UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY
OU_150339
UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OUP—556—13-7-71—4,000.

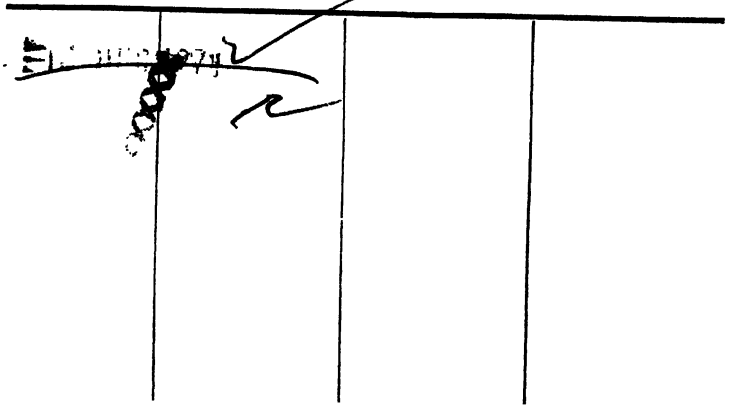
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. 301 Accession No. 1669

Author O'Dea

Title Understanding Society

This book should be returned on or before the date last marked below.



THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO · DALLAS
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA · MADRAS
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO

Understanding Society

THE PRINCIPLES OF DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY

by Howard W. Odum

KENAN PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY · *1947* · NEW YORK

COPYRIGHT, 1947, BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

All rights reserved — no part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who wishes to quote brief passages in connection with a review written for inclusion in magazine or newspaper.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Table of Contents

I Preview to the Understanding of Society

1 Sociology as the Science of Society 3
2 How to Study Society 25

II Society and Nature

3 Nature and Her Resources 57
4 Ecological and Geographic Factors of Society 82
5 The Regional Foundations of Society 98

III Society and Culture

6 Culture and Character in Human Society 121
7 Culture, Race, and Folk 137
8 Culture and Religion 152
9 Other Constant Elements of Culture 167
10 Work and Play as Elements of Culture 190
11 Folk Art and Rural Life as Elements of Culture 207
12 The Folkways, the Mores, the Technicways 225
13 Culture and Institutions 241
14 Folk Culture and Folk Society 260

IV Society and Civilization

15 The Nature of Civilization 281
16 The Rise and Development of the State 303
17 The Rise and Development of the City 317
18 The Rise and Development of Industry 332

19 Science and Technology 350
20 The Technicways of Modern Society 363

V Society and the People

21 The New Vitality of the People 383
22 The Growth and Distribution of the Population 399
23 The Individual and Society 418
24 Personality and Individual Differences 430
25 Psychology and Social Psychology in the Study of the Individual 444
26 Social Institutions and Agencies in Relation to the Individual 459
27 Education and Social Development 475

VI Society and Its Problems

28 The Meaning of Social Problems 493
29 The Dilemmas of Technological Civilization 510
30 Problems of Social Process and Interaction 529
31 Problems of Social Organization and Social Control 544
32 Problems of Democracy and Equality 563
33 Problems of Economic Adjustment and Security 581
34 Problems of Peoples and Classes 596
35 Problems of Peoples and Regions 617
36 The Problem of Social Progress and Planning 635

VII Social Research and Social Theory

37 Research and Society 661
38 Social Theory and the Science of Society 690

VIII Notes, Acknowledgments, Credits

Postscript 725
List of Maps and Charts 729
List of Photographs 731
Picture and Map Credits 734
Index 735

I

Preview to the Understanding of Society

I

Sociology as the Science of Society

The challenge of sociology. Students of today, in rapidly increasing numbers, are asking for the answers to questions about human society which is the field of sociology. Some of these questions are as old as society itself. Some are as new as the changing world about us. The modern student not only wants to know new answers but to re-examine old answers and to have a part in the search for answers to all. Still more, the modern student wants more than negative answers and he expects the answers somehow to relate not only to the understanding of society but to the achievement of security, reality, and participation in both personal and social life.

Yet no less anxious for understanding is the great body of professional men and women and the leaders of society, themselves in the midst of many doubts and confusions. They, too, ask questions and want answers. And right along with them is the great mass of common folk who want to know what all this modern complexity and conflict mean and what is the way out. "Can sociology," they all ask, "help us to understand as it has never done before?" Still more specifically, the voice of the people seems to echo the verdict of their leaders that unless we can provide a science of human relations to match the science and technology of the material world, society is faced with disaster or even destruction.

