post*, 209(September, 1936), 5–6. Indicate the author's bias and state your reaction to it.
3. Prepare a paper on the present methods of dealing with transients in your community. Make suggestions for their improvement.
4. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Runaway Boys. Clairette P. Armstong, 660 *Runaway Boys.*
   b. Types of Homeless Men. Edwin H. Sutherland and Harvey J. Locke, *Twenty Thousand Homeless Men*, Chap. III.
   c. Case-work Services. Robert S. Wilson, *Individualized Service for Transients* (pamphlet). National Association of Travelers' Aid Societies, New York, 1936.
   d. Education of Young Transients. G. E. Outland, "The Education of Transient Boys," *Sch. and Soc.*, 40 (1934), 501–504; H. J. Schubert, "School Achievement and Acceleration of Transients," *Sch. and Soc.*, 42(1935), 846–848; P. F. Coe, "Education of Transients," *Sch. and Soc.*, 44(1936), 581–584.

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2. Cross, W. T., and D. E. Cross: *Newcomers and Nomads* (1937).
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16. Woolston, Howard B.: "Psychology of Unemployment," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 19(1935), 335–340.
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CHAPTER XIII

MOTION PICTURES

Young people clamor to attend motion pictures, critics denounce or defend them, parents and others are fairly indifferent to their effects. Take the critics for example. It is argued that motion pictures have many positive values. They dramatize human struggles, illuminate distant places, offer respite from strain and ennui, and throw their influence on the side of right conduct. It is argued also that they are a pernicious influence. With their motif of mass entertainment, they offer escape from reality, escape into unreality. Moreover, they overstimulate the emotions, deaden the conscience, and motivate toward various kinds of antisocial conduct. Despite the almost universal recognition of the screen's potency, there is no general agreement as to its significance for child life.

Motion pictures are relatively new and they are complex. "It is safe to conclude," says Charters, "that no one understands in any scientific way just what influence movies exert on the child."[1] He wrote in 1933 as director of the Payne Fund Studies, a series of researches conducted by eighteen experts at six different universities and resulting in the publication of a dozen books. Present aims are to summarize these several investigations, integrate them with other studies, and consider the problems which they raise for child life and social control. We shall start with a perspective of motion picture development.

A. RISE OF THE FILM INDUSTRY

Nature of the Motion Picture.—The motion picture is usually defined as a form of communication. It is not a person-to-person medium as the telephone or letter, for example, but an agency of mass impression like the press and radio. Unlike these, it captures attention by combining pictures, words, and sounds in a dramatic way. Among its unique qualities, five are outstanding.

[1] W. W. Charters, *Motion Pictures and Youth.*

The first is its vivid presentation. Visual images appear life-like and natural, hence identifiable and easily followed. The second is its intimate nature. Through the close-up in particular, one sees at close range the play of emotions and details of action which were once lost in the intervening physical distance. The third quality is its dramatic character. Here is plot, the age-old art of getting persons in trouble and out. As the action sequence unfolds, audience suspense increases. Extraneous stimuli are blocked, critical judgment lowered, and personal identification with screen roles results. The fourth distinctive mark of the motion picture is its authoritative quality. Things are not only seen, but "lived" and accepted as true and right. To many patrons, especially to children, the screen world is glamorous and exciting. Its "stars" have prestige, its settings and effects are convincing, its loves and hates are confidence producing. Surrounding these four foci of attention is the social situation itself. There are the darkened room, the light focused on a screen, the atmosphere of receptivity, and the countless interpersonal stimuli of the audience.[1]

These traits alone would account for the screen's skyrocketing to public favor. Like the tabloid papers, pictures are enjoyed by persons who lack the ability to understand what they see. Furthermore, the screen's accessibility in location and admission price has contributed toward its popularity. Its appeal to youth, ever hungry for adventure, is irresistible.

In Light of History.—Having grown up with the motion pictures, we take them for granted. Thus it comes with a mild shock to realize that commercial pictures are not over thirty-odd years of age. In the early 1890's, cameras were invented which photographed objects in motion if they remained in front of the lenses. Penny peep shows, arcades with rows of machines, sprang up to show these pictures. With further perfection in cameras, pictures were taken which could be projected on a screen. The first public showing of what we now know as the motion picture took place in 1906.[2]

One high light of this early period was Sarah Bernhardt's *Queen Elizabeth*, and its greatest moment the famous death scene.

[1] Herbert Blumer, "Moulding Mass Behavior through the Motion Picture," *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 29(1934), 115–127.

[2] "Motion Picture," *Ency. Soc. Sci.*

Here the great actress, after conveying with some violence the throes of death, sank to the floor and expired. While spectators were preparing to leave, she arose and took a bow—just as she was accustomed to do in the theater. If the early motion picture dramas were crude, showman techniques were no better. Frequently "spielers" stood near the screen and narrated the happenings.

D. W. Griffith is given much credit for advances in the cinema art. He was the first director to use the close-up, a device which doomed exaggerated acting. With the camera now mobile, he followed players about, took various kinds of "shots," and introduced parallel action. Films grew from 50 feet to 1,000 feet, the search for story material widened, and the costs of production trebled. With the *Birth of a Nation*, followed by *Ben Hur*, *Quo Vadis*, and *The Big Parade*, the screen achieved its present status as the nation's major source of entertainment.

Recent Trends.—Since the World War, the cinema industry has entered upon a period of spectacular development. Picture making has changed from a situation in which equipment makers produced and distributed films to an arrangement whereby a few corporations make and sell the vast majority of commercial pictures. Each step in this transition has been marked by bitter court battles over patents and privileges. The present system is one of "block booking," and it is viewed by some authorities as monopolistic and illegal.[1]

Another significant trend has been the virtual replacement of the silent picture by the "talkie." Apparently this has further popularized the motion picture and has led to a major change in scenario material. It is reported that as much as $150,000 has been paid for the right to screen a successful Broadway play.

Today the motion picture industry ranks with steel and motorcars as a leading big business. The industry is said to represent in 1930 a capital investment of over two billion dollars, a gross income of one and one-half billion, and an annual expenditure (1929) of 184 million. While theaters have decreased from the 1931 peak of 22,731, competent opinion estimates a weekly attendance of 100,000,000.[2] Indications, such as "bank nights," double-feature programs, and "B" and "C" grade films, are

[1] H. T. Lewis, *The Motion Picture Industry*, Chap. V, "Block Booking."
[2] *Recent Social Trends*, 208.

that patronage has declined somewhat during the depression, yet there is reason to anticipate its rise to new heights with the improvement of economic conditions. It is significant that the annual earnings of Mickey Mouse on his seventh birthday (1935) are reported as $140,000,000.[1]

B. MOTION PICTURE EFFECTS ON CHILDREN

Child Attendance.—A first interest in studying the effects of pictures on children is to determine the extent and nature of child movie going. Accepting the conservative estimate of 77,000,000 as representative of the weekly cinema attendance in the nation, Dale estimated that 28,000,000, or 37 per cent, were minors.[2] Of this number, 11,000,000 were children under 14 years of age. The methods used in reaching these estimates were a clock count of the entering audience in 15 representative theaters in Columbus, Ohio, and a questionnaire survey of 55,000 school pupils in 17 communities. In both cases, the samples were used as a basis for estimating child attendance in the nation as a whole.

Differences in age, sex, area, and individual habits were disclosed. Over 3 per cent of the patrons entering theaters were under seven, almost 14 per cent between seven and thirteen, and about 21 per cent were from fourteen to twenty years of age. Thus approximately 17 per cent of a typical motion picture audience would consist of grade school children. At all ages, there were more boys than girls, more urban children than rural, and more children from the better residential sections than from the poorer. In respect to general movie habits, the average child of five to eight years of age goes less than once every two weeks, youngsters of eight to nine attend almost once a week, and almost two-thirds of all child patrons go in the evenings. The most popular days are the week ends, and around a fifth of all children see the feature twice. Fathers take their sons very infrequently (2.63 per cent of all cases), and the mothers' records are little better in respect to daughters.

[1] H. L. Robbins, "Mickey Mouse Emerges as an Economist," *New York Times Mag.*, Mar. 10, 1935, 8–9.

[2] Edgar Dale, *Children's Attendance at Motion Pictures.* All Payne Fund Studies are published by Macmillan and all are dated 1933.

These findings may be compared with those of an earlier study of 10,052 school children, Scouts, and delinquents.[1] Only 1.7 per cent of these subjects specified no picture attendance, and over 90 per cent went from once a month to seven times a week. Boys attended more often than girls, delinquents more than nondelinquents, and upper grade school pupils more than high school pupils. The great majority of children went in the evenings with friends. About three-fourths were unaccompanied by one or both parents.

Motion Picture Content.—When asked what he had seen in a motion picture, a small boy replied "ever'ting." With films so full of many things, how is their content to be sampled? While admitting that any sampling procedure is bound to be affected by unpredictable "picture cycles," Dale analyzed the themes of 500 pictures in each of the years 1920, 1925, 1930, and 1935.[2]

TABLE VIII.—TYPES OF MOTION PICTURES PRODUCED IN 1920, 1925, 1930, AND 1935[1]

Type of picture	Release date							
	1920		1925		1930		1935	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Crime	120	24.0	148	29.6	137	27.4	72	14.4
Sex	65	13.0	84	16.8	75	15.0	28	5.6
Love	223	44.6	164	32.8	148	29 6	170	34.0
Mystery	16	3.2	11	2.2	24	4 8	65	13.0
War	10	2.0	11	2.2	19	3.8	12	2.4
Children	2	.4	4	.8	1	.2	15	3.0
History	0	0.0	6	1.2	7	1.4	14	2.8
Travel	1	.2	7	1.4	9	1.8	6	1.2
Comedy	59	11.8	63	12.6	80	16 0	114	22 8
Social propaganda	4	.8	2	.4	0	0.0	4	.8
Total	500	100	500	100	500	100	500	100

[1] Edgar Dale, "Movies and Propaganda," *loc. cit.*, 74. Used by permission of author and publisher.

[1] Alice Mitchell, *Children and the Movies* (1929).

[2] Edgar Dale, *The Content of Motion Pictures;* also "Movies and Propaganda," *Seventh Yearbook*, 71–86. National Council for the Social Studies, 1937.

Table VIII shows the percentage of pictures dealing with the ten themes listed.

It will be seen that the "big three" among picture themes for total time studied are love, crime, and sex. More than 8 out of each 10 feature pictures in 1920 dealt with one of these three, whereas the ratio had fallen to about 1 in 2 pictures in 1935. This change is significant, being indicative of alterations in popular taste or in the story material accepted by producers, or both. Comedies and children's pictures have more than doubled, though the latter still form but a minor part of the total output. The table also discloses the relative absence of pictures dealing with current social problems, as illustrated by *Imitation of Life*, *Our Daily Bread*, *Black Fury*, and *Dead End*. War pictures predominate over peace pictures, a situation which has led pacifist and labor groups to protest to the government against the free use of army and navy equipment and personnel. Separate newsreel analyses in 1930 showed a ratio of war to peace items of 12 to 1; in 1935 the ratio was 8 to 1.

Another approach to cinema content was made through a study of the specific details emphasized in 115 feature pictures. This indicates a number of habitual biases or "special pleadings." One type of bias is national as against international. Almost three-fourths of the 115 pictures were located in the United States, a fact of interest in view of Hollywood's domination of the world's movie market.[1] Another bias is urban. Over a third of all motion picture locales were "big city," and the most common exterior setting was an urban street scene. A third is economic. Seven out of ten homes in the 115 pictures were wealthy or ultrawealthy, and only 4 per cent were visibly poor. Formal dress appeared in 73 per cent of the pictures, a fact which adds to the stress which the average film places on wealth.

A fourth type of screen bias relates to the treatment of foreign peoples and colored races. In 40 pictures studied in great detail on this point, 23 nationalities were depicted. Of the 40 characters representing these peoples, 49 per cent were shown as humorous, 34 per cent as serious and attractive, and 17 per cent as serious and unattractive. In general, Negro people are shown

[1] One-half of the $50,000,000 grossed per year by one representative production company is said to come from foreign countries. "Hollywood's Censor Is All the World," *New York Times Mag.*, Mar. 29, 1936, 10.

as stupid, slovenly, and witless; for example, Stepin Fetchit in his various roles. A fifth bias is seen in the way of life pursued by leading characters. Of the 883 goals of movie heroes and heroines, 65 per cent were personal, *i.e.*, the individual was trying to achieve something for himself, and the remainder were social. The three great goals of self-activity were winning another's love, marriage for love, and professional success.

In addition to these general biases, picture content revealed a host of miscellaneous details. Half the women had no gainful occupations, whereas almost all the men were employed. Heroes and heroines fell in love at first sight or after a few casual meetings. Love-making was "intense" in three out of four pictures. In 97 pictures analyzed, 449 crimes were attempted. Of these 66 were murders. Heroes were more successful than heroines, getting their man 13 out of each 14 trials. Villains came oftener to the bat, but averaged less. The most common killing techniques were shooting, knifing, and beating to death. All in all, as Charters has suggested, "movie content presents a sorry sight for children."

Acquiring Information.—How much do children learn and remember of what is in a feature picture for them to see? To answer this query, Holaday and Stoddard experimented with about 3,000 school children and 200 superior adults.[1] Tests were made on items taken from selected films and were given to the subjects shortly before and after exposure to the pictures and then at later periods. Five findings are important.

1. Children acquire a vast amount of information from an ordinary motion picture. Out of each ten items seen by a superior adult as measured by test results, the average child in grades 2 and 3 sees five, in grades 5 to 8 almost seven, and in grades 9 to 10 over eight. As stated by Charters, "the eight- or nine-year-old sees half of what is to be seen, the eleven- or twelve-year-old two-thirds, and the fifteen- or sixteen-year-old four-fifths." In view of the widespread belief that young children see little or nothing at the picture show, these findings are instructive.

2. Children of all ages tend to accept as true information that is both true and false. Increases in authentic information after exposure to a single film ranged from 12 to 34 per cent, and decreases (or increases in erroneous ideas) from 8 to 38 per cent.

[1] P. W. Holaday and George D. Stoddard, *Getting Ideas from the Movies.*

On the whole, young people tend to believe what they see on the screen.

3. On the day after seeing the film, very young children recalled correctly over half of all they knew on the first test. Six weeks later, they recalled nine-tenths, surpassing adult memory in this respect. A few children knew more about certain pictures at the end of three months than they recalled immediately after the show. Retention of this kind is the result of social facilitation, that is, the tendency of children to discuss screen scenes and reenact screen roles.

4. Information is best remembered when expressed in familiar forms or in familiar surroundings, when highly emotional in nature, and when linked with action.

5. When children were equated as to age, sex, and intelligence, definite locality differences were discovered. Children from one neighborhood would observe and retain items that were unnoted by those from another neighborhood. The same difference in "run of attention" was reported in other studies, and is due to the fact that a child's social experiences sensitize him to certain stimuli and immunize him to others.

Affecting Health.—Renshaw and his associates approached the problem of motion picture effects on health via children's sleep.[1] Reasoning that sound sleep is linked with good health, they planned a series of experiments over a period of two and one-half years. The object was to measure changes in sleep motility patterns, and the subjects were 163 inmates of a child-caring institution. These children were judged to be representative of school age youngsters and were studied in groups of twenty. Each child slept in a bed to which a hypnograph was attached. This electrical device recorded all changes in posture made by the child during the night. Sleep patterns were measured before and after exposure to whatever picture happened to be playing at a neighborhood theater, fright and horror pictures being excluded. Four findings are significant.

1. Seeing a motion picture invariably caused changes in sleep pattern. These changes took the form of either increase or decrease in sleep motility, the former being more common and varying from near zero to 90 per cent. Since either change

[1] Samuel Renshaw, Vernon L. Miller, and Dorothy P. Marquis, *Children's Sleep.*

interfered with the child's established norm, frequent movie going was interpreted as being detrimental to recuperative sleep.

2. Effects were not limited to the night on which the picture was seen. A strong carry-over for five nights was found, though no cumulative effect was proved.

3. Individual differences in children's reactions were evident. Some pictures were much more disturbing to all children than others, and some children were more disturbed than others by all pictures. In general, boys reacted more strongly than girls, and children over ten more than those under ten, with the maximal effects coming at about the age of puberty.

4. To evaluate these effects, other sleep disturbers were studied. If the average child's bedtime was changed from nine o'clock to twelve, or if he was given coffee at the evening meal and again before retiring, the effects on sleep were much the same as sending him to a picture show. Many parents know these practices are harmful, yet they have given little thought to habitual movie going.

Stimulating Emotions.—As the screen plot unfolds, a child may be seen gritting his teeth or biting his fingernails, or he may say afterwards that he was frightened. This suggests the two common ways of investigating emotional excitation, *viz.*, through bodily movements and verbal reports. Dysinger and Ruckmick followed the first method of study.[1] By use of a galvanometer and a pneumo-cardiograph, they measured under laboratory and theater conditions the reactions of 150 subjects to incidents of danger and erotic love as portrayed in current pictures. As in all the Payne Fund studies, various precautions were taken to exclude nonmovie stimuli and reactions. Their major finding was that "significant reaction appears . . . and is consistently shown" at all age levels. Danger scenes produced the greatest emotional disturbance in children aged six to twelve, while sex scenes evoked the most extreme response in adolescents. Adults ranked last in both cases.

Blumer studied emotional stimulation from the second point of view.[2] He secured life histories from 1,800 high school and college students, and from young office and factory workers.

[1] W. S. Dysinger and C. A. Ruckmick, *The Emotional Response of Children to Motion Picture Situations.*

[2] Herbert Blumer, *Movies and Conduct.*

Anonymity was insured the writers and various checks were used to make the documents as reliable as possible. In addition to these materials, several grade school surveys were made. Four types of emotional responses were found to be fairly general.

1. Thrill and excitement reactions were the most prevalent of all. Children reported themselves as feeling brave, adventuresome, and "tough." In the theater, these feelings took the forms of yelling, stamping, and other disorderly behavior; outside, they were expressed in reenacting screen roles.

2. Fear and terror reactions were reported as "quite large," especially among younger children. For example, 93 per cent of the 237 pupils in one grade school admitted being frightened more or less severely by movie scenes. Extreme forms of fear reactions, such as crying out in sleep at night or having terrifying dreams, were numerous but not typical.

3. Love and passion responses were listed in over half the high school documents, being more common to girls than to boys. Love pictures had made the writers more responsive to love-making in a third of the cases.

4. Intense feelings of sorrow and pathos were reported. In one set of 458 high school life histories, 64 per cent related specific instances of these reactions. A concomitant reaction was "the desire to be good." This desire took the form of self-pity, shame, regret, or guilt feelings. Presumably these feelings, like other film-induced emotions, are ephemeral and short-lived.

All in all, these feeling responses suggest the idea of emotional possession. This is a state of intense stimulation in which imagery becomes fixed, reflective judgment is inhibited, conventional restraints are relaxed, and conduct is patterned on the models depicted on the screen. Only rarely does the loss of self-control appear to be complete enough to result in immoral or criminal behavior.

Developing Attitudes.—Two studies dealt with this area of child life. Shuttleworth and May studied the influence of the general run of motion pictures on child attitudes.[1] They equated 859 grade school pupils, divided them into a movie group (averaging 2.8 shows per week) and a nonmovie group members of which attended motion pictures only "a few times per year." In only

[1] Frank K. Shuttleworth and Mark A. May, *The Social Conduct and Attitudes of Movie Fans.*

a few areas of experience, such as a desire for smart clothes, were reliable differences in attitudes found between the two groups.

Whatever the explanation of this negative finding, it is not to be interpreted as a denial of the screen's influence on social attitudes. To quote the authors: "that movies exert an influence there can be no doubt. But it is our opinion that this influence is specific for a given child and a given movie." In view of the next study to be reported and of other researches, even this conclusion seems overly cautious.[1]

Peterson and Thurstone's research dealt with about 4,000 subjects, chiefly junior and senior high school students.[2] Attitude scales were constructed on six lines of potential influence: nationality, race, crime, war, capital punishment, and the punishment of criminals. Each scale contained about 30 statements of differing intensity and arranged in a series from one extreme to the other. Tests were given shortly before seeing a picture, one day after, and in some instances at later intervals. Three conclusions are outstanding.

1. Children's attitudes can be changed by a single motion picture. For example, *Birth of a Nation* caused a shift of 1.43 points in the mean attitude of a group of 434 grade pupils, *i.e.*, it made the group as a whole more prejudiced toward the Negro. *All Quiet on the Western Front* brought a shift in attitudes against war; and *The Criminal Code* made the group more lenient toward the punishment of offenders.

2. Equally impressive is the finding that two or more films, which deal in the same way with the same topic, show a strong cumulative effect on attitudes. When shown in sequence, *The Criminal Code* and *The Big House* made the subjects increasingly less inclined to favor the severe punishment of criminals.

3. Attitude changes due to motion pictures have "a substantial permanence." For example, prior to seeing *Son of the Gods*—a pro-Chinese picture—the mean attitude of the high school group toward the Chinese was 6.61. After seeing this film, it shifted to 5.19. Five months later, it had returned to 5.72, and a year and a half after the experiment it stood at 5.76. While the

[1] See S. P. Rosenthal, *Changes of Socio-economic Attitudes under Radical Motion Picture Propaganda* (1934).

[2] Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children.*

group had reverted toward its premovie position on the attitude scale, it was still more sympathetic in point of view toward the Chinese than it was at the beginning of the experiment. In other words, a "movie residue" remained after a year and a half.

Summing up these findings in the words of the experimenters: "motion pictures have definite, lasting effects on the social attitudes of children."

Influencing Conduct.—Two studies bear directly on child conduct.[1] Subjects consisted of a variety of children, and methods were of the types already described.

By far the most evident influence of the screen on child conduct is seen in the overt play of young children. Of 1,200 grade pupils, one-half reported imitating cinema scenes and characters in their play. Daydreaming and fantasy were also strongly influenced by motion picture imagery. Boys pictured themselves as daring aviators or notorious gangsters, girls as social butterflies or much-sought lovers. At the adolescent age, the tendency to pattern on screen models in mannerisms, dress, poses, gestures, speech, personal beautification, and love-making was pronounced. One girl said that her sweater suit was suggested by a suit worn by Colleen Moore, her dinner dress was inspired by Norma Talmadge, and that she was wearing her hair "with a view toward getting the same entrancing effect that Greta Garbo gets with hers."

That the screen's influence carries over into juvenile delinquency was clearly proved. Among 900 young offenders in one sample study, motion pictures were held to be "a factor of importance" in the misconduct of 10 per cent of the boys and 25 per cent of the girls. Pictures directly motivate toward antisocial attitudes, and they supply children with criminal techniques. Among the latter are ways of breaking windowpanes without a sound, of entering buildings by posing as an agent, of concealing fingerprints, of breaking locks on cars and opening doors of houses, of drowning out shots by backfiring an automobile, and of establishing an alibi.

Motion pictures contribute indirectly toward crime by inciting desires for easy money, fine clothes, and a leisurely life. By giving the "over-all view" that crime does pay, or can be made to

[1] Herbert Blumer, *Movies and Conduct;* Herbert Blumer and Philip M. Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency, and Crime.*

pay, they stimulate acts of bravado among boys and influence girls to commercialize sex.

The general implication of these findings is not that motion pictures cause delinquency, though this may be true in specific cases. Their more common role is that of intensifying the anti-social attitudes and habits acquired by children prior to, or outside of, movie going experience. Delinquency is far too complex a phenomenon to be charged off to any single cause. Motion pictures are one of many potential causes of child misconduct.

C. PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Motion Pictures and School Progress.—From the standpoint of their effects on school progress, commercial pictures are both good and bad. In spite of a marked stereotyping of life situations, the screen brings to the child a wide array of novel ideas. Under its magic, what was remote and unreal becomes close and personal. By depicting the age-old struggle between right and wrong, the screen grips the child in a drama the outcomes of which are very real to him. Educators would be the first to admit its role as a superior teacher. Within its grasp is the power to win allegiance to basic human values as no other agency of communication can.

It is equally evident that motion pictures may hinder school progress. Shuttleworth and May's summary of their findings bears directly on this point.

> We have found that the movie children average lower deportment records, do on the average poorer work in their school subjects, are rated lower by their classmates on the "Guess Who" test, are less cooperative and less self-controlled as measured both by ratings and conduct tests, are slightly more deceptive in school situations, are slightly less skillful in judging what is the most useful and helpful and sensible thing to do, are slightly less emotionally stable.[1]

To this record should be added the high correlation between picture attendance and truancy. To cite an extreme example, over half of the 252 delinquent girls studied by Blumer reported playing truant from school to attend picture shows. A third

[1] *The Social Conduct and Attitudes of Movie Fans*, 25–26. By permission of the Macmillan Company, publishers.

admitted trouble with parents over this issue, and in a fifth of the cases the resultant conflict was given as a major cause for leaving home.

Need for Social Control.—All things considered, there is a need for the control of motion pictures. Art for art's sake, or art for the sake of the box office, would not admit this need. It would argue for a laissez-faire policy which is at best the last defense of a profit-taking industry. The evidence indicates that too much is at stake to follow the latter policy, yet reasonable persons would not stifle the further development of a leisure pursuit which affords so much pleasure to its patrons. The larger need is for a philosophy of public recreation broad enough to include the best interests of both the child and the motion picture industry.

To hold that the screen should not depict practices which run counter to conventional morals, that it should adhere to minimum standards of good taste and decency, is not to deny that life abounds in practices of the opposite nature. It is to affirm that pictures should not diffuse these practices or motivate youth toward them. Presumably the screen seeks to depict life, and therein lies its educational value. But realism in art is not identical with literalism, though the line of distinction shifts with time and is not always clear at any given time. Realism does not mean the picturization of an unreal world; it does mean that the over-all effect of a picture must delineate the probable outcomes of a course of action in terms of life values. Quigley expresses the same idea in the statement that there is a difference in presenting crime and vice for public approval and in depicting these types of behavior for what they really are.[1] Every society has its standards of decency. If these standards are violated on the screen, society not unnaturally seeks to protect its moral order from disintegration.

Improving Picture Content.—The main approach to motion picture control has been through censorship laws. After 1912 and again after the World War, a number of such laws were hastily passed.[2] At one time, there were 67 censor boards of city jurisdiction and 7 boards of state jurisdiction. In general,

[1] Martin Quigley, *Decency in Motion Pictures* (1937), 11.

[2] H. T. Lewis, *The Motion Picture Industry*, Chap. XII, "Censorship"; "Censorship," *Ency. Soc. Sci.*

the laws under which they operated were vague and confusing, and the personnel was not of the best. To the film industry, these laws were a nuisance or a menace, depending upon the extent to which they interfered with the sale of pictures. The industry's typical reaction was one of defiance and subterfuge or, when necessary, of compromise.

Censorship laws are invariably open to serious criticism. They vary widely from place to place, show an overconcern with trivial details, and are made the football of partisan politics. Worst of all, they must operate on a finished product. A picture can be cut and patched but it cannot be remade. Thus, getting a film past the censoring board becomes a game with the prize going to the producing company that can market its products by one means or another.

In 1927, the motion picture industry made a gesture toward self-regulation.[1] Their rules were ineffective, owing chiefly to the lack of an organized public opinion which would insure their enforcement. In 1930, a new "production code" was prepared by persons outside the industry and accepted with some reluctance by the association of producers and distributors. This code contained a set of orienting principles, many specific applications and illustrations, and a practical machinery for the enforcement of its provisions. While it obligated the producers to submit scripts to the code authority prior to screening them, it left the producers the right to appeal Hollywood verdicts to the New York association. In time, reversal of decisions rendered the code innocuous.

In the spring of 1934, the "Legion of Decency" came into existence. Launched by a militant and powerful church group, and inclusive of other pressure groups, it conducted an intensive crusade against "black list pictures." Regardless of the final verdict as to the Legion's effectiveness, it did influence public opinion. More important than its patrons' boycott against specific pictures was its indirect effect in strengthening code authority. The right of appealing decisions was revoked and the code now operates with a considerable measure of finality.

[1] The organized industry is represented by the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America. This New York group of major film companies has a Hollywood subsidiary, the Association of Motion Picture Producers.

Block booking, the practice of buying a company's output of films in blocks with little right of selection or rejection, still exists. Some students regard it as contrary to public good and urge legal control; others view it as a legitimate marketing method. While the practice ties the hands of local theater managers in judging the worth of a picture for a specific audience, a fair inference is that block booking requires further study prior to regulation.

Teaching Appreciation.—Since the screen is increasingly a part of child life, many educators are of the opinion that it can no longer be ignored by the school. Aside from dealing with the reactions of atypical children to pictures, the school's aim may well be that of teaching motion picture appreciation. A good story well told is clearly a work of art. Whether on the screen or the stage, in a book or over the radio, the need is to appraise it critically and react to it intelligently.

A first step in teaching picture appreciation is to sensitize the pupil to the fact that he is influenced by the films he sees. Personal experience papers and attitude tests will bring this realization. A next step is to study motion picture content. A class project of this nature will provide an opportunity for systematic instruction on the topic. The general aim should be that of developing standards of appreciation, *i.e.*, criteria for judging picture plot, acting, photography, settings, sound, and music. At least six states have approved the introduction of experimental courses in movie appreciation at the high school level. Use is made of a specially prepared text.[1] Schools have also taken the initiative in organizing study clubs and action groups among pupils and adults in the community. Teachers have advised with parents concerning special problems of child attendance or reaction, and they have brought the issues of screen control to the attention of parent teacher associations and civic groups.

Questions for Discussion

1. Contrast motion pictures with related agencies of communication. How do you account for their pervasiveness and popularity?
2. Trace in outline form the development of the motion picture industry. Comment on the first films you recall seeing.
3. Does the chapter's summary of motion picture content agree with your own observations? Cite evidence for your answer.

[1] Edgar Dale, *How to Appreciate Motion Pictures.*

4. How do pictures affect the sleep of children? What are the health implications of these findings?

5. How much do children learn at the picture show? What do they remember? How well do they remember? Why can some children recall more than they saw in a picture?

6. In what ways do films influence emotions? How do they affect attitudes? Illustrate each answer from your own experiences.

7. Contrast censorship with "self-regulation" as practiced by the motion picture industry under the production code. Upon what factors does the success of a pressure group like the Legion of Decency depend?

8. Would you favor the teaching of motion picture appreciation at the high school level? If so, what should be the aims of such a course? How would you proceed?

Problems and Projects

1. Prepare a paper on your own motion picture experiences, citing concrete illustrations wherever possible.
   - *a.* Trace the history of your interest in pictures.
     Try to recall when you first became interested in motion pictures and describe the first film you saw. What kinds of pictures did you like best? How have your likes changed with time? How frequently did you attend picture shows when you were in high school? Describe your attendance habits at that time. Did your parents approve of your going? How often do you go to shows at the present time?
   - *b.* Describe the ways in which pictures have affected you.
     Have you noticed changes in dress, language, mannerisms, or poses as a result of films? What changes in your attitudes toward current social problems do you credit to the screen? When did you first become interested in romantic pictures? How do they now affect you? Have you ever patterned on the behavior of a movie character? In your judgment, what have pictures contributed toward your education?

2. By what criteria do you distinguish between a good picture and a bad one? Test your discrimination by reviewing a current film in terms of Dale's standards of judgment.

3. Make a questionnaire study of the motion picture preferences and attendance habits of a class of elementary, high school, or college students.

4. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   - *a.* Motion Pictures and Moral Standards. C. C. Peters, *Movies and the Mores.*
   - *b.* The Production Code. Martin Quigley, *Decency in Motion Pictures* (1937), 49–70.
   - *c.* Educational Possibilities of Motion Pictures. Mark A. May, *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 2(1937), 149–160.

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    Shuttleworth, Frank K., and Mark A. May: *The Social Conduct and Attitudes of Movie Fans.*
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17. Touton, Harriet L.: "The Theater Audience," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 18(1934), 562–565.

CHAPTER XIV

RADIO AND READING

Donald, age ten, is one of radio's ardent fans. With notable regularity, he tunes in *Jack Armstrong*, the "all-American boy," and then ranges on to *Tarzan* and *Bobby Benson*. A small sister may clamor for *The Singing Lady*, but Donald views this as "sissy stuff." He is a great admirer of *Buck Rogers*, boasting a rocket pistol and a paralysis ray. At times he tries to harmonize the adventures of this "twenty-fifth century" crusader as they come over the air and in the comic strip but to no avail. Discrepancies have led him to write a letter to the "real" Rogers, the radio character. In addition to the comics, he reads and rereads favorite books, scans a variety of picture magazines, and glances over the headlines of the evening newspaper.

Whether or not the boy knows it, his generation is coming of age in a new world. Space-binding agencies of communication have shrunk an expanding universe as never before and have placed it at the beck and call of the average person. These changes are deeply significant for child life and personality. For convenience, we shall discuss children's radio and reading behavior together. Though less than twenty years old, commercial radio is rapidly becoming the audible background of family life. Since it has been studied more extensively than has the child's reading of print materials, with the exception of books, we shall devote major attention to it.

A. RADIO: ORIGINS AND PROGRESS

Rise of Radio.—It would be difficult to find a parallel for the rapid rise of radio in this country.[1] Until after the World War, radio was largely a toy of amateur operators and experimenters. In 1920, WWJ of Detroit broadcast the first regular daily programs, and on November 2 of that year KDKA of Pittsburgh

[1] Marconi transmitted the first electrical signals in 1895 and in 1897 sent the first radio message from a ship to the shore.

flashed the news of Harding's election to "a small but enthusiastic audience" within a radius of five miles. Shortly the radio craze swept the nation. Battery shops and electrical companies began to broadcast call signals and announcements; makers of parts and crystal sets sprang up overnight. Commercial concerns, educational institutions, cities, and churches became enamored with "this miracle within the farmer's reach."

The first sponsored programs were put on the air in 1923, an initial basic allotment of air bands was made by the federal government in the same year, and in 1926 two great national chains were organized.[1] In 1936, 12 stations were dropped, chiefly through consolidation, and 57 new ones were added. As of January, 1938, 701 stations spanned the country. With the present tendency to approve new outlet stations in smaller communities, the granting of licenses in 1938 will probably swell the number of broadcasting units beyond the all-time peak in 1928 of 733 stations.

In 1937, the radio industry sold sets and accessories to the value of $537,000,000. Its sale of time to advertisers amounted to over $150,000,000, and the cost of "talent" alone ran to $40,000,000. In the same year, almost eight million radio sets were sold, of which 1,800,000 were automobile radios. From such figures as these,[2] it is evident that, within the past decade, radio has achieved the status of a gigantic industry.

Our Broadcasting System.—By 1927, the outlines of the so-called American system of radio were apparent. Stations were in the main privately owned, competitive in relations, and financed by the sale of time for advertising purposes. The Federal Radio Act of that year sanctioned this system by defining classes of stations, assigning wave frequencies, and specifying hours of operation. After a Chicago station had jumped the channels allotted it and won the case in court, the Federal Communications Commission was created (1934) by Congress. Under its rule, radio control has taken the form of licensing all stations for a six-month period, renewing licenses on application, specifying the power which may be used, assigning frequencies, and indicating the hours of broadcasting. To obtain or retain a license, a station must show that it fulfills the "public interest,

[1] Facts supplied by the Federal Communications Commission, Radio Division.

[2] *Cf. Broadcasting:* 1938 *Yearbook,* pp. 11–12 *ff.*

necessity, or convenience" clause as defined in the act creating the commission. The Act also prohibits the use of "obscene, indecent, and profane" language. It has been interpreted in court cases to mean that stations are legally responsible for any matter which they broadcast.[1]

As previously noted, the American system consists of 701 stations operating on 98 channels within the 550 to 1,550 kilocycle band. Six channels are used exclusively by Canadian stations. Of the 92 used by American stations, 40 are "clear" channels and used chiefly by single high-powered stations, 40 are "regional" and average 5 stations each, 6 are "local" and run about 50 low-powered stations to the channel, and the remaining 6 channels are reserved for special high-powered broadcasting.

At present the nation's national networks number three: Columbia with 116 stations, Mutual with 77 stations, and National (Red and Blue networks) with 146 stations. There are 34 regional networks, each operating from 4 to 24 stations. Of the total 701 stations in the nation as of January 1, 1938, nearly one-half are members of these three great chains, with a large percentage belonging to more than one regional or coast-to-coast air line. All chains today are increasing the number of their affiliated stations.

Stations are either "commercial" or "educational." The first sell time to advertisers and, in theory, the latter do not. In practice, about one-half of the stations listed as educational sell some time. Educational stations number 61, and are owned by educational institutions, such as state universities and large public school systems, by cities, chambers of commerce, and religious organizations. Commercial stations are owned by companies and individuals. Almost 200 are owned or controlled by newspapers, thus indicating the major way in which the press has met radio competition.

Programs are of two kinds: commercial and sustaining. The first is time sold, and the second is gratis time which is used in broadcasting matter of public interest. Commercial programs,

[1] In addition to these legal controls, each chain or station has its own operating policy. A notable case in point was the recent split-second decision of CBS to cut off the "debate" of a United States senator with the "voice" (recording) of President Roosevelt. Neither CBS nor NBC permits the broadcasting of voice recordings in any form except as "sound effects." Presumably both companies offer time for sale to all political parties without discrimination.

as is well known, consist largely of popular entertainment and news. The cost to advertisers over NBC's Red Network (22 stations) between 6 P.M. and 11 P.M. on weekdays is $8,280 per 60-minute period. The Sunday afternoon rate is usually one-fourth less, and rates at other hours one-half less. In terms of classes of products advertised, the five heaviest national users of radio in 1936 were: (1) drugs and toilet goods, (2) foods and food products, (3) automobiles and accessories, gas and oil, (4) tobacco products, and (5) soaps and kitchen supplies.