Now, one does not have to be a scholar or a scientist to recognize the complicated relationships which are among the many aspects of life or between human life and nature all about us. One can ask profound questions about the causes of things without being able to know the answers. Indeed, perhaps this seeking to understand has been the basic urge of man in all ages, and the prevailing mood of people throughout civilized society

today is still to ask more searching questions than they can answer. Yet the answers must somehow be sought by the student of society, upon whom rests a large measure of responsibility for the future.

When the poet Tennyson wrote:

> Little flower . . . if I could understand
> What you are, root and all, and all in all,
> I should know what God and man is,

his observation was no less profound or stimulating than the scientist's. Yet the scientist must go further than the poet and actually try to understand what the "little flower" is. He must, moreover, learn what nature is and what it does as it relates to his inquiry. Thus, through botany and ecology he learns more and is therefore able to explain more about the flowers and their relationship to environment than the poet or the artist, who may merely write about them.

Literature is not enough. So, too, when it comes to searching questions about this thing we call human society, or the behavior of human beings, or the nature of culture and institutions, or the trends in civilization, the educator, the publicist, the columnist, and the platform speaker, the reformer, the preacher, and the prophet — all may propose searching inquiries and offer many explanations as to why this world is as it is. And the writer may tell the story of what men do and how they behave. He may interpret society realistically or romantically, in drama, in poetry, or in fiction. Through these fields of literature he can describe the great emotions and experiences of mankind, much of whose heritage is preserved in this way. Yet it is not possible to understand society completely from literature or even from history.

Sociology must do more. The task of the sociologist is different. He must be more responsible. His task is both more comprehensive and concrete. And he must be not only scientist, but social scientist as well. He must go further and seek to explain what society is and what it does, and he must somehow explain how it came to be as it is. For the sociologist society is the living reality, not only of the modern world but of all time. Society is the supreme objective which science studies. To the sociologist "science" is "the science of society" in all its multiple forms and relationships. By the same token, then, one primary function of sociology is to explain human society with all its backgrounds and its interrelationships of men and environment. Another is to measure society's capacity for adjustment to the ever-changing world and consequently for survival and progress. Inherent in these functions of explanation and measurement is

the essential task of providing the sound theory and the basic facts needed for social guidance and planning.

SOCIOLOGY IS A SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

Society is a number of societies. Sociology, then, is the science which studies society. By society we mean primarily human society. This human society is all of us everywhere and the way we live and work together in our everyday life and institutions. Society is the framework of the people's association together and the measure of what they achieve in culture, technology, and civilization. This means that societies differ in different regions and on different levels as they seek balance between the people and their resources, culture and technology, and other peoples and other societies. Thus, the sociologist must understand not only the general concept of the whole of society, but he must study, in concrete, the living reality of each of the societies which make up the whole. Each society exists and is conditioned as it has its setting in all the relationships of time and of place, and of physical and cultural situations.

Society is global and it is local. That was one picture of modern society which reflected a world of nations in a global war that destroyed millions of people, ruthlessly trampled upon many societies, and threatened to destroy itself and the world which was its tabernacle. No less real are the periods of recurring reconstruction after war and the passion for some sort of organized world-saving society. That was a symbol of global society at San Francisco in 1945's first epic attempt of the peoples of many nations to associate together in order to work for peace. That was also society in all of the subsequent conflicts of opinion and policy among the nations. That was both symbol and reality of the great society which was reflected in the *United Nations*, with all its hazards and travail.

But, so also, and no less, the name and nature of human society can be identified with New York City, with its some seven-and-a-half million people reflecting the attainments of a megalopolitan culture and so silhouetted against a world of conflict and confusion as to approximate the capital of civilization. Yet New York, world gateway eastward, is no more nor less society than western San Francisco and its Golden Gate, or Los Angeles, seeking the meeting of the east and the west of the world, or Chicago's Windy City society of the Middle States, or London or Shanghai or Cape Town of other continents.

But also a rural village in the hidden Scandinavian fiords, reflecting the life and labor of a simple folk who work hard, want little, and live long,

is society. So is a Mexican Indian village symbolic of the earlier and later levels of culture; and a dying Spanish town of the death of a culture. So, too, mountain towns in the Carolina Appalachians or the New Hampshire White Mountains or the western Rockies — all these and many more constitute society no less than a thousand Middletowns, Stringtowns, Southtowns, and Northtowns, the country over.