Radio Sets: Number and Use.—Radio sets are not evenly distributed over the nation or within specific localities. A recent study shows the greatest per capita ownership of sets in the urbanized East and Middle West, with the South lagging far behind the national average.[1] A sample survey in 1937 reported a higher per person ownership of sets in cities of 250,000 and over than in cities of lesser population.[2] In the same year, radio was said to reach into 24,500,000 American homes. Approximately 85 per cent of all families with incomes not exceeding $2,000 per year owned radio sets, and 98.6 per cent of those with incomes over $5,000.

According to a 1936 CBS survey, a typical household has the radio turned on 4.7 hours per average weekday; over weekends it is "played" an average of about five hours. Small-town dwellers are said to listen more than the average and metropolitan dwellers less. In an earlier but more revealing study of Minneapolis homes owning radio sets, Kirpatrick found that the average adult listened 19.6 hours per week.[3] The typical home had 3.5 listeners, with women listening for longer periods than men. From other surveys it is apparent that the morning audience is smaller than the afternoon audience, and the evening audience is by far the largest.

Trends and Outlook.—In brief summary, the mechanical progress of radio has been phenomenal. Crystal sets have been replaced by vacuum tubes and screen grids, headphones by loudspeakers, battery sets by electrical sets built as pieces of home furniture. Electrical recording has approached technical perfec-

[1] H. Earl Pemberton, "Culture-diffusion Gradients," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 42(1936), 226–233.

[2] *The Broadcast*, 12(1937), 11–12.

[3] Clifford Kirpatrick, *Report of a Research into the Attitudes and Habits of Radio Listeners* (1933), 25.

tion and is widely used in school broadcasts. Its commercial use is much greater in England and on the Continent than in the United States, due apparently to an American prejudice against it.

At present interest centers on television and facsimile broadcasting. "Sometime in 1938," writes Seldes, "television sets may be put on sale in the United States."[1] So far in America about 7½ million dollars have been spent on experimental television, and pictures 7 by 10 inches in dimensions have been transmitted over a radius of 25 miles. The British Broadcasting Corporation has a regular television service of an hour every morning and an hour every afternoon. Facsimile broadcasting, similar to the "wire-photos" seen in newspapers, is reported as even nearer technical satisfaction.[2]

Apparently the problems of shifting from sound to sight and sound are of three kinds: mechanical, financial, and entertainment. Owing to the limited range and high cost of telecasting, it is likely that it will slowly infiltrate into radio broadcasting and on a local scale. Changes in program content and in listening habits are clearly indicated. Presumably preference will be given to the reproduction of actual events, such as football games, at the moment of their occurrence, and to dramatic sketches, such as stage plays or abbreviated motion pictures, transmitted from the studio. Since the televised image is small and at present somewhat indistinct at top and bottom, it will demand a greater concentration of attention on the part of the receiver. Chances are that "listeners" will be more attentive and hence more suggestible to action than is the audience created by sound alone.

B. RADIO, PRINT, AND THE CHILD

Programs for Children.—Children's programs are probably the youngest offshoot of the radio industry. In 1928, Eisenberg found three such programs in the New York area; in 1934, fifty-two programs intended for children.[3] In the former year, chil-

[1] Gilbert Seldes, "The 'Errors' of Television," *Atlantic Mon.*, 159(1937), 531–541.

[2] Levering Tyson, *Education on the Air and Radio in Education*, 223.

[3] Azriel L. Eisenberg, *Children and Radio Programs*, 5. Columbia University Press, 1936. Since this is the most comprehensive study to date, we shall draw heavily on its findings. The subjects were 3,345 pupils, predominantly sixth graders, from 15 representative New York City schools.

dren's programs occupied a total air time of 34½ hours per week; in 1934, 1,097 hours. During the period of study (1928–1934), 105 programs were identified but few survived for more than two or three years. While these programs were not classified in the original study, it is interesting to group them by content, products advertised, and offers made to children.

TABLE IX.—CHILDREN'S RADIO PROGRAMS: CONTENT, PRODUCTS ADVERTISED, AND OFFERS MADE[1]

Program	No.	Product	No.	Offer	No.
Popular songs, music	11	Cereal	14	Club membership	15
Animal stories	10	Food drink	8	Prizes (articles)	13
War heroes, aviators	9	Dog foods	6	Gifts for letters	10
Wild west, rangers	8	Dessert	6	Reward for carton tops	8
Fairy tales	7	Tooth paste	5	Recipes, booklets	8
Comic strip characters	7	Groceries	4	Photos of screen and radio stars	7
Child adventurers	6	Bread	3	Puzzles, games	4
Variety, chatter, humor	6	Dairy products	3	Charts, maps	4
Boy and girl life	6	Soaps, lotions	3	Merchandise samples	3
Mystery, detectives	5	Shoes	2	Request songs, poems	3
Lessons, dance steps	4	Rubber goods	2	Copies of program	3
Indian life, folklore	4	Toys	2	Votes for performers	2
Popular sports	4	Home remedies	2	Trips, tickets	2
Vaudeville shows	3	Merchandise	2	No offer made	14
News and comments	2	Magazines	2	Unknown	9
Classical music	2	Miscellaneous	18		
Miscellaneous	11	Unknown	23		
	105		105		105

[1] Based upon Azriel L. Eisenberg, *Children and Radio Programs*, 7–17.

As indicated in Table IX, programs for children stress mystery and adventure, sentiment and humor, animal stories and fairy tales. It is significant that only two of the 105 programs, the *Damrosch Hour* and *NBC Music Appreciation*, can be listed as classical music. In products advertised, the table reveals a predominance of foods for children, especially of cereals. Among

Data were obtained through questionnaires, interviews, essays, and teacher ratings. While care was used to validate the sample, the results are not set forth as typical of the nation's children. The need is for studies of other grade levels and in communities of different sizes.

the leading devices used to sustain child interest in the program are club membership, prizes, gifts, and rewards.

Listening Habits.—For the vast majority of Eisenberg's 3,345 children, listening time begins near twilight and extends through the early evening hours. Winter is the preferred season, spring ranks next, then autumn and summer in the order named. Boys average a little over six hours a week at the radio and listen to about seven programs; girls rank slightly higher on both points.

Other investigators, studying older children, report similar variations in listening habits. In a survey of 1,000 high school pupils in a small New Jersey city, Hewes found that 97 per cent of the homes had radios, girls listened more than boys, boys preferred music, comedy, and adventure, girls preferred romantic and sentimental programs, and both groups wrote letters to stations or sponsors in response to advertising offers.[1]

Tyler studied 700 pupils in the junior and senior high schools of Oakland, California.[2] His principal findings were that about 98 per cent of the student homes owned radios; the average listening time per weekday was two hours and twenty minutes; slight differences in listening time existed between grades, but in general girls spent more time at the radio than boys; drama, sports, and comedy were favored by both groups; sports and news were rated higher by boys than by girls—the latter preferring dance programs and crooners; and the higher the grade level the more children tended to listen alone or with age-level friends.

Program Likes and Dislikes.—Do children like the programs to which they listen? As to be expected, this is the case—the correlation reported by Eisenberg being +.89. In analyzing 2,610 grade school essays on "The Radio Program I Like Best and Why," boys recorded a preponderate first choice for Wild West features, detection of criminals, humor, sports, and real or imaginary adventures in strange lands. Grade school girls preferred romantic adventures, sentimental stories, dance programs, popular songs, and accounts of family life. Current event programs were liked more by listeners of above average intelligence. These children listened to more programs and were

[1] R. K. Hewes, "A Study of One Thousand High School Listeners," *Education on the Air, 1934*, 326–329.

[2] I. Keith Tyler, "Radio Studies in the Oakland Schools," *Education on the Air, 1934*, 297–312.

more changeable in their preferences. Adult performers were generally preferred to child performers, men announcers to women announcers, piano and violin to other instrumental music.

The reasons given by children for liking a "best program" were classified under the headings of adventure, humor, music, and education. The following illustrations are typical of the meaning of these categories to the child.

Adventure.—"My favorite radio program is *Maverick Jim.* I like it because it has action. Action and thrills mixed, which is the best combination for good radio. The *Maverick Jim* program stirs something in you, it makes you want to do things."

Humor.—"My favorite comedian is *Joe Penner.* I like Joe because of two singers on the same program. I like them better than any others because they don't sing such lovesick songs, but sing funny ones like 'Two Little Fleas on A Lump of Sugar,' or 'I'd Rather Keep House with Mickey Mouse Than Go Out with a Rat Like You." That is the kind of song I like."

Music.—"I like *Bing Crosby* because he is a good singer. I wish he was on the air more often than he is. I like to hear him sing with the *Four Mills Brothers.* I like to hear him croon. You'd never think he was a married man."

Education.—"The program I like best is *Little Orphan Annie.* It is very exciting and tells us about many countries and their customs. The people in the story are now in Bombay, India. They also go to Egypt where they learn about mummies, Sphinx, and obelisks. I think it is very exciting because I learn the history and geography of foreign countries."[1]

Other Interests: Reading.—Given the choice of playing a phonograph, listening to the radio, reading a "thrilling" story, solving a puzzle, reading a book for fun, or playing a music instrument, New York sixth grade children preferred radio listening. In only one activity, playing ball, did a sharp sex difference come to light. Boys on the average liked a ball game better than radio. Three activities were rated higher than radio listening by the group as a whole: going to the motion pictures, listening to an orchestra on a stage, and reading the comics.

Like other child-shaping influences, reading is intelligible only in terms of community backgrounds. During the past decade, the reading behavior of entire communities has been studied in

[1] A. L. Eisenberg, *op. cit.*, 88–92. Reprinted by permission of the Columbia University Press.

detail. Generalizing for a number of recent urban studies, Waples notes that from two-thirds to three-fourths of all print consumed by out-of-school readers is "mediocre or worse" in quality.[1] It ranges from newspaper comics to pulp magazines and cheap novels. Students and professional persons are almost the only heavy readers of nonfiction, apart from newsprint. Students constitute the vast majority of book readers and alone account for from one-half to three-fourths of public library circulation. Beyond question, the quantity and quality of reading correlate closely with the per capita school age of area dwellers.[2] Young children tend to reflect the general "reading environment" in which they are reared.

As compared with other forms of reading, the book preferences of children have received an inordinate attention. An earlier study is fairly typical.[3] The materials making the greatest appeal to young children are those dealing with (1) surprise, unforeseen events, (2) liveliness, action, and movement, (3) animal behavior, (4) human interest, conversations between persons, (5) humor from the child's standpoint, (6) plot, dramatic suspense, and climax, and (7) everyday adventures of the child. The great similarity of these interests in reading to radio and motion picture likes is apparent.

News and Comics.—Newspapers are not understood in their influence on adults, much less on children. For example, no one knows exactly who reads the forty million newspapers sold each weekday in the nation. A few studies suggest the role of age, sex, occupation, and education in conditioning reading but the findings are not conclusive.[4]

Apparently urban pupils have an avid interest in the newspaper. In a study of 329 Chicago high school students, about 90 per cent reported reading a daily paper.[5] They averaged

[1] Douglas Waples, "Guiding Reading," *Reconstructing Education through Research* (1936), 81–86.

[2] R. A. Miller, "The Relation of Reading Characteristics to Social Indices," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 41 (1936), 738–757.

[3] Fannie W. Dunn, *Interest Factors in Primary Reading Materials* (1921); also White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *Children's Reading* (1932); Arthur I. Gates, *Interest and Ability in Reading* (1930).

[4] Douglas Waples and Ralph W. Tyler, *What People Want to Read*, Chap. IV, "Subjects of Interest to Selected Groups."

[5] R. S. Ellwood, "Building a Unit in the Study of Newspaper Reading," *High Sch. Teach.*, 10(1934), 44.

34 minutes a day as compared with 500 New York high school pupils who reported 5 hours per week. Various groups of readers in St. Louis were asked to indicate the section of the newspaper which they habitually read first. As seen in Table X, comics, general news, and sports were the outstanding first choices of young readers. Since some of the persons did not select any

TABLE X.—SECTION OF THE NEWSPAPER READ FIRST[1]

Part	Per cent of persons reading part first			
	Boys	Men	Girls	Women
Advertisements	0	1	0	1
Business and finance	0	1	0	0
Comics	28	7	43	8
Education	5	3	3	3
General news	28	51	32	55
Radio	0	0	0	0
Society	0	0	1	2
Sports	38	20	10	1
Theater	0	0	0	0

[1] From an unpublished study (1935) by James E. Wert. Courtesy of Edgar Dale, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University.

one of the nine sections as a first choice, percentages in the table do not total one hundred.

Of particular interest is the comic strip. Fifty years ago there were no newspaper comics; today there are a thousand or more different comic features. Though parallels are found in Europe, the present comic strip is an American invention.[1] In 1894, Richard Outcault, an illustrator on the *New York World*, drew the nation's first colored "funny," the famous *Yellow Kid*. For eight years this disreputable character romped through his questionable adventures and then, in 1902, he became the *Buster Brown* who is followed by thousands of readers. By 1900, other comic strips were in existence, and by 1910 it was evident that daily and Sunday features were here to stay.

Bits of evidence suggest the importance of comics. All papers of size in the nation, save the *Christian Science Monitor* and the

[1] David. F. McCord, "The Social Rise of the Comics," *Amer. Mer.*, 35(1935), 360–364.

New York Times, are said to publish comics. The late Arthur Brisbane rated comics next to news as circulation builders. To prove his right to use certain comic features, another prominent newspaper publisher carried a suit against the *Washington Post* to the United States Supreme Court.[1] In all, an estimated 20 million homes in the nation are reached each week by the comics, and American syndicates sell to more than 80 foreign countries. In view of the pervasiveness of comics, it is difficult to understand why they have virtually escaped educational study.

Comics differ from other forms of newspaper illustrations in several ways. For example, if all material of this type were arranged in order of descending lifelikeness, the series would be photographs, cartoons, comics, caricatures, diagrams, and graphs. Comics differ from cartoons, the latter being "wordless editorials" and intended to be read symbolically.[2] Like cartoons and caricatures, comics carry a "tint of exaggeration." Unlike them, comics are running stories and their primary purpose is entertainment. To call them "funnies" is a misnomer, for tragedy is more common than humor in their make-up.

From the standpoint of plot, comics are of two types. One, the most common, is the continued story in which each installment is not unlike a chapter in a novel. Comics of the second type purport to tell a completed story in each issue. In both cases, continuity is maintained by stock themes and characters. Apparently in only two instances—*Gasoline Alley* and *Blondie*—do comic characters appear to age with time in their appearances and problems.

Classified in terms of content, the vast majority of comics fall into eight divisions. These categories, with representative illustrations, are: (1) child life, *Henry, Skippy,* and *Smitty;* (2) adolescence, *Harold Teen, Dumb Dora,* and *Winnie Winkle;* (3) family life, *The Gumps, Bringing Up Father,* and *Toots and Caspar;* (4) burlesque humor, *Moon Mullins, Barney Google,* and *Toonerville Folks;* (5) animal characterization, *Krazy Kat, Mickey Mouse,* and *Napoleon;* (6) appealing characters, *Little Orphan*

[1] R. C. Gay, "A Teacher Reads the Comics," *Harvard Teach. Rec.*, 7(1937), 198–209.

[2] The ability of children to understand cartoons has been studied by L. F. Schaffer. *Children's Interpretation of Cartoons.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 429. Columbia University, 1930.

Annie, Mutt and Jeff, and *Popeye;* (7) crime and its detection, *Dick Tracy, Jane Arden,* and *The G-Man;* and (8) fantastic adventures, *Buck Rogers, Flash Gordon,* and *Sky Roads.*

What are the effects of comics on children? Unfortunately, no one can answer this question in a conclusive way. A starting point is the recognition that there are comics and comics. Some are thoroughly enjoyable and apparently of positive influence; others are surely harmful to the average child. Drawings are crude, print is small and illegible, language and manners are vulgar, character roles are offensive to certain professions, such as social workers, or to religious and racial groups, and action ranges from criminal sadism through rank melodrama to stark tragedy.[1] A number of comic booklets are the worst offenders on all these counts. Pictures are reduced in size, printed in fine type on the cheapest paper, and seemingly the moral restraints exercised by the newspaper public and editors over strip content are relaxed. These booklets carry pages of "trinket" advertisements, each "free" to the child for his name and from 10 to 50 cents. One issue of *Famous Funnies* (January, 1937), offered for sale a sex indicator, guaranteed to tell the sex of "eggs, dogs, persons, etc.," jujitsu and dancing lessons, a rose to forecast all weather changes, pistols of various kinds, master keys "to open any door," a whoopee cushion which when sat upon "gives forth noises better imagined than described," and fun licenses, such as "liar's license, necker's certificate, grafter's diploma," etc.

Many comics deemed respectable enough for newspaper publication show a definite lack of craftsmanship. Does this influence the child's conception of art? Their language is either slangy in the extreme or of the "pow-wham" type with many asterisks. What effect does this have on speech? The *New Republic* has repeatedly reprimanded *Orphan Annie* for her anti-New Deal bias. Are a few comics propagandists for or against social causes, institutions, or persons in public life? Finally, many strips still hold their readers by shopworn *clichés* and stereotyped appeals—vice against virtue, family tensions, virtual nudeness, criminal action, impossible escapes and adventures. Do such pictures leave deposits in the child mind or are they forgotten with the day? Until evidence proves the contrary,

[1] See analysis of *Tarzan*, John K. Ryan, "Are Comics Moral?" *Forum*,

there is reason to doubt the comic's moral fitness to be the guide of children.

C. CONTROL AND DISCRIMINATION

Personality Effects: Reading.—With so much of life now conducted by means of print media, the formal values of reading have been strongly emphasized. One set of values includes the mastery of reading and writing skills, as illustrated by vocabulary, abstract comprehension, and literary aptitudes. Another set stresses a progressive change in reading level. More reading is commonly said to mean better reading. A third calls attention to the "escape value" of reading, a value devoid of meaning until it is known from what and to what the escape is made. A fourth set of values centers around reading as an avenue of cultural participation. Through it we share in the cumulative experiences and achievements of the race. To what extent these values are realized in the present unguided reading of the masses is not known. Until such data are assembled, a guidance program can have little factual basis.

It is relevant to note in this connection that American newspapers have been severely criticized for the part they play in relation to delinquency and crime. They are charged with promoting crime by habitually focusing attention on it, by romanticizing the criminal, by providing the criminal with advance information concerning police activity, by interfering with the administration of justice through "trial by newspaper," and by contributing to the delinquency of children through conditions of employment which are morally injurious. Thomas, writing of the sensationalized "yellow press," says:

> It is a positive agent of vice and crime. The condition of morality, as well as of mental life, in a community depends upon the prevailing copies. A people is profoundly influenced by whatever is persistently brought to its attention. A good illustration of this is the fact that an article of commerce—a food, a luxury, a medicine, or a stimulant—can always be sold in immense quantities if it be persistently and largely advertised. In the same way the yellow journal by an advertisement of crime, vice, and vulgarity, on a scale unexampled in commercial advertising and in a way that amounts to approval and even applause, becomes one of the forces making for immorality.[1]

[1] W. I. Thomas, "The Psychology of the Yellow Journal," *Amer. Mag.*, 65(1908), 496.

Learning from Broadcasts.—Commercial radio has laid no claims to an altruistic mission. Its prime purpose is the sale of goods through the provision of mass entertainment. One would hesitate to evaluate its role as a child educator did it not function *de facto* in that capacity. Are the things which children learn from radio programs useful, practical, and worth while? Do commercial broadcasts further the child's school progress?

In response to the latter question, the 3,345 New York children voted an overwhelming "yes." Many held that *Roses and Drums* gave reality to Civil War history, *Death Valley Scotty* acquainted them with the geography of the West, *Buck Rogers* taught them astronomy, and *Bing Crosby* instructed in popular music. Health and hygiene were reported as learned from tooth-paste and cereal programs, current events from news broadcasts, vocabulary and good diction from dramatic plays and radio announcers. Similarly, parents of these children cited many educational values. Beneficial effects were listed in 1,518 instances and undesirable effects in 942 instances. Parents approved programs totaling 3,100, urged that children listen to 1,336 programs, and disapproved listening in 791 cases. Few adults were as sanely balanced as one mother who wrote:

> When radio brings into our homes cruelty, crime, false standards, vulgar humor, I feel it is having a bad influence on my children's lives. When it brings beautiful music, familiar songs, the opportunity to dance, good fun, and interesting suitable stories, I feel that it is adding greatly to the enrichment of their lives.

That children learn many things from commercial programs is an evident truth, but that these learnings are weighty in educational content is not proved. The 3,345 sixth-grade pupils listed only 285 words learned from radio broadcasts, many of which were of uncertain origin and of doubtful value. The games reported as learned consisted of competitive sports and play forms stimulated by the offer of prizes. In respect to musical education, 81 per cent of the songs remembered were of the popular variety. Stories recalled by boys were largely tales of fantastic adventure, mystery, and criminal behavior; girls remembered best certain kinds of fairy tales. Being restricted to voice and sound, commercial radio programs do not instruct in geography, history, etc., as do motion pictures with their increasing concern for authentic sight and sound reproduction.

About one-fourth of the New York children reported lying awake at night thinking over what they had heard on the radio, whereas over one-half denied this practice. Over one-third said they dreamed at night about things heard, as compared with almost one-half who did not. In their dreams, they reported playing cowboy, being on the *Show Boat*, attending the *Court of Domestic Relations*, being a gangster, and so on. In this connection, it is possible that a closer correlation exists between sleep motility and the hour of broadcast than with program content. If so, the problem is a parental problem of child control.

Sales tactics of radio advertisers, as listed in Table IX, range from children's clubs to contests and rewards, from the writing of fan letters to participation in broadcasts. The psychology of this sales process is clearly presented in the following analysis:

> First a story is chosen that is known to interest children, usually a perennial folk tale or a popular comic. The story is presented with plenty of action, exciting situations and sounds, so the child becomes profoundly absorbed. The introduction of the trade name upon this emotional background makes a deep impression. At the beginning of the program the child is made to wait for his story until he has learned by heart the message of the sponsor, and again at the end, and sometimes in the middle, he is forced to transfer his sharpened interest to the product. The two become inextricable.
>
> He is told (therefore believes) that the only way to keep his story coming to him night after night is to persuade his mother to buy the product; he is told (and also believes) that it will be a "big favor" to his hero if he will buy the goods. He is informed that his little private dreams will come true if he drinks or eats the sponsored preparation. Perhaps the most effective of all are the artful appeals to the child's desire for gifts and trinkets. If he buys a box of Suchandsuch Cereal, and sends the top, he will receive without cost an identification tag, a bandanna handkerchief, a codebook, etc. What child can resist such an accumulation of suggestions and what parent can resist the teasing that ensues?[1]

Sales tactics of this nature have little to recommend them from a social standpoint. They motivate behavior by questionable external inducements. They sell a brand product not on its merits, but by winning a child's loyalty to a favorite character. They would sell the product even to the extent of upsetting

[1] H. Cantril and G. W. Allport, *The Psychology of Radio*, 236–237. By permission of Harper and Brothers, publishers.

nutritional balance. In one state at least, dietitians report that health of children has been affected by eating an excess of certain cereals. The claim is made that this effect is due in no small part to the pressures of radio advertisers.[1]

Finally, many parents protest that radio interferes with children's routine play, conversation, homework, meals, and bedtime. With radio now so much the audible background of home life, we need to know how it influences attention, concentration, and "nerves." Experimental studies of adults indicate that "working against the radio" increases the attention to the task at hand but at the cost of intensifying strain and fatigue.[2] This result follows especially from "talk," whereas music in some cases appears to be conducive to concentration. How small children react under a constant stream of words and sound is not known.

Control of the Radio.—Having grown up with the radio, children take it as a matter of course. Not so with many thoughtful adults. To them the mechanism is still a kind of psychological novelty, an intruder in home and classroom. Aware of its many positive services, they are none-the-less perplexed as to its control and best usage. In the words of one progressive educator:

> Although there has been improvement in broadcasts for children, dissatisfaction is general among all groups at all concerned with children's programs. It is this dissatisfaction from all quarters that is alarming. In resolutions, in platform pronouncements, in the organization of censorship machinery, and by other means of expressing disapproval, national, state, and local groups have registered their displeasure. Radio programs could be superior; they remain mediocre and average.[3]

Aside from some unexpected change in the American system, such as virtual government ownership plus a tax on sets as in Great Britain, the basic radio activity within the nation will continue to be supported by advertising revenues. This naturally limits program content, the best offerings being those that sell the most goods. Mindful of this fact, two types of consumer

[1] Sidonie M. Gruenberg, *Radio and Children* (1936) 17.

[2] Cantril and Allport, *op. cit.*, 25.

[3] Frederick L. Redefer, "Radio Programs for Children," *Education on the Air and Radio in Education*, 129. By permission of the University of Chicago Press, publisher.

radio control have been evolved. One is the protesting, censoring kind of public reaction to disapproved programs. This has found expression in turning dials and writing letters, in lodging formal complaints with station heads and commercial sponsors, and in threatening to boycott stations and products or to appeal the case to the Federal Communications Commission. So far such measures have been of no great import because they have failed to gain the support of an organized public opinion.

The second type of radio control is of a broadly constructive nature. It assumes that radio is an actual, or potential, blessing, and that it is here to stay. Its control is an educational problem in the sense of planning for its use and in developing standards of program appreciation. When radio speaks in the home, it speaks to all, and hence the necessity for family members to reach an understanding as to its use. Every parent knows that radio programs differ profoundly in entertainment and instructional values. Moreover, thoughtful parents have observed that the same program which sends Edwin to bed in shivers may be good fun for Edward. Thus the discovery of individual differences within children, and the development of criteria for judging a program's value, are two additional steps in assimilating the radio to the home.

Radio in Education.—Radio in the classroom is still highly experimental, yet two practices are already crystallized. One is to view it as a master teacher. Experts in given fields broadcast lessons for pupils within the many schoolrooms of a public school system, asking questions, suggesting readings, making assignments, and conducting tests. This mechanizes education and leaves the local teacher only the tasks of preparing for the broadcasts and keeping order in the classroom.

A better practice is to view radio as a means for what has been called the "integral enrichment" of the curriculum.[1] From school broadcasts and those not designed exclusively for the school, teachers select materials which are in line with class objectives.[2] Selections are made from radio guides, station

[1] I. Keith Tyler, "The Use of the Radio in the Classroom." Mimeographed address on file at the Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus.

[2] Some 200 city school systems and at least 25 state boards of education, as well as many colleges and universities, broadcast programs directly for

bulletins, and newspaper listings, and broadcasts are integrated with the regular school program. If skillfully done, this usage has much to recommend it. Not only will it help to vitalize classroom teaching; it will also affect the pupils' attitude toward commercial broadcasts in general.

In conclusion, it is not amiss to suggest that radio may sense a moral in what has happened to children's literature. Within a fairly short time, a great change in juvenile books has taken place. Books are notably better in print and format, in artistic qualities, and in the range and variety of reading matter. These improvements are due indirectly to years of patient study by parents, teachers, and child experts. They are due directly to the fact that publishers found it profitable to follow the recommended criteria for a good book. While major changes in children's radio programs must await the progress of research, steps could be taken now to eliminate offerings of questionable value and to improve those of mediocre quality.

Questions for Discussion

1. Retrace the rise of radio. Comment on its development in terms of your own experiences.
2. Describe our present broadcasting system, its mechanics, programs, and control by the Federal Communications Commission.
3. Review the table dealing with children's programs in the New York area. Compare these practices with those now current in your own community.
4. What variations in children's listening habits have been reported? When in high school, did you spend more or less time in radio listening than the average reported by Tyler? How much time do you now spend?
5. What types of programs do children like best? How are these choices to be explained?
6. What are comics? "I can't pry my daughter (ten years of age) loose from the 'funnies,'" writes one mother. Should she? Give reasons for your answer.
7. Evaluate commercial radio as a child educator. How can the present situation be improved?

Problems and Projects

1. Make a study of children's radio programs in your area. How do these programs differ from those reported in the chapter?

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the public schools. Programs, used by schools but not especially designed for them, are illustrated by the *American School of the Air* (CBS), the *Damrosch Hour* (NBC), and commercial news broadcasts.

2. Prepare an account of your newspaper reading habits, indicating your first reading, present reading, time spent, news interest, and apparent effects.

3. To what extent are college students familiar with comic characters? As a test, cut out and mount on cardboard twenty common characters and score students on their identification.

4. Interview a school principal as to the uses of broadcasts in his school. What are his views concerning the future of radio in education? Do you agree?

5. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Social Implications of Radio. Howard W. Odum, "The Implications of Radio as a Social and Educational Phenomenon," *Educ. Rec.*, 18(1937), 27–47.
   b. Social Psychology of Children's Reading. Katherine Niles Lind, in *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 41(1936), 454–469.
   c. Criteria for Evaluating Children's Radio Programs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, *Radio and Children*, 13–18. Radio Institute of Audible Arts, New York, 1936.
   d. Newspaper And Crime. Frank Harris, *Presentation of Crime in Newspapers* (1932); Susan Kingsbury, Hornell Hart, *et al. Newspapers and the News* (1937).

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19. Tyson, Levering: "Ten Years of Educational Broadcasting," *School and Soc.*, 44(1936), 225–231.
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CHAPTER XV

RACE RELATIONS

If the man from Mars could visit the United States, he would say that it is a good place in which to study race relations. If asked for reasons, he might name three. We are a most heterogeneous people; we are a nation of rapid social change; and we, the native white majority, are possessed with a marked superiority complex. These are the ingredients which have always made for interracial misunderstandings, discriminations, and conflicts. After a survey of ethnic backgrounds in the nation, we shall discuss the role of race in child life and conclude with an analysis of its educational implications.

A. THE AMERICAN ETHNIC SCENE

A Census Portrait.—To say that we are a heterogeneous people scarcely conveys an idea of our great ethnic diversity. As seen in Table XI, 88.7 per cent of the nation's population in 1930 was "white." Of this white base, more than 25 million were born in this

TABLE XI.—ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1930

Race or nativity	Number	Per cent
Total population	122,775,946	100.0
White	108,864,207	88.7
Native	95,497,800	(77.8)
Native parentage	70,136,614	(57.1)
Foreign and mixed parentage	25,361,186	(20.7)
Foreign-born	13,366,407	(10.9)
Negro	11,891,143	9.7
Mexican	1,422,533	1.2
Indian	332,397	0.3
Orientals	258,996	0.2
All other	5,770	

country of foreign and mixed parentage and over 13 million were born abroad. Adding these two figures, we get an immigrant

population of more than 38 million, or 31.6 per cent of the total population. Negroes totaled almost 12 million (9.7 per cent), with remaining ethnic groups numbering in all about 2 million. If a college class were typical of the nation, one person in three would be of immigrant stock, approximately one in nine of foreign birth, and one in ten a Negro.

Geographic Distribution.—Three facts are important in visualizing the nation's ethnic composition. (1) Old Americans, *i.e.*, homogeneous native white stocks, are concentrated in Eastern

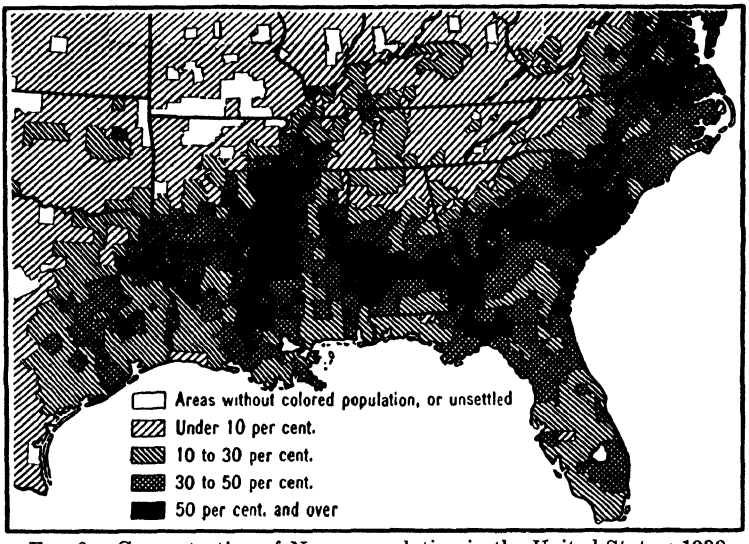

FIG. 6.—Concentration of Negro population in the United States: 1930.

and Western mountain regions, the sparsely settled parts of north Texas, and in a jagged band across southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, on into Missouri and Kansas.[1] (2) Foreign-born whites and their children are centered in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central states. In the New England division, for example, 22.5 per cent of the total population in 1930 was of foreign birth and 37.5 was of direct foreign descent. Immigrants have settled in these sections of the nation because of industrial opportunities, nearness to ports of entry, and the attraction of preexisting ethnic colonies.

[1] See W. S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States*, Chap. II, "Distribution of Population."

(3) In spite of an extensive northward drift, the great bulk (78.8) of American Negroes still live in the South. About one-fifth of the race is found north of the historic Mason and Dixon's line, and approximately one per cent lives in the two far Western divisions of states. As indicated in Fig. 6, there is no single "black belt." There are, on the contrary, two great regions of Negro concentration in the South. One begins on the South Carolina coast and runs westward through Georgia and Alabama, upward into Mississippi, and downward into Florida. The other starts at Memphis and stretches down both banks of the Mississippi River. Between the two is an upland plateau which contains many whites. Lesser points of Negro concentration are shown on the map.

Immigration: Historic Trends.—The United States has been the greatest immigrant receiving nation in the world. From 1820 to 1935, over 38 million aliens have officially entered the country and the number smuggled in is not known. To gain a perspective on this unprecedented flow of people and our reception of it, immigration may be viewed in terms of four outstanding trends.

1. Since shortly after the World War, there has been a sharp decline in the volume of Old World migration. While the alien stream has always flowed in waves, each new decade until 1907 has brought more new arrivals than its predecessor. The 10,000 per year mark was first reached in 1825, the 100,000 per year mark in 1842. In 1854, at the crest of a great wave, 427,833 aliens were admitted. In 1882, the number admitted was 788,992, and in 1907 admissions reached the high mark of all times, 1,285,349. In 1922, following the Quota Act of the preceding year, the total immigration was 309,556. Ten years later, we received only 35,576 aliens, the lowest number since 1831, and in the same year (1932) almost as many returned home. In 1935, only 17,207 quota immigrants were admitted.

2. There has been a marked change in the country of origin of Old World immigrants. By custom European immigration is divided into the "Old" and the "New." The first includes peoples of Northern and Western Europe, and the second peoples of Southern and Eastern Europe. Before 1880, our immigrants were predominantly from the first regions, but since 1895 the "New" has surpassed the "Old." All told, 85.4 per

cent of America's total immigration has come from Europe; of this 48.5 per cent represents the "Old" and 36.9 per cent the "New."[1] The remaining 14.6 per cent of our immigration has come from Mexico, Canada, and island possessions.

3. Since 1900, there has been a rapid growth in the volume of immigration from American countries, namely Canada, Mexico, the West Indies, South and Central America, in the order named. New World nations are not included under quota law restrictions, and since 1901 they have sent us over three million migrants. With the depression, this migration has been regulated by visa requirements, executive order, and a strengthened border patrol.

4. In immigration policy, we have moved from free immigration through selection to the present era of restriction. With immigration threatening to climb to new heights after the World War, Congress passed the Act of 1921. This first Quota Act contained provisions for the second quota law of 1924 and out of this grew the present National Origins plan. By this plan, 150,000 aliens are to be admitted each year. Quotas are assigned to specific countries in ratio to the number of migrants and their descendants which the country has contributed to our total population as determined by an analysis of our ethnic backgrounds in 1920. Thus the plan seeks to preserve the national origins of the American people.

Trends in Negro Life.—It comes with a mild shock to realize that the vast bulk of American Negroes are less than four generations removed from slavery.[2] From Jamestown through Appomattox to the present covers some three hundred years and cannot be summed up in brief compass. Some perspective may be had by noting five great trends.

(1) The Negro race has grown in number from 757,208 in 1790 to well over 12 million in 1937. (2) There has been a significant shift northward, with one and one-half million Negroes migrating since the World War. (3) In the South as well as elsewhere, the

[1] *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration*, 1930, 200.

[2] Contrary to popular opinion, Negroes *en masse* were introduced not as slaves but as indentured servants. One of the original twenty African natives who landed at Jamestown in 1619 became the owner of a black servant. Slave status was fixed in the laws of most states by about 1660. In 1790, free Negroes were estimated as numbering 59,557; in 1860, as 488,070.

rate of urbanization has been extremely rapid. (4) There has been a gradual, though measurable, change in race type. Whiteness and "good features" have always had survival values in adjusting to American life and these traits have been given wide diffusion.[1] (5) Lastly, the Negro is emerging as a contributor to our national life. The reference is not so much to his labor, invaluable as this has been in a premachine age, but to his gifts of music, humor, folklore, literature, and art.

Depression and Minorities.—The full impact of the depression on minority peoples is not known, yet two immediate consequences are apparent. Hard times have increased competition between in-group and out-group members and led to a rebirth of race prejudice. Secondly, all minority groups have found it difficult to hold whatever degree of integration into American life they have achieved. Seeking complete equality of opportunity, they have seen their progress checked if not reversed. The immigrant may be taken as illustrative of the first of these effects, and the Negro of the second.

Dips in the business cycle have always brought a revival of traditional fears against racial outsiders.[2] To the average man, all persons with foreign-sounding names are foreigners, and in times of economic stress they take jobs which are felt to belong to natives. Furthermore, they are alleged to have low standards of living and large families, to crowd relief rolls and charitable institutions, to produce radicals and racketeers, and to show a perverse loyalty to Old World ways. With time, these beliefs are elaborated into racial mythologies and made the basis for discriminatory action. While they have a limited foundation in fact, the truth is that aliens fare as badly or worse under depression conditions than do native-born persons. Even their American-born sons and daughters, though citizens by right of birth, are made the objects of suspicion and persecution.

Negroes have been the marginal men *par excellence* of both agriculture and industry. Owing to their high visibility, the prejudice directed against them, and their transition from a landless peasantry to an industrial proletariat, they have been

[1] *Cf.* Melville Herskovits, *The American Negro;* Raymond Embree, *Brown America*, Chap. I, "The New Race."

[2] For nativistic reactions from colonial days to the present, see L. Guy Brown, *Immigration.*

harder hit by the depression than perhaps any other large ethnic group.

It is difficult to envision the conditions under which the great mass of cotton tenants in the South now live.[1] From the red hills of Georgia through the Mississippi delta to the uplands of Texas, there is an essential sameness of two- or three-room shacks, dilapidated schools and churches, and plantation estates owned more likely than not by white absentee landlords. The general pattern of life is cut by the white "boss man" and is followed by all men lower down. It involves an open exploitation of cotton workers, a marked prevalence of poverty and ill health, an almost unbelievable lack of schooling, a moral laxity not confined within either racial group, and a scheme of race relations enforced if necessary by rope and fagot. Federal relief has altered some aspects of the situation, yet it, too, has been strained through the landlord's fingers. Exceptions to these generalizations are increasing, yet the basic picture stands in sharp contrast to southern progress in other areas of life.

Outside the South, the Negro has had to meet white competition in the various industries, businesses, and professions where he has sought employment. Because he has often entered industry as a scab, craft unions have generally been unfriendly. Beset by doubts as to his own best course of action, he has hesitated to cast his lot with organized labor even where this has been possible. Negro businesses have increased one-fifth in number since 1920, but with the depression many have suffered tragic losses. Negroes in professions have increased 69 per cent since 1920 and have shifted somewhat from the traditional pursuits of ministry and teaching to social work, medicine, and law. With 136,000 colored persons classified as professional in 1930, the claim is made that the race is still understaffed in all fields except the ministry. Here the situation is apparently the reverse.

Economic conditions form the matrix for an expanding series of social problems. Negro death rates have been 90 per cent higher in cities than white death rates and about 50 per cent higher in rural areas. Major diseases are those common to other low income groups in the same environments—tuberculosis,

[1] W. T. Couch, "The Negro in the South," in W. T. Couch (editor), *Culture in the South* (1934); Arthur Raper, *Preface to Peasantry* (1936).

typhoid, syphilis, malaria, and pellagra. Everywhere in large cities Negroes live in congested areas, with only a few able to find and afford better homes. Crime rates, divorce rates, relief rates, and other indices of maladjustment are inordinately high. In spite of inadequate education, illiteracy has dropped from 95 per cent in 1885 to 16.3 per cent in 1930.[1]

B. RACE IN CHILD LIFE

Meanings of Race.—Like many terms of everyday usage, race has been given two meanings. To the man on the street, it means a black man, a yellow man, an alien—each with his alleged habitual ways of acting, feeling, and thinking. Thus, to color, the visible symbol of race, has been imputed a host of mental, moral, and social traits. While this procedure confuses race, the garment in which we are born, with culture, the garment we learn to wear, it does create a field for sociological study. For race, once given social definition, becomes a something to love or hate, to fight for or against, to escape from or live with. It becomes a basis for limiting personal contacts and orienting group life.

The second meaning of race is biological. As a technical concept, race is one way of classifying mankind. It connotes a population aggregate each member of which shares to a degree in the traits of all members. So far as is known, these traits are structural (hair form, cephalic index, nasal index, etc.) and they are hereditary, being transmitted as an organic ensemble. Since all men possess some of all human traits, the classification of races has always been a difficult problem. At present, three great races are generally recognized: the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Negroid.[2] Each of these racial types is in reality a conceptual entity. It is an average or norm of typical traits and is determined by abstracting the biological features which distinguish one population aggregate from another.

Racial Attitudes.—To say that race has been given social definition means that it has become the object of social attitudes. What attitudes do native-born white Americans have toward

[1] For a concise, factual account of present conditions, see Charles S. Johnson, *A Preface to Racial Understanding* (1936).

[2] Some authorities recognize four divisions, for example Aleš Hrdlička, "Human Races," in E. V. Cowdry (editor), *Biology and Human Affairs*, 156–183; others deny the validity of race altogether. See Jacques Barzun, *Race* (1937).

Negro and immigrant peoples? While college students differ in their racial viewpoints, the "pictures in the head" of one student are illustrative of prevalent attitudes. The writer is a native white sophomore girl of middle-class parentage.

A friend of mine, a playground supervisor, says that Negro children are hot tempered, loud mouthed, and slow in learning. They cannot be trusted to keep promises, to play fair, or to return play equipment. They are animal-like and have been found using the shelter for immoral purposes.

As a teacher, I have had experience with both adolescent and adult Negroes. Both are indolent, lazy, and irresponsible. They are dishonest, as I can illustrate by the theft of my umbrella. I had left the umbrella in the cloakroom, but when I asked the colored janitor if he had seen it, he said he had not. On the first rainy day after that, his daughter brought it to school as her umbrella. Here on the campus I find Negroes always talking about their "rights" and wanting to go to student affairs where they are not wanted. The mulattoes are even worse than the blacks.

Next to Negroes, I like least the Jews. There are far too many of them in college and they change their names so you can't tell if they are Jews. They are smart and tricky, mercenary, grabby, and pushy. I can give you an instance. Four of us were going downtown in a taxi. We knew the bill would be about 25 cents and we decided to chip in a dime apiece. The Jewish member of the crowd volunteered to be treasurer but when she paid the driver, she gave him only thirty cents. No girl of any standing will date a Jew, and Eastern colleges do not want them. They are clannish, always running around together, and they control the business of this country. All the big banks, movie producers, and book publishers are Jewish. Foreign agitators are almost all Jews.

Orientals are not smart like Jews, yet they have a kind of canny slickness. The two Chinese girls on the campus wear ridiculous costumes and have the worst table manners that I have ever seen. When I was on the Y's welcoming committee, I visited one of these girls in her home. Everything was all right until she peeled two oranges for us to eat. Even now when I see an orange I think of yellow hands. The Japanese are more to be feared than the Chinese. They have a navy bigger than ours and are planning to take the Philippines just as they took Manchukuo.

These races, also dagoes, hunkies, and wops, are repellent to me. I do not associate with any of them. Our nation was built by Nordic stocks—the English, Scotch, Irish, German, and Scandinavians. They are law-abiding, industrious, and intelligent. We would be much better

off if we sent the Negro back to Africa and then got rid of all foreign stocks.

This account is given for what it is, a portrait of a prejudiced mind. Though it calls to mind many current beliefs, it is probably too extreme to be typical of white college students as a group.[1] If race prejudice is defined as meaning a biased prejudgment, the case is illustrative. For example, one Negro steals an umbrella; therefore all Negroes are thieves. One Jewish student is mercenary; therefore all Jewish people are money-grabbers. In actuality, race prejudice is more than a tendency to generalize on the basis of insufficient or erroneous data. It is an in-group defense mechanism the purpose of which is to prevent contacts at an equality level with all persons viewed as belonging to a racial out-group.

Prejudice may be latent within a group at all times, yet it becomes active only under conditions of real or impending social change. An invading ethnic group is increasing in number, taking jobs from resident natives, sending its children to the public schools, demanding equality treatment in public places, seeking to exercise its right of voting, and threatening to marry across the color line. Prejudice arises as a pragmatic attempt to limit contacts with these minority group members and to keep them in their "place." The action patterns to which it gives rise range from avoidance through "sweet patronage" to discrimination and overt conflict.

All data at hand support the view that racial beliefs and behavior are acquired and not inborn, emotional and not rational, social and not individual. The ideology of race is taught to the child as an integral part of his cultural heritage. His "teachers" are the home, the school, playmates, the church, motion pictures, and the press. A classical example of how one child acquired his early racial point of view is seen in the experiences of a prominent scientist.

"One drop of Negro blood thickens the lips, flattens the nose, kinks the hair, and dulls the intellect." I can still hear my mother reading this sentence, her voice trembling with emotion. I can still recall the

[1] For statistical surveys of racial attitudes, see Daniel Katz and K. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of One Hundred College Students," *Jour. Abn. and Soc. Psych.*, 28(1933), 280–291; Charles S. Johnson, "Racial Attitudes of College Students," *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 28(1934), 24–31.

effect it had upon me. She believed it sincerely. And her fear that Negroes might ruin our Nordic race filled me with terror. I was aged about six when she read it to me, and I had never seen a Negro. In the little town in southern Utah where I was born and had lived, there were none. For me Negroes were in the same class as goblins, ghosts, witches, fairies and devils. Fear for the safety of our race possessed me many times after that.[1]

Prejudice in Child Life.—The life history of prejudice among native white children is still a matter of some conjecture. Small children have race consciousness but not race prejudice; they distinguish between colors and perhaps between type-features but these physical traits have no negative meaning prior to frictional contact or social definition. Lasker holds that white children, reared in an average American community, recognize race differences by the age of five and prefer their own race.[2] Faris dates race prejudice with the rise of group consciousness in the child, though no specific age is indicated.[3] Minard, in a study of 1,352 Iowa children, finds that racial attitudes are well defined in the seventh grade but tend to change during adolescence.[4] While individual differences in environmental contacts prevent significant generalization, it is probable that many children have their racial attitudes well defined before they enter school.

Judging chiefly from Lasker's data, the average white child of four to six years of age is likely to show a vague fear of racial strangers, the child of lower grade school age a teasing combativeness, and the preadolescent an air of contempt and condescension. Adolescence is notably a time of confusion and divided loyalties, of opposite sex association and competitive struggle for school honors. With competition, fear and hatred of minority group children tend to become intensified. Linked with these reactions is the attitude of curiosity toward, if not attraction for, persons of a different race or culture. Later adolescence often reveals an idealistic turn of mind. This viewpoint finds expression in ideas of racial equality and in "fair play" tend-

[1] Lewis I. Dublin, "Death and the American Negro," *Amer. Mer.*, 12(1927), 42. By permission of author and publisher.

[2] Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children*, 4.

[3] Ellsworth Faris, "Racial Attitudes and Sentiments," *Southwest. Pol. and Soc. Sci. Quart.*, 9(1929), 480.

[4] Ralph Minard, *Race Attitudes of Iowa Children.* University of Iowa Studies in Character, No. 2, 1931.

encies. With time, and under the pressure of a prejudiced environment, the young adult tends to slip into the racial ruts cut for him by his community.

On Being a Negro.—What is the meaning of race to the colored child? Frankly, we do not know its various connotations, and volumes on Negro education can be written by colored authors without even noting the problem.[1] Personal papers by colored college students, while not typical of the unlettered mass of the race, show many belittling and painful contacts across the color line. For the educated and sensitive Negro, race becomes a state of mind to control, a symbol of inferiority to escape, an accident of birth to live with as sanely as possible, a sacred fetish for which to crusade, a goading stimulus to self-advancement. Some of these subjectivisms are implicit in the feeling of release as expressed by one colored person on entering a foreign and friendly country.

> From the day I set foot in France, I became aware of the working of a miracle within me. I became aware of a quick readjustment to life and to environment. I recaptured for the first time since childhood the sense of being just a human being. I need not try to analyze this change for my colored readers; they will understand in a flash what took place. For my white readers . . . I am afraid that any analysis will be inadequate, perhaps futile. I was suddenly free; free from the sense of impending discomfort, insecurity, danger; free from the conflict within the Man-Negro dualism and the innumerable maneuvers in thought and behavior that it compels; free from the problems of many obvious or subtle adjustments to a multitude of bans and taboos; free from special scorn, special tolerance, special condescension, special commiseration; free to be merely a man.[2]

Beckman has assembled a few data on the meaning of race in the life of the Negro child, and his line of inquiry is worthy of further investigation.[3] We need to know when Negro pupils first become aware of the fact that they are "different," who sensitizes them to the social definition of race, what racial conflicts they engage in, how they adjust to the racial codes of their

[1] For example, Horace M. Bond, *Education of the Negro in the American Social Order.*

[2] James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way*, 209. By permission of the Viking Press, publishers.

[3] A. S. Beckman, "A Study of Race Attitudes in Negro Children of Adolescent Age," *Jour. Abn. and Soc. Psych.*, 29(1934), 18–20.

community, what effects this has on personality, and the extent to which attitudes formed in childhood carry over to adulthood. Until such knowledge is obtained, thoughtful Negro parents will not know how to educate their children in respect to race. In Johnson's words:

> Awaiting each colored boy and girl are cramping limitations and buttressed obstacles, in addition to those that must be met by youth in general, and this dilemma approaches suffering in proportion to the parents' knowledge and the child's innocence of those conditions. Some parents up to the last moment strive to spare the child the bitter knowledge; the child of less sensitive parents is likely to have this knowledge driven in on him from infancy. And no Negro parent can definitfely say which is the wiser course, for either may lead to spiritual disaster or the child.[1]

The Immigrant Child.—Whether immigrant children are born in this country or abroad, they come of age within a conflict situation. Their homes are the Old World cultures; their parents live these cultures, and children acquire them as a matter of course. After entering school in particular, they are exposed to a new set of life experiences—the patterns and ideals of the larger, environing world. Cultural conflict and mental confusion result. When asked if they considered themselves fully Americanized, less than 15 per cent of 600 fifth grade immigrant children replied in the affirmative.[2] Fewer than 10 per cent denied cultural conflicts in the home. A concrete case, taken at random, illustrates the nature of these conflicts. The writer is a young man of Russian parentage.

> You see, we young people live in two worlds and learn the ways of both—the ways of our parents and the ways of the big world. Sometimes we get mixed up and we fight, we fight our parents and we fight the big world. Sometimes I feel that I am not much of an American. I was raised by Russians, I understand Russians, and I like Russians. At other times I think I am not much of a Russian; except to my parents I never speak Russian, and all my friends are American.
>
> If I go out in the evening, my mother looks sad and thinks I should stay in the house. I tell her that I can't do that every evening. She

[1] James Weldon Johnson, *op. cit.*, 56. By permission of the Viking Press, publisher.

[2] Pauline V. Young, "Social Problems in the Education of the Immigrant Child," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1(1936), 419–429.

says, "Why can't you?" "Because I am young and want some pleasure." "Well, I was young too," she says, "and I stayed at home." "No, mother, this isn't Russia," I tell her. She don't have much to say when I start arguing with her. Many times I get mad, and then I leave home. You see, I don't want to hurt my parents and still I want to live as I see is right—that is, according to American ways. They can't see it my way, and I can't see it their way.

For instance, they say it's wrong to shave your beard. They take the Bible and read to me that it says you must not shave your beard. I read a few lines to myself, and sure, it says that—if you're a mind to accept it in an ignorant way. "God gave you a mind, why don't you use it?" My mother says: "Keep still, child, you are ignorant. Do as you're told, as your father did before you." Sure, it's all right if you're going back to those old times. I am not going back—not in this country. I sit and figure it out myself, and say: "Poor old folks, they can't help it. It's their habit."[1]

Immigrant children feel superior to their parents and yet seek their advice and consent in the major crises of life. They are disdainful of the alien mode of life, yet they adhere to many of its rituals, moral standards, and basic beliefs. This partial emancipation from the old and an incomplete incorporation into the new is the mark of the "marginal man" as a sociological type.[2] Wherever found, the marginal man is in two cultures but of neither. He is confused and bewildered, disorganized and maladjusted.

C. TOWARD BETTER RACIAL ADJUSTMENTS

School's Role in Race Relations.—In theory, schools are charged with the task of increasingly democratizing life; in practice, the racial views of the community flow over into the educational system and impede the teaching-learning process. "As a rule," writes Young, "what is taught in the classroom about race and race relations is no more than a humanized reflection of popular beliefs."[3] Factual studies clearly show that schools transmit traditional racial biases and that teachers who are too far out of line with local standards may be asked to "tone down"

[1] Pauline V. Young, *Pilgrims of Russian-Town*, 114–117. Used by permission of the University of Chicago Press, publishers.

[2] E. V. Stonequist, "Problems of the Marginal Man," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 41(1935), 1–12.

[3] Donald Young, *American Minority Peoples*, 420.

or to seek a new position.[1] While these realities must be reckoned with, it is important nevertheless to understand what could be done to improve race relations if and when a state, or a locality, and its schools so elect.

From a sociological standpoint, racial problems are those of assimilation. Assimilation means the incorporation of strangers into the routine life of the community. Regardless of race, all children are born "aliens"; they become Americans by living in an American community, sharing in its activities, and absorbing its ideals and practices. The speed of assimilation varies with the number and nature of integrative contacts. Thus if Negro or immigrant children are excluded from taking part in community affairs, or unwilling to take part in them, they will remain unassimilated and "a problem." The school's basic role is the guidance of the assimilative process. This involves both the equalization of education and its adaptation to the needs of minority and majority group children.

Improving Negro Education.—An urgent need in Negro education is the equalization of school facilities. Four-fifths of all colored children live in the South and well over three-fifths of these are "retarded," the vast majority by more than a year.[2] Down to 1866, not a single Southern state had a public school system. Though eight of these states spent more than thirty million dollars in a single decade (1918–1928) for Negro education, conditions are still accounted "deplorable." Unable to finance one school system at adequate national standards, the South has chosen to support two separate systems. Naturally funds are not evenly apportioned between black and white. While the nation as a whole spends $99 per year for each school pupil, the South spends $44.31 per white pupil and $12.57 per colored pupil.[3] What this money buys for the Negro pupil is seen in the record of ramshackle school buildings, inferior equipment, outmoded texts, low teacher salaries, and apparently unenforced attendance laws.

[1] Bruno Lasker, *Racial Attitudes in Children*, Chaps. XI–XIII, "What Children Learn at School"; Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* Chap. XV, "Teachers of Negroes."

[2] Charles S. Johnson, "The Education of the Negro Child," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1(1936), 266.

[3] Edwin R. Embree, "Every Tenth Pupil," *Survey Graphic*, 23(1934), 538–541.

A second need is the adaptation of education to the backgrounds and requirements of the Negro child. While differences within the race are many and varied, the principal ones are geographical. The vast bulk of Southern Negroes are isolated from the main educative currents of American life. Families live close to the subsistence level, children are heir to a heritage of outmoded beliefs and practices, and colored teachers come of age within this same background. In Georgia, for instance, less than one-half of the state's 5,685 Negro teachers have been able to qualify for certificates of even the lowest grade.[1] Teachers who do qualify are caught in a vicious circle of isolation and ignorance; their teaching cannot be expected to rise much above the level of their life experience. In a health lesson, for example, there was the question: why must we comb our hair? The book answer, sung back in monotone, was: "Because if we do not comb our hair it will get stringy and fall down over our eyes." In another colored school, the pupils sang each morning: "I brush my teeth three times a day, swish, swish, swish!" A curious visitor checked up and found that two-thirds of the youngsters had no toothbrush. "The trouble with Negro education," once said Booker T. Washington, "is that our textbooks are written in Boston."

If these conditions are intolerable, what changes should be made? No persons have given more serious thought to this problem than able Southern leaders.[2] There is general agreement that education should be made a living experience, that it should help the Negro child escape his present isolation, that it should provide him with a practical vocational training, that it should help him think through the problem of lifting his standards of living, that it should prepare him for a fuller participation in a biracial community. Efforts have been made to realize these aims in a few local areas in the South, and in other places experimental schools have recently been started.

It may be added that any and all educational changes cost money, more money than an impoverished South has to spend. It is obvious that Negro education is not a state but a national

[1] Howard K. Beale, "The Needs of Negro Education in the United States," *Jour. Negro Educ.*, 3(1934), 8–19.

[2] Edgar W. Knight, "Recent Progress and Problems of Education," in W. T. Couch (editor), *Culture in the Old South* (1934).

problem, and Northern foundations—such as the Rosenwald Fund—have contributed generously to its support. It is equally evident that the federal government must assume a larger share of school costs. Unfortunately, the very states most in need of aid are in no position to ask for it, much less to receive it, until they make a first move toward equalizing school facilities.

In the North, educational opportunities are much better. It is true, however, that where separate schools prevail, Negro education has frequently been inferior. Negroes themselves may justify a biracial school system on the grounds that their own schools teach a "non-Nordic view" of the racial world, surround pupils with a more friendly atmosphere, make possible their full participation in extracurricular activities, and give employment to Negro teachers. Where colored children attend white schools, either by choice or necessity, curricular achievements are neither more nor less rapid than in segregated schools of equal standards.[1] So far few mixed schools have removed as fully as possible the blight of prejudice from white pupils, white teachers, and white textbooks.

Educating the Immigrant.—In general, we have conceded the right and admitted the capacity of the white immigrant child for a public school education. In truth, the public school has been viewed as the great melting pot of the nation. Immigrant children have been rushed through the educational mill, given a veneer of Americanism, and released into American community life. In retrospect, it is evident that public schools were not designed to cope with heterogeneous ethnic populations and end results have not always been encouraging. At each grade level in New York City schools, where immigrant peoples make up over three-fourths of the city's population, there are thousands of retarded pupils. School failure in itself is one conspicuous cause of second-generation maladjustment. Of New York's nineteen-year-old delinquents—the largest single age group arrested in one year—88 per cent had a record of elementary school failure.[2]

In the average American school, the immigrant child finds the great bulk of his ethnic customs under direct attack. He is

[1] Mary Crowley, "Cincinnati's Experiment in Negro Education," *Jour. Negro Educ.*, 1(1932), 25–34.

[2] A. A. Berle, "Handicaps on Schools," *New York Times Mag.*, Dec. 30, 1934, xx–4.

subjected to criticism and ridicule, not because of misbehavior as usually understood, but because of his foreignness.[1] He learns that he is not an American but an Italian, a Russian, a Czech, etc. He learns that his parents are "the foreign element," that their dress, speech, customs, and ideals are "un-American." Thus the pupil's very mode of life is objected to and, if possible, blotted out. Parental ways are wrong; the school's ways are right ways.

The child's initial reaction is to defend home practices, and hence he appears to resist education. The teacher views the situation as a personal conflict between herself and the pupil. He is not only a "dirty, ignorant child," but a boy who is deliberately disobedient in the classroom. By now the youngster's hearty dislike for school has turned into a hatred for the teacher. Having been assigned a rebel role, he loses no opportunity of violating school discipline. He knows many ways of piercing the teacher's armor. One practice is to shock her by producing in the classroom the language and sex behavior learned on the streets. Each attack calls for retaliatory measures, and so the conflict goes until the boy passes out of the room or out of the school. Not all teachers in immigrant areas show such lack of insight, yet the process as described can be observed in school after school.

What are the needs in immigrant education? A first need is for a more sympathetic understanding of the child's cultural backgrounds. One thinks of the rigid patriarchal organization of many immigrant families, their innumerable alien practices and philosophies, their adamant claim on the child's time and loyalties.[2] One thinks of the outer world's pull on the child, the pressures exerted by his American friends, parental bewilderment at his inexplicable behavior, the almost complete loss of home and community control. If schools are to probe deeply into these backgrounds, they must have teachers who are linguists; otherwise there is no avenue of penetrating contact with the immigrant home. The "nationality worker," a trained second-

[1] For case materials, see Archie Bromsen, "The Public School's Contribution to the Maladaptation of the Italian Boy," in Caroline Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 455–461; Edward K. Strong, *The Second Generation Japanese Problem.*

[2] For an instructive case, see Clifford Shaw's account of a 14-year-old Greek boy, *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 21(1927), 149–157.

generation immigrant, has as much a place in the school system as in social work agencies.

An even greater need is for a more adequate philosophy of Americanization. Assimilation at its best does not mean the injection of a little English and civics, nor the blotting out of all alien practices. It does not mean laying down the law to obstinate parents or ruthlessly "uplifting" their children. What it can mean is suggested by an incident in the day-by-day experiences of a school in the heart of Los Angeles' Russian colony. Through years of service, the principal of this school has won the title of "the little mother." In her words:

> The young children were eager for school play. We would not keep them away from the playground equipment, but the girls were not dressed properly to use it. They came in long white dresses and underskirts, no bloomers underneath. Many panties were given to the school, and we made a great fuss over them, admiring the lace edgings and the whiteness of the material until the children were anxious to put them on. They liked them, but we anticipated a disturbance among the older brothers and sisters.
>
> We called them in and admiringly showed them how cute the little ones looked. A burst of laughter met us: "Girls wear pants here?" And we insisted that they were not pants but panties—nice, fine panties. "And do teachers wear panties? You wear panties?" If worst came to worst, I was prepared to show them what I wore. After that, the situation was settled. "In America, girls and women wear pants too." The mothers took notice and copied the pattern.[1]

In this school, assimilation is a thoughtful process of fusing the new culture with the old, of softening the clash of confiict and easing the strains of transition. It does not seek to destroy immigrant organizations, such as the family, the church, and the council of elders. On the contrary, it seeks to work through them in meeting child and adult adjustment problems. Its methods are not those of a pressure group, but of a protective agency. It seeks to adapt immigrant institutions to present needs and it slows down the assimilation of the child rather than speeds it up. Its inclusive aim is the gradual embodiment of the immigrant and his heritage into American life.

[1] Pauline V. Young, *Pilgrims of Russian-Town*, 151. By permission of the University of Chicago Press, publishers.

The idea of assimilation implies the need for immigrant adult education. This includes classes, lectures, and discussions conducted in social settlements, schools, churches, and mill or factory plants under school or other auspices. With few exceptions, such training has been limited to the formal preparation for citizenship. It has lagged far behind adult education in other fields, and in communities under 10,000 it is most inadequate.[1] Aided at present by federal funds and guidance, as well as by the virtual stoppage of mass migration, it is broadening its scope and improving its methods. One can still find many immigrants who, like a husky steelworker, offer the comment: "My teacher, she very nice lady but very young. Why keep saying all time, 'This is desk. This is door.' I know that. She not know what I want to talk about."

Widening the Area of Tolerance.—It would avail little to educate minority group children for participation in community life and not at the same time endeavor to change majority group attitudes. Hating other peoples has some effect in preserving the racial and cultural values of one's own group, but that schools should teach such hatreds, or even condone them, does not seem compatible with the aims of democratic education. As long as color and class differences exist, we may expect to have race prejudice. And yet it is sensible to hold that educators can materially widen and deepen the area of tolerance.

What shall we teach in the classroom about race? Among the many factors conditioning an answer to this question none is more important than one's personal philosophy of race relations. What kind of society are we willing to educate for? What do we believe about the mental ability and social worth of persons who differ from us in skin color or in cultural heritage? If one's views on racial issues run counter to local community codes, shall a teacher avoid these issues in the classroom? Would all pupils profit from a factual study of ethnic origins and history, an impartial appraisal of present racial tensions, and a deeper appreciation of the essential unity of American life?

From the standpoint of method, racial views can be reconditioned in two basic ways. One approach is intellectual. What we believe is correlated with what we know, and hence

[1] Maurice R. Davies, *World Immigration*, Chap. XIII, "Americanization Movement."

attitudes can be changed by modifying the content of the mind. The second approach is emotional. Since racial fears and hatreds are driven in, as a rule, under the heat of conflict situations, they can be removed in the same type of emotional situations but of a friendly, personal nature. Friendly contacts can be substituted for frictional contacts through plays and pageants, trips and projects, conferences and small discussion groups.

In addition to these classroom techniques for improving race relations, the school can take the initiative in organizing the adult community for interracial cooperation. It is a platitude to say that we learn to do by doing, yet the axiom carries a point for interracial understanding. The need is for an activity program that will unite at the outset the most tolerant members of ethnic groups on a project which all agree should be undertaken. For example, health is a community problem, not a racial problem, for disease germs attack regardless of skin color. Interracial cooperation can be initiated in this area and extended to areas of increasingly greater tension and conflict.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why is the United States a good place in which to study race relations? Illustrate from your own observations.
2. What great trends characterize Negro and immigrant history? Should the Negro be deported? Could he be? Why close the gates against further mass immigration?
3. What is race prejudice? Where do children get their prejudices? Give examples in your answer.
4. Discuss the education of the Negro child in schools where you have observed it. For the nation as a whole, what are the present needs in educating colored children?
5. "The education of the immigrant child," says one writer, "is a series of cultural shocks." Explain. How can schools guide the assimilation process more effectively?
6. What associations do you have at present with persons who are not of your own ethnic group? Have your views toward other peoples changed since coming to college?

Problems and Projects

1. Map the distribution of the Negro and immigrant population of your state or city and account for this distribution.
2. Prepare a personal paper on your own experiences and attitudes toward Negro and immigrant peoples whom you have encountered.

3. "There can be no question about the existence of gifted Negro children in our elementary schools," writes Paul A. Witty in commenting on 13 separate studies of colored children with intelligence quotients of 130 to 200. Report on his article, "The Intelligence of Classes," *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 597–602.

4. Lead a class discussion on the ways in which the public school retards and advances the assimilation of the immigrant child.

5. Interview the principal of a school in an immigrant or Negro district concerning the special problems of his area.

6. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Race Prejudice. D. Katz and K. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of 100 College Students," *Jour. Abn. and Soc. Psych.*, 28(1933), 280–291; Charles S. Johnson, "Racial Attitudes of College Students," *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 28(1934), 24–31.
   b. Education of the Negro Child. Raymond Embree, "Every Tenth Pupil," *Survey Graphic*, 22(1934), 538–541; John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, Chap. IX, "Caste Patterning of Education."
   c. The School and the Immigrant. Anne Hoppock, "Schools for the Foreign Born in a New Jersey County," *Prog. Educ.*, 10(1933), 189–193; L. Covello, "A High School and Its Immigrant Community," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 9(1936), 330–346.

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1. Armstrong, C. P.: "Juvenile Delinquency as Related to Immigration," *Sch. and Soc.*, 38(1933), 61–64.
2. Beale, Howard K.: *Are American Teachers Free?* Chap. XV, "Teachers of Negroes."
3. Beckman, A. S.: "A Study of Race Attitudes in Negro Children of Adolescent Age," *Jour. Abn. and Soc. Psych.*, 29(1934), 18–30.
4. Brown, Francis J., and J. S. Roucek: *Our Racial and National Minorities.*
5. Brown, Sterling A.: "Negro Character as Seen by White Authors," *Jour. Negro Educ.*, 2(1933), 179–203.
6. Carter, Thyra: "Racial Elements in American History Textbooks," *Hist. Outlook*, 22(1931), 147–151.
7. Crowley, Mary: "Cincinnati's Experiment in Negro Education," *Jour. Negro Educ.*, 1(1932), 25–34.
8. Davies, Maurice R.: *World Immigration*, Chap. XIII, "Americanization."
9. Freeman, Frank N.: *Individual Differences*, Chap. V, "Influence of Race and Nationality."
10. Gibson, C. F.: "Concerning Color," *Psychoanal. Rev.*, 18(1931), 413–425.
11. Huxley, Julian, and A. C. Hayden: *We Europeans.*
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13. Johnson, Charles S.: *A Preface to Racial Understanding.*
14. Lasker, Bruno: *Race Attitudes in Children.*
15. Palmer, Albert W.: *Orientals in American Life.*

16. Reckless, W. C., and H. L. Bringen: "Racial Attitudes and Information about the Negro," *Jour. Negro Educ.*, 2(1933), 128–138.
17. Ware, Caroline: *Greenwich Village*, Chap. XI, "Education."
18. Warner, W. Lloyd: "American Caste and Class," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 42(1936), 234–238.
19. Warner, W. Lloyd: "Formal Education and the Social Structure," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 9(1936), 524–531.
20. Whiting, Helen A.: "Negro Children Study Race Culture," *Prog. Educ.*, 12(1935), 172–181.
21. Witty, P. A., and M. D. Jenkins: "Educational Achievement of a Group of Gifted Negro Children," *Jour. Educ. Psych.*, 25(1934), 585–597.
22. Woodson, Carter G.: *The Mis-Education of the Negro.*
23. Woofter, T. J.: "Landlords and Tenants," *Works Prog. Adm., Res. Mon.* 5, Washington, 1936.
24. Young, Pauline V.: *Pilgrims of Russian-Town.*

CHAPTER XVI

RELIGION IN CHILD LIFE

Edward, aged five, stood gazing upward at the Ferris wheel. Its great rim of cars swept across the sky in gigantic silhouette. He did not ask for a ride, but seemed lost in meditation. "Auntie," he said at last, "if I was to go up in that, would God reach down and slap my mouth for swearing?" To some, this incident will be taken as evidence of a deep religious instinct in the race; to others, it will recall similar childhood fantasies. "To me," writes Edward's father, "it raises a serious question. There has been, I fear, some false teaching in the child's brief past. Somewhere he learned about God, and this is what his mind has made of it."[1]

Religion, a spiritual technique for conserving social and moral values, is very old, so old that no one knows its origin. Along with magic and science, it has formed a triad of devices by means of which man has sought to adjust to his world. Christianity, like other great world faiths, has been more than a religion. It has been also a system of ethics and aesthetics—the good or right and the beautiful. For present purposes, these and other historical facts must be taken for granted.

In 1926, the nation had 232,000 churches. They ranged from quaint rural chapels to towering urban cathedrals, and they embraced all manner of men and creeds. If we know these institutions at all, it is as objects of faith and not of study. Only of late has research reached the point where the nation's churches, especially the Protestant churches, can be understood in an objective way.[2] After depicting the nation's religious

[1] Floyd P. Allport, "The Religion of a Scientist," *Harper's Mag.*, 160 (1930), 352–366.

[2] The reference is to the nearly 50 studies made or sponsored over the past fourteen years by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. Unless otherwise indicated, the facts cited in section *A* of the chapter are based on Institute findings as summarized in H. Paul Douglass and E. deS. Brunner, *The Protestant Church as a Social Institution.* Harper and Brothers, 1935.

backgrounds, we shall consider the church in child life and conclude with a discussion of educational implications.

A. THE NATION'S CHURCHES

Churching the Nation.—The growth of organized religion in America is an integral part of our nation-building process. Historically, its outlines can be sketched in terms of four great periods.[1]

Colonial Period.—It is common knowledge that groups of religionists came to the colonies to escape persecution, and that freedom of worship was held out as an inducement to settlers. In many places, owing to the close union of church and state, incoming groups could find freedom only by pushing deeper into the wilderness. Now and later the frontier gave imprint to religion and life. At the fringe of settlement always, a more individualistic scheme of existence arose. It gave birth to sectarian schisms, unorthodox ideas, and fervid revivals. All in all, the thirteen colonies had some 3,000 churches of 28 denominations. Of the latter, 18 were transplanted directly from the Old World and 10 were indigenous.

National Origins.—After the Revolutionary War, church and state were cut apart and religious freedom came into its own. Conquest of the wilderness went forward in lengthening strides; new quotas of European migrants arrived with their distinctive heritages, and the growth of infant industries foreshadowed the industrial character of the seaboard states. The period is above all one of doctrinal disputes, church schisms, and passionate revivalism. It is also a time of moderate religious standardization in the older, more conservative East. By 1835, the nation had perhaps 25,000 churches of some 70 denominations.

Rural Period.—With the first passage of settlers through the passes of the Appalachians, a farm and village mode of life began to emerge. From 1835 to 1890, it dominated the American scene, with the exception of the South where the plantation system took hold. As the stream of migrants pushed westward, plains and prairies were dotted with homes, churches, and schools. Frontiers continued to produce fervid religionists, Old World groups added new doctrines, and staid seaboard communities grew in their conservatism. The Civil War split the nation into regional churches North and South, accentuating the religious differences already in evidence. With the end of slavery, a multiplicity of Negro churches made their appearance. The country now had about 163,000 churches of 143 denominations. Every fifth person was reported as a church member.

[1] Mark A. May, *et al.*, *The Education of American Ministers;* E. R. Hooker, *Religion in the Highlands.*

Urban Period.—From 1890 onward, national life has been increasingly colored by urbanization. Industrialism thrived, country folk drifted cityward, immigration reached new all-time peaks. These developments and others created a new mental and moral climate, a climate to which churches have been forced to adjust. Some churches have liberalized their teachings and socialized their services; others have viewed such trends as compromising with the forces of evil and hence have withdrawn more deeply into an "otherworldly" conception of their role. Today, owing in part to depression effects, there is a movement toward interchurch unity and merger. The nation's last religious census (1926) revealed that 55 per cent of the adult population claimed membership in 212 denominations.

Viewing these periods as a whole, three main facts emerge. For the most part, the nation has been churched as it has been settled, according to the principle of individual freedom. Secondly, churching has been a process of both cultural diffusion and independent origin. That is, Old World heritages have been adapted to the conditions of American life, and frontiers have given birth to exotic religious forms. Finally, in spite of the lags shortly to be noted, churches have made an appreciable effort to keep pace with the changing needs of the times.