Park Avenue of New York, Back Bay of Boston, Main Line of Philadelphia, Lake Shore Drive of Chicago, St. Charles Avenue of New Orleans, Wiltshire Boulevard of Los Angeles; or again Palm Beach of Florida, Reno of Nevada, Portland of Maine or Oregon, Dayton of Tennessee or Ohio — all these are both symbol and reality of American society. So, too, are the Indian villages, the Negro folk communities of the black South, a tenant folk culture of the white South, or the millions of folk who live in the marginal shanties and crude shacks around the mines and factories of the nation, or in the Oregon lumber woods, or in the migrant workers' camps of the Far West, or in the cutover lands of the Great Lakes region, or on the rims of desert places.

Frontier society and after. So, also, in the kaleidoscopic development of the United States, that was "society" which gave to the world the pioneer of the covered wagon, blazing what seemed to be impassable trails, and asking little save food and safety and survival, while seeking for horizons of a new civilization. Frontier society was magnificent in its vitality and promise of the future, responsive to the urge of nature and spirit, and symbolic of how all societies grow up and mature. Yet the new America is society, too, which reflects the continuing cavalcade of the descendants of those same pioneers, many of whom, eager for new adventure, ignorant of much of American history and of nature's reality are conditioned by a new world of urbanism and technology. They are followers in the wake of modern civilization which moves ever faster and faster.

Regional societies are elemental. Or, again, as reflecting the society of the United States, there is a New England society, a southern society, a western society with scores of variants in each. In terms of America's great regions — as they will be delineated in this book — there are societies in the Northeast and Southeast, Northwest and Southwest, Middle States and Far West. Harvard University, founded in 1636, with its magnificent endowments, old traditions, and distinguished alumni, is both creature and creator of society; so too was William Jennings Bryan University at Dayton, Tennessee, shrine of the famous "Monkey Trial" of the 1920's, symbolic remnant of a fundamentalism that was once all America. Crowds of merry boys and girls of farm and mountain and

mining community are no less symbolic of American folk society than those of the city high school; folk fishermen from Carolina or New England or factory workers from Detroit no less so than city transportation workers, bookkeepers, or bank officials of St. Louis or Denver or Miami.

Folk societies are definitive. Or, again, that is a specimen of society par excellence which reflects the Negro folk society within the framework of a dominant American and white state society; or an Oriental society of Japanese and Chinese in San Francisco or Los Angeles; or a remnant of American Indians surviving the ruthlessness of American expansion; or a Catholic folk and state society centered within a troubled Italy; or a Jewish culture in European and American cities; or the restless cauldron of human society in Palestine and Malaysia, in China and Spain. That will be world society which will be of, by, and for the people of all the continents.

American society and the good neighbors. There is new meaning in the old name American society as it comprehends the wider range of the Central and the South American republics. Here are extraordinary contrasts and blendings of North and South America, of Europe and America, of old civilization and older primitive cultures. A Portuguese-speaking Brazil with an area greater than Europe is one measure of modern society. The hotels, the schools, and the wide plazas of many a modern city of the Latin American Republics and their inter-American activities of commerce and government are symbolic of the new global society. Revolution and stirrings among the people, diplomacy and conference on government, are again symbols of human society in transition. So, too, the great highways into Mexico on the south and the long and peaceful relations with Canada on the north are everyday reminders of the new American society.

Tragedy in European societies. Again, human society is personified in the many divisions of Europe — the long-time symbol of Western civilization and the new symbol of chaos. Old societies in retrospect, new societies in reconstruction, they are a challenge to the premises of survival and progress. Call the long roll of European peoples, great and small, on this level and that, on these plains and among those mountains, by these rivers or on shores of sea or ocean. Group them for kinship, classify them as neighbors, list them on levels of culture, or count them in alphabetical order, the folk societies of Europe, like their great geographic centers and hinterlands, are the basic realities of European society.

Austria, an old civilization, first prey of the Nazi totalitarian state.

Belgium and her heroic folk at home and in their provinces.

Denmark, experimenter in co-operatives.

England and her changing empire with its millions of folk to be adjusted.

France, with her Paris, to many people still the capital of civilization.