Churches and Their Members.—On the community level, the church defines itself as a spiritual fellowship. It is a face-to-face group of like-minded persons who meet at a set time and place, usually under paid leadership. The church's first function is congregative. It brings people together for worship, social relations, and relaxation. Its second function is projective. It thrusts itself into secular affairs by making converts, educating the young in its teachings, championing worthy causes, and engaging in welfare activities. Together these services make up the life of organized religion and it is necessary to study them.

The nation's 212 denominations indicate the extent to which we have exercised a constitutional right to worship according to dictates of conscience. Over half of these denominations averaged less than 7,000 adult members in 1926. Only 24 denominations had more than 200,000 members but these denominations comprised over 90 per cent of all adult church members.[1] Five out of eight of these adult church members

[1] C. Luther Fry, "Changes in Religious Organizations," *Recent Social Trends*, 1023 ff.

were Protestant and the remaining three Roman Catholic, Jews, or other non-Protestants. The most rapidly growing church groups are the Christian Scientists and Mormons, and the least rapidly the Roman Catholics.

In 1934, the average Protestant church in the nation had 191 adult members.[1] The open-country church averaged 98 adult members; the village church, 149; the small-city church, 274; the large-city church, 596; and the average church in cities of 300,000 and over, 789. The 20-year period 1906–1926 saw a 20 per cent increase in church membership, most of which occurred during the first half of the period. In theory, church meetings are held on the first day of the week; in reality, an eighth of all churches, and three-fifths of all rural churches, meet for preaching services only once a fortnight.

TABLE XII.—FREQUENCY OF SUBSIDIARY CHURCH GROUPS IN TOWN AND MODAL CITY CHURCHES[1]

Organization	Per cent frequency	
	Town church	Modal city church
Some subsidiary groups besides Sunday school	93	100
Women's organization	87	99
More than one women's organization	44	81
Mixed sex groups (usually young people's)	67	77
More than one mixed sex group	37	8
Men's organization	10	53
Boys' organization	15	52
Girls' organization	20	34

[1] H. Paul Douglass and E. deS. Brunner, *The Protestant Church as a Social Institution*, 137. By permission of Harper and Brothers, publishers.

Village churches average more than three subsidiary organizations, rural churches less than two. Four-fifths of all Protestant churches have Sunday schools. Less than one-half of the open-country churches have a women's society of any kind and only a fourth have a young people's society. The nature and frequency

[1] Mark A. May and F. K. Shuttleworth, *The Education of American Ministers*, vol. IV, 54.

of subsidiary organizations in town and city churches are seen in Table XII.

If the presence of subsidiary organizations is taken as an index of socialization, the city church is more highly socialized (or institutionalized) than any other type of church. As compared with the town church, its larger number of men's organizations and of boys' and girls' groups is most marked. Though not shown in the table, the rural church lags far behind other churches in subsidiary organizations. For example, aside from Sunday school, the group most often found in country churches is the Ladies' Aid, yet only about two out of each five rural churches have this organization. Next in popularity is a young people's society of the Christian Endeavor type, found only in one country church in each four. Only a handful of these rural churches had a men's forum or a specialized age-sex group, such as the Scouts. The absence of these activities is probably due as much to church policy as to sparse population.

As a rule, the smaller the church the more meager its program and the greater its cost to members. For instance, the per capita cost of membership in the average Protestant church in 1926 was $21.50, and the church's total income was about $2,300. Thus it would appear that, unless aided by denominational or other subsidy, the average church is doomed to a substandard program. In a sample study of 1,245 "aided churches," almost half were in competitive situations. Three out of each five of these churches were in villages and small towns where there were one or more additional Protestant churches. The expenditure of from 14 to 18 million dollars per year in furthering this type of interchurch competition indicates the pressing need for church unity and merger.

Ministers and Their Ministry.—The minister is the principal administrative officer of the church. The 1930 census listed 148,848 ministers of all denominations. Of this number about 98,000 were white Protestant ministers, available for service in the nation's 163,538 white Protestant churches. With a ratio of five ministers for each eight churches, it is apparent that many churches must be without a full-time minister. In reality, the average city church has a full-time pastor, with large churches having one or two assistant pastors. Two-thirds of the town churches and one-half of the village churches have their own

minister. Seven-tenths of all country churches have nonresident pastors, and one pastor may service several churches.

What kind of person is the minister? As a type, he is a man of rural backgrounds, drawn from the lower middle-class economic level, only partially educated for his work, changing pastorates every five to six years, and spending 25 years in his calling. He must be a good mixer, be able to attract young people, and be "adaptable," *i.e.*, able to fit into the religious *status quo* of the community. No great stress is placed on preaching ability, executive capacity, or progressive social leadership. "What the churches want in a minister," write Douglass and Brunner, "is a successful salesman for their enterprise."

Each year about 6,400 recruits enter the Protestant ministry. Twice as many will be untrained as trained, and seminary graduates will form only one-fifth of the total. Long ago, revivalism exalted "the call" to the ministry and decried formal education, and the tradition set at that time still persists. Though trained ministers have larger churches, better pay, and longer tenure, the level of ministerial education has declined continuously from colonial days to the present. Since 1840, the ratio of college graduates to nongraduates in the Protestant ministry has been smaller at each successive decade, and the appeal to college men has lessened. From these facts, it is evident that "the country is not solidly 'sold' on an educated ministry."

From the records (150 cases) available, the average minister spends nine hours a day at his work. His most important duties are four: conducting worship, preaching, pastoral ministries, and church administration. Lesser ways of spending worktime are in reading for sermons, addressing lay meetings, engaging in welfare projects, and maintaining a social position in the community befitting to his office.

Efforts to throw light on the economic status of the ministry have met with little success. Sample studies of two Protestant denominations show that the average pastor receives a salary of $1,407 per year. This was about the wage paid the average worker in the automobile industry at the time. In 1930, a sample study of 477 country pastors revealed a mean salary of $1,062 per year; village pastors in another survey were averaging $1,573. Each had a parsonage rent free, other traditional emoluments, and shared in a church pension plan.

While ministers are perhaps underpaid as compared with other professions, they do not as a whole complain about low salaries. In an attitude survey, involving some 1,800 replies, the great bulk of respondents said they had never regretted entering the ministry. With few exceptions, they viewed their calling as "high, holy, and unique." The personal value placed by these men on their services stands in sharp contrast to the monetary reward for such services. This has led Douglass and Brunner to conclude: "the average minister is a bit too sensitive about himself as a holy man caught in a very earthly situation. With large individual exceptions, the profession at large seems the victim of a mild vocational psychosis."

As a leader of social thought and action, the average Protestant pastor does not appear to rise much above the level of the community in which he lives and preaches. The findings of a recent nation-wide survey are of interest in this connection.[1]

Over 75 per cent of the 4,700 ministers were in favor of a child labor amendment, though only 12 per cent had worked for it. A bare majority favored public ownership of basic utilities, while only 7 per cent had openly advocated it. Only a third were willing to circulate literature favorable to the cause of organized labor. Two-thirds were willing to make inquiry to see if Negroes and others had a fair chance at work and on relief; 201 ministers felt that the "local situation" prevented such inquiry. Three-fourths were willing to preach against lynching, while only 3.3 per cent indicated that they had done so.

Over a third were willing to help farmers organize cooperatives. Approximately one-tenth had identified themselves with some organization, outside their own denomination, which stood for social justice; one-half expressed a willingness to join such an organization. In answer to the invitation to describe "the most significant thing done during the past year" by the person or the church for social justice, one-fifth listed the preaching of the gospel "of Jesus Christ and him crucified." About one-fourth had taken action on some social problem by way of addressing discussion groups, while 13 per cent listed "charity work" as their most significant contribution.

[1] Jerome Davis, "The Social Action Pattern of the Protestant Religious Leader," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1(1936), 105–114. Questionnaires were sent to 100,000 religious leaders who represented 22 denominations, and replies were received from 4,700 persons. Ninety-seven per cent of the replies were from Protestants; almost one-half were from communities under 5,000 in population, and about one-fifth were from cities of over 100,000.

Within the limits of generalization set by these replies, it is evident that the minister is profoundly influenced by the social milieu in which he lives. While more radical in social ideals than the vast majority of his congregation, he veers away from action patterns which are upsetting to the *status quo* and against the interests of wealth and influence. There is, however, a vigorous minority of ministers who engage in radical action. On the whole, the great majority seek outlet for their tensions in types of religious work which do not conflict with established local interests and customs.

Changing Beliefs and Practices.—It is a fact of common observation that the intellectual and moral climate of the times is changing and that these changes affect the life of organized religion. Books and articles dealing with religion have decreased in number, a more critical attitude toward Biblical teachings has arisen, lay views toward doctrinal differences are less adamant, the uniqueness of Christianity has been questioned, and nonreligious attitudes among the young are probably increasing.[1] While the tone of the age is still conservative, we are witnessing the rise of a more socialized and liberalized religion. This is seen in a decline of traditional dogmas, a drift toward interchurch unity, and a tendency to apply Christian ethics more resolutely to the problems of daily living.

Among the many forces reshaping religion, the impact of science is outstanding. Together the various physical and social sciences have swept aside Biblical cosmology, cast doubt on many "eternal verities," and shed new light on such concepts as sin. Churches lean to one side or the other on these debated points, and scientists play up or play down the conflict between science and religion. While the latter issue is too complex for brief analysis, it would seem that the basic difference between the two realms is a methodological one. Where does the truth lie and how is it to be found? Traditional religion faces toward the "revealed truth" of the past; in the beginning was "the Word." Science claims insight into man's nature and world by reason of study, reflection, and experimentation. To many persons, these approaches to truth are logically irreconcilable, hence the conflict.

[1] Hornell Hart, "Changing Social Attitudes and Interests," *Recent Social Trends*, 397–414; J. B. Leuba, "Religious Beliefs of American Scientists," *Harper's Mag.*, 169(1934), 291–300; Daniel Katz and Floyd H. Allport, *Student Attitudes*, 257–317.

B. YOUTH AND THE CHURCH

Growing Up in Religion.—Whatever religion is, it is something that surrounds people from birth onward. It makes adults do things when children are born, when they reach certain ages, when crises occur. Some youngsters never outgrow these shadows of their youth; others show a change in religious ideology as experiences change. The following case is of the latter type. While it fails to illustrate many of the variables that condition the child's religious life, it will reveal a number of familiar situations. The writer is a sophomore girl, aged 18, a Protestant, and of more than average intelligence.

I have been influenced by religion from early childhood, yet I am not sure that I can recall when it first became a part of me. I remember the time when I wore gauzy wings in a church pageant. I was five years old. I recall, too, my first notion of God. He was like my grandfather, far away, very nice, and very good. He expected great things of me.

When I was about seven, my family left the little Ohio town where I was born and moved to a big city where father went to a teacher's college. When he was in public school work we all went to church each Sunday, but after he became a student we slept late on Sunday mornings.

After a while I started to Sunday school. Our next-door neighbor thought it terrible that I should be brought up outside the church. Mother thought so, too, but father said nothing. At any rate, I went to Sunday school. I liked to dress up in my very best, to take pennies for the collection, and to sing with the other children. We recited golden texts and learned Bible stories but I can't think that either was very meaningful to me. Soon they had Communion Sunday. I took a handful of bread and a glass of wine and said thank you, just as I did at home. My cheeks burned when mother explained what I had done. Father just laughed about it. We moved to another street shortly after this and I quit going to Sunday school.

I must have been eleven years of age when I started to Sunday school again. Neither mother nor father was taking any active part in the church, and I started because of two reasons. My teacher (at school) was the teacher of our class, and I liked to ride the streetcar to church. Soon we had an attendance contest. You had to be on time and stay for Junior Church from March 1 to the last Sunday in June. The reward was a Bible with your name engraved on it. I won a Bible and kept waiting for it to come. When it didn't come, I thought I had been tricked into perfect attendance. At last at the end of July, the Bibles came. I got mine and quit the class.

These are my earliest contacts with religion and I am not sure what I learned from them. At first I visualized God as a holy-looking man, tall and thin, and dressed in white robes. Next I thought of Him as a spirit that floated around every place, knew our every thought, and saw everything we did. I knew what sin was, and I knew there was a real heaven and a real hell. I knew many stories about Jesus, and I can remember, when faced with a choice between right and wrong, of thinking what would Jesus have me do? I stopped being bad, not because I feared punishment now or in the hereafter, but because I loved Jesus and would not displease him.

About the middle part of my high school career, I began to doubt the reality of God. I think my loss of faith started as a grudge against God. The most Christian person whom I have ever known was my grandfather. When we moved to Indiana, he came to live with us. All his life, father said, he had been a devoted Christian. Now, in his age, he was stricken with paralysis and for two years he was bedfast. Though he never complained, I could not understand why he was made to suffer. Why should he be made to suffer? What was the reason for it? At first I thought that God had made a mistake and I prayed to Him. And then when things grew worse instead of better, I began to think that maybe there wasn't any God after all.

On the day of grandfather's funeral, I told my best girl friend that I didn't believe in God. She said I was an infidel. At school, I told my chums that I was an infidel and this shocked them. Pleased with this effect, I told my teacher what I was and she made me stay after school. After talking to me, she wrote a letter to my father. All I ever heard him say was "Why can't they let the kid alone?" About this time, I brought my Bible (Old Testament) to school and underscored the most shocking things I could find, such as the "begatting" proclivities of many Biblical characters. One day I wrote a note "explaining" the Immaculate Conception. It was passed along within our gang for at least a week, and then it was intercepted by a teacher. I was summoned to the office.

The principal was a close friend of my father's and I liked him. "Well, youngster," he started out, "I see your name on this paper." I said I had written it. "Hurr-ump," he said, "why did you do it?" "Because I am an infidel," I answered. "Sure?" "Yes, sir," I said. He sent me to the big dictionary to look up the word. After I had looked up the word, we talked it over. I decided that I was not an infidel. That night I asked father what he was. At first he evaded the question and then said he was an "agnostic." That sounded big, and I decided to be one too. I did not know then that it meant simply a searcher after the truth. . . .

Suddenly my interest in religion returned. William Hall, a new boy in school, was president of the ——— League in the Glenwood church. I joined the League and soon created for myself the position of art supervisor. Often, after our meetings, Bill would walk home with me.

That summer, six of us were chosen to attend the summer camp in Brown County, where League boys and girls from all over the state were assembled for a week of religious education. We hadn't been in camp a day until Bill came strolling by with a girl from Indianapolis. Well, the trip was spoiled for me. Lonesome and blue, I walked up the hill behind the camp. At its top was a statue of Christ. I read the inscription, knelt and prayed. It was the most religious experience of my life.

With the years, the life of Jesus has attracted me more, not less. I have read three books about Him during the past year. I think now that He is the greatest moral leader who has ever lived.

Though not so dramatic as many religious autobiographies, this account gives some insight into religion as a response to a changing social situation. It indicates the complexity of religious motivation in the life of young people, the development of religious concepts, and the role of family and age-group associations in conditioning religious behavior. The trend in the writer's life pattern is away from traditional religion toward a philosophy of life based on the teachings and ministrations of Jesus.

Religious Ideas and Attitudes.—Judging from Hogarth's data, the very young child tends to conceive God concretely.[1] One child defined God as "a big ball of fire," another as "like a bird." Small children are likely to puzzle over a number of "mysteries." Examples of their questions are: "Who made God?" "What does He do all day?" "Has He any dust left? I mean will He go on making people?" At this age and later, children are likely to ask God to serve their own private ends. One boy wrote a letter to God in which he asked for strength to whip a bigger "bad" boy; another gave three cheers because God had stopped the rain and a bonfire could be built.

A representative study of the religious ideology of early adolescence is the research by Franzblau on 701 Jewish children.[2]

[1] F. C. Hogarth, "The Child's Idea of God," *Homiletic Rev.*, 101(1931), 443–444.

[2] A. N. Franzblau, *Religious Belief and Character among Jewish Adolescents.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 634. Columbia University, 1934. Subjects were about evenly divided as to sex, averaged a little over

Only a fifth of the children thought of God as "imagination." Seventy per cent affirmed that religion meant obeying His laws; four-fifths held that God made everything in the world. Three-fourths believed that He knows all we say, do, or think, and 88.9 per cent that He cares. Nine-tenths affirmed the statement that God has a reason for everything that happens to us, even though we cannot understand that reason. Eighty-five per cent felt that He heard and answered prayer, although only a third felt that we could get things by praying for them. About 70 per cent felt that God protected from harm all persons who really trusted Him. Three-fourths thought that the soul lived on after death. Denials of these beliefs showed a high correlation with advanced chronological and mental age.

At the college level, there are many studies of religious attitudes. In a questionnaire survey of 200 Midwestern students, mostly first- and second-year girls, Bain found the following percentages of belief:

Belief in God as a Person, 15.1; as an impersonal force, 67.6; that God interferes in the world by providences, miracles, etc., 42.2. That Jesus was "a manifestation of God," 62.6; that Jesus was born of a virgin, 66.8; that He was human only, 35.6. Belief in the Bible as an inspired book, 69.5; as an historical record, 85.7; as a mythological account, 62.9. Belief in the resurrection of the body, 32.0; in the eternal life of the spirit, 76.5; that personality survives death, 30.3. Belief in reward or punishment after death, 40.4; in abstaining from work on Sunday, 31.4; in laws compelling Sunday observance, 27.3. Belief in baptism as essential to salvation, 12.8; that the church is an essential institution, 38.7; that it is desirable, 59.1.[1]

In general, these findings are in line with those reported from other attitude inquiries. One notes a marked trend among college students toward unorthodox religious views. Furthermore, all studies reveal numerous inconsistencies in religious beliefs. Either students have a marked capacity to believe contradictory ideas at the same time or else attitude tests are far less valid than is commonly thought.

Religion and Conduct.—To what extent is "right conduct" correlated with religious ideas and attitudes? Franzblau, in the

thirteen years of age, had an average intelligence quotient of 116, and were accelerated as a group about one year in school.

[1] Read Bain, "Religious Attitudes of College Students," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 32(1927), 762–770.

study previously cited, found that "character responses manifest a slight tendency to be higher among children who affirm the foregoing beliefs than among those who deny them." Bartlett investigated the beliefs and action patterns of 1,056 pupils in grades six to eight.[1] About 600 of these children averaged five semester hours of weekday religious instruction in church schools, and the remainder were without such teachings. When measured by a battery of tests, the former knew considerably more about the Bible than the latter but showed no greater degree of Christian motivation in conduct.

The classical studies in this field are the character education inquiries of Hartshorne and May.[2] For example, cheating was measured in terms of the dishonest correction of test papers, stealing by the value of coins taken by the child from a box which was given him as a puzzle to solve, and lying by a self-rating scheme wherein children were given the opportunity to distort their own achievements. The outstanding conclusion from these researches is that religious education as then conducted did not make for the improvement of character. Indoctrinating children in a religious ideology did not result in a significant increase in approved behavior.

The explanation offered by the authors in accounting for this general finding is that a moral trait, such as honesty or truthfulness is not a unified trait of character.[3] It is, on the contrary, "a series of specific responses to specific situations." If the social situation makes honesty easy or otherwise evokes honesty as an appropriate response, the child tends to be honest. If the opposite is the case, the subject tends to be dishonest. There is no carry-over from one situation to another, or from religious teachings to tested behavior, unless two situations have basic elements in common. These common elements alone facilitate transfer. The authors do not contend that honesty as a generalized trait cannot be developed; they show that, for the children tested, religious idealism has not been taught so as to carry over into conduct. In view of this conclusion, the value of the church's traditional work with children is a debatable question.

[1] E. R. Bartlett, "Measuring Moral and Religious Outcomes of Week-day Religious Instruction," *Rel. Educ.*, 29(1934), 25–35.

[2] H. Hartshorne and Mark A. May, *Studies in Deceit, Studies in Service and Self-Control*, and *Studies in the Organization of Character*.

[3] *Studies in Deceit*, II, 243.

C. RELIGION AND EDUCATION

Needs in Religion.—In so far as the function of organized religion is the development of child personality, it seems evident that the church has fallen short of its great potential worth. While there is reason to believe that the average college classroom and campus is not friendly to traditional religion, this does not tell the whole story. A great number of students give every evidence of religious and moral confusion on entering college. As one university pastor observes:

> I must admit that the church life from which many students come sends them quite unprepared for the intellectual atmosphere of the university. . . . Some are out of sorts with the church altogether. Many have listened to sermons full of misconceptions and prejudices against the modern view of the Bible and of human life, sermons full of opposition to the most enlightened interpretations of religion, and they are rebellious against its [religion's] sentimental homilies. Our task is immeasurably easier with those who have known ministers and teachers of open mind, strong personality, and an emphasis upon religion as a force in everyday life.[1]

In the past, especially, the church has stressed creedal beliefs and ritualistic minutiae, the sense of sin and the saving of souls, the individual's relation to God and the promise of a future life. It has taken a scolding attitude toward human weaknesses, built in complexes of fear and guilt, shame and remorse, with their paralyzing effects on thought and behavior. It has made supernatural rewards and punishments the great motivations of human conduct, usually ignoring community conditions and local social problems.[2]

Progressive church leaders deplore these lags. More than any lay student, they know that traditional religion has lost much of its supernatural authority and that it is carrying along many outmoded values. They know that the need is to start each new generation forward in its search for truth, goodness, beauty, happiness, and spirituality. They accept these values, yet their leadership often wavers.

[1] Cited in R. H. Edwards, J. M. Artman, and G. M. Fisher, *Undergraduates*, 4. By permission of Harper and Brothers, publishers.

[2] Jesse A. Jacobs, "The Minister in the Changing Community," *Rel. Educ.*, 28(1933), 348–363.

The need is for a new orientation, a religious orientation rooted in the biological and social sciences. Here is a pastor who is known for his intelligent and sympathetic understanding of human problems. Parishioners, young and old, advise with him as with a family doctor, a trusted friend and counselor. His ability to arouse community consciousness and to win support for worthy causes is matched by his deep sensitivity to youth and adult maladjustments. He brings to his work more than good will and consecration, more even than strength of character. His outlook on life is grounded in a naturalistic conception of cause and effect relations. He studies conduct problems to the end that he can control them. Failing this, his only immediate alternative is to counsel acceptance of what appears to be inevitable.

To refer to this approach as new is wide of the truth, for it dates back to the psychological insights of Jesus. Among these insights are the supreme worth of personality, the "talents" found in man, the demoralizing effects of fear and guilt, the distortion of life by greed, hatred, and intolerance, the necessity of integrating personality around some great goal, the ease and rapidity of learning in reference to this goal, the development of positive character values such as faith and self-respect, the danger of good impulses without good works, and the ineffectiveness of the letter of the law when its spirit is ignored. It is interesting to note the extent to which modern psychiatric practices bear out these ideas.[1]

Character Education.—What is now called character education has long been an integral part of church work. It has taken the form of Sunday schools, church day schools, vacation Bible schools, mission schools, camps, study clubs, scouting, young people's societies, and community center programs. It has never reached the vast majority of the nation's children, and it has been, as already indicated, relatively ineffective in influencing child conduct. Sunday schools well illustrate these points.

Since 1920, the proportion of churches having Sunday schools has steadily increased. In 1930, only one-thirteenth of the Protestant village churches and one-seventh of the open-country

[1] Clara Bassett, *Mental Hygiene in the Community*, Chap. IX, "Mental Hygiene, the Church and Theological Training."

churches were without this religious service.[1] Average enrollment has increased in village churches over the 10-year period, slumped in country churches, and declined sharply in urban churches. In the open-country areas, less than nine-tenths of the Sunday schools were in session every Sunday, and the average enrolled pupil was reached but 34 times a year. Like the little red schoolhouse, these country church schools have all their classes in one room. Public school teachers, who have taken part in this work, know that these rooms are anything but adequate. With notable exceptions, church teachers are untrained volunteers, equipped with the dubious assets of "a certain amount of loyalty to the church, piety, consecration, and a lesson quarterly." In view of these circumstances, the influence of the Sunday school in shaping character has not been outstanding.

While religious education has trailed far behind public school instruction, it could be materially improved by patterning on the latter's methods. And yet it should be stated that absolute "best practice" is still a matter of doubt. Three views of character education are current. One stresses the mastery of religious and moral concepts via discussion. A second emphasizes activity, the learning of principles and ideals by acting them out in a variety of situations. The third takes a middle-of-the-road position. It holds that maximum learning occurs through the interaction of meaning and activity, and that this is best furthered by an experience-and-discussion approach.

Perhaps the best test to date of these viewpoints and methods is an experimental study by Jones of about 300 seventh and eighth grade pupils.[2] These children were equated and divided into three sections. After the administration of pretests, each section was taught the same materials but by only one of the above three methods. In general, the *D* (discussion) method "about equaled" the *E* (experience) method, whereas the *E-D* method was superior to either. In the experimenter's words:

> The experiencing method proved on the whole to be quite disappointing. When projects were supplemented by discussion of meanings and relationships, as was done in the *E-D* method, they were rather effective;

[1] Douglass and Brunner, *op. cit.*, 159.

[2] Vernon Jones, *Character and Citizenship Training in the Public Schools* (1936).

but when they were planned and executed without any discussion of the habits or the principles they were designed to teach, the gains were very meager. The main weakness of this (*E*) method seemed to be that children became so interested in the activities involved that activity became an end in itself. Since meanings were not stressed and transfer effects not specifically sought, the activity became a process of doing in which little learning took place outside the habits practiced in the specific teaching situation.[1]

Knowing the shortcomings of character building by traditional instruction, church leaders have set up a variety of experimental programs in Sunday and weekday schools. Among the programs most closely in line with the above research findings, the work of an unnamed Neighborhood Church in New York City is representative. The case is too lengthy to be reported in detail, yet the teacher's approach can be indicated.[2]

The Sunday-school class under observation is a group of seven-year-old children that meets from 9:30 to 12:30 each Sunday morning. On the first day, the teacher told a story of a little Italian boy who lived in another part of the city. This choice of narrative material indicates the instructor's desire to center attention on the field of interracial neighborliness. Apparently the story did not elicit the expected response from the class, for no suggestions were made by the children which would permit the development of the project.

On the following Sunday, the stage was set for "an appreciation of objects of art from other countries." These dolls, paintings, toys, and wood carvings had been wrapped and hidden. The children found them, a few at a time, and clamored to make a curio cabinet. Several short human-interest stories were told until there was generated in the group an "outgoing good will" toward foreign peoples. Wanting to show the children at Ellis Island that this was "a friendly country," the class voted to make toys for them.

During several Sunday mornings of toymaking, the children's interests never lagged. They shared materials with one another and exchanged ideas and plans. These experiences were felt by the observer to indicate an "increasing respect" for each other within the class and toward their very real but unseen foreign friends. The work was guided to make as much room as possible for child volition and to aid the children in evaluating their own handicraft. From time to time, the activity was raised

[1] Vernon Jones, *op. cit.*, 203–204. By permission of the University of Chicago Press, publishers.

[2] H. Hartshorne and Elsa Lotz, *Case Studies of Present-day Religious Teaching*, 1–46.

in a natural manner to the level of a religious experience. For example, after a discussion the class agreed that helping other children really made one a co-worker with God, "the helper of all children."

On learning that their gifts could not be taken to Ellis Island because of health rules, one pupil advanced the idea of giving a party for children who had once been at Ellis Island. Accordingly a party was held in the church, and the little immigrant guests came dressed in their national costumes. Native and foreign games were played and songs were sung. This affair led to an invitation from the immigrant "neighbors" to visit them at their Church of the Open Door. After this visit, the Neighborhood Church children were taken on a trip through the immigrant colony.

Not the least interesting thing about this method of teaching is that it does not start with a moral exhortation. Furthermore, it is not formalized and verbalized, and thus meaningless for the age-level represented. It started as a real life situation in which children responded to the situation and not to teacher authority. While work and play periods were broken each Sunday by brief attendance at chapel and the singing of hymns, one's impression is that religion as "right living" was made a reality for these learners. Children were aided in evaluating a past unit of achievement before starting a new one, and the project as a whole gave rise to a number of related projects. Obviously, the principles underlying this example could be given application in church work at any age-grade level.

Role of the Public School.—It is widely held that public schools should refrain from teaching any religion other than reading from the Bible on such occasions as an assembly. In view of our many sects and denominations, this judgment can scarcely be questioned. Fortunately, men's ideals and values are more alike than their creeds and rituals. All would agree that the school can key its total program to the building of character without fear of alienating any religious group. Whether this work is called religious education, moral instruction, or citizenship training, is not important. What is important is that the school cooperate with the church in furthering those aims common to both institutions.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why are there so many religious groups in the nation? Outline briefly the history of their development.

2. Thinking of the church you know best, what are its congregative functions? Its projective functions?

3. What kind of man is the average Protestant minister from the standpoint of attitudes and training? How does he spend his worktime? What can be said concerning his social leadership?

4. What interests you most in the religious views and experiences of the girl who thought she was an infidel? As a teacher, how would you have dealt with this case?

5. Summarize the religious attitudes of college students as reported by Bain. Are they typical of your class?

6. Do you agree that religious education has been relatively ineffective in building character? How can it be improved?

7. If you are asked, when you start your professional career, to teach a Sunday-school class, how will you respond? Why?

Projects and Problems

1. Prepare a paper describing the most religious person you have ever known. In terms of this person's life, what is religion?

2. Have you ever known a religious conservative? A religious radical? Contrast the two as to major beliefs and practices.

3. Make case studies of a few children, or a survey of a number of children, to determine their religious beliefs and practices.

4. Write a descriptive account of your own religious life starting with your first memories. Trace the changes that have occurred in beliefs, imagery, and practices. How has college affected your religion?

5. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Religion in Personal Life. Will Durant, *Transition;* Henry C. Link, *The Return to Religion;* William E. Leonard, *The Locomotive God.*
   b. The Church in the Community. Samuel Kincheloe, "The Local Church and Its Community," in W. C. Bowers (editor), *The Church at Work in the Modern World,* 36–42; F. Ross Sanderson, *The Strategy of Urban Church Planning.*
   c. Religious Sectarianism. Ellsworth Faris, "The Sect and the Sectarian," *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.,* 22(1928), 154–158; also "The Sociology of Religious Strife," *Jour. Rel.,* 15(1935), 207–219.
   d. Religious Attitudes of College Students. Daniel Katz and Floyd H. Allport, *Student Attitudes,* 257–317.
   e. Religious Education. H. Hartshorne and Elsa Lotz, *Case Studies in Religious Teaching,* Case I (Primary Group), 13–46; Case II (Junior Group), 47–106.

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PART III

TEACHER, SCHOOL, AND COMMUNITY

CHAPTER XVII

THE TEACHER IN THE COMMUNITY

Part I described and analyzed various types of American communities and Part II dealt with a number of social forces which shape the school child. In this concluding Part, we shall explore a variety of problems centering around the teacher and the school child in the community. We shall discuss in turn the teacher's out-of-school life, school control and teacher freedom, progressive education, educating for social adjustment, and the needs in teacher training. These are interrelated topics, and to separate them does violence to their organic unity.

We know that teaching is a mode of life as well as an occupation, and that teachers live in communities. These are significant facts and facts that are much neglected in the education of teachers. After ten years as director of placement bureaus, Bossing writes: "It is no exaggeration to say that over 50 per cent of teacher failures find their direct cause in social maladjustment in the community."[1] The present chapter will consider the backgrounds and training of teachers, the placement process, and the teachers' initial adjustments to community codes.

A. TEACHER EXPERIENCES

Eight Years of Teaching.—One way to define those aspects of teacher experience which are of immediate interest is to present in detail the personal history of one teacher. The writer, a capable young woman, entered the profession with all of the idealism and enthusiasm of youth. Though still a teacher, she is decidedly disillusioned. Without attempting to estimate the

[1] Nelson Bossing, *Progressive Methods of Teaching in Secondary Schools*, Chap. II, "The Teacher."

typicalness of this case, it is certain that the record could be duplicated for many small communities throughout the nation.

I am a high school teacher in a small Midwestern town. This is my third school and my eighth year in teaching. I state these facts with reluctance because I know they will label me as "that kind of person." Am I stern, studious, dignified, and idealistic? Perhaps I am the flesh-and-blood image of the teacher stereotype. But if I am, I have been made schoolteacherish by the very people who now look askance at me.

Once I was fairly human—not good, not bad, but just like others of my age. In college, I looked and acted and dressed like any other coed; I dated and danced and had as much fun as any student. I studied too, more than most, and I went in for sports and dramatics. I read assignments and then I read books of my own choosing, burning the candle low in this pursuit.

There was no particular problem in my choice of a career. Father chose it for me, as he chose other things during those days. I was sent to college to become a teacher, and I absorbed the fine idealism of the professors who taught me. The result? I got the usual messianic fixation. Teaching was to be a grand adventure; you could do so much good in the world. So I took up the cudgel for civilization and democracy, and only once in those college days did I think of putting it down.

That experience is worth the telling. Every old-maid teacher has had a fling at romance. I speak in the past tense, for teaching seems to throttle the impulse. Like other graduating seniors, I became interested in a man my last year. It was then that teaching lost its rosy hue and I wanted to be plain "Mrs. Smith." Incidentally, I spent most of my money for clothes that year—chic hats, party dresses, sheer hosiery, shoes to match—and of course took them all with me to my first job. So much finery helped to give me an undeserved reputation, perhaps played some part in the loss of that first position. I see now how inappropriate those things were for P.T.A. meetings, class picnics, church socials, and like affairs.

My first application, first interview, first job! All bring back memories. The school was small, the salary not much ($1,025), and the little town 150 miles away, but I went for an interview. When I entered the superintendent's office, he was dealing with a disciplinary case. The boy had played hooky from school. The superintendent, who was also the school principal, turned him over to me. I started to ask some questions when he took the boy again, bawled him out, and sent him to a study hall. Then he showed me over the building and asked that I see the board members before the meeting that night.

I found the president of the board at a feed store, a second member at the bank, a third at the parsonage, a fourth—whom I couldn't reach—out on a farm, and so on. The minister's wife gave me the most critical going-over. Would I take off my hat and sit down? Well, then, did I bob my hair? Where was my home? Were we related to the Jason Brown's? Did I think that college students were going to the dogs? Was I a worshiping church member? What did I believe about evolution? And so it went, with me on needles and pins. There was nothing in the textbooks about a grilling like that.

The board meeting that night brought out little that was new. The questions asked were in the main a repetition of those I had already answered. Did I have any relatives in the community? Was I engaged? Would I stay in the community over week ends? Could I live as a guide to the children? Would I teach a Sunday-school class? Only the superintendent seemed to care about my educational qualifications. I guess I must have done all right, for I got the position.

And then, at the end of the year, I was discharged. There was no criticism of my teaching. "It was," said the superintendent, "quite satisfactory." But my personal conduct had been "bad" from the start. He told of several "distressing examples." One will illustrate, for they were all of a kind.

Feeling the need for vigorous exercise, I persuaded a farmer to rent me a saddle horse once a week. It was a gentle horse and I couldn't have done over ten miles an hour on it. Yet the superintendent said I had gone "galloping madly" through the town, even endangering little children. Worse than that, I had ridden astride instead of "ladylike" (sidesaddle). Now X-ville was very broad-minded, a "most liberal town in fact, Miss Brown," but enough was enough. I was discharged for riding as my brothers had taught me to ride.

From the moment you set foot in town as the new teacher, you are a public personage. Everything you do and say is an item of news and gossip. An example comes to mind. I had come for an interview and had been riding the bus most of the morning. It was noon and I was hungry. There was only one restaurant and it was a sight to behold. Both the dishes and the food were dirty and I said as much to the waitress, who in turn told the proprietor. Imagine my consternation when he turned up in the principal's office as a member of the board!

In my experience, the best families in town seldom keep teachers or board them. Even if given a free hand in finding a place to live, the teacher is still in for trouble. My worst experience came during my third year of teaching. After I was hired, the principal said I was to live with a Mr. and Mrs. Finch. Later I learned that the principal was on the spot, so to speak, and the Finches were his stanchest supporters. The second day in this home, I found Junior using my toothbrush. I

gave him the brush and bought another. And then I found him with this second brush, which he said he liked better than the first. Mrs. Finch thought this was "quite cute." Junior himself was "cute," in fact, everything was "cute" including my most intimate articles of clothing.

Landladies everywhere check your comings and goings and regale the neighbors with bits of gossip. One landlady was the prize of them all. She invented more tales about me than I care to remember. I met them coming back to me from all sides. My brother John came from college to visit with me over a week end. Since there was an extra room in the house, I asked if he might stay with us. To this day, "that man" was not my brother. The visit had to be explained to a "deeply troubled" principal.

Things are changing, but, oh, so slowly. As a teacher today, it is courting trouble for me to rouge my cheeks, use bright fingernail polish, do my hair like a screen star, or wear ultramodish dresses. My skirts must not be too short, my waists too clingy or colorful, my stockings too sheer. I must be conventional in my personal habits and discreet in my associations. Each morning I must have a cheerful "good morning, Mr. Jones," and each evening a cheerful "good evening, Mr. Jones." And should I fail, I am stuck up, or not interested in the community, or even a communist.

As for dating, I dare not be seen with the wrong persons or at the wrong places. Hebig's, where the high school crowd goes, is a wrong place, and so is the local skating rink. Once I went to an adjacent city to a dance and the whole town knew it by the next day. But to return to dating, I keep a kind of "approved list." In one community where I taught, the eligibles numbered exactly six. Two were young farmers, another was a widower looking for a housekeeper, a fourth was a rising young merchant, the fifth was the superintendent of the Sunday school, and the sixth has dropped out of mind completely. There were two men teachers, but I do not count them; they bored me as much as I bored them. No dating was allowed with students, one board ruling that has much justification.

That particular town was one long nightmare. If I bought my clothes in a near-by city, where one could get some selection of garments, I was charged with taking money out of the community. Owing to the chain-store scare, everybody was touchy on the "trade-at-home" issue and teachers were watched. A teacher friend of mine bought a low-priced car in her home town and, for all I know, she is still a Judas Iscariot.

My salary then was about $1,200, and I kept a savings account at the local branch bank. One day I drew out $100. "Getting ready for a trip to Europe, eh?" said the cashier, a school board member. "No, not this summer," I replied—wondering when, if ever, I could get that far

away from home. "Going to summer school, I guess," was his rejoinder. "No," I said, and walked away. I should have told him that the money was for mother, but after so long one finds a kind of malicious satisfaction in thwarting such busybodies.

I think I spoke about the pleasure I have always found in reading. I know now that the magazines I buy from the stand and the books I check out of the public library are watched. I remember once there was a point I wanted to check in Darwin's *Origin of Species* and I got the book. Chancing to meet the minister that following Sunday, he asked me how I liked the book and then told me that it was an attack on the Christian religion. Quality magazines, such as *Harper's* and *Atlantic,* are safe enough, but the picture magazines and confession stories are taboo.

Today I am able to sense danger and dodge it in one way or another. A car itself creates a problem, yet it provides an escape from many of the conditions I have named. Last summer at summer school and in the free atmosphere of the campus, I learned to smoke. Now I return to my room at noon for an after-dinner smoke or else take a drive in the car. My belief is that this will lead to no good end, and I guess I continue it either as a symbol of freedom or because of some perverse streak in my nature.

Friends of mine complain of the many extracurricular activities with which they are loaded. I find this work most enjoyable, because of my strong liking for young people. I have coached basketball teams, directed plays, and sold tickets for school affairs. I have joined adult community groups and taken an active part in their programs. All teachers are solicited for every charity afoot, and I have given until it hurt. Somehow, a teacher is expected to give more in proportion than other persons.

The worst fault with teaching is its insecurity. Today I have a job, tomorrow I may be unemployed. I may be discharged without a hearing, or with a mock hearing that is worse than none. If I fail to pay my debt to some local merchant, if I make a misstep in my personal conduct, if some home-town girl wants my job, if I go against some community prejudice in my teaching, if my principal is too friendly, if I should join a teachers' union (we have none), then my fate is sealed.

By and large, we teachers are a timorous lot. We are born to be snubbed, repressed, and harassed by the most conservative element of the community. And for what purpose? For the young whom we would serve but cannot to the best of our ability. Why must we swear loyalty oaths? Why must we behave like paragons of virtue? Can't we be trusted to plan a private life, like other professional women? Are we so utterly lacking in mind and in moral fiber? If so, why do communities tolerate us, and why do they entrust the young to our care? I

no longer worry about all this as I once did, but I do not understand its *rationale*. Teaching, a pursuit worthy of the best men and women, remains for me less than a full-size job.

In reacting against the community restrictions placed on teachers, this teacher has not only lost her idealism but also the faculty for taking stock of the situation and working for its improvement. Her reactions are not unlike those of other teachers in small-town environments and are best understood in terms of a larger perspective.

B. THE SELECTIVE PROCESS

Teacher Backgrounds.—The nation has more than a million schoolteachers. This occupational group, like other groups, is a product of a selective process. Who enters teacher training, and what sifting and sorting take place prior to certification? Among applicants for a position, who is selected and who is rejected? These questions are attracting increasing reseach interest.

As a population group, teachers have certain identifying characteristics. In the public schools, women outnumber men in a ratio of nineteen to one.[1] The ratio is considerably less at the high school level, being possibly six to one. In the main, teachers are unmarried. Eight per cent of the teachers in a sample survey of 22,000 women teachers in Iowa were married.[2] The average age of the rural teachers in the Iowa study was twenty-two and the tenure two years. The median age of the senior high school teachers was twenty-seven years. For the nation as a whole, five out of six women elementary teachers are single, and at the secondary level the percentage is materially higher.

Though Coffman's survey of the social backgrounds of teachers was made in 1911, its findings are still typical.[3] The sample comprised 5,215 teachers in 22 states. In general, these teachers were overwhelmingly young women of native white stock, of rural or small-town origin, and from lower middle-class homes. The average teacher had less than four years of training above the elementary school level. Aside from an increase in formal

[1] E. S. Evenden, *et al.*, *Teacher Personnel in the United States*, II, 20–28, 134–135.

[2] E. T. Peterson and E. R. Starkey, "A Personnel Description of Married Women Teachers in Iowa," *Midland Schools*, 48(1934), 162–163.

[3] Lotus D. Coffman, *The Social Composition of the Teaching Profession.*

training, teacher backgrounds have changed in no consequential way. Moffett's survey of 1,080 students in fifteen teachers' colleges bears on this point.

> The average teachers' college student in the survey was born in the state where she is now attending college. Her home is definitely lower middle class. It is furnished with the necessities of life, is unbroken by death or divorce, is Protestant in religion, is conservative in social attitudes, and as judged by the student is "satisfactory." The student's parents are both native born. The father's income is less than $2,300 per year.
>
> The average teacher-in-training has attended a rural elementary school and graduated from a standard four-year high school. She has been reared in the open country or in a small town, and as a rule has not been more than two hundred miles away from home. She has visited one large city where she remained for less than ten days. Her contacts with art, literature, and music have been those common to the small community. She now scans a local newspaper each day, and reads a popular magazine or perhaps a light novel once a month. Aside from being a regular church attendant, her contacts with life off the campus have been limited. She has heard few national leaders of thought except over the radio.[1]

The above findings indicate the type of person who tends to go into the teaching profession. Selection operates in a negative way by virtually excluding certain kinds of persons or social classes from teaching.

Handicapped Groups.—Among the several categories of handicapped groups, five are of general importance.[2]

1. *Ethnic Groups.*—In 1930, ten states forbade by law the appointment of aliens; in other states aliens are excluded by custom. In the South, colored teachers for white pupils are taboo, and in the North they compete with white applicants for colored schools. It is difficult or impossible to place Jewish students as teachers in public schools except in large cities. Orientals are generally excluded from teaching.

[1] Mary L. Moffett, *The Social Backgrounds and Activities of Teachers College Students.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 375. Columbia University, 1929.

[2] Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* (1936), Chap. XVIII, "Appointment of Teachers"; *The Teacher in Society,* 69 ff. First Yearbook, John Dewey Society, 1937.

2. *Married Women.*—Outside of large cities, few communities will employ married women. For the nation as a whole, about three school boards out of each four refuse to employ them, and nearly a third of all school boards discharge women teachers who get married while holding a position in the school system. Divorcées are under serious handicaps in smaller communities, and extreme feminists are viewed with disfavor.

3. *Nonresidents.*—Rural areas are usually prejudiced against city-reared teachers. Eastern areas are biased against Westerners as teachers, and the reverse is likewise true. Southerners fear the racial views of Northerners, and the latter are reluctant to employ teachers from the South. In-state applicants are favored over out-of-state applicants, and home-town persons are ordinarily given preference over nonlocal applicants.

4. *Political Affiliations.*—Sectional party loyalties have declined, yet Republican candidates are said to be handicapped in the South. Major party affiliation is still a significant factor in local communities. Socialists are generally disadvantaged and communists are almost universally barred.

5. *Miscellaneous Groups.*—Various other groups meet with difficulty in getting teaching positions, depending upon local conditions. Members of teachers' unions have a difficult time, as do pacifists, radicals, and persons with a questionable past. Teachers in ill-health, or addicted to the use of narcotics or alcohol, are virtually unemployable.

In reflecting on these controls over teacher selection, it is evident that they are more rigorous in smaller communities than in cities of size. They serve as a first-line local area defense mechanism and, rightly or wrongly, insure the school against radical change. Frequently they rest on a minimum of fact and a maximum of locality bias and historic precedent. Undoubtedly they exclude many able and worthy persons from teaching.

In-college Training.—Most teachers have passed through a teachers' college or a liberal arts college. Teachers' colleges draw more heavily on lower socioeconomic levels than do liberal arts schools, especially upon unskilled labor groups, small farmers, and "white-collar" classes.[1] Once in college, aspirants

[1] Margaret Kiely, *Comparison of Students of Teachers Colleges and Students of Liberal Arts Colleges.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 440. Columbia University, 1931.

to teaching are tested as to "fitness for survival" by various kinds of sifting devices. One test of fitness is financial, another is intellectual, a third is social and emotional adjustment. In the main, the basis of selection is intellectual, not creative but adaptive intelligence. Students who master subject matter apparently get the best grades, the best recommendations, and probably the best positions.

It is not at all clear that students who get the best grades make the best public school teachers. A familiar contrast between academic achievement and teacher competency finds amusing illustration in the following cases.

At the age of eighteen, John Smith received his A.B. degree and at twenty-one his Ph.D. degree. He was a *magna cum laude* student, a 100 per cent bookworm, and a mathematical genius. He belonged to no campus organization except a professional fraternity. He took no part in campus politics, never learned to dance, was not a motion-picture addict; in short, he lived the life of a social recluse.

Times being bad when he graduated, he took a position in a Texas oil-boom town. While he knew algebra and geometry, he could not drive his pupils to learn them. He knew proof and logic but he did not know boys and girls, and he was hopelessly lost in the world of men. At the end of the first term, both he and his principal knew that he was a round peg in a square hole. His place was filled.

In the West Virginia hills lived a lanky, good-natured fellow named Chester Abel. Tired of cutting hoop poles and ambitious to better himself, he entered a teachers' training college. After several failures, he secured a low-grade certificate to teach. On finding a rural school, he hid his ignorance from pupils and patrons by promoting a varied program of activities, such as scouting, 4-H club work, and parent meetings at the school. He had a knack for warming up to people, understanding their problems, and being helpful to them.

After being made principal of a two-year high school, he returned to college to study advanced algebra and was caught on the wrong end of the normal distribution curve. When his mathematics professor came that spring to address the county institute, Abel met him at the train and took him to the school. "What subjects do you teach?" asked the visitor. "I have agriculture and"—sheepishly—"algebra." The professor turned the conversation to agriculture.[1]

These examples are not presented to disparage academic achievement. On the contrary, they are cited to emphasize

[1] Adapted from H. W. Patterson, *Letters from a Hard-boiled Teacher to His Half-baked Son*, 8–12.

the commonplace fact that public school teaching presupposes an interest in people and an ability to get along with them. In the long run, it is likely that pleasing personality and social adaptability outweigh abstract intelligence in teacher success.

Getting a Job.—Once trained and certified, the prospective teacher is ready for placement. Unless conditions are most opportune, he will join an army of somewhat restless, extremely mobile, and competitive young persons. Each year, if 1929–1930 is typical, sees an addition in new teachers of 8.5 per cent of the total teaching population; it sees also an unmeasured amount of "turnover" among experienced teachers.[1] How do schools get teachers and teachers get schools? While the mechanics of placement need not concern us, the bases on which communities accept or reject applicants are of interest. What personality traits are most highly desired by a school's employing officers?

Using replies from placement bureaus and from school appointive officers and successfully placed graduates, Townsend presents a picture of the applicant with "a high employability quotient."[2]

> He or she has a prepossessing appearance, has good general health, is free from speech defects, dresses appropriately and attractively, and, if a woman, uses cosmetics sparingly. He or she must possess poise, is emotionally mature and well adjusted, has an attractive personality, much tact, is optimistic, resourceful, shows marked initiative and executive ability, and is truthful. The candidate is open-minded and enthusiastic, has a good social or family background, a pleasant speaking voice free from colloquialisms or poor diction.
>
> The candidate has a distinctly above-average vocabulary, a lively imagination, and is characterized by adaptability in a social situation. In student teaching and in college, he or she very apparently likes other people and gets along pleasantly with fellow teachers and students. He or she has participated markedly more than the average student in extracurricular activities and summer or employment activities. The candidate is a good conversationalist, being able to carry his or her share of an interview without embarrassment.

[1] "Selection and Appointment of Teachers," 12. *Office of Education, Bull.* 17, Washington, 1932.

[2] M. Ernest Townsend, "Intellectual and Nonintellectual Factors Affecting Placement of Teachers College Graduates," *Reconstructing Education Through Research*, 38–40. National Education Association, 1936.

Subjective as many of these qualities are, they define the "easy to place" applicant; the opposite type of person would be framed on a contrasting background.

Another approach to the same problem is through a study of letters of recommendation. Since the purpose of these letters is either to place the applicant or to arrange for an interview, it is important to find out what school appointive officers want to know concerning a candidate. Presumably school officials are men with a background of successful community experience, and hence their requests will represent in part at least the community view as to the type of teacher desired. Morrisett collected data from 71 principals and 63 superintendents in widely scattered cities of from 2,500 to 850,000 in population.[1] Among the 20 categories of information requested, the following 5 were of greatest importance.

1. Breadth of interest was ranked first by principals and second by superintendents. This category was defined as including professional aptitude, extracurricular interests, concern for pupil growth, and recreational interests.
2. Personality came first in the superintendents' list and second in the principals' rating. This was taken to mean personal appearance, disposition, popularity, and "inspirational powers" in teaching.
3. Cooperation was the third trait most frequently named by both groups. Potential employers asked that letters of application reveal the candidate's ability to get along with the teaching staff, with school officials, and to further public good will toward the school.
4. Character, embracing honesty, morals, and personal habits, ranked high on the superintendents' list as did a number of youth leadership qualities.
5. Teaching abilities were rated higher by principals than by superintendents. These abilities included power to discipline, adaptability to new curricular situations, dependability, and enthusiasm.

Beale's conclusions, while based on impressionistic data, are perhaps more realistic.[2] "Above all else," he says, "an administrator wants teachers who will not 'cause trouble.'" He believes that, in the event of a choice, the administrator will "sacrifice better teaching for a greater peace of mind." Teachers of mediocre ability but inclined to accept the educational *status*

[1] Lloyd N. Morrisett, *Letters of Recommendation.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 641. Columbia University, 1935.

[2] Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* 488 ff.

quo will be selected over those of greater ability but with a record of "ideas and courage." That educators view this condition as fairly widespread is seen in the fact that the first *John Dewey Yearbook* spends a chapter arguing for less administrative dominance over teachers and more teacher freedom in planning school policies.

C. CONDUCT CODES FOR TEACHERS

Codes for Teachers.—Conduct codes for teachers have received concrete illustration in the autobiography previously cited. Apparently these community controls and expectations are common only in smaller and more isolated areas, refer far more generally to women than to men, and are disappearing under the impact of urbanization. In general, they apply to at least nine areas of the teacher's out-of-school life.

They often specify where teachers must not live, as with certain families, in an apartment, or outside the community. They prescribe appropriate dress, including facial make-up, hair coiffure, and style of dress. They define many leisure pursuits, prohibiting drinking, gambling, smoking, and perhaps dancing, cardplaying, and theatergoing. They regulate sex associations, such as those implied in courtship and marriage.

They bring pressure to bear upon the teacher to participate in community activities, for example teaching a Sunday-school class, contributing to worthy causes, and refraining from joining disapproved movements. They prescribe extracurricular activities, such as athletics, in which the community takes a strong interest. By reacting against the teacher's week ends out of town or by limiting them in number, they coerce the teacher to remain in the community. They forbid running for office or expressing partisan views on nonschool issues. They expect or require the teacher to attend institutes or summer school, or to continue her work for a college degree.

These codes are enforced by gossip and public opinion, by administrative ruling, reprimand, and threat of dismissal. They operate as selective factors, turning many capable persons away from teaching, and they shape the teacher who must adjust to them.

Teacher Adjustment Patterns.—Given restrictions of the above nature, how do teachers react to them? The literature reveals no comprehensive study of the question. Our case materials suggest three schemes of personal adjustment. In terms

of teacher types, they are the conformist, the rebel, and the opportunist.

The typical conformist is a person for whom no problem of teacher freedom exists. Born and reared in the community, he has completely absorbed its beliefs and practices. Thus he lives and teaches without any particular feeling of restraint. His conception of role and status accords with the function and place assigned him by the local area. A second kind of conformist is a "whipped rebel." Once he fought against the tide but now he drifts with it. "What's the use," said one teacher, "one person can't change this backward community. I've tried and learned my lesson." The typical attitude is that of disillusionment and futility.

The rebel is a local idol smasher. He is at war with a variable number of local conduct codes for teachers. He wants "freedom" or "a livable life," though the cases at hand show no agreement as to the precise nature of these desires. Other cases ask for "a decent wage," an inclusion in "the world of men," a restoration of "citizenship rights." In some cases, a persecution complex is clearly evidenced. Unlike the second kind of conformist listed above, the rebel seeks an outlet for his tensions in activity. A few teachers report behavior which no average small-town community would condone.

The opportunist is a rebel at heart but a conformist in external behavior. Here a distinction should be made between the hypocrite and the tactician. The first category finds apt illustration in a recent article.[1] This teacher tells with evident pride of his success in winning community acclaim by posing as a conservative and thus hiding his "liberal convictions." He went to a church in which he did not believe. He refrained from conduct unapproved by the community, and he restricted his teaching to "safe" matters. Thus he "got by" and, in the long run, getting by became an end in itself. The tactician, by contrast, conforms, but only as a matter of expediency. Being a realist, he knows that he must establish himself before he can effect changes. His aim is to widen community tolerance and at the same time hold his job. Increasing teacher freedom is for him in part a problem of educating the community.

[1] Borden Anderson, "Restrictions Upon Teachers," *Kadelpian Review*, 15(1936), 357–364.

The Teacher as a Stranger.—Conduct codes for teachers find their basic interpretation in the sociology of the stranger. In technical usage, the stranger is "a potential wanderer."[1] He has gone so far, but has not outgrown the habit of going. He is not a "landowner," and hence is restless and mobile. He can come and go at will. Not being reared in local traditions, he can view them objectively. He is more or less detached from the customs that bind others. Not being an in-group member but sympathetic with its life, he becomes the recipient of confidences. In sum, the stranger is to be understood in terms of the peculiar nexus between "the near and the far." Isolated from the people about him, he shares none the less in their life and purposes.

The incoming teacher enters the group in the category of a stranger. Inexperienced teachers are puzzled at the attention paid them from the moment of arrival. The entire community seems concerned about their habits of dress, speech, mannerisms, and behavior. There are two reasons for this. Coming from the outside world, the teacher is the bearer of new ideas and new action patterns. Secondly, he touches the local area at its most sensitive spot, its children. Children are the carriers of the locality culture. If these forms and norms of area life are to survive, they must do so *via* the children. Naturally a teacher is viewed with mixed feelings. Like a newcomer entering a primitive tribe, he may be "a god in disguise," a dispenser of good things, a fit guide for young people. Or he may be "a devil," a radical, a heretic, an innovator, and hence a corrupter of youth.

Coming from the obscurity and anonymity of the average college campus, the novice is frequently ill-fitted for the new social role thrust upon him. In ways known only to the initiate, he is asked to put aside the patterns of acting and feeling that he has developed as a student, and to assume the mental maturity, the staid complacency and respectability, of the teacher. He is asked to develop attitudes, habits, and morals compatible with the position in local life that the community desires him to take. For the beginning teacher, this quick transition in role is never easy and seldom complete. The community cannot take

[1] Georg Simmel, *Soziologie* (1908), 685 ff.; R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to Sociology*, 322–327.

it for granted, and hence there follows a complex process of assimilating the outsider to the locality group. What kind of person is this newcomer? What are his intentions?

"At the beginning of any acquaintance," writes Shaler, "the fellow being is inevitably dealt with in a categoric way. He is taken as a member of a group, which group is denoted to us by a few conventional signs."[1] Through the years, teachers have become known to the community. Its adult members have formed a stereotype of what teachers should be and do.[2] Newcomers are first identified by external signs, such as actions, dress, mannerisms, and conversation, and then they are fitted into the preexisting mold.

Teachers complain of the limitations on conduct imposed by the stereotype, and with just cause. Yet it is not amiss to note a certain freedom which the teacher image brings. One may as a teacher visit institutions and make studies of persons and places which are decidedly disreputable. One may maintain an objectivity of viewpoint when addressing special interest groups which would otherwise be impossible. One safeguard for a college girl, who would study conditions in a slum area, is for her to make known to area dwellers that she is a teacher. The protection afforded a teacher by the stereotype is seen in the following incident.

I was going to a place in Alaska called Ouzinkie to relieve a teacher who wished to return to the States. This was December, a time of the year when there was little travel northward on the Alaskan boats, and it happened that I was the only woman passenger among a number of men. I was still young and unsophisticated and it occurred to me that I should have more fun on the trip, which took about ten days, if I concealed the fact that I was a teacher. I had observed that other young professional women were less subject to criticism and had more freedom generally than teachers, who were expected not only to instruct their young charges but to be their moral guardians. Therefore, I jokingly turned aside the questions that were asked about my reasons for making the trip.

I was having too good a time to notice the persistence with which certain men pursued this point or to be annoyed by the unaccountably hostile attitude that the stewardess, a prim, respectable widow, had

[1] N. S. Shaler, *The Neighbor*, 221.

[2] For existence of the teacher stereotype, see K. H. McGill, "The School Teacher Stereotype", *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 4(1931), 642–650.

assumed toward me. At Skagway another woman passenger came on board. She was young, attractive, and well dressed, and I welcomed her. A little later the captain, who had been particularly kind to me, saw us together and he called me to join him without inviting the other woman. This seemed odd, but I went. Once out of hearing the captain explained to me who the woman was and why I must not be seen talking to her. He wished to protect me from embarrassment. There were men on board who might misunderstand. I felt sick. Certain things took on a new meaning and I made haste to take refuge in my own profession, which, prosaic though it might be, was always a guarantee of safe conduct along the frontier.[1]

Once the new teacher becomes known, *i.e.*, his intentions inferred, further steps in assimilation take place. By deferential treatment, he is made to know that he occupies a position of public trust. What he does in school and outside and for all of his waking hours affects the welfare of others—the school itself, its child population, the entire community. A most subtle form of community pressure, and one never well studied, arises from a manipulation of the child symbol. In countless ways, the teacher is led to believe that he is the model of the children, their mental guide and moral guardian. They imitate his conduct; they hang on his every word; they pattern on his life. He must, therefore, be of finer clay than even "the best families," a little more idealistic, conservative, and respectable.

Because the stranger does not readily fit into the grooves cut out for him, the assimilative process now takes other forms. While these forms differ, their aim is to relate teachers to things or persons which the locality understands and approves. Is the newcomer of kin to a family in the neighborhood? Were his parents churchgoers? Will he visit this home, join that club, buy a ticket to a charity bazaar, talk to some local group? Does he like to fish or hunt, to play baseball or take part in home-talent plays? Will he accept this little gift, that gesture of hospitality? Has he registered for the fall elections, and does he think that business is back to normal? Most important of all, especially if he is a school administrator, has he considered buying a home?

From time immemorial, the community has sought to absorb strangers in this fashion. The degree of success depends upon

[1] Margaret M. Wood, *The Stranger*, 185–186. Columbia University Press, 1934. By permission of author and publisher.

both the nature of the newcomer and the characteristics of the area. If the teacher differs sharply from area dwellers in physical type or social habits, his participation in group life will be next to impossible. School boards know this and hence their rulings against variant types of teachers. If the community is tight and narrow, as is the case in more isolated villages and small towns, the teacher may be repelled by its provincialisms.

Should friendly pressures and informal controls fail to assimilate the stranger, the local community has other ways of enforcing its views. It may openly criticize the teacher as incompetent, circulate gossip to the effect that he is immoral, and otherwise make his life irksome. As a last resort, the most binding of all ties—the "covenant bond" of the primitive tribe—may be severed. The teacher is told that everyone would be happier if he left. Some teachers are glad to leave, yet they cannot, unfortunately, leave behind them the record of "failure." Rightly or not, it trails them for years to come and is not easily explained away.

In dealing with the problematic aspects of teaching, we have said in effect that this mode of life, like any other, is not perfect, and it can be made better. It can be made better by teachers who start with some understanding of community reactions and who are, nevertheless, intelligent and courageous enough to make themselves not only leaders of children but of adults as well. That such persons have worked out satisfying schemes of living is clearly evident in our case materials. Among the positive values most often named by these teachers are creative activities, professional growth, pleasant associations, and relative economic security.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is your first reaction to the personal history cited in the chapter? How does the account affect your ambition to be a teacher?
2. Summarize the backgrounds of teachers college students as outlined in the chapter. To what extent are these represented in your present class?
3. In what ways does the "training process" sift and sort aspirants to teaching? Illustrate from experiences and observations.
4. What are the marks of an easy-to-place applicant? Why are superior students not always the best teachers?
5. What areas of the teacher's out-of-school life are regulated by community codes and expectations? Discuss this situation in terms of your own home town.

6. How do teachers appear to adjust to the restrictions imposed upon them? With what consequences, do you think, to teacher personality?

7. Discuss the teacher as a "stranger." Does this interpretation help you to understand the reactions of small town communities to teachers?

Problems and Projects

1. Prepare a paper describing the out-of-school life of some teacher whom you know. Interpret your findings as far as possible.

2. What is student success? Teacher success? Are they won by different methods? Lead a class discussion on this topic.

3. Interview the head of a local placement bureau to determine the traits of an easy-to-place applicant. Collect what information you can on why teachers fail.

4. Imagine yourself a candidate for a teaching position. Prepare a letter of recommendation which will contain information on the points of interest to a superintendent in considering your candidacy.

5. Make a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. The Teacher as a Person. *The Teacher and Society*, Chap. IV. First Yearbook, John Dewey Society, 1937.
   b. Conduct Codes for Teachers. *Anon.*, "A School Teacher Talks Back," *Amer. Mer.*, 35(1935), 286–292; Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free*, Chap. XIII, "Conduct of Teachers."
   c. Schoolteacher Stereotype. K. H. McGill, "The School Teacher Stereotype," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 4(1931), 642–650; S. R. Ellis, "Social Status of the American Teacher," *Sch. and Soc.*, 31 (1930), 47–50; R. W. Husband, "The Photograph on the Application Blank," *Personnel Jour.*, 13(1934), 69–72.
   d. Personality Changes in Practice Teaching. Willard Waller, in *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 9(1936), 556–564.

Selected Readings

1. Anderson, Borden: "Restrictions upon Teachers," *Kadelpian Rev.*, 15(1936), 357–364.
2. Anderson, Earl W.: "Hamstringing Our Teachers," *Atlantic Mon.*, 145(1930), 390–397.
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CHAPTER XVIII

WHO CONTROLS THE SCHOOL

On July 10, 1925, John T. Scopes came to trial. Charged with teaching theories which deny the story of creation as set forth in the Bible, he was convicted.[1] What was the basic issue in this much publicized trial? To the defense, it was simply the truth or falsity of the theory of evolution. To the prosecution, the issue was otherwise. "The anti-evolution law," said William Jennings Bryan, "is based on the theory that the control of the schools is in the hands of the people who create and support them." Thus the teacher is a public servant; he dare not misrepresent the community that he is paid to serve. From this standpoint, the question is not what is right but who is right —the teacher or the community.

These conflicting views did not originate at Dayton nor were they settled there. They are current, in some form or other, in many American communities. They involve a most perplexing problem, the problem of school control and teacher freedom. For identification, one point of view may be called the "hired man" theory of teacher service; the other is the conception of teachers as professional persons who are trained and qualified for educational leadership. What are the social forces that play upon the school and determine, or seek to determine, its practices and policies? How much freedom in the classroom should teachers have and how are controversial issues to be handled? How can an effective degree of freedom be secured and retained? These are difficult questions and educators are not agreed as to their answer.

A. PLAY OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chicago Schools: A Case Study.—William McAndrews was dismissed as superintendent of schools in August, 1927. The immediate charge was insubordination to the school board,

[1] The case was appealed and dismissed on a technicality.

the remote one that of being "a stool pigeon for the King of England." At that time, the schools were the city's largest enterprise. They numbered over 300, enrolled half a million pupils, gave work to 12,000 teachers and others, and cost over $70,000,000 per year.[1] Then, as now, they existed within a swirl of social influences, a vortex suggested by Chicago's turbulent growth, massive and diverse population, and multiform special interests. Undoubtedly the "scandals" long connected with education gave purpose and scope to Counts' study, a study which throws much light on the nature of school control.[2]

In Chicago as elsewhere, the state has vested the control of the city's schools in a board of education. It is made up of local citizens, appointed by the mayor and approved by the council. Presumably a member wins his post because of known personal worth and civic interest. In theory also, the board is representative of all segments of the population. It appoints the superintendent and controls his tenure. It administers school funds, formulates school polices, and passes upon curricular and other changes.

In reality, the board has been the storm center of the educational system. Its members have not always possessed the qualifications which they should have, and in time all the special interests seeking an *entree* to the schools have contacted them. The past 24 years (1903–1926) are replete with petitions, demands, threats, and offers from honest citizens and cranks, from grafters and special pleaders, from civic groups, labor unions, religious interests, newspapers, real estate agents, political bosses, and intraschool organizations. Considering all things, the wonder is that mismanagement has been no greater than it has been. Finally, the board has never been at peace with its appointees. It is said not to have conceded the superintendent or the teachers the rights reserved to them by law, and the record shows a continuous battle over the years.

Much can be inferred concerning board views by studying its personnel. During the 24 years surveyed by Counts, 120 persons have been members. The average tenure was 3 years. Of these members, only 19 were women. In age, members ranged from thirty-five years to fifty-five years, with a median of forty-seven years. In occupation, they came almost wholly from the upper classes—lawyer, doctor, merchant, banker, etc. Only one member came from the manual labor level. About three-fifths had attended college. In nationality,

[1] For more recent figures, see W. W. Wattenberg, *On the Educational Front* (1936), 16–19.

[2] George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago* (1928).

they were predominantly native white. One-half were Republicans and 40 per cent were Democrats. In religion, board members have been mainly Protestant.

Being the executive of the board, the superintendent is charged with the administration of the school system as a whole. In 1926, his staff consisted of 34 executive assistants. In the same year, the school principals numbered 317. Superintendent McAndrews's tenure of office was notable in the many changes introduced. To further his "efficiency program," teachers' councils were abolished, the number of school holidays reduced, a time check placed on all school employees, rating tests devised for teachers and principals, a "line and staff" organization set up, and the platoon system and junior high schools established. These reforms were welcomed by many powerful elements in the city and opposed by others. The former hailed the superintendent as "the strong man for whom Chicago has long waited."

The city's 12,000 teachers are anything but homogeneous as a group. They are divided along a dozen major lines of cleavage, such as grade level, professional training, ethnic backgrounds, and social ideals. In a smaller system, teachers can know and be known by school officials, express interests and exert pressures in a spontaneous way. In the Chicago system, this is impossible without organization. Hence they are organized into some thirty-odd associations. Broadly viewed, these are of two major types. One consists of professional bodies that meet to hear scholarly papers and to discuss instructional problems. The other consists of teacher groups which serve as policy makers. The latter enter the arena as power units and do battle for teachers' rights.

To complete the listing of intraschool sources of power, one should name the half million pupils, the scores of supervisors, and the huge custodial staff. Each has a voice in school control and at times has exerted a weighty influence toward shaping educational policy. If public education were guided solely by elements inside the school system, the problem of coordinating special interests would be complex enough. But there is another side to the picture, one that is difficult to understand, let alone to coordinate.

Of the many extraschool forces struggling for control of public education, none exceeds in importance the great commercial interests. In Chicago, the most powerful of these bodies is said to be the Chamber of Commerce. Though its membership was not large at the time of study, it included the leading business, commercial, and professional persons of the city. Like other vested interests, it has never been willing to delegate school control to schoolmen. In general, its concern for education has been that of any conservative, property-owning class.

The Chicago Chamber of Commerce is reported to have had three special interests in the public schools. One was vocational education, another an insistence on the mastery of basic skills, and a third the reduction of school costs. To further these ends, it is said to have organized voters, lobbied for or against bills, and made contacts with board members. Of greater import, and more difficult to explain, was its easy access to the schools. The record shows that a stream of speakers was sent in for addresses, conferences were held with upper level pupils, excursions conducted to industries, contests sponsored and prizes awarded, clubs founded, pupil essays published, teachers and principals invited to luncheon and other meetings.

The Chamber's natural antagonist is the Federation of Labor. Its membership, almost 100,000, is drawn from "the people." While lacking the war chest and prestige of its rival, it is not without great power. As a self-appointed guardian of the public weal, it has always kept a watchful eye on the schools. Separate vocational schools, junior high schools, and intelligence tests were made the objects of bitter attack and denunciation. For instance, the intelligence tests were opposed as undemocratic. The feeling was that they would segregate children into upper and lower mental levels, with the latter socially stigmatized as a consequence. The Federation is said to have manipulated public opinion via mass meetings and campaign tactics, and to have brought pressure on the board and the superintendent by letters and petitions and by speeches before the city council.

Women's clubs have always shown a spirited interest in the schools. Founded to consider the "live issues" of the times, the Chicago Women's Club has served the schools in many ways. It has sponsored kindergartens, vocational schools, penny lunches, and compulsory education. Because of dues and selective membership, its socioeconomic views are fairly conservative. The Women's City Club, drawing members from all classes, is a political action group. Although it opposed teachers' councils, it has fought on the side of the teachers on many issues. In 1922, when school board members were brought before the grand jury on a charge of conspiracy to defraud the people, it took an active part in airing this situation.

Organized religion provides another element that shapes the course of public education. In 1928, Chicago was estimated as 45 per cent Protestant, 45 per cent Catholic, and about 10 per cent Jewish. With one exception, no Protestant denomination has sought to establish its own system of schools, but all have sought to supplement public instruction. Church leaders have petitioned the board and cultivated the superintendent. Hi-Y clubs, sponsored by the Y.M.C.A., have been set up in 26 high schools and serve as centers of Protestant influence.

Catholics have contended for a separate school system of parochial institutions, and in 1926 these schools enrolled 150,000 pupils. The Jews have followed a policy of establishing supplementary schools for religious instruction.

On the basis of religious differences, a vast structure of myth and legend has been reared. Hot winds of sectarian conflict, of fear and bigotry, plot and counterplot, sweep over the city and through the schools. Rumors of Vatican dominance and Ku-Klux resistance, of favors asked and favors granted, of teacher reward and teacher persecution, are common. Each church group, had it the power, would reshape education in various ways.

The city hall's hold upon the schools is rooted in the fact that educational policies are made election issues. The mayor takes office believing himself commissioned by the people to make the changes which he has advocated. With the board of education appointed by the mayor on approval of the council, he has a fairly free hand. Repeatedly the schools have been made a part of the spoils system and looted by racketeers and grafters. McAndrews's dismissal, an aspect of Mayor Thompson's "America First" campaign, illustrates the grip of party politics on the schools.

In his inaugural address, the mayor reiterated his intention of ousting the superintendent. Having secured a board obedient to his will, he charged the school head with insubordination and suspended him from office. When the latter sought to defend himself before the board, the charge was shifted to "incompatibility." Witnesses were brought to prove that the schools were menaced by pro-British propaganda and the superintendent was accused of various "un-American practices." After branding the trial a farce, McAndrews refused to attend further hearings. Following the superintendent's dismissal, the mayor conducted "witch hunts" to purge the schools of "anti-American" books and influences. In true fascist manner, reputable histories were discarded and "new patriotic histories" were adopted. All in all, the "purge" dwarfed any other school debacle in the stormy history of public education.

Last of the forces studied by Counts was the press. Newspapers are the mirrors through which the common man watches the conduct of the schools. A survey of Chicago's six largest dailies for a single month revealed 2,575 articles on education. Printed to get itself read, the press sensationalizes school affairs as it does other things. Furthermore, each paper has an "educational policy," a point of view for advocating or opposing school changes and, to an unknown extent, for selecting and editing the flow of news. Like other interests, newspapers function as pressure groups in shaping education. The *Chicago Tribune*, for example, has never hesitated to set itself against educational specialists on any question at issue.

An Equilibrium of Forces.—This account is descriptive of the play of social forces within and upon the Chicago schools. Outwardly these schools appear peaceful and quiet; inwardly they seethe with an incessant struggle for power. The school system, or some part thereof, would control itself. Outside pressure groups, with special interests to serve, would shape education. This picture of conflict, with changes of problems and issues to take account of local differences, is fairly representative of many American communities. School policies emerge from the interaction of power units, and their acceptance marks a momentary equilibrium between warring factions.

B. PRESSURES ON THE TEACHER

Intraschool Pressures.—The outstanding revelation of Beale's investigation is not that teachers are not free.[1] It is that teachers as a whole are unaware of a problem of classroom freedom. Whatever freedom is, it is not a gift but an achievement. A first step toward its acquisition is an understanding of the present situation. What are the restraints that inhibit or destroy effective teaching? For convenience, three types of forces may be recognized. One is intraschool pressures, another extraschool pressures, and the third the coercion of the basic mores. While the last is a version of the second type of pressures, its importance warrants separate discussion.

Intraschool pressures are of many kinds. A thoughtful teacher need not be reminded that pupils can make classroom work unbearable. Student pranks, violations of school rules, an undercurrent of unrest or hostility, the fear of misrepresentation to parents and others, all create an atmosphere of tension. Waller refers to this as "a struggle of personalities."[2] Few teachers are courageous enough to keep class in face of pep meetings and recurring school crazes, and few would dare to flunk a privileged member of the student body. That pupils exercise a control over the curriculum, even determining the fortune of individual courses, has long been granted by schoolmen.[3] Finally, students are not averse to using the bargaining tactics of organized labor. They agitate for "reform" and they

[1] Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* (1936).

[2] Willard Waller, *Sociology of Teaching*, Chap. XX, "Focal Points of Student-teacher Antagonism."

[3] George S. Counts, *The Senior High School Curriculum*, 128.

go on strike. One issue of an Ohio newspaper reported six current grade and high school "sit-down" strikes. Unreal as it may seem, the time may come when the ultimate control of the school will rest in an organized student body. While pupil opinion may be a tower of strength to the teacher, more likely than not "it attacks rather than defends freedom in teaching."[1]

Other teachers form a powerful restraint, especially on the teacher who would improve the school by changing its policy. Being conservative in attitude, teachers *en masse* meet the innovator with various kinds and degrees of opposition. It is probable that supervisors perform a valuable function in the classroom, yet their very presence has been viewed as a denial of teacher competency.

Principals are prime sources of power in school control. They make up class schedules, assign school duties, select texts and materials, criticize teaching methods, hear final appeals on disciplinary cases, enforce out-of-school services, and rate teachers as to efficiency. Fortunately, many principals are more than heads of a school machine. They show marked respect for teacher personality, plan with teachers for school welfare, and stand between them and pressure groups. They may lean so far in this direction as to condone teacher inefficiency or aberration in order to avoid the responsibility for a dismissal or the hazards to themselves which it would entail.

The superintendent is the functional head of the school system. Living in the world of business and professional men, thinking in terms of costs, budgets, and building codes, charged with running the system with maximum efficiency, he is as much the community's representative as the schools'. Studies show him to be on the average "overly conservative," "lacking in social vision," "a violator of teacher freedom."[2] Buffeted from all sides by all factions, he may blow hot and blow cold with each shift of power units within the community. Or he may, because of backgrounds and associations, act with the pressures on the schools and not in opposition to them. In either case, the average teacher plays safe by "soft pedaling"

[1] Beale, *op. cit.*, 595.

[2] J. F. Waller, *Outside Demands and Pressures on the Public Schools.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 542. Columbia University, 1932; Jesse H. Newlon, *School Administration as Social Policy*, Chap. VII, "Social Attitudes and Ideas of School Executives."

controversial issues. Needless to add, the superintendent may also be an educational leader, protecting competent teachers to the end that may they do their best work.

In the opinion of some writers, the basic character of public education is determined by the board of education. Boards define the policies of the schools, usually in collaboration with the superintendent. They make or sanction the rules under which teachers work and live, and approve appointments and dismissals. Being drawn largely from privileged social classes, board members are usually staunch supporters of the *status quo* in education.[1]

Fringing the school are numerous miscellaneous influences. While not properly intraschool pressures, they may be mentioned in passing. Parents exercise control over teacher freedom. This control ranges from the expression of an honest doubt as to the wisdom of certain views or practices in the school, to protests against indoctrination, and to charges of mistreating a particular child. Donors and patrons of the school, as well as alumni and sponsors, may seriously affect realistic teaching. School janitors, and proprietors of stores frequented by students, often exert influences out of all proportion to their nominal significance.

Extraschool Pressures.—Outside the school and constantly impinging upon it is a vast array of special interests and pressure groups. Beale lists scores of these power units in his discussion of war, peace, internationalism, patriotism, politics, economic problems, the teaching of history, religion, and science.[2] Raup identifies 88 of the "most active" and classifies them into two basic types: those concerned with the distribution and control of wealth, and those interested in nationalism, war, and international policy.[3] While this division oversimplifies the outer pressures on the schools, it is acceptable for illustrative purposes. One example of each of the above types will be presented.

The concern of "big business" with the schools has been exemplified in the Chicago case. Schools cost a vast amount of money, and business is the heavy taxpayer. In times of depression especially, economy drives are instituted. Educators readily admit that, with one exception, these drives are animated

[1] Jesse Newlon, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI, "The Board of Education"; Claude E. Arnett, *Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American School Board Members* (1932).

[2] Howard K. Beale, *op. cit.*

[3] Bruce Raup, *Education and Organized Interests in America* (1936).

by honest motives. That exception involves economic interests which, because of their fear that a wide diffusion of knowledge may be a threat to their entrenched positions, seek through politics and propaganda to beat down school costs and to dictate school policies. The activities of public utility companies have stirred educators as perhaps no other pressure group assault. In the words of Senator Norris, a leader in the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of public utility tactics:

> Untold sums have been spent to control the press, usually by methods which were indirect, but unfair and disgraceful nevertheless. Armies of emissaries secretly representing this trust have gone into every community. They have undertaken to control legislatures, public educators, school boards, municipal authorities, commercial clubs, secret societies, women's clubs, and Boy Scout organizations. They have not forgotten the preacher in the pulpit. They have sent lecturers, ostensibly traveling upon the business of state universities, to lecture to farmers' clubs and social organizations. They have sent women into the field to speak at women's teas and various similar organizations. They have organized committees of inspection to examine the textbooks used in the public schools. They have issued thousands of pamphlets to be used in the classroom. They have entered the universities of the country and subsidized professors and leaders in educational lines.[1]

Like all propaganda, utility propaganda is veiled as to origin and motive.[2] Utilities operate under what has been called "a gospel front" of public good will. They give the impression that their companies are regulated by law and hence not like other companies, that these companies belong to the people, and that the people do not have the experience necessary to operate them. They suggest in a variety of forms that private ownership of property is an integral part of the American tradition, that it is essential for continued social progress, and that we are to beware of communists, or educational visionaries, who teach

[1] George W. Norris, "The Power Trust in the Public Schools," *Jour. Nat. Educ. Assoc.*, 18(1929), 277–278. By permission of the National Education Association, publishers.

[2] "Propaganda," writes one authority, "is promotion which is veiled in one way or another as to its origin or source, the interests involved, the methods employed, the content spread, and the results accruing to the victims." Frederick E. Lumley, *The Propaganda Menace*, Chap. II, "Conceptions of Propaganda."

otherwise. The ways in which they carry this "message" into the schools have already been set forth. Principals and others, who are sensitive to the problem, are perplexed at the subtle and ever-changing ways in which utility propaganda seeks to use the school.[1]

Professional patrioteers illustrate the second type of pressure group seeking to save the nation by infecting the young. Here are found jingo newspapers, veterans of past wars, ancestor worshipers, military Brahmins, munition makers, Ku-Kluxers, and extreme isolationists. In general they idealize our national history, stand for rampant Americanism, oppose our participation in world affairs, teach that peace will be won by preparing for war, denounce certain schools as seething with communism, deliver bombastic speeches on "subversive" activities, hold that truth is what you make it, and oppose change in our political and economic institutions. An excerpt from one paper is illustrative of numerous papers written by teachers on experiences with these groups.

> We had an "America First" campaign thrust into the schools by the mayor of our city. Accompanied by the chairman of the school board, he visited Miss Klineman's English class. They were reading *Silas Marner* when the delegation entered. Why, instead of reading about "an old English miser," were not the pupils being taught about distinguished Americans? "Who knows," he asked, "about Tom Jefferson, Dan Webster, Ben Franklin, or Abe Lincoln?" When Miss Klineman replied that she had no choice, that *Silas Marner* was required reading, the mayor said, "Poppycock!" After lecturing her in an abusive way, he left the room. Miss Klineman was so upset that she dismissed the class and went home.

It is impossible to determine the extent to which patrioteers have controlled the schools. Teachers have been persecuted for telling the truth about American history, for rejecting the rabid hero worship of military leaders, for naming economic rivalry and the war system as chief causes of conflict, for criticizing the present imperialistic race in armaments, for defending aliens against absurd charges, for questioning the educative value of formal flag codes, for protesting against military training in the schools, for advocating pacifism and world cooperation, and for

[1] For case materials, see *Eleventh Yearbook*, 1932, 163–192. Department of Elementary School Principals, National Education Association.

opposing the determination of curriculum content by legislative enactment.[1] They have been intimidated by one means or another and forced to hypocrisy, made to swear loyalty oaths in twenty-one states (1936), and dismissed without a hearing. In the judgment of one observer:

> The motives of these groups are not bad. But they are dangerous to the schools because they will never admit the purity of their opponents' motives, because they depend upon threats and force and are unwilling to allow questions to be settled by free speech and free debate, and because they look upon teachers as automata hired to impose upon the next generation the views of whatever group is powerful enough to control them.
>
> If they are successful, education will become a process of memorizing shibboleths, going through outward forms of patriotism such as flag salutes and oaths of allegiance, and then learning to render blind, unthinking obedience to the behests of a small minority who have taken upon themselves an un-American censorship of the speech and ideas of all of their fellow-citizens.[2]

Business and patriotic societies have not been singled out as either more or less destructive of academic freedom than other special interests. They have been used simply as examples of pressure group aims and tactics. Such groups tend to arise at a predictable moment of time, struggle for power, rule, and decline. They are the natural product of our unstable, shifting, dynamic society. Social change never occurs on a broad, even front; it pushes ahead here and lags behind there. Thus areas of tension are created, "air pockets" where reactionary forces are still strong and the public has not reached a decision as to the course of action to be followed. Pressure groups arise to champion the old loyalties, now less meaningful in light of new needs, or to defend some vested interest under attack. Under guise of the public good, they advocate a static, partisan, or selfish point of view. Their natural enemy being the common man's sixth sense for truth, his access to all the facts must be shut off. To this end, mouthpieces are placed in the seats of power, agencies of communication are captured, free speech and free study pro-

[1] *Cf.* Marcus Duffield, *King Legion* (1931); Elizabeth Dilling, *The Red Network* (1934); George Seldes, *Freedom of the Press* (1935); Ruth Brindze, *Not to Be Broadcasted* (1937).

[2] Howard K. Beale, "Forces That Control the Schools," *Harper's Mag.*, 169(1934), 605. By permission of Harper and Brothers, publishers.

hibited, and the public fed a measured diet of tainted news.[1] Indoctrinating the young and manipulating the teacher have been developed as fine arts within this total process.

Coercion of the Mores.—In view of these many pressures, it would seem that teachers should be restless under restriction. For the vast bulk of the profession, nothing could be farther from the truth. Teachers as a whole are a conservative, respectable, job-holding group. Even if they escape the known forces shaping their ideals and actions, they are still in bondage. Their thought on social issues is unclear, illogical, and incomplete, because teachers themselves are aim inhibited.[2] This is due both to lack of tenure protection and to the coercion of the mores.

In brief explanation, the mores are the action patterns plus the value judgments that are common to a cultural system or a stratum of population within that system. We do not put twins to death as in Nigeria, nor do we believe in witchcraft as did the Middle Ages. Neither practice is in our mores. The mores are the right ways, the approved ways of behaving. Faris stresses their nonrationality, irresistibility, and constant flux.[3]

Other writers have called attention to various kinds of mores.[4] One set is the organizational mores, the moral codes on which our social system appears to rest, such as private property, profit, a monogamous family, representative democracy, compulsory education, etc. Another set comprises the humanitarian mores, the felt urges toward social betterment, such as organized relief, the brotherhood of man, the rights of children, and so on. The third set of mores is the scientific, the assumption of order in nature, a faith in man's power to predict and control sequential processes, and a courage to make known the findings and implications of research.

[1] For the mechanisms of control, see Peter Odegard, *Pressure Politics* (1928); Edward Bernays, *Propaganda* (1928); Will Irwin, *Propaganda and the News* (1936); American Civil Liberties Union, *The Gag on Teaching* (1936).

[2] Willard Waller, "Social Problems and the Mores," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1(1936), 922–933.

[3] Ellsworth Faris, "Nature and Significance of the Mores," *Rel. Educ.*, 25(1930) 500–506.

[4] L. K. Frank, "Social Problems," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 30(1925), 462–473; E. W. Burgess, "Social Planning and the Mores." *Publs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 29(1934), 1–18; Willard Waller, *op. cit.*

How do these patterns affect the teacher? Long before he is a teacher he absorbs the organizational mores of his community. College training, with its high idealism, will add a set of humanitarian mores more ethical than those of the community. For example, the student will be inclined to hate the man who hates the Negro. As a teacher, he will do what he can to improve Negro life. He will treat colored pupils fairly, urge that their home conditions be bettered, and advocate the employment of workers on a basis of personal worth. But why does he stop at these halfway points? Why not advocate changes that would get at the basic reasons why Negroes are underprivileged—the white group's assumed superiority, their monopoly of economic opportunity, the caste system?

The most obvious answer is that the teacher is afraid of offending the majority group and thus losing his job. For this reason or for some other, he has not moved to the scientific level of thought and action. He is in bondage to either the humanitarian or the organizational mores. Not the least interesting consequence of breaking off thought or speech or action before it endangers the thinker is that one loses the habit of thinking through issues to a logical conclusion. From a scientific standpoint, one's allegiance should not be to what has been accepted as true or good but to the best that better thinking can discover.

C. EXPANDING THE AREA OF FREEDOM

Freedom within Limits.—Perhaps nine out of ten persons will assert their belief in freedom for teachers. What they mean is that public school teachers should have "freedom within limits." Like other verbalisms to which we give assent, this phrase is meaningless until defined. Thus the problem facing school and community is a determination of these limits.

While no consensus exists, many educators favor the view that freedom of teaching should be limited in at least three directions. It should be adapted to the maturity of the learner. This does not mean an exclusion of any real life situation which comes within the range of child experience. It does mean a study of the degree to which personal and social problems can be explored and understood by the young child. In general, the present tendency is to move down from upper levels to the primary grades a consideration of many issues of everyday living. This

innovation rests upon two chief justifications: the child's known "readiness" to learn and the fact that his indoctrination goes on day-by-day outside the school.

The second limiting factor is one imposed by the local community. The reference is not to the physical resources and facilities of the area, though these may be meager or rich, but to the scheme of human relations within which the teacher must work. Here are customs and traditions, set patterns of thought and action, which tend to block realistic social education. Here are needless fears and suspicions to be allayed, barriers to be overcome, obstacles to be surmounted. As emphasized in other connections, this is an educational problem for the teacher. It requires patience, skill, timing, and courage. It requires likable personality qualities in the individual and a capacity for leadership.

The third limitation inheres in the purpose of education. Someone has said that propaganda is "education in a hurry." It is not concerned with the tedious processes of study; it circulates untested claims and partisan views. No school can afford to be an instrument of propaganda, even if that propaganda is by the teacher and for "public good." Here a curious error is made by many persons who argue for teacher freedom. They confuse academic freedom, the classroom practice of inquiry and criticism, with freedom of speech, the right of any citizen under the Constitution to say anything he pleases. As a public servant and a professional person, no teacher can claim the right of saying whatever he wishes in the classroom. He must have valid grounds for the findings which he reaches, and these grounds must bear critical inspection. The freedom for which he should contend, and in which he merits protection, is the right to search for and express the truth.

Subject to the above restrictions, no limitation should be placed on the teacher's classroom work. Outside the school and aside from his professional duties, he is a citizen and should have the rights of any other citizen. There is every reason to urge that teachers take a more active part in community life and public affairs. Such participation would aid the community in solving its problems, create a new impression of the teacher as a person, and do much toward improving classroom teaching. Whether teachers should function as fact-finders and expositors or as partisans and pleaders for a cause, is a debatable question.

For example, can a teacher survive the onslaughts of the pressure groups environing the school if he identifies himself with a specific group? If, today, he espouses a cause and argues for it, can he tomorrow deal fairly with "all sides" of the issue in a classroom presentation?[1]

Proposed Roads to Freedom.—Whatever the kind and degree of freedom that may be envisioned as desirable, it seems safe to assert that it will come only as an achievement. Primary responsibility for securing it will rest upon teachers. A review of the literature reveals five principal proposals for improving the present situation.

One is the professionalization of teachers. Under this heading is included the need for improvement in the training of teachers, especially in the field of the social sciences, teacher education in morale and in professional ethics, and machinery whereby the profession can rid itself of incompetent and unworthy members.

Educating the public to an approval of greater freedom for teachers in discharging their schoolwork is a second proposal. This ranges from publicizing changes in school policy, such as the substitution of pupil progress reports for the traditional grade mark, to an inclusive plan of public relations.

Legal protection for teachers through tenure laws has been widely advocated. A corollary of this proposal is the legal right of teachers to a fair investigation and a judicial hearing in cases involving the possibility of dismissal.

The unionization of teachers, with or without affiliation with organized labor, has been viewed as "indispensable." Whatever one may think of this proposal, it does define the problem for what it is in last analysis, an economic problem. While salaries range from $593 to $2,494 per year, only a top 5 per cent of teachers average over $1,800.[2] With hundreds of thousands

[1] The crux of this issue comes to light in the friendly disagreement of two leading educators as to whether teachers should join the American Federation of Teachers which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In aligning with organized labor, do teachers by the same act oppose capital? Is this a tactical mistake? How will the "middle class" react? If teachers do not affiliate with labor, will their association lose in strength? See John Dewey, "United, We Shall Stand," *Soc. Front.*, 1(1935), 11–12; H. Gordon Hullfish, "Why I Resigned from the Teachers' Union," *Soc. Front.*, 3(1937), 110–112.

[2] "Efforts of States to Support Education," *Nat. Educ. Res. Bull.*, 14, 1936.

of teachers making less than $1,000 per year, it seems farfetched to meet in endless conferences and conventions for the discussion of "new" educational ideas and methods. What the average teacher wants to know is how he can keep body and soul together on a subsistence wage. The success of labor unions in bargaining for employees has set a stimulating example.

A fifth proposal is that teachers be given the opportunity to participate more effectively in the planning of school policies. In substance, this involves changing the present administrative organization of the school. Beyond doubt, the school is patterned on the large industrial or business concern, which is in turn built on the principles underlying military organizations. These principles are two: a complete separation of planning and performance, and an authoritarian rule in person-to-person relations within the system. Both ideas are contained in the phrase "line and staff" organization, a phrase of military origin. In the large school system especially, as in business and in the army, planning is done at the top; subordinates follow orders. Teachers are looked upon as incompetent persons, which in truth many are. Yet the system itself penalizes the able teacher. It is wholly out of line with a democratic conception of life, and hence falls short of realizing the ideals in human relations and pupil growth to which the school is devoted. A greater degree of faculty thought and planning is worthy of experimental testing.

Teaching Controversial Issues.—Many of the foregoing problems of teacher freedom come to a head in the teaching of so-called controversial issues. These are simply "live questions" and hence are at once an index of social change and of the extent to which the school has related itself to life. If teachers are to give the guidance which in theory they should, such questions must be explored frankly, fairly, and openly. In reality, as already suggested, current socioeconomic problems are frequently excluded from the classroom.

A recent study of the reasons given by experienced teachers for excluding these problems is of interest.[1] The reason men-

[1] H. B. Brunner, "Some Difficulties Involved in Constructing Curriculum Materials in Socio-economic Areas," *Reconstructing Education through Research*, 130–134. American Educational Research Association, National Education Association, Washington, 1936. These teachers, numbering 32, were graduate students at the time of the study. Twenty-nine were holding full-time positions in the New York area, and three were principals.

tioned most often was that pressure groups made the discussion of socioeconomic questions a "dangerous undertaking." Second in order was the view that the formal curriculum and rigid program of the school had to be followed, hence current problems could not be introduced. Third and fourth were the ideas that parents classified such work as "fads and fancies," and that various forms of legislation, including laws against the teaching of communism, restricted choice of problems and freedom of discussion. Other reasons were the admitted apathy of teachers, lack of teaching materials, teachers too busy, tendency of instructors to indoctrinate, lack of adequate preparation for such work in teacher training institutions, and the belief that pupils, especially in the primary grades, are "not interested in socioeconomic problems."

Teachers who professed to deal with controversial issues did nothing more than "talk frankly" about them. If educators are to assume positions of leadership in the locality and in the nation, they must go beyond the level of description. They must take the responsibility for assembling facts on social problems and for analyzing possible courses of action.

After a prolonged school and community conflict over the discussion of local social problems in the classroom, the Ann Arbor (Michigan) Board of Education adopted a policy for its own guidance. This document is unique enough to warrant reproduction.[1]

1. Any democracy, if it is to remain a democracy, must expect and anticipate change—politically, socially, and economically.

2. The American people have always believed that change should come through law and through an orderly procedure rather than through revolution and the use of force.

3. There are controversial issues inherent in change which, if correct solutions are to be arrived at, must have free and open discussion.

4. A majority of people end their formal schooling on or before graduation from high school. Therefore, if our pupils are to consider and discuss controversial issues . . . this must be done before the high school period.

5. An individual may best be inducted into a consideration of controversial issues under conditions prevailing in the public school classroom. Here partisanship and propaganda are much less in evidence than

[1] Taken from Otto W. Haisley, "Controversial Issues in School Policy," *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 610. By permission of the Progressive Education Association.

outside, and scientific techniques of attack on social, political, and economic problems are not only used, but the use of these techniques is taught.

6. All school pupils should have an opportunity to collect factual material, to record it, to organize it, to interpret it, and to generalize upon the basis of this material.

7. No teacher should use his position to propagandize in the interest of any religious, social, economic, or political creed, but every teacher has the responsibility of giving aid in the gathering of factual material so that the pupil may learn from as complete information as existing facilities and his ability to understand will permit.

8. Every teacher has the right to express his own personal views on controversial issues, but this should not be done during the developmental period (study period) of the topic.

9. Techniques of dealing with controversial issues are among the most valuable outcomes of these classes. No teacher should express his views at a time or in a manner that would interfere with this training in scientific method and reflective judgment.

This is, we believe, a liberal platform. It recognizes the inevitability of social change and concedes the teacher's right to deal with current issues. It defines the method of procedure and it cautions the teacher against indoctrinating the pupil. It affirms the community's belief in realistic education and in the preparation of children for social living. It is in effect a covenant between school and community which grants to responsible teachers the professional status that so many desire.

Questions for Discussion

1. Who controlled the Chicago schools during the period of Counts' study? Analyze the situation as you see it.

2. As you look back on your own high school experience, what "intraschool pressures" were operative? Illustrate.

3. Are boards of education fully representative of the community? Should they be? Discuss.

4. What "extraschool" pressure groups are interested in education? How do they operate? What are the effects on education?

6. Do you agree that teachers are "aim inhibited"? How is this related to the mores?

7. Distinguish between one's freedom as a citizen and as a teacher. What limits, if any, should be set to classroom freedom? State the reasons for your answer.

8. By what means can teachers achieve enough freedom for effective teaching? What is your reaction to the Ann Arbor platform?

Problems and Projects

1. Make a critical study of Beale's method of study (*Are American Teachers Free?* "Introduction," 1–17, "Appendix," 779–791) and report your findings to the class.
2. Prepare (*a*) a questionnaire for studying and (*b*) a chart for scoring the pressure groups interested in education in your community. For models, see Bruce Raup, *Education and Organized Interests in America*, 172–218.
3. If you were actively engaged in teaching, would you join the American Federation of Teachers? Why or why not? Present this issue in class. See John Dewey, "United, We Shall Stand," *Soc. Front.*, 1(1935), 11–12; H. Gordon Hullfish, "Why I Resigned from the Teachers' Union," *Soc. Front.*, 3(1937), 110–112.
4. Propaganda in the schools and what can be done about it has been studied by a committee of the Department of Elementary School Principals. Prepare a paper setting forth their findings and recommendations. *Eleventh Yearbook*, 1932, 163–192.
5. Make a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. The School Board: Backgrounds and Attitudes. George S. Counts, *Social Composition of the Board of Education* (1927); Claude E. Arnett, *Social Beliefs and Attitudes of School Board Members* (1932); Jesse H. Newlon, *Educational Administration as Social Policy* (1934), 125–169.
   b. Loyalty Oaths for Teachers. William H. Kilpatrick, "Loyalty Oaths," *Soc. Front.*, 1(1935), 10–15; C. J. Fredrich, "Teachers' Oaths," *Harper's Mag.*, 172(1936), 171–177; Ellen Thomas, "Sequelae of the 'Red Rider,' " *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 606–608.
   c. Freedom of Teaching. *The Teacher and Society*, Chap. X, "Freedom of Teaching." First Yearbook, John Dewey Society, 1937; Edward L. Thorndike, *The Teaching of Controversial Subjects.* Inglis Lecture, 1937.

Selected Readings

1. Beale, Howard K.: "Forces that Control the Schools," *Harper's Mag.*, 169(1934), 603–615.
2. Counts, George S.: *School and Society in Chicago.*
3. Curti, Merle: "The Social Ideals of American Educators," *Prog. Educ.*, 11(1934), 26–31.
4. Faris, Ellsworth: "Two Educational Problems," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 9(1935), 40–46.
5. Hunkins, R. V.: *The Superintendent at Work in Smaller Schools*, Chap. VIII, "Fitting into the Community."
6. Kilpatrick, W. H.: "Limitations upon Academic Freedom for Public School Teachers," *Teach. Coll. Rec.*, 37(1935), 94–99.
7. Knowlton, P. A.: "Politicians, Teachers and Schoolbooks," *Scribner's Mag.*, 95(1934), 421–425.
8. Levin, Jack: *Power Ethics.*

9. Lowth, Frank J.: *Everyday Problems of the Country Teacher*, Chap. V, "Social and Business Relations of Teachers."
10. North, C. C.: *Social Problems and Social Planning*, Chap. VI, "Methods of Deliberate Social Change."
11. Pierce, Bessie L.: *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth.*
12. Raup, Bruce: *Education and Organized Interests in America.*
13. Waller, J. F.: *Outside Demands and Pressures on the Public Schools.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 542. Columbia University, 1932.
14. Waller, Willard: "Social Problems and the Mores," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1(1936), 922–933.
15. Waller, Willard: *Sociology of Teaching*, Chap. XX, "Focal Points of Student-Teacher Antagonism."
16. Wattenberg, W. W.: *On the Educational Front*, Chap. XI, "Strategy."

CHAPTER XIX

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

In 1896, John Dewey started a laboratory school in connection with his teaching at the University of Chicago. Already deeply engrossed in philosophical problems, why did he enter upon this new venture? "It was mainly on account of the children," he is quoted as saying.[1] His own children were growing up; he feared "the sawdust stuff" of the traditional curriculum. Moreover, he had "ideas" concerning a more educative kind of schooling. Hence an almost barren dwelling was made into a "testing station," housing sixteen pupils and two teachers. School was to be "a transition point" between home and society, education a process of "cooperative living," and learning a natural by-product of "activity." Here was initiated one of the nation's first experiments in what has come to be called progressive education.

Behind the scenes, if not in public, one student of the movement will ask another: Just what do you understand by progressive education? Where can it be found? What are its basic principles? Does it achieve the values claimed for it? While these questions have been answered, no answer can be conclusive. All are open to three types of error. One is illustrated by the blind men and the elephant—each man mistaking a part of the animal for the whole. So with writers on progressive education; each can know at best only a few of its schools. A second type of error arises from the fact that the educative movement is still going on. Whatever progressive education is, it will not stay put. It is changing, adaptive, experimental. Third, lacking needed research findings, one must perforce resort to impressions and opinions. These possibilities of error, unavoidable as they are, make any interpretation of progressive education tentative and subjective.

[1] Katherine C. Mayhew and Anna C. Edwards, *The John Dewey School*, (1936), 446.

A. A NEWER SCHOOL IN ACTION

The Lincoln School: A Case Study.—Books on the aims and principles of progressive education have probably outnumbered those descriptive of its concrete practices. Among the latter, Mary Peck Porter's account of her work at the Lincoln School, Teachers College, is representative. The following materials concretely describe the first two months of a year's experience with a group of third grade pupils.[1] These children were from seven to eight years of age, slightly above average in mental ability, and of middle-class homes. They were taught as an "activity group," and the teacher's analysis of her own role is of special interest.

Twenty-odd boys and girls are entering the third grade and I am to be their teacher. What are their interests and needs? In view of our facilities, what can we do? How shall a project be initiated? These thoughts pass through my mind before the children assemble.

I think first of my experience with children of this age. This is a collection of alert little folks, enthusiastic and curious. They know little about their own neighborhood, much less about their city (New York), and next to nothing about distant lands. They are eager to tell of their summer experiences, to bring objects from home, to make collections. Many will incline toward physical activity, with little intellectual interest. As a group, they will enjoy cooking, sewing, working in clay, building things, tearing them apart, experimenting in science, and writing prose and poetry.

I think of the external factors conditioning our work. We are not to follow a set curriculum, but to develop a program in line with the nature and needs of the children. This frees the teacher, yet binds her to an even greater responsibility. I think of our complex city and its countless educational possibilities. We must utilize this environment to advantage. I think of the school situation. Two features will be new to the third-graders: two additional hours at school and outdoor play. Both of these features are educational assets and we shall include them in our program. My thought drifts to the playground—completely paved with concrete. At least the cement will provide a foundation for building a large playhouse.

I think, finally, of my aims as a teacher. I am to broaden and deepen the interests which these children already possess. I am to guide them in an understanding of self, of the local world and its more

[1] Mary Peck Porter, *The Teacher in the New School* (1931). Adapted by permission of the World Book Company, publishers.

distant counterpart. I am to help in their socialization, in their unpredictable efforts at planning, working, and living together.

What activity shall we undertake? It does not matter so long as the above criteria are observed. Whatever we do should be within the pupils' present range of interest. It should be related to the life of their neighborhood. It should contribute toward their all-around growth, and it should avoid unnecessary duplication with the work of the next upper grade.

The study of a foreign country suggests itself as a suitable project. Since evidences of the Dutch people are all about us, the study of Holland seems a feasible undertaking.

During the first few days of school, the children are busily engaged in arranging an exhibit of the things they had made or collected during the summer. I made no effort to put into operation any plan of mine, hoping that the exhibit would provide a natural lead into the field of exploration. Some child interests were indicated, such as a big house in the play yard, but no special intellectual interest was manifested by the group. I decided to take the initiative, and hence brought a boy's suit and two dolls made in Holland. There was great excitement and one child tried on the suit.

I suggested that similar costumes were owned by some of the children in school and that we might borrow them. "We could have a party," said some child. Another remarked that we might play "getting ready for Christmas." Theresa gave a suggestion which I would have made if someone had not: "Let's play we are in Holland and have a Dutch family in the home in the yard." And then several children chimed in with ideas. "Their father could go fishing in a boat," said a boy who wanted to make a boat. "Have some Americans visit Holland." Other ideas came thick and fast, and most of them started with the words "let's play." I knew they could not play this "game" without learning things they needed to learn.

The interest in Holland led the children to bring things from home—a pair of wooden shoes, a little Dutch doll, pictures, books, and objects of Dutch life. "Why is the doll so beautiful?" led to a class discussion of Dutch art. "How high are the dikes?" turned our thought to the Dutch environment and mode of life. "Is Holland straight across from us?" brought a globe into the class and then a map. Pupils lay on the floor before the map, drawing parts of it. "Why is Holland so small?" brought the counterquestion from Robert of "How small is it?" We traced the map of Holland and the map of the United States. Then we cut out and compared our drawings.

When, in reference to some practice, a pupil asked "Why do they do that?" the answer was "It's just custom." "But, Sally," exclaimed a classmate, "there's always a reason for a custom." This hasty

generalization started a search for "the reason." "My father told me," "I found this in Compton's," "A woman mother knows has been in Holland," "Mary Jane, in the fifth grade, said"—these are typical of the kinds of answers brought in. Someone's father had said that "every family in Holland has relatives in the colonies." Why? This led directly to an area of considerable interest to us.

That interest was the Dutch in New York. Amsterdam Avenue, a half block from the school, and Amsterdam, Holland—was there a connection? The children knew nothing about early New York, except that Henry Hudson had discovered the Hudson River. We talked about this daring adventurer and his tiny *Half-Moon*. We visited an exhibit of Dutch objects and we explored a Dutch neighborhood.

Many times a pupil would make an assertion with all the finality of proved truth. On such occasions. I was obliged to say, "We mustn't say it unless it is so. Let's find out if it really is a fact." These statements were usually written on the blackboard and left there until we could find answers. After we finished with each area of problems, we ran over it for a quick review. Since a more impressive summary of the two months of work was necessary, we elected to make a classbook which would contain our findings on the Dutch people. Another form of review was a program for parents, and a third one an exhibit of our handiwork for the next grade.

In summary, the project had been started by showing a Dutch costume. One question had followed another, in reality growing out of the other. What new meanings had been learned? Among these were ideas about building dikes, draining land, fishing, making cheese, making pottery, living on houseboats, emigrating to the colonies, Dutch influences in our neighborhood and country, and the early history of our city.

How were these meanings expressed? In dramatic play, in building and furnishing a Dutch home, acting out phases of Dutch life, writing and giving a play, composing stories for a book, modeling Dutch dolls and tulip bowls, and painting scenes from Dutch life.

What attitudes of appreciation were developed? A liking for Dutch folk songs and art forms, an understanding of man's struggle to live in a sea environment, some knowledge of Dutch customs and character, a realization that our people are related to those of Holland, and a first impression of Dutch contributions to our local life.

What growth in skills was evident? An increased ability to work and play together as a group, greater skill in modeling, painting and construction, greater efficiency in gathering information, improvements in reading, spelling and writing, an understanding of a physiographic map, and an increased capacity to plan an activity and carry it through to completion.

While this account does not do justice to the page after page of concrete material in the book, it does suggest the reality of the education undertaken. It will be noted that the project was a study of a living people, not of a textbook. It was entered upon only after the teacher had considered the backgrounds of the children, their interests and needs, and the school's facilities. The aims to be realized were determined by the teacher, and the project was initiated in as natural a way as possible. Once going, the project developed into an activity program, each activity being linked with another and all pointing toward a set of learnings to be achieved. While the teacher had no measure of outcomes, those claimed do not seem unreal or extreme. What is not sufficiently illustrated is the initiative taken by the children in building the house, writing the play, and so on. They made "mistakes," and many of them, yet the replanning of an activity after a failure was the most educative part of the experience.

B. PROGRESSIVE IDEALS IN EDUCATION

Traditional versus Progressive Schools.—One way of defining progressive education is to contrast it with traditional education. Mearns characterizes the "old" education as the learning of subjects under formal discipline, the retention of socially useless (functionless) facts, and the acceptance of grade failure as real failure.[1] Teachers are masterful, pupils subservient, and the test of success is the coverage of subject matter. The "new" education is concerned with the child's ongoing purposes. It prizes learning which arises from life situations, and it seeks to aid children in relating themselves more intelligently to present-day life. The teacher's role is not that of assigning lessons and hearing recitations, but of directing the total learning process.

Faced with the problem of determining the extent to which church schools had used progressive principles, Hartshorne and Lotz developed ten basic criteria.[2] A school is progressive if (1) pupils show an increasing respect for personality (each other, other persons, historic characters), (2) life situations are made the object of study, (3) situations are simplified to make possible

[1] Hugh Mearns, "Educating the New Child," *North Amer. Rev.*, 230(1930), 696–703.

[2] Hugh Hartshorne and Elsa Lotz, *Case Studies of Present-day Religious Teaching*, Chap. VI, "Application of Criteria."

pupil freedom in thought and action without confusion or disaster to the child, (4) pupils view situations objectively and not emotionally or in terms of prejudice, (5) pupils are given ample opportunity to reach conclusions and make evaluations, (6) the scientific method of study is used in solving problems, (7) full use is made of relevant past experiences, (8) courses of action are planned with a foresight of consequences and in line with larger life values, (9) the conclusion of a project is made the occasion for an evaluation of learnings, and (10) pupil responsibility embraces the experiencing of results as well as the planning of them.

In order to visualize these and other points of difference the old school and the new may be set in opposition.

Traditional School	Progressive School
All children much the same; concept of the average child.	No two children alike; concept of individual differences.
Education a preparation for life; passive absorption and reproduction.	Education a way of present living; active, aggressive learning in life situations.
Set curriculum; formal subjects imposed from above and without; dominance of the text.	Activity program in line with pupil interests; details worked out in teacher-pupil cooperation.
Emphasis on covering subject matter; mastery of facts and skills; development of abstract intelligence.	Stress placed on participation, group planning, problem solving, self-expression, creativeness, and responsibility.
Sharp break between school and outside world; problem of child motivation; formal discipline, grades as incentives; keeping of classroom order.	School continuous with life; activities intrinsically interesting; motivation by anticipated outcomes and satisfaction in achievement; guidance in facing reality.
Aim is to fit child into existing social order; outcomes measurable by standard tests of learning.	Education for a more democratic and more ethical social order; outcomes inclusive of intangible personality values; need new testing devices.

In view of the fact that progressive principles have generally permeated public education, this comparison is not wholly fair to the average traditional school. It will serve its purpose, however, if it leads to a discussion of the foregoing differences.

Principles of Progressive Education.—Judging from observation and from the literature, the essential core of progressive education can be reduced to seven cardinal principles.[1] The claim is not made that these orienting ideas operate with equal force in all progressive, activity, or experimental schools. As a matter of fact, there is no evidence to show the extent of their diffusion or the specific patterns which they take under local conditions. Presumably they are most common in the thirty schools now participating in the eight-year experimental study conducted by the Progressive Education Association's Commission.

Conception of the Child.—The child is viewed, not as a passive, memorizing individual, but as an ever-active organism whose business is to live and grow. The child has present interests and needs, wants and purposes, capacities and abilities. A large part of his behavior in and out of school is purposive in the sense of problem solving, goal seeking, tension releasing. Education should be motivated by these natural tendencies and timed in accordance with the individual child's readiness to act.

Personality Development.—The aim of progressive education from the standpoint of child welfare is the development of intelligent, well-integrated, socially adjusted personalities. Emphasis is placed on the concept of growth, on the idea of "wholeness," and on the theory that the acceptance of responsibility by the child will act as a natural check to aimless and chaotic freedom. It is believed that personality becomes organized in reference to immediate and remote goals. If this is the case, pupils should have such goals, plans for achieving them, and guidance in their realization.

An Activity Program.—Learning is conceived as "experience-plus-interpretation" and is at a maximum under a project or activity method of instruction. In such a program, one element tends to teach another. Thus to build a Dutch house or to prepare Dutch food is to learn Dutch customs, art, and life. Research seems to offer some proof for this point of view in that meanings, skills, and attitudes are best taught, not as isolated

[1] John L. Childs, *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism* (1931); William H. Kilpatrick (editor), *The Educational Frontier* (1933); Samuel Everett (editor), *A Challenge to Secondary Education* (1935); Paul H. Hanna, *Youth Serves the Community* (1936).

items, but as elements in an inclusive gestalt (pattern or whole).[1] At its best, the activity program is a "serial or consecutive course of doing" so planned as to explore a field of child interest.

A Real Life Approach.—"Our students," writes Judd in commenting on conventional school practices, "are not provided with concrete ideas related to their daily experience. They do not recognize the subjects discussed as in any way related to their behavior or to their present or future interests."[2] Progressive educators believe that concrete and behavioristic experience is important in any kind of learning. They make use of a "real life approach" as opposed to the mastery of book knowledge. Pupil experiences provide the core of curricular materials. Whether the "subject" studied is labeled arithmetic or art, literature or history, civics or sociology, the primary aim is to develop "attitudes, insights, and sensitivities" to current life problems.

As already implied, this approach has meant a considerable change in teaching materials. Far less emphasis is placed on texts and far more on reference books, pamphlets, periodicals, and other library services. Major stress is attached to visits, interviews, observations, personal experience reports, case studies, and studies of community conditions.

Necessity for Guidance.—It will be recalled that the teacher in the Lincoln School did not meet her class with the much-quoted remark: "Now, children, what shall we do today?" She had evolved a plan of work so far as general objectives were concerned, yet it was not imposed upon the pupils as a lesson assignment is imposed. Children were free to plan, in fact were aided in planning, within the scope of the project. In Kilpatrick's words, "purposive activity in a social situation and under teacher guidance seems best."[3]

It should be stated that Kilpatrick's view is not shared by all progressives. Many interpret initiative, creativeness, and self-expression to mean that the child must be let alone to do what he pleases, when he pleases, and how he pleases. Presumably he has within himself "inner creative forces" and the power to

[1] R. H. Wheeler, "Gestalt Psychology in Relation to Education," *Cal. Jour. Second. Educ.*, (Oct. 1935), 445–449.

[2] Charles H. Judd, *The Social Studies Curriculum*, 9.

[3] William H. Kilpatrick, in I. L. Kandel (editor), *Twenty-five Years of American Education*, 87.

release them.[1] This point of view is open to three major criticisms. It leads (1) to intolerance and anarchy in the child and (2) to chaos in the classroom. Moreover, it gives rise (3) to a relatively inefficient method of learning. Few children, if left to themselves, will adopt the best method of getting a desired result. Random reactions—even though fairly ineffective as means to ends—are continued and built into habits. With inadequacy at last demonstrated, pupils are faced with the necessity of unlearning what has been incorrectly learned and of building new habits. Thus the value of permitting a child to "muddle through" a complex situation is highly questionable.

Guidance seeks to expand child experience, to assist the child in deciding what is the most useful and intelligent thing to do, and to prepare him by outlook and training "to enter the society now coming into being."[2] At its best, guidance would seem to teach neither the old nor the new, but transition from one to the other. The teacher's task is to aid the learner in clarifying his purposes, developing appropriate skills, and organizing them into a consistent pattern of life.

Use of Informal Controls.—Progressive schools stress a complete system of record keeping, yet there is an absence of emphasis on grades, honor rolls, and other rewards of competitive achievement. Likewise little reliance is placed on the usual classroom controls of censoring, scolding, and whipping. There are to be seen an elasticity and informality about newer schools which is in sharp contrast to practices in traditionals chools. From a theoretical standpoint, the following advice to a beginning teacher is a survival from the dark ages of school policy. After remarking that every rule "laid down" should be adhered to "rigidly, unremittingly," Bagley continues:

> "What shall I do (the young teacher asks) when I have tried every device that I can think of and still fail?" There is no explicit formula that will cover each specific case, but one general suggestion may be given: *Get order.* Drop everything, if necessary, until order is secured. Stretch your authority to the breaking point if you can do nothing else. Pile penalty upon penalty for misdemeanors, and let the "sting" of each penalty double that of its predecessor. Tire out the recalcitrants

[1] H. O. Rugg, "Self-cultivation and the Creative Act," *Jour. Educ. Psych.*, 4(1931), 243.

[2] American Historical Association, *Conclusions and Recommendations* (1934), 39.

if you can gain your end in no other way. Remember that your success in your lifework depends upon your success in this feature of that work more thoroughly than upon anything else. You have the law back of you, you have intelligent public opinion back of you. Or, if the law be slow and halting, and public sentiment other than intelligent, you have the right on your side, justice, and the accumulated experience of generations of teachers.[1]

While progressives are not unmindful of the need for "order," their classrooms are at times anything but orderly. This is due in part to their concept of desirable pupil behavior. What they appear to want in a child is not blind obedience but intelligent self-discipline, and in the teacher not mastery in the Bagley sense but the good offices of a friendly counselor and helpful adviser. That progressive schools fail to get the conduct desired comes from the fact that their instructors, like other teachers, are human beings. They have only so much time, patience, and skill. Failure may arise also because the methods used are inadequate, though this remains to be proved.

In general, the techniques used in progressive education are of the informal control type—intrinsically interesting activity, the ideology of respecting the rights of others, class discussion and group decision, the constraint exercised by any primary group over its members, the teacher's manipulation of the class in order to secure a "cooperative response," the denial of privileges, and the isolation of the child from the group. More important than any of these devices is the teacher's quick recognition of misbehavior for what it is, an index of child maladjustment. Control results from discovering and removing the causes of misconduct.

Participation in Social Change.—In 1932, Counts startled the ranks of progressives with his charge that the movement "lacked social orientation." In his judgment, it "has elaborated no theory of social welfare, unless it be that of anarchy or extreme individualism."[2] Unfortunately for the point at issue, the question of social orientation was confused with an equally weighty problem, namely, the method of its achievement (indoctrination versus the liberation of intelligence). Then, as now, Counts'

[1] William C. Bagley, *Classroom Management* (1915), 95. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

[2] George S. Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* 100; also "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive?" *Prog. Educ.*, 9(1932), 257–263.

criticism was both denied and affirmed. The present status of the controversy is illustrated in two consecutive issues of the Progressive Education Association's official journal. One article, by Diederich, makes a detailed statement of the "kind of society" for which the "thirty schools" are educating. The following one, by Childs, calls upon progressive leaders, commissions, and schools to stop issuing vague manifestoes and come to grips with the social realities of our industrial society.[1] It is intimated that progressives are not "speaking plainly about the present situation" because the private schools among their number draw pupils from the favored upper class.

Whatever the merits of Counts' strictures a half decade ago, it seems plain today that progressive schools are moving in a social direction. The restlessness of left-wing leaders arises from the fact that these schools are not moving fast enough to please them. The swing away from rampant individualism is evidenced in many classrooms. Dewey, with his insistence on the "social aims" of education, Bode, with his unswerving faith in "democracy as a way of life," and Kilpatrick, with his philosophy of "community study and action," all represent this trend toward a social point of view.[2]

Evidence of another kind comes from the ever more significant place held by the social studies in the school's curriculum. That they bear a more intimate relation to the needs of present and future citizens than the bulk of traditional subjects, that they precipitate the learner into the social changes now under way, and that they can be taught, not merely as so much formal information, but as a realistic view of how things work and what should be done, is clearly proved. Activity schools, especially those connected with colleges and universities, have probably moved farther in this direction than any other schools.

Outcomes of Activity Programs.—With both the old schools and the new existing side by side in a number of communities, and

[1] Paul B. Diederich, "What Kind of a Society Do We Want?" *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 434–437; John L. Childs, "Whither Progressive Education?" *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 583–589.

[2] John Dewey, "The Challenge of Democracy to Education," *Prog. Educ.*, 14(1937), 79–85; Boyd H. Bode, *Democracy as a Way of Life* (1937); William H. Kilpatrick, "The Underlying Philosophy of Cooperative Community Activities," *Socializing Experiences in the Elementary School*, 534–543. *Fourteenth Yearbook*, Elementary School Principals, National Education Association, 1935.

with each claiming superiorities over the other, it is to be expected that we shall in time know more about the actual outcomes of these different schoolings than is the case today. So far only one generally significant study has been completed.[1] Like any pioneering research, it has had to blaze a trail and its defects, such as new and untested tools of measurement, are a challenge to others to do better. Its findings, while fairly and accurately obtained, are so far unverified, and hence are not conclusive.

In his testing program, Wrightstone used four carefully selected schools. Two were judged to be representative of progressive education and two of conventional education. Pupils and teachers were rated on every item thought to have a bearing on the problem at issue. For example, the 150 pupils used were matched in pairs, as between the two sets of schools, on age, sex,

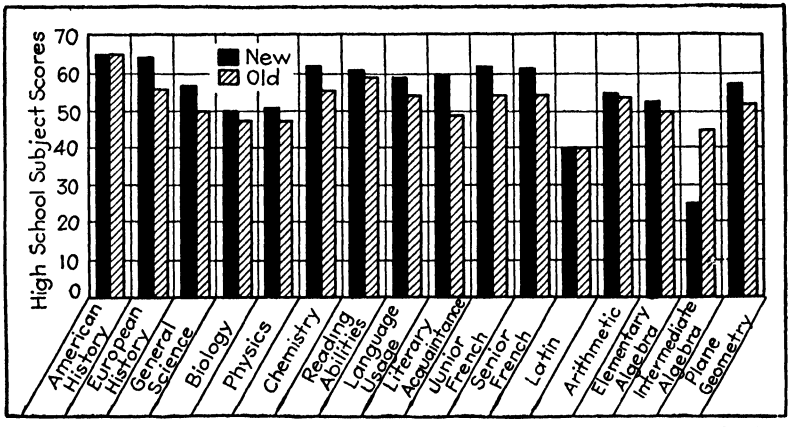

CHART 4.—A comparison of average percentile scores in new and old schools. (*J. W. Wrightstone, "Achievement in Conventional and Progressive Schools," Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 389–395. *Used by permission of author and publisher.*)

intelligence quotient, home backgrounds, time in school, and subjects studied. Three areas of learning—intellectual, dynamic, and social performance—were defined for study, and both old and new tests and procedures were used in appraising pupil learnings.

Intellectual factors were defined as consisting of academic information, knowledge, and skills. Conventional schools clearly stress this aspect of education, whereas progressive schools do

[1] J. W. Wrightstone, *Appraisal of Newer Practices in Selected Public Schools* (1935).

not. Percentile scores of pupil subject-matter mastery under old and new practices are presented in Chart 4.

Chart 4 shows that in all areas, with two exceptions, progressive school pupils scored higher in the retention and recall of facts, concepts, and principles than did conventional school pupils. In Latin the ratings were the same, and in intermediate algebra the scores of new school pupils were substantially lower. This latter showing is of doubtful significance because in all other divisions of mathematics new school pupils have the higher score.

Dynamic factors were defined as comprising attitudes, beliefs, personal and social adjustment, and honesty. On tests involving attitudes and views toward current socioeconomic issues, progressive pupils were decidedly more liberal than average school pupils. On tests of ability to interpret facts and draw inferences, and to organize data into a presentable form, new school pupils also scored higher. In tests of pupil adjustment, little difference existed between the scores of the two groups. In the self-marking test of honesty, progressive pupils were significantly more honest in grading their own papers. Their average score was 49.35 as compared with 37.04 for the conventional school group.

Social performance factors were defined as including pupil initiative, responsibility, curiosity, critical reaction, and recitation. Aware of the difficulties involved in measuring educational outcomes in these areas, great care was taken in the testing procedure. Each objective was defined in terms of pupil behavior. Examples (forms, situations, etc.) of this behavior were collected and worked up into test situations. These tests were then given to the 150 pupils and the results tabulated and evaluated. Chart 5 indicates the findings for the elementary grades.

Outcomes in this third area of pupil achievement more sharply differentiate new and old schools than do findings in either of the two preceding areas. As seen in Chart 5, conventional schools stress pupil recitation and excel in that type of learner response. Progressive schools stress pupil initiative and reveal a marked superiority in such pupil behavior as the making of voluntary reports, relating experiences, and planning exhibits. Neither school scored higher than the other in developing pupil responsibility. This finding may be true to fact or it may be due to an inefficient testing instrument.

With these findings before us, what shall we say about progressive education? In a word, activity schools are apparently doing the job set for them by traditional education and doing it better than conventional schools. Furthermore, they are achieving intangible values, such as pupil initiative and criticism, which

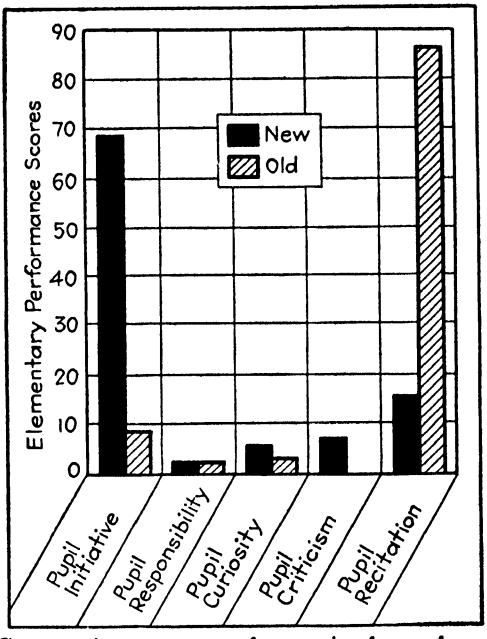

CHART 5.—Comparative percentage frequencies for performance factors in new and old schools. (*J. W. Wrightstone, op. cit. Used by permission of author and publisher.*)

the average schools are not. Wrightstone's statement of tentative conclusions is of interest.

1. The new practices produce equal or superior pupil achievement on tests of such intellectual factors as academic information, knowledge, and skills.
2. The new practices induce the pupils to be more liberal, tolerant, and scientific in attitudes and beliefs; also to achieve about equal personal and social adjustments.
3. The newer practices afford more opportunities than the old for developing such performance factors and behavior as pupil initiative, responsibility, curiosity, and criticism.

To guard against the acceptance of these findings as the "last word" on the outcomes of progressive education, we may repeat that the above research has so far not been verified. Perhaps this view is overly cautious. After summarizing various appraisals of old and new schools, Geyer concludes:

> Instead of discussing more of these reports in detail, I shall simply state now that all the other published studies regarding the learning of subject matter in activity schools, so far as I have been able to find, are in the same vein. They all state that whether we judge learning by standardized tests or by later records in other schools, children in activity schools do learn their subject matter.[1]

The prevalent opinion is that progressive schools teach many new and fine things but at the expense of neglecting "fundamentals," such as the basic skills. As Geyer states, this seems to be an erroneous belief. New schools apparently teach the same materials as old schools but in a different and, on the whole, a more effective manner.

Spread of Progressive Principles.—If the "activity plan" has produced satisfactory results, why has it advanced so slowly toward general acceptance? There are several reasons. A large sector of the public is uninformed concerning the nature and outcomes of progressive education. Another sector views this education as faddish and fleeting. Teachers themselves are reluctant to change their traditional classroom practices. School administrators are agreed that it would materially increase school costs. For example, it would necessitate a reduction in class size and would require a larger and better trained teaching personnel.

Experienced educators who advocate progressive principles have met with some success in readapting the curriculum of the average public school.[2] The textbook has been dethroned, reading materials organized, contacts made with life situations, pupils encouraged in thoughtful self-expression, and the outcomes

[1] Denton L. Geyer, "The Results of Activity Instruction: An Interpretation of Published Findings," *Reconstructing Education through Research* (1936), 170–176.

[2] For example, Roberta La Brant Green, "Developing a Modern Curriculum," *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 189–197; Russell B. Babcock, "A Seventh Grade Course in Sex Education," *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 374–382; William Biscoe, "The Real Task of the Social Studies: An Experience," *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 613–616.

of learning evaluated in terms of their transfer to out-of-school life.

Educational changes of any kind should proceed only with administrative assent, and they can succeed only to the extent that they win the support of both school and community. Being of many types, these changes do not bear out the idea that progressives are trying to "put over" a program. Wherever schools are moving in a direction that is advantageous for the child, there education is progressive.

Questions for Discussion

1. Analyze the role of the teacher in the Lincoln School. How does this role differ from that of the average teacher in the schools you have known?
2. Does the contrast between traditional and progressive schools as given in the chapter appear valid? Add observations of your own.
3. Do you understand each of the seven "cardinal principles" of progressive education? What corrections or additions should be made to the list?
4. Summarize Wrightstone's appraisal of new and old education. If you have access to the original study, examine its detailed findings. Do they seem valid and reliable?
5. In your judgment, why does the activity plan advance so slowly toward popular acceptance?

Problems and Projects

1. To what extent is your college class run on the progressive education basis? Be specific. How could it be made even more progressive?
2. Prepare a paper telling what could be done to "modernize" the high school from which you were graduated.
3. Interview a principal or a teacher to determine his understanding of progressive education and his attitude toward it.
4. Make a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Three Schools, Each Different. Caroline Ware, *Greenwich Village*, Chap. XI, "Education."
   b. The Philosophy of Progressive Education. F. N. Freeman, "An Analysis of the Bases of the Activity Curriculum," *Elem. Sch. Jour.*, 35(1935), 655–661; W. H. Kilpatrick, "The Social Philosophy of Progressive Education," *Prog. Educ.*, 12(1935), 289–293; Boyd H. Bode, "Education as Growth," *Prog. Educ.*, 14(1937), 151–157.
   c. Progressive Education: A Criticism. I. N. Madsen, "How Practical Is Progressive Education for Public Schools Today?" *Educ. Admin. and Supervis.*, 19(1933), 249–259; George S. Counts, "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive," *Prog. Educ.*, 9(1932), 257–263.
   d. Adapting Progressive Principles to the Average School. Roberta La Brant Green, "Developing a Modern Curriculum," *Prog. Educ.*,

13(1936), 189–197; Fannie W. Dunn, "Experimentation in Organization and Teaching in One-teacher Schools," *Teach. Coll. Rec.*, 33(1931), 494–504.

Selected Readings

1. Babcock, Russell B.: "A Seventh Grade Course in Sex Education," *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 374–382.
2. Briggs, Thomas H.: "Should Education Indoctrinate?" *Educ. Adm. and Supervis.*, 22(1936), 561–593.
3. Childs, John L.: *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism.*
4. Gossard, A. P.: "High School Pupils Study Their Community," *Sch. Rev.*, 43(1935), 268–272.
5. Hart, J. K.: *A Social Interpretation of Education*, Chap. XII, "The New School in Action."
6. Kilpatrick, William H. (editor): *The Educational Frontier.*
7. Lincoln School Staff: *Lincoln School Studies Society.*
8. Linquist, R. D.: "Essentials for a Secondary School," in Samuel Everett (editor), *A Challenge to Secondary Education*, 131–150.
9. Mayhew, Katherine C., and Anna C. Edwards: *The John Dewey School.*
10. Porter, Mary Peck: *The Teacher in the New School.*
11. Reeder, Edwin H.: "What Are Life Situations?" *Teach. Coll. Rec.*, 29(1928), 409–416.
12. Rugg, H. O., and Ann Schumaker: *The Child Centered School.*
13. Tyler, Ralph: *Constructing Achievement Tests.*
14. Washbourne, Carleton: "Ripeness," *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 125–130.
15. Wrightstone, J. W.: *Appraisal of Newer Practices in Selected Public Schools.*
16. Wrightstone, J. W.: "Measuring 'Intangibles' in Progressive Schools." *Prog. Educ.*, 12(1935), 95–97.
17. Zyve, Clare T.: "Recording the Changing Life of the School," *Prog. Educ.*, 13(1936), 621–630.

CHAPTER XX

EDUCATING FOR ADJUSTMENT

Each year about 80,000 persons are sent to state and federal prisons and reformatories.[1] Where do they come from and who will take their places when they are released? Assuredly their places will be taken. Our penal institutions not only remain filled; their population has doubled in the past ten years. Two-thirds of these prisoners are under thirty years of age, a great percentage are under twenty-one, and in 1935 the age-group with the largest arrest rate was nineteen years. This means that thousands of young people who now occupy cells were in school a few years ago. It means that replacements for the present prison population are now in our classrooms.

Estimates indicate that in 1930 two and one-half million children in the nation had definite behavior difficulties.[2] The road that many will travel from petty misconduct to juvenile delinquency and adult crime has been illustrated in past chapters. Can these young people stop themselves, and if not who will stop them? Without assigning unreasonable responsibility to the school, it is at its best the nation's most natural and plausible agency of crime prevention. What is a "problem child" to the average teacher and how he is dealt with? From the standpoint of community backgrounds, who are our maladjusted children? Can their misconduct be controlled or prevented? How can the school effectively educate for adjustment, and should it take the initiative in organizing the community for child care?

A. PROBLEM CHILD IN SCHOOL

School Behavior Problems.—From the teacher's standpoint, a school behavior problem is any disturbance of classroom order. It is any type of child conduct that is viewed as "bad," troublesome, or annoying. Evidence on this point leaves no room for

[1] Austin H. MacCormick, "The School Child and Crime Prevention," *Probation*, 15(1937), 38.

[2] *White House Conference on Child Health and Protection* (1931), 293.

TABLE XIII.—CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS AS REPORTED BY TEACHERS[1]

Nature of problem	By grades						Total	Per cent
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI		
I. Violation of classroom order..... Disturbing others, making noises, attracting attention, talking out loud, whispering, etc.	75	104	141	102	35	44	501	40
II. Inapplication to work... Inattention, lateness, unprepared for lesson, careless work, etc.	29	31	96	65	30	23	274	22
III. Clash with teacher or rules..... Disobedience, responding slowly, ignoring instructions, chewing gum, note writing, being rude, etc.	27	43	38	45	17	21	191	16
IV. Aggressive-conflict behavior..... Noncooperation, quarreling, talebearing, teasing, fighting, etc.	21	36	41	35	15	19	167	14
V. Immorality..... Stealing, cheating, sex misconduct, lying, profanity, truancy.	8	22	46	16	1	3	96	7.8
VI. Recessive personality traits..... Shyness, withdrawal, introversion.	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	0.2
Total.....	161	237	362	264	98	110	1232	100

[1] Adapted from Nellie M. Campbell, *op. cit.*, 12–13.

doubt. Campbell's findings are typical of all earlier studies.[1] Teachers and student teachers in 83 elementary classrooms in

[1] Nellie M. Campbell, *The Elementary School Teacher's Treatment of Classroom Behavior Problems.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 688. Columbia University, 1935.

New Jersey rural, village, and city schools were asked to keep diary records for ten weeks of "the most important problem or problems observed each day." In all, 1,232 "child problems" were listed, and were classified as shown in Table XIII.

The major point of interest in Table XIII is the fact that 40 per cent of the behavior problems reported by teachers involve a "violation of classroom order." If, to this category, we add as

TABLE XIV.—TREATMENT OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS AS REPORTED BY TEACHERS[1]

Treatment technique	Times used by grade						Total	Per cent
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI		
I Censure..... Scolded, threatened, commanded, ridiculed, glared at, sarcasm.	121	238	435	251	88	109	1,242	46
II Deprivation..... Removed from seat or room, denied privileges, destroyed work.	80	116	156	96	30	24	502	19
III Verbal appeal or reasoning.....	49	55	77	41	10	25	257	10
IV Explanation or assistance.....	45	46	62	44	24	28	249	9
V Overtime or extra work.	25	43	87	56	12	25	248	9
VI Reward: Social approval.....	23	31	25	30	7	6	122	4
VII Reward: Privileges.....	10	6	4	10	5	1	36	1
VIII Ignoring.....	3	8	1	9	5	7	33	1.2
IX Physical force.....	4	4	14	2	0	2	26	0.8
Total.....	360	547	861	539	181	227	2,715	100

[1] Adapted from Nellie M. Campbell, *op. cit.*, 22–23.

we should the types of child behavior listed under classes III and IV, the actual violation of classroom order embraces 70 per cent of all child misbehavior. Thus the quiet and obedient child is the good child in the teachers' judgment, and the problem child is his opposite. This inference is supported both by teacher ratings as cited and by the failure of teachers to detect children

with recessive personality traits. It will be observed that only 0.2 per cent of the 1,232 child problems were classified as recessive personality traits.

Classroom Treatment Techniques.—Campbell studied the kinds of treatment techniques reported by these same teachers. All of these were classified under nine headings as indicated in Table XIV. In last analysis, these types of treatment may be reduced to two basic procedures. One is punishment, either physical or social, and comprises categories I, II, V, and IX. These classes make up 75 per cent of the 2,715 treatments reported. Censure, a verbal attack on the child, is the punitive measure most often used, and physical force the one least frequently used. The second basic procedure consists of the more constructive and remedial methods, as reported in the remaining five categories. Together, they comprise about 25 per cent of the total treatments. Reasoning with the child was used in only 10 per cent of the cases. "Little evidence exists," writes Campbell in interpreting these findings, "to indicate that in dealing with problem situations they (teachers) had any other objective in mind than removing the annoyance or the disorder."

Teachers versus Specialists.—Wickman has demonstrated the differences between the attitudes of teachers and of child specialists (psychiatrists and clinicians) toward child behavior disorders.[1] He selected 50 common classroom responses and asked both groups to rate them as to seriousness. Group judgments as to the five most serious and five least serious types of pupil problems are as follows:

	Teachers	Specialists
Most serious child problems	Stealing	Unsocialness
	Heterosexuality	Suspiciousness
	Obscene notes	Unhappiness
	Talkativeness	Depression
	Untruthfulness	Resentfulness
Least serious child problems	Shyness	Disorderliness
	Inquisitiveness	Profanity
	Sensitiveness	Interrupting
	Unsocialness	Smoking
	Fearfulness	Whispering

[1] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (1928).

Evidently the specialist works on a different theory of behavior maladjustment than does the teacher. For example, "unsocialness" is first in his list of 50 traits as the most serious child problem; it is next to last in teacher rating as the least serious. Not every classroom problem is a real child problem to the specialist; it may, for instance, reflect teacher maladjustment. His test of misconduct is not the violation of classroom order or the failure of the child to master subject matter. On the contrary, he attaches greatest significance to indices of personality disturbance which teachers ignore. Thus the fearful child who never questions authority but obeys every command, rather than the one who whispers, tells untruths or steals, is the "problem."

Watson defends these teacher ratings, as well he may.[1] They represent attitudes and habits, such as defiance and dishonesty, which parents would not tolerate in the home and against which society has ruled. The school dare not ignore these behavior tendencies. On the other hand, it should not magnify them unduly or punish them too severely. The principal shortcoming in the teacher ratings is found in the type of behavior overlooked. Overly concerned with the keeping of discipline, teachers see offensive and aggressive behavior but they miss the more significant symptoms of child maladjustment—shyness, oversensitiveness, resentfulness, and unhappiness.

Problem Teachers, Problem Pupils.—In 1931, Mason made a survey of teachers who had become so maladjusted as to be confined in mental hospitals.[2] Marital tensions, sex frustrations, economic want, religious delusions, and other factors were held accountable for their mental illness. Teaching itself was not felt to be directly responsible in an appreciable number of cases. In reflecting on this study and on others, one comes to the conclusion that teachers as a whole show about the same kind and number of neurotic tendencies and psychopathic conditions as do other comparable occupational groups. They overwork and suffer "nervous breakdowns"; they worry about losing their job and are sensitive over their social status. They carry their hopes and ambitions, fears and tensions, into the classroom, and classroom and school add a new complement of problems.

[1] G. B. Watson, "A Critical Note on Two Attitude Studies," *Men. Hyg.*, 17(1933), 59–64.

[2] Frances V. Mason, "A Study of Seven Hundred Maladjusted School Teachers," *Men. Hyg.*, 15(1931), 576–599.

That unstable teacher personality affects the behavior of pupils is axiomatic. Studies show that the fears, hates, and frustrations of teachers "are a real and potent influence on pupils."[1] At times children are directly taught attitudes and habits which stunt physical health and personal growth; in the main, however, teacher influence is indirect. It is seen in the breakdown of class morale, the rise of disciplinary problems, the lack of respect for child personality, and harmful teacher-pupil relations outside the classroom. In sum, repressed and unbalanced teachers make an unsatisfactory school situation. They are one cause of problem children.

B. CHILD MISCONDUCT: AREA BACKGROUNDS

Adjustment-Maladjustment.—With the possible exception of identical twins, every child has a unique inheritance, and each child comes of age in a unique environment. At every step in the growing-up process, the child is associated with other persons and his life patterns are shaped in and through interaction with his associates.

As a rule, a child will adapt himself to the expectations placed upon him by the adult world. He will meet with average success in satisfying his needs and wishes, in getting along with other persons, and in manipulating his environment. He will be able to do what is normal and typical for his age, sex, and socio-economic level. Adults, who observe or measure his behavior, will call him "adjusted." The maladjusted child, on the contrary, will feel insecure and frustrated. He cannot satisfy his wants and desires; he is at war with the codes of conduct imposed upon him, and he cannot get along with other persons in an average way. He is a problem to himself and often to others.

From the foregoing, it follows that adjustment-maladjustment are not two different things but degrees of the same thing. They are end-points on a unitary scale and differ only in quantitative ways. In theory, adjustment is a situational balance between the person and his environment; it is a "not too perfect" balance, for this would be abnormal. Perfect adjustment as a real life situation would mean lack of tension, hence inactivity and lack

[1] James S. Plant, "The Mental Health of the Teacher," *Men. Hyg.*, 18(1934), 1–15.

of achievement. Maladjustment is an inability or unwillingness to maintain an average or modal equilibrium.[1]

Maladjustment arises from two sets of factors. One set of causes is within the individual, and their understanding leads to a study of physical, physiological, and psychological traits. Examples are deafness, an overactive thyroid gland, a low intelligence quotient, and a high neurotic trait index. The second set of causes is found within the environment. Many of these factors—conflict homes, delinquent gangs, work conditions, motion pictures, etc.—have been discussed in preceding pages. Normally both sets of factors operate within the same "total situation" to produce maladjustment. For example, a child of low mental age is not necessarily maladjusted in a simplified environment, and an above-average child may be unable to cope with a too-complex environment. Interested as we are in the "cultural approach" to behavior, we shall study the environment as a child-shaping influence.[2]

Area Status and School Progress.—A school system is made up of many schools scattered over a number of local areas. Each school is patterned on the same instructional core and administered by a central office. If area backgrounds were fully known, could the number and kinds of problem children in local schools be predicted? That is, does every distinctive socio-economic level tend to produce its own types of child personality problems?

Research has not gone far enough to permit a conclusive answer, yet the nature of that answer is suggested. Levy reports significant differences in the personality problems of under- and over-privileged homes.[3] Poor homes produce children who exceed the average in stealing, lying, and sex misconduct. Rich homes produce children who excel in temper tantrums, shyness, and introversion. Since each type of home is concentrated in a

[1] For types of child maladjustment, see W. I. and D. S. Thomas, *The Child in America* (1928); W. C. Reckless and Mapheus Smith, *Juvenile Delinquency* (1932).

[2] E. W. Burgess, "The Study of the Delinquent as a Person," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 28(1923), 657–680; also "The Cultural Approach to Behavior," *Men. Hyg.*, 16(1930), 307–323.

[3] John Levy, "The Impact of Culture on Children's Behavior," *Men. Hyg.*, 16(1932), 208–220; also "Conflict of Cultures and Children's Maladjustments," *Men. Hyg.*, 17(1933), 41–50.

distinctive socioeconomic area, schools would differ in kinds of problem children in accordance with area backgrounds.

A more provocative effort to relate area backgrounds to the school progress of the child has been made by Maller.[1] New York City was divided into 270 "neighborhoods," each with a population of about 26,000 and with two elementary schools. Pupil school progress, as measured by age-grade retardation or acceleration, was found to be highly variable among the 270 sets of local area schools. "Slow progress" ranged from 9 per cent of the pupils in one neighborhood to 51 per cent of the pupils in another. "Rapid progress" ranged from 2 per cent to 34 per cent. The problem was to discover the correlation, if any, between these rates of school retardation and acceleration and the socioeconomic status of the various areas.

Six types of data were assembled for each neighborhood. Economic status was measured by homeownership and monthly rentals; economic dependency by the number of families on relief as a percentage of all families in the area. Health status was determined by public health statistics grouped on an area basis; juvenile delinquency by a comparison of court cases with children of court age; birth and death rates by vital statistics for the area, and ethnic composition by census figures. Rates were computed for each area and, through multiple correlation, a "developmental status index" was obtained for each neighborhood.

For the city as a whole, the correlation between area status and school progress was 0.8119. The significance of this finding is made apparent when it is known that the correlation between average intelligence quotient and school progress was only 0.6986. Thus a knowledge of child backgrounds is a more reliable basis for predicting the trend of his school progress than is a knowledge of his mental age. This is due to the fact that we get behind the intelligence quotient and deal at first hand with the area factors which condition the child's mental development.

Delinquency Areas.—In locating and defining delinquency areas, sociologists have laid the basis for a better understanding of child maladjustment. The work of Shaw is representative.[2]

[1] J. B. Maller, "Economic and Social Correlatives of School Progress in New York City," *Teach. Coll. Rec.*, 34(1933), 665–671; also "Mental Ability and Its Relation to Physical Health and Social Economic Status," *Psych. Clinic*, 22(1933), 101–107.

[2] Clifford Shaw, *Delinquency Areas* (1929).

Addresses of 55,998 court cases—including 43,298 delinquents and 5,159 school truants—were spotted on a base map of the city. Rates were computed for square mile units, along radial lines and in concentric zones, from the city's center outward. The final picture is that of ten zones, each a mile apart and with its own delinquency rate. Zonal rates, from the center outward, were: 5.2, 3.37, 2.46, 1.90, 1.10, 0.81, 0.63, 0.52, 0.43, and 0.43.

This study has been criticized as revealing nothing new, as making use of arbitrary units (zones) instead of natural areas, as accepting court cases as an index of total delinquency, and for being at fault in the statistical treatment of the data. Each of these strictures has some point in fact and yet the study is unquestionably of value. By quantifying and plotting delinquency, it gives a more exact analysis of the situation than was known. It shows that delinquency, as measured by court cases, decreases at fairly uniform rates from downtown slum areas to the city's suburbs. In the second place, the study locates districts of greatest delinquency. This makes it possible for students to study them intensively, describe them qualitatively, and plan institutional changes and treatment programs.[1]

Whatever opinions one may hold as to the ultimate causes of crime, there is no room for doubt on one point. Children who appear in courts and get into reformatories come preponderantly from the ranks of the poor, the underfed, the underclothed, the underprivileged, the undereducated, the undertrained in vocations, and the misunderstood by parents, teachers, and others. Not only are they on the average of poorer health and lower mental age, but they are usually heirs to a tradition of crime and vice. They live in an atmosphere of extreme mobility, rapid social change, cultural conflict, and social disorganization. These facts have obvious significance for the schools.

Like other social institutions, the school adapts to its habitat. While the exact nature of this adjustment has not yet been made

[1] Sophia Robinson (*Can Delinquency Be Measured?*) holds that the radial lines and concentric circles which fit Chicago do not fit New York. While this is a possibility, the pattern of delinquency distribution reported for Chicago is known to characterize a half dozen or more American cities. (*Cf.* R. D. McKenzie, *Recent Social Trends*, 469.) J. B. Maller's data ("Juvenile Delinquency in New York City," *Jour. Psych.*, 3(1936), 1–25) suggest that New York City, with the exception of the Harlem district, tends to conform to the ecological pattern found elsewhere.

known through research, it is safe to assert that educational facilities in delinquency areas are substandard. School records show an excessive amount of irregular attendance, truancy, retardation, petty vandalism, and acute misunderstandings between school and community. School populations show an abnormal decline after the fifth grade and decrease even more sharply after the age at which boys can get work permits. School plants in these areas are inferior to city averages as measured by room space per pupil, instructional equipment, and out-of-door play space and apparatus. It is probable, too, that teachers in these "slum schools" will rate lower than city norms in formal training, higher in the amount of turnover, and have fewer teacher organizations per school.[1]

C. PREVENTING CHILD MISCONDUCT

Guiding Principles.—The control of contagious disease carries a suggestion as to procedure in delinquency prevention. Yellow fever was not eliminated in many areas by the treatment of afflicted persons or by swatting a few mosquitoes. Far more was called for. Studies were made of the disease until its carriers were isolated, and the swamps in which they bred were drained. The method was to get at the source of the trouble, to attack it at its origins. Much the same must be done if we are to reduce the more serious types of child maladjustment. Here, as in the medical field, the manipulation of the environment has much to offer as a long-range program. Among the many principles of delinquency control or prevention stated or implied in two recent works on the subject, eight are of general importance.[2]

1. Delinquency prevention should be started as far "upstream" as possible. Parental cooperation is better, costs are less, and the prospect of influencing the child is materially greater.

[1] These findings are indicated in studies under way at Ohio State University but as yet incompleted. The need is for comprehensive research on the changing school in the changing area. Changes in the school, when correlated with changes in the area, suggest the rule that "as the area goes, so goes the school." Variant schools are evident, schools which maintain or increase their strength as child service centers in face of increasing social disorganization in the locality.

[2] Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (editors), *Preventing Crime: A Symposium* (1936); also "Community Approach to Delinquency Prevention." Proceedings National Probation Association, 1936.

2. Problem children, the "borderline cases" known to all social agencies and child workers, should be kept away from police and court contacts until other approaches of a scientific and sympathetic nature have been tried out.

3. While many communities are underserviced by child-caring agencies, the opposite is true in specific sections of larger cities. In the former instance, the need is to stimulate and assist locality groups in setting up appropriate machinery; in the latter case, the need is agency cooperation and coordination.

4. While local communities will need many kinds of qualified service agencies and child workers, such as special police officers, juvenile court services, relief and welfare agencies, boys' clubs, and child clinics, the public schools can always play a unique and basic role in attacking the roots of crime.

5. Within the school, the task is to spot behavior problems, to give a thorough physical examination as a matter of routine, to individualize treatment, to adapt the curriculum through special education or otherwise to the needs of maladjusted children.

6. Within the community, the pupils' homes should be contacted, worthy leisure-time pursuits provided for all children, the local area organized for effective child care, and the general public educated to the fact that it has as much crime and misconduct as it deserves or will tolerate.

7. So far no preventive program has proved to be a certain "cure-all." All programs are more or less experimental. Progress will be made by stating specific objectives, studying outcomes, and revising practices in terms of findings.

8. While the service of interested lay persons will always be a prime asset, the success of any program will depend in last analysis on trained personnel.

In-school Services.—Reference has been made to the school's unique role in attacking the roots of crime. Schools have all the children of all the people for a part of their waking hours, and they have the opportunity—if not the responsibility—of advancing the well-being of the "whole child." They have the best of reasons for enlisting parental cooperation, the welfare of the child in his most formative years. In spite of these advantages, schools have been slow to serve the cause of delinquency prevention. To an unknown extent, they have inadvertently caused child maladjustment.

Schools contribute toward child misconduct in at least five important ways.[1] They pay little attention to the physical and mental conditions which handicap children in competition with their fellows. They inflict "emotional hurts" on pupils by disciplining them in the presence of their classmates. They are reluctant to break away from the traditional academic program and to individualize education, thus they encourage child dissatisfaction and grade failure. They are unable, in competition with nonschool influences, to interest learners in the "materials of thought life." They bring together, without adequate supervision, children of widely different moral standards. Cases are known of serious misconduct in unsupervised clubrooms, in hallways, and elsewhere on school premises.

That many schools are now thinking in terms of delinquency prevention is evident in the many innovations under way. These innovations are of two principal types: efforts to provide for each pupil the kind and amount of education he should have, and efforts to improve and to control the local world outside the school in the interests of child life. Underlying these programs are ten basic objectives:

(1) The discovery of children whose anticipatory behavior may lead to maladjustment. (2) A search for health conditions as a cause of behavior difficulties. (3) Provision of special classes or special schools for atypical children. (4) Development of controls within the child (ideas, ideals, standards) which will function in life situations. (5) A complete record of each child, including autobiographical data, personality inventory, academic progress, home backgrounds, leisure pursuits, and teachers' report of behavior. (6) Provision within the school system for behavior clinics. (7) Employment of home visitors, visiting teachers, or school counselors, to bridge the gap between home and school. (8) Vitalization of all education by linking it more closely with the practical problems of community life. (9) School initiative in integrating child-caring agencies. (10) School leadership in an inclusive adult education program.

Community Coordinating Councils.—Judging especially from conferences and reports, educators are becoming increasingly

[1] William Healy and Augusta Bronner, "How Does the School Produce or Prevent Delinquency?" *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 6(1933), 450–470.

interested in the organization of community coordinating councils. Beam's survey reveals over 250 of these councils in 163 cities and towns in 20 states.[1] California has the largest number of any one state—110 councils in 81 of its cities and towns.

Being local in origin, coordinating councils follow no set pattern in aims or in organization. Some state delinquency prevention as a sole aim, others are concerned with the leisure pursuits of young people, and still others deal with the social problems of the locality. Whether the area included is a district of the city or the community as a whole, the underlying idea of the typical council is that demoralizing forces pervade the entire region and can be controlled only by organizing the totality of area resources.

Alexandria, Ohio, provides an illustration of a coordinating council as developed in a small agricultural village. In 1930, after a farmers' institute, a committee was formed to restore the marker on the grave of a pioneering founder of the village. After the achievement of this objective, other meetings were held. Being interested vaguely in community betterment, an adviser was called in from the near-by state university. On local initiative, a formal organization was evolved. Present members of the council include the superintendent of schools, resident pastors, the mayor, president of the village council, the county agent, master of the Grange, the home demonstration agent, a representative of the parent-teacher association, president of the school board, president of the township board of trustees, and lay persons from the surrounding countryside.

Among the many projects sponsored or conducted by the council are the assembling of basic data on the community, calendarization of community meetings, a centennial exposition, annual Memorial Day observances, an annual playday and festival, the building of a school playground and athletic field, village beautification, rural electrification, a free public library, union church services, and a program of adult education (emergency schools). Present aims are the publication of a local

[1] Kenneth S. Beam, "Community Coordination for Prevention of Delinquency," *The Community Approach to Delinquency Prevention*, 89. National Probation Association, 1936.

history, the construction of a community center, and a campaign to secure the participation of all local persons in a program of homemade leisure activities.[1]

Similar in purpose but different in other respects is the crime prevention program of the Lower West Side, New York City.[2] Started in 1931 as an affiliate of the Council of Social Agencies, this council (committees and subcommittees) is an example of large-scale social planning for child welfare. The area covered embraces some 80,000 persons. It is a region of heterogeneous population, extreme mobility, congested living, and high delinquency. A first step in the project was a child census conducted under the auspices of the Department of Educational Sociology, New York University. This survey included the collection of data on parental occupations, home backgrounds, educational status, leisure pursuits, delinquency, truancy, and uses made of welfare services. It was followed by other surveys of population, land uses, traffic conditions, school problems, etc. Base maps, spot maps, and aerial perspectives were used to plot these data, and "plague spots" in the region were marked out.

An immediate outcome was the formation of a permanent Leisure Time Conference with various subcommittees. Among its many achievements during the past five years are the use of vacant lands, roofs, and zoned streets for play purposes, summer camps and excursions for underprivileged children, assistance in slum-clearance projects, circulation of toys and reading materials, leisure-time programs in churches, wider use of the school plant by area dwellers, penny motion pictures and a better-films council, a study of radio programs for children, big brother advisers for delinquent boys, suitable recreation for handicapped children, and an extensive program of parental education.

The "play-street" project is suggestive of the way in which other undertakings were planned and conducted. City officials were induced to divert traffic from certain streets at specified hours during the day. Children on both sides of the street were organized into teams for such games as paddle tennis, shuffleboard, stickball, and soft ball. Winning teams were advanced

[1] W. Evin Huffman, "A School and Community Program that Promotes the Spirit of Democracy," *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 10(1936), 35–42.

[2] Frederic M. Thrasher, "The Lower West Side Crime Prevention Program, New York City," in Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (editors), *Preventing Crime*, 46–77.

until a local winner, and finally a grand champion, were determined. A check made on four of these streets over a period of about four and one-half months revealed a gross participation of 94,583 children. All participants were examined by street physicians and all play was supervised. A "street newspaper," written by the children, was a feature of the program.

Among the present aims of the Leisure Time Conference are the further elimination of child demoralizing influences, a coverage of children still "lost" to service agencies, a closer coordination of all relief, welfare, and educational activities in the area, and a continuous effort to educate the public concerning its responsibility for the program's success.

While many councils the nation over are alive and healthy, others are anemic or defunct. Failure usually occurs in the council's infancy and is the result of faulty leadership. Leadership may be too aggressive, as well as too weak, or it may be unable to overcome any one of a number of local obstacles.

One difficult barrier to surmount is agency apathy or opposition. Often social service and character-building agencies behave as conflict groups. Having an established program to advance and a budget to raise, they fear the encroachment of a coordinator. Other agencies, with perhaps more confidence in their aims and practices, regard the council as a clearinghouse for the discussion and "routing" of intergroup problems. The council reduces competition by eliminating overlappings; it fills gaps in present services and aids in the creation of professional standards.

Another barrier to council success is the failure of leadership to win locality support. Usually this arises from the fact that a program is perfected outside the area and then imposed upon its dwellers. While citizens at large cannot be counted upon to take the initiative, they can be taught to view the program as "ours," to share in its ups and downs, and to carry on after guidance has been withdrawn.

If a community is to organize for effective service to youth, the real sources of power within the area must be tapped. This means not only representative persons in the upperworld, but also interested persons in the underworld. For example, it is well known that many of the "big shots" of urban slum areas—political bosses, number barons, keepers of vice resorts, gang

leaders, racketeers—have a more intimate understanding of the conditions and influences demoralizing young people than do ministers and teachers. What is not commonly known is that many of these same underworld characters do not want their own children, or those of the neighborhood, to follow in their own disreputable pursuits. They seldom cater to area dwellers in their "businesses." In the words of one boys' club organizer, "it's more than an even chance that they will support you in anything you do for the good of the children." Without implying more than the facts warrant, it may be said that these persons are sources of power and information and that their interest in area children should be utilized.

In conclusion, a coordinating council in itself will not solve the problems of child maladjustment. At best, and when needed, it is a mechanism for the expression of human aims and purposes. Thus it is no better than the impulses behind it. When democracy means more than the gesture of casting a ballot, it means a concern for individual welfare, a faith in the decision of all the people, and a respect for cooperative effort. The community council is an effective approach to these ends.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is a "problem child" to the average teacher? How are such youngsters dealt with? Illustrate from your observations.
2. When in theory is a child adjusted? Is maladjustment caused by factors within the child? Within the environment? Explain your answer.
3. Of what significance to educators are studies of area status and school progress? Should the school shift its program to meet area needs and conditions? Give an example.
4. In your judgment, what principles should govern a community-wide delinquency prevention program?
5. If schools are to provide for each pupil the amount and kind of education he needs, what changes in the present program should be made?
6. What is a community coordinating council? Under what conditions is it needed? What do such councils do? Why do they fail?

Projects and Problems

1. Interview a teacher concerning "problem children" and their treatment. Compare your findings with those reported in the chapter.
2. Review the literature on maladjusted teachers. How do problem teachers produce problem children? Can you cite an example?
3. If possible, make an observational study of some rural or urban problem area. Discuss with the school principal the socioeconomic and educational needs of its people.

4. Make a critical analysis of the child guidance program in use at Longview Farm, in Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (editors), *Preventing Crime*, 267–290.

5. Is there a need for a coordinating council in your community? Who should be included in it? What could it do? Prepare a paper on this subject.

6. Make a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. Varieties of Child Maladjustment. W. I. and D. S. Thomas, *The Child in America*, 1–94.
   b. Educating for Adjustment: A School Program. Harry J. Baker, "Diagnosis and Treatment of Maladjusted Children in Detroit Public Schools," in Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (editors), *Preventing Crime*, 387–409.
   c. Coordinating Councils. Kenneth S. Beam, in "The Community Approach to Delinquency," 89–115, *Proceedings National Probation Association*, 1936. Article rewritten for *Jour. Educ. Sociol.*, 10(1936), 9–34.

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CHAPTER XXI

TEACHERS AND THEIR TRAINING

In his *Talks to Teachers*, William James discourses on the real and the ideal, and concludes by enjoining teachers to transform the one into the other. Now, as then, the educator's role as an agent of change has been variously conceived. "We must project ideas of social change and take part in their execution," writes one group of frontier thinkers.[1] This challenge brings a rejoinder from an opposition camp: what ideas—democracy, cooperation, collectivism? They are but an intention about life, a faith, a dream. Define them concretely and tell how they are to be achieved. Usually no specific plan is forthcoming; if it is, it is dubbed romantic and impossible.[2]

We shall make no effort to find a way through these conflicting points of view. On the contrary, we shall start with the assumption that teachers are influencing social change because their teaching must have some effect on pupils. In view of this fact, it is important to know the nature of the teacher's total mind-set for this will color her teaching. While there are minor researches along this line, the only recent study of national scope is the survey made by the John Dewey Society.[3] After describing this investigation, we shall discuss its principal findings and then reason from them concerning the present needs in the training of teachers.

A. TEACHER ATTITUDES AND IDEAS

Testing Procedure.—The above survey was launched in the spring of 1936. The study instrument consisted of four parts.

[1] William H. Kilpatrick (editor), *The Educational Frontier* (1933).

[2] For example, James Truslow Adams, "Can Teachers Bring about a New Society?" *Prog. Educ.*, 10(1933), 310–314; Edward R. Reisner, "Can Schools Change the Social Order?" *Teach. Coll. Rec.*, 36(1935), 388–396; I. L. Kandel, "Education and Social Change," *Jour. Soc. Phil.*, 1(1935), 23–35.

[3] *The Teacher and Society* (1937), Chap. VIII, "Social Attitudes and Information of American Teachers."

Part I comprised 106 propositions drawn from current controversial issues in public life and worded in such a manner as to call forth value judgments. Test instructions indicated that there was no one right answer; "strictly personal judgments" were requested and the informant was asked not to sign his name. Informants were also instructed to mark each statement with a plus sign if "you agree . . . more fully than you disagree," and to use a minus sign if the opposite was the case. There was no doubtful category provided, and this would seem to be a valid criticism of this part of the test.

Part II, labeled "Optional," asked for a descriptive account of whatever "ideal society" the teacher had in mind. It guided the writer by four suggestions, including the general nature of this society and the means by which it was to be secured. Presumably informants did not feel inhibited in their response to this part of the test.

Part III was a "Public Problems Information Test." Its 100 true or false statements called for plus or minus answers, and the testee was cautioned: "Do not guess; if you know absolutely nothing about an item, omit it." Part IV was a personal data sheet, requesting information on such items as age, sex, school location, salary, and political preference.

Ninety-three hundred copies of the "test" were circulated among junior and senior high school teachers. To insure an ideal "random sample," the nation's 200,000 high school teachers were grouped in state divisions and tests sent out on a quota basis. They were sent in bundles to cooperating agencies, such as state departments of education, and then relayed to teachers. Ready participation was secured from all but five of the 49 areas. Usable results were received from 3,700 persons, or slightly less than 2 per cent of all junior-senior teachers in the nation. This gives a response ratio for the test of 40 per cent, which was viewed as of "gratifying proportions." The replies were thought to be representative with possibly a minor exception. About 58 per cent of the returns came from teachers in towns exceeding 5,000. This would probably weight averages slightly in favor of liberalism, though the nation's rapid urbanization offsets the weighting.

In reflecting on this testing procedure, one basic criticism may be made. While the idea of distributing questionnaires by state

quotas is commendable, there is no record of test placement beyond the initial receiving agent. For example, there is reason to believe that social science instructors are the most liberal members of a faculty and that mathematics and natural science teachers are the least liberal. Yet we are not informed as to the extent to which any specific group of teachers is represented in the 3,700 replies. The danger of error at this point in the sampling procedure is too great to be overlooked.

Another source of doubt centers on the question of who returns a questionnaire once it is in his possession. Are conservatives among teachers less articulate than liberals? Are middle-of-the-road persons least articulate of all? At the same time, are they most representative of the mass of teachers? In each case, the probable answer is an affirmative. In general, attitude research has not dealt adequately with the problem of proportional representation. Thus the conclusions reached in an average attitude survey may not be wholly typical of the population from which the sample is drawn.

Once questionnaires were returned, they were rated as to degree of "liberalism-conservatism." Scoring was done by means of a key made with the aid of "more than a dozen figures in American life." Although the names of these persons were not disclosed, they were chosen because of their known liberalism. One was an ex-President of the United States, three were presidential candidates, others were congressmen, publicists, and the like. All items on which there was complete agreement were taken as indicative of liberal attitudes, and 72 out of the 106 were so marked. Of the remaining 34 items, one-half showed but one disagreement. To have made this rating wholly fair, a similar jury of known conservatives should have rated the 106 items, but ratings from these persons were "harder to secure." Returns (number unstated) gave indices opposite those of the liberals "on most items."

Teacher Attitudes.—In reporting test findings, we shall cite the position of teachers on a number of specific issues and then comment on the three general attitude patterns disclosed.

Economic.—Almost four-fifths of the 3,700 teachers reporting denied that the economic future of youth was brighter today (1936) than ever before, yet only two-fifths affirmed that capitalism exploited the worker. Over 14 per cent believed that trade-

unions do more harm than good, and 48 per cent felt that most labor trouble is due to radical agitators. While one-half were of the opinion that most of the present unemployed would never again find steady work at good wages under the capitalistic system, almost a fourth felt that "adequate economic security for all" could be provided under our traditional laissez-faire policy.

Three-fourths believed that cheaper electric light and power could be had if the industry were owned and operated by the government. Only one-half believed that the coal mines should be so controlled, and one-third took the same position in respect to banks and insurance companies. These attitudes are strange in light of the fact that 43 per cent of the teachers affirmed that "the greater the amount of government control over anything, the greater the increase in graft." While 66 per cent were in sympathy with a change in capitalism, 81 per cent opposed any violent seizure of power by noncapitalists.

Political.—Three-fourths of the teachers favored the initiative, referendum and recall, yet 63 per cent denied that a one-chamber legislature would improve state government. Fifty-nine per cent would grant free speech to everyone, while 40 per cent would not. Almost all informants felt that war destroyed more human and social values than it preserved or created, yet 14 per cent favored compulsory military training in schools and colleges and over a fifth agreed that we spend too little on our army and navy.

Eighty-seven per cent recognized a "class struggle" in American life; 20 per cent believed that a classless society was possible, and 39 per cent that it was desirable. Over three-fourths felt that most of our social problems would be solved if we would only put capable and honest men in office. Sixty-five per cent took the position that there was something "fundamentally wrong" with our society. Only 19 per cent believed that the Supreme Court should be deprived of its power to invalidate acts of Congress.

Social.—While 83 per cent would give the government the right to experiment with social policies, 33 per cent were in effect opposed to the major provisions of the Social Security Act and 58 per cent were not in accord with the government's program of home building. Over one-third took the position that all

social planning led to regimentation. Almost nine-tenths felt that the practice of birth control should not be discouraged. Over one-half felt that the more severe punishment of criminals would decrease crime. Forty-eight per cent would deport all aliens who criticized the government, and nine-tenths did not believe the Jew was a menace to American ideals. One-fourth would deprive a citizen of the right to vote if he were on relief.

Teaching.—About four-fifths held that freedom at all levels was necessary if teaching were to be effective, yet 38 per cent felt that the teacher should make every effort to prevent a pupil from discovering his position on a controversial issue. Sixteen per cent felt that it was "not profitable" to discuss serious social problems with adolescents, while 83 per cent affirmed this proposal. Fifty-nine per cent said that no teacher in active service should be permitted to run for office, and 70 per cent believed that loyalty oaths reflected on the integrity of the teaching profession.

Almost one-half believed that the Chamber of Commerce had been more helpful to the cause of public education than the American Federation of Labor, with slightly over one-half taking the opposite view. Only 37 per cent believed that teachers should affiliate with some labor organization of their own choosing. While virtually all teachers said that the school should not cease its efforts to improve society, one-third held that persons who interested themselves in bringing about a "New Social Order" made poorer teachers than those who adhered strictly to their specialty.

In the opinion of the persons who made this study, teacher attitude scores fall into three major patterns. At one extreme is the conservative. As a type, he is in favor of individual initiative, opposed to government ownership of economic agencies, favorable to the profit motive and economic competition, opposed to socialism and government control, hostile to socialized medicine, favorable to military training in the schools, hostile to aliens, and willing to deprive relief clients of the right to vote. An estimated one-tenth to one-third of the 3,700 informants fall in this category.

At the opposite extreme is the liberal. As a type, he is in favor of thorough collectivism, seeks greater participation of workers and consumers in planning for economic welfare,

approves the expansion of government into all phases of public life, favors the outlawry of war, and favors also international cooperation, extension of freedom in teaching, and radical changes by orderly processes of government. The estimate places from one-fifth to one-quarter of all teachers in this group.

Between these two extremes is the great mass of teachers, at least 50 per cent. They are the middle-of-the-road persons. Their outstanding trait as a group is their consistent inconsistency in attitude. For example, while not solidly sold on capitalism, they stop short of collectivism. They are evenly divided on whether or not the government should buy farm products and sell them here and abroad. They are doubtful as to the wisdom of taking over and operating various economic agencies. While affirming a faith in gradual social reconstruction, they are tied to traditional views. They are less unified in creed than either right- or left-wing groups. In general their state of mind is one of confusion, as the above record of specific attitudes shows.

Ideal Social Order.—Given free rein for their hopes and dreams, ideas and impulses, what kind of modern utopia do teachers envision? Twenty-seven per cent of the 3,700 informants saw no point in the question or else for other reasons did not respond. Many of those who did reply wrote exhaustive essays the details of which were said to defy brief classification.

In general, two types of social betterment came to light. One set of teachers, by far the most numerous, would reshape the social order by remaking man. Their approaches were two: the altruistic or Golden Rule, and the hereditarian or selective breeding. The second set proposed extensive institutional transformation. Some would restrict the power of government in social life, others expand it until a basic security were assured to all. Still others envisioned a completely democratic, cooperative society in which national and local planning were conspicuously present.

Reviewing these expressions of wishful thinking, one is strongly impressed with their high idealism and utterly impractical relation of means to ends. Another significant fact is that all teachers, even the most radical, relied upon peaceful, orderly, and educational methods for effecting social change. A third fact, cited in the original study, is that a sample of 86 teachers, who projected well-rounded idealistic states, stood higher in both

attitude and information scores than did a sample of 242 who did not.

Teacher Information.—How well informed are junior-senior high school teachers on current and historical events? What body of factual knowledge of a socioeconomic nature do they use in their living and teaching? We shall cite a few revealing examples of teacher answers.

One teacher in nine said that the *New Republic* and the *Nation* were "organs of big business," while almost one in three omitted the question. Is this indicative of a lack of interest in current socioeconomic affairs, limited library facilities, a preoccupation with academic matters, a peculiar personal bias, or something else? Item after item in the 100 true-false propositions raises this same query.

Teachers divided fairly evenly on the question of whether the American Federation of Labor favored industrial or craft unions. Almost one-fourth omitted the question altogether. One-third affirmed the statement that most economists believe in a high protective tariff, and that "Roosevelt's handling of the banking crisis was in accordance with the Socialist platform." One-third believed that the NRA strengthened the antitrust laws; one-fourth maintained that an increase in bank loans is accompanied by a decrease in deposits. Over one-half held that retail prices respond more quickly to supply and demand than wholesale prices do, and 12 per cent said that an open shop is one where all employees must belong to a labor union. Sixty-eight per cent denied that capitalism is "the only plausible form of an industrial system," while one-fourth were unable to reach a decision. Two-fifths held that the American Federation of Labor is an organization of all labor unions, whereas, a few questions later, 41 per cent denied that the American Federation of Teachers was affiliated with the above labor body. The vote was virtually tied on whether more families were on relief now (1936) than in 1933.

Political and international affairs yielded an equally large number of factual errors and confusions. One-third held that state governments spend more for education than for any other purpose, and one-tenth were uncertain. More than one teacher in ten believed that representatives in Congress serve six-year terms; one-half said that labor unions "strongly support"

Socialist candidates, and one-third ruled out all government expenditures as economically unproductive. Almost one-fifth held that members of the Constitutional Convention in 1787 were chosen by a direct vote of the people. Nearly one-third considered Gandhi to be "a famous Hindu communist," and one-fifth brought Mussolini to power across the seas by "an overwhelming vote of the Italian people." Almost one-fourth must have had doubts about the latter point, for they omitted the question.

It would, of course, be grossly unfair if one did not emphasize the areas in which teacher competence was plainly evident. For instance, 87 per cent of the respondents knew that conscription was used during the World War, 78 per cent that public utility corporations are legally sanctioned monopolies, 65 per cent that an income tax is not readily shifted, 84 per cent that no more than six out of ten qualified voters participate in an average election, 93 per cent that the coroner is not the principal peace officer of a county, 84 per cent that legislative lobbies have grown in number, and 83 per cent that the French President is not the most influential officer in that government.

From the above examples of test results, one may argue that teachers are well informed in the field of historical knowledge and weak in their grasp of current social problems. While this inference falls short at a number of points, it is the interpretation advanced in the original study. "Where the past is concerned," write the authors, "teachers approximate the status of authorities, but where current social forces are involved they revert to the level of the layman." This supports the view that, where cultural change is most pronounced and the need for keeping up to date is greatest, there teachers are weakest in factual knowledge.

Variations in Scores.—One fact revealed in the survey is the marked difference in teacher attitudes and information. One section of states scored almost 7 points above the national norm of 69.4 in liberality of attitudes and one dropped more than 5 points below. Census divisions ranking highest in liberalism were: Pacific Coast, 75.94, Rocky Mountain, 73.37, and East North Central, 71.4; those ranking lowest were: New England, 64.25, West South Central, 66.57, and East South Central, 67.09. This ranking confirms the common impression of Western "rad-

icalism" and Eastern-Southern "conservatism." Apparently teachers reflect the climate of opinion in which they live.

Variations from the national "information mean" of 44.21 corresponded closely to attitude differences. Sections scoring highest in liberal views also scored highest in factual knowledge, and the converse was generally true. For example, the Pacific Coast states had an information score of 49.37, whereas the mean for the West South Central states was 39.23.

As to be expected, the size and nature of the community conditioned teacher attitudes and information. Teachers in places of 5,000 and less were slightly more conservative in attitudes and decidedly inferior in information than were teachers in larger places.

Men scored higher on both liberalism and knowledge than did women, and white teachers did better than Negro, especially in the amount of factual information which they possessed.

Are younger persons more critical of the social order than older persons? Do attitudes shift toward conservatism with age? The negative correlation of .05 between ages of teachers and their attitude scores indicates only a chance connection between one's views on socioeconomic issues and the number of years he has lived. Both elderly progressives and youthful conservatives were discovered, so that age does not appear to be a significant factor.

Another popular impression is that economic status determines one's social outlook. Survey findings on this point are not conclusive. Teachers, who were better paid presumably because of competency, were a shade more liberal than those in lower economic brackets, and teachers with an income from property were somewhat more conservative than those without. Those serving without tenure protection were less liberal than those with this protection. The 98 per cent of teachers who reported themselves "happy" in their work were distinctly less radical than the 2 per cent who said they were unhappy.

In respect to political preference, teachers who reported voting for Roosevelt in 1932 were slightly more liberal than those who voted for Hoover. Supporters of Norman Thomas were by far the most liberal of all. Teachers who did not vote ranked highest in conservatism.

Implications of the Study.—Among the many implications of this survey, those relating to the teacher's role as an agent of

social change are of immediate importance. Assuming that change is inevitable, what is the function of the classroom? Shall it teach the old, the *status quo* in whatever form it may take, or the new, or transition from one to the other? If either of the last two views is felt to express the school's function, one is not impressed with the teacher's readiness to act. The average teacher appears in the pages of the survey as conservative in attitudes, misinformed concerning many elemental social science facts, and isolated from the world of events outside the classroom.

Much of the average teacher's learning has been "learning about" things for recitation, and his teaching tends to follow the same academic pattern. This explains in part the school's apparent limitations in shaping pupil conduct.[1] Where teachers are better informed and more liberal, they are measurably successful in influencing pupil thought and action.[2] If an intelligent liberalism is assumed to be a desirable point from which to attack current social problems, it can presumably be furthered by improvements in the training of teachers.

B. PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

Neglected Areas of Training.—A thorough understanding of children has been the aim of teacher training for many years. Progress toward its achievement has been great during the past decade, yet it would be unreal to hold that we are even now traveling at top speed. One reason for this lag is the fact that the curriculum is overcrowded with traditional courses in teaching methods and in educational philosophy. On this point, Charters writes:

> I agree in part with those teachers of subjects in colleges of liberal arts who maintain that the mastery of subject matter is a sufficient training for teachers and that courses in education are chiefly thin collections of methods of instruction and administration which can

[1] Of 31 studies summarized by Lichtenstein, 14 conclude that instruction produces no significant and predictable change in pupil attitudes, 14 report the opposite, and 3 are doubtful. Arthur Lichtenstein, *Can Attitudes Be Taught?* Studies in Educ., No. 21. Johns Hopkins University, 1934.

[2] Abraham Kroll, "The Teacher's Influence upon the Social Attitudes of Boys in the Twelfth Grade," *Jour. Educ. Psych.*, 25(1934), 274–280; A. J. Manske, *The Reflection of Teachers' Attitudes in the Attitudes of Their Pupils.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 702. Columbia University, 1936.

normally be picked up on the job by the average teacher. I agree in part. But the point at which I part company is that this need be the case. If courses in education are bodies of superficial method it is the error of the educators but not the fault of education.[1]

Whatever the fault may be, it is a truism that students of education are graduated by the tens of thousands, more or less ignorant of factual materials in relevant fields. Charters names three neglected areas in teacher training and implies that there are more. One is the field of physiology and nutrition, or that part of it dealing with the relation of health factors to behavior problems. Another is the field of clinical psychology, not the classical analysis of the mind but the real motivations and maladjustments of living, changing children. The third is the field of modern, scientific sociology.

Educational Sociology.—It is unsafe to say that educational sociology has found its niche in the preparation of teachers. Each year adds a quota of research studies and textbooks, and no two books cover the same area. If a minimum standard content is desirable, educators can be of aid in determining its nature by indicating the sociological materials of use in a total teacher training program. The present volume has organized and interpreted the materials in one field of sociological study.

Part I directed attention to the range of community types in which teachers in training may expect to work and live. Whether unorganized districts, villages, small towns, small cities, or great metropolitan centers, each local area was found to have a history, a fairly unique culture, and distinctive personality patterns. Just as modes of life differed, so did social change and social problems, social planning and community reorganization.

Part II built on this background by studying the social aspect of personality development. After a general account of the coming-of-age process, children were observed in their life-shaping contacts—the family, play group and gang, the school, child labor, transiency, motion pictures, radio and reading, race relations, and the church. In each instance, the aims were three: an understanding of the nature and trends of a specific social influence in time and space, its effects on child attitudes and behavior, and the role of the school in improving the situation.

[1] W. W. Charters, "Neglected Areas in the Education of Teachers," *Curric. Jour.*, 8(1937), 197–200. By permission of the Society for Curriculum Study.

Part III has brought the subject matter nearer to the professional interests of prospective teachers. By centering thought on the teacher's personal adjustments to community codes and norms of conduct and by analyzing the play of social forces within and upon the school, an initial sensitivity to the social milieu in which education takes place has been furthered. Other chapters have dealt with the problems of adapting the school to the child and of manipulating the out-of-school environment in the interest of child growth.

School and Community Relations.—By text and through projects and readings, the present volume has explored the interaction of school and community. In summary form, the school's community contacts and services may be viewed as falling into five levels or divisions.[1]

A first level is that of the "commonplace." The teacher's community contacts take the form of making friends, visiting homes for purposes of sociability, joining clubs, attending church, and respecting local mores.

At the second level, educators are interested in winning community support for the school. Teachers speak at local meetings, stage demonstrations of pupil work, write school news for the local paper, and otherwise "sell" the educational program to the community.

A third level reveals the school as a locality service institution. Pupils participate in local area life and seek to make the community a better place in which to live. Hanna has assembled descriptions of scores of "service projects."[2] The headings used in classifying the activities reported by teachers as under way in their school are suggestive of project content: public safety, civic beauty, community health, agricultural improvement, industrial improvement, civic arts, and local history.

Many of these projects are poorly conceived and of little value either as community services or as educational experiences. Others amply support the thesis that the responsible facing of life situations is the ideal unit of teacher-pupil study and action. As compared with the book learning of the average school and the

[1] This classification is taken in part from *The Teacher and Society*, Chap. IX, "The Teacher and the Community." First Yearbook, John Dewey Society, 1937.

[2] Paul R. Hanna, *Youth Serves the Community* (1936).

"play" projects of many progressive classrooms, these efforts to guide children in the discovery and satisfaction of human needs are most commendable. Pupil achievements in social reform are readily overestimated, yet service activities have substantial educational values even if final objectives are not attained.

The fourth level of school and community relations is that of comprehensive locality study. High school pupils in particular are being trained in the use of standard forms of community research. Surveys, life histories, and rating scales take the student beneath the externals of area life and provide data for local action and social planning.

The fifth is the social process level. This approach recognizes that community life reaches backward in time and outward in space. After assembling data on some locality problem, such as unemployment, inquiry turns to the history of the problem and its expression in the state, the nation, or other inclusive universe. Issues are discussed as they appear within this larger framework. From this vantage point, thought is directed to a number of basic processes which are common to societies everywhere. This approach avoids the "lo here, lo there" type of social problems course and it provides the perspective necessary for effective community service.[1]

Field Work in Teacher Training.—If teachers in training are to understand the social conditions which affect their work or with which they must deal in the classroom, they must somehow be freed for a direct contact approach. A beginning has been made in curriculum modifications via "honors courses" for the superior student. While independent study programs are too variable for brief summary, the plan at Ohio State University may be cited as illustrative.

At the above institution, education majors who show exceptional promise as prospective teachers are admitted as early as the sophomore year to do "degree with distinction" work.[2] The program includes direct contact with problems and conditions in the teaching field which the student proposes to enter, individual guidance by an advisory committee, changes in the set curriculum requirements in line with student needs and inter-

[1] *Cf.* Leon C. Marshall and Rachel M. Goetz, *Curriculum-making in the Social Studies* (1936), Chap. I, "The Social Process Approach."

[2] Raymond D. Bennett, "Curriculum Provisions for the Prospective Superior Teacher," *Curric. Jour.*, 8(1937), 201–205.

ests, a written report by the student on the completion of his project, and a final comprehensive examination on the work undertaken.

If this educational program is good for "best" future teachers, it should be good within limits for all prospective teachers. Thus its extension to all teachers in training is worthy of consideration.

Assuming that community study can make unique contributions in the training of teachers, the need is for a further adaptation in the standard educational curriculum. Concretely, it is proposed that prospective teachers be given a period of field-work training comparable to that now required of social work students in professional schools of social work. Students of education would be attached to cooperating schools in smaller communities for a period of at least three months. They would observe, participate in, and analyze school and community relations. For example, they would visit homes and make studies of pupil backgrounds. They would study the flow of locality problems as they passed through the principal's office, and they would survey the out-of-school contacts of teachers. They would take an active part in community events and movements, such as play programs, discussion groups, and welfare activities.

Field-work experience of this nature would not be offered as a substitute for practice teaching. It would in theory precede practice teaching, be given under experimental conditions, and with field supervision. If this plan were put into operation, it should disclose whether or not a thorough knowledge of community backgrounds is as essential in teacher training as many educators believe.

Questions for Discussion

1. Compare your attitudes on public problems with those reported for high school teachers. How do you account for the differences?
2. Discuss those teacher attitudes in the chapter which you think are most significant. What is your reaction to the "dream worlds" as projected by teachers?
3. Summarize the principal variations in teacher attitude and information scores. To what factors is each variation probably due?
4. What are the implications of the John Dewey Society survey for remaking society by way of the school? What are the implications for the education of teachers?
5. State your reaction to Charters's list of "neglected areas" in teacher training. What areas have been inadequately covered in your own preparation?

6. What is your opinion concerning the value of field-work experience for prospective teachers? Give reasons for your point of view.

Projects and Problems

1. How would you deepen the sensitivity of a class of high school pupils to some set of problems (health, economic, racial) in their local community? In theory, how could they study these problems? What could be done about them?
2. Draw up in outline form a plan for attaching prospective teachers to schools in local communities for teacher training purposes. Consider the applicants to be selected, the arrangements to be made, the supervision necessary, and a testing program to determine results.
3. Prepare a class report on one of the following topics:
   a. The Teacher's Influence on Pupils. Abraham Kroll, "The Teacher's Influence upon the Social Attitudes of Boys in the Twelfth Grade," *Jour. Educ. Psych.*, 25(1934), 274–380; A. J. Manske, *The Reflection of Teachers' Attitudes in the Attitudes of Their Pupils.* Teach. Coll. Contri. to Educ., No. 702. Columbia University, 1936.
   b. Teacher-Pupil Life Study Projects. Paul R. Hanna, *Youth Serves the Community* (1936); Thelma Burdick and Josephine Gifford, *Making a Better Neighborhood* (1935).
   c. Educational Planning for Social Change. *Social Change and Education. Thirteenth Yearbook*, Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, 1935.

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15. Reisner, Edward R.: "Can Schools Change the Social Order?" *Teach. Coll. Rec.*, 36(1935), 388–396.
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