Finland, caught between the upper and nether millstones of war and neighboring covetousness.

Germany, tragic in folkways and stateways, greedy for the superstate, without natural frontiers, a perpetual seeker after more land, a people, committed to live by the sword, dying by it.

Greece, seeking to recapture the "glory that was" and to find unity among her people.

Hungary, an eternal crisis of partitioning.

Italy, the tragedy of trying to recapture the spirit of Roman grandeur through a Machiavellian symbol.

Ireland, the divided and the perpetually unpredictable.

Norway and the Netherlands, two of the "little democracies."

Poland with her centuries of disaster and war.

Portugal, by geographic position long-lived.

Spain, the testing ground for world war, romantic only in traditions.

Sweden, a "middle way" democracy, strained to the utmost.

Switzerland, a little people made safe by mountain boundaries.

Russia, heroic in war, vibrant with new ambitions, with her millions of folk on multiple levels of culture — drama in the grand manner.

And the others — Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, Rumania, Turkey and Albania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia — and many "islands" of smaller peoples and cultures lost in the midst of world upheaval.

The crescendo of Oriental society. And there are the millions of folk comprising a new world society in Asia and Africa and Oceania, on mainlands and on the islands of the seas. No man has ever counted them all, perhaps no man can. Modern and primitive, civilized and savage, racial and ethnic groups giving rise to the challenge of colored folk in conflict with white folk the world over. Here is human society in rising tide; old societies in a new world, new societies in an old world:

The societies of India, clan on clan in clamor and conflict, hundreds of folk societies, old wine in new bottles, challenge to empire, challenge to technology.

The immeasurable sweep and vitality of China and her societies, now seeking democratic opportunity, now communism; symbol of the conflict between a modern technological world and a folk culture with a heritage of thousands of years a-growing.

Japan and her erstwhile empire, some hundred million people living on five hundred islands, a demonstration of the power of frustration and

aggression in society, symbol again of the inscrutable ways of ancient culture in the role of modern technology.

The little folk societies of a thousand places in the Pacific basin cauldron, a new society where East and West forever meet.

The societies of Africa and the stirrings of the black man, still again modern and primitive merging in the civilization of technology and empire.

And east and west, north and south, ancient and modern, Jew and Gentile, folk society and state society, all typified in the reconstruction of society in Palestine, a test tube for world organization.

SOCIETY IN TRANSITION AND SURVIVAL

Society as experience and behavior. In another aspect, society may be visualized as the behavior of human beings and the consequent problems of relationships and adjustment that arise. This is well illustrated in the popularly worded definition of sociology which the dynamic Franklin H. Giddings evolved after many years working at it. "Sociology is the study of the behavior of human beings with, to, and for one another, and of the resulting arrangement of relationships and activities which we call human society." In many ways human behavior is symbolic of all society and culture. "Human nature being what it is," we know what problems to expect. Of special vividness are the behavior phenomena of pathological people and situations, such as crime and delinquency, poverty and dependency, abnormal sex behavior and mental deficiencies. Exploitation and fraud, frustration and aggression, demagogic leadership and power, the restlessness and migration of peoples, reflect the powerful realism of society as a field of study.

One particularly graphic way of looking at society is through the process of conflict. Peoples fight in actual war, or dispute over policies or borders or resources, and conflicts appear within families and among neighbors. How to get along with each other is the eternal problem. Sometimes society appears to be dominated by situations in which conflict and dilemma are the main distinctive features: between management and labor, or guard and picket, striker and non-striker, company union and independent union within labor organizations; and between manufacturing groups; between races and minority groups, class and caste, youth and age, and men and women.

Society includes all. Yet the main consideration here is that society includes all the people and their group behavior whatever it is and wherever

they are, in mass and class, in large groups and small, in global aggregations and in community organizations. Society is of the state, yet not the state. Society is all the institutions and their agencies, local clubs and international organizations, peoples at work and at play, clans and cliques, all races, all classes, ancient and modern. And, finally, society is the composite of peoples and processes in transition and change, striving for survival and progress. Society is, however, a means to an end and not an end in itself. Sociology, therefore, seeks to understand society not only for its own sake but in order to point the way to the development of a more adequate mankind in a richer social order. Sociology, therefore, studies those arrangements and processes through which society may attain these ends.

A LOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIETY

The systematic study of society. Like all sciences sociology seeks uniformities and logical order in the study of its subject matter. Indeed sociology may well be called the systematic study of society. Such systematic study is necessary for two reasons. One is the need for a genuinely logical and orderly arrangement which provides uniformities in concepts, analyses and in methods. The other is the need to provide catalogue and classification to ensure the comprehensive inclusion and measurement of all elemental factors and main divisions through which society can be scientifically studied. The need for uniformities includes a framework through which in so far as is possible, society can be envisaged in its consistent process of development from the earlier stages of folk culture through its later progress toward civilization. The need for catalogue and classification extends to a systematic arrangement which provides both for the study of basic factors which go into the making of society anywhere at any time and for cultural and historical background materials essential to the understanding of society. Such systematic study is also of practical help to student and teacher.

The systematic framework for the study of society in this text is indicated in the main divisions of the book and in the logical order of treatment in each chapter which follows the same general order of the content of Parts II to VI; that is, sociology studies *Society and Nature*, *Society and Culture*, *Society and Civilization*, *Society and People*, *Society and Its Problems* and *Society and Its Historical and Cultural Backgrounds*. In all of these divisions sociology utilizes *scientific research and sound theory* in the search for truth and interpretation. Finally, sociology studies not only world society in general but more specifically American society in the United States.

Society and nature. Sociology studies nature and seeks to learn the organic relation of nature to human society. It studies not only such material aspects of nature as environment, but also the power and glory of nature in her laws and processes, and in the relation of these laws and processes to human nature. It studies the physical backgrounds and heritage of the people in all the multiple interrelations, the forces and adaptations of geography, biology, and ecology. It studies the sweep of time and technology in relation to nature's capacity. It seeks to understand the experiences of mankind in search of an enduring balance and equilibrium between man and his society, on the one hand, and nature and her resources, on the other.

Society and culture. Sociology studies culture and its relation to total human society. It senses the full meaning of culture and analyzes it as the thing for which men live and die. It rediscovers culture as the everlasting folk personality. It studies the whole evolutionary process of the development of cultures, the role of race and folk in culture, the relation of culture to natural and regional environment, the nature and differences of culture areas, and the relation of culture to societal survival and maturing civilization. These inquiries explore the basic significance of culture and sex, of culture and race, of culture and work, and of the other multiple factors of art and science, of rural life and agriculture, of war and conflict. Sociology studies especially the nature of the folkways and the mores, and of their powerful conditioning influence upon folk society, basic to all culture. In so far as possible, sociology describes the consistency with which human societies develop from earlier folk cultures in close relation to nature, on through the advanced stages of civilization in which technology and state society predominate.

Society and civilization. Sociology studies civilization and its relation to total human society. It studies, as the universal attributes of "civilization," urbanism, technology, and intellectualism, and centralization, power, and totalitarianism. It studies especially the development of technology, the accelerating effect of science and invention upon cultural development. It studies still more especially the phenomena of the *stateways* and state society, and it discovers the emerging *technicways* basic to all civilization. It identifies the technicways more specifically as transcending the old folkways and supplanting the mores. Sociology, therefore, becomes the study of the role of the technicways in contemporary society. Through the technicways sociology is not only able to describe what is happening but how it is happening, and thence is able to lay the basis for action.

Society and the people. Sociology studies people and their relation

to total human society. It explores the scientific basis of the old "vox populi, vox Dei," and the new "Only the people count." Not only does sociology study population, but it explores more realistically than heretofore the individual and society. It studies the socially behaving individual and his nature, together with the long catalogue of his environmental, cultural, and hereditary influences. It studies, too, individual differences. It faces the modern dilemma between individuation and socialization. It studies the problem of individual freedom and the group uniformity and social control necessitated by a world of great complexity. And it explores the folk as the universal societal constant in a world of variables.

Society and its problems. Sociology studies modern civilization with its complicated problems of adjustment and maladjustment, including the whole range of social change and institutional arrangements. Sociology studies problems of process and progress, of values and institutions, of planning and growth, more than it studies pathological problems. But in this quest to understand social problems, our "general sociology" also tends to develop "special sociologies," such as the study of race, the family, the community. Sociology utilizes these problems and situations to study human behavior as well as to provide knowledge useful for their solution or amelioration. Sociology seeks to answer questions about society for the common man, for the scholar, and for the leaders and legislators who must carry out the will of the people.

Sociology and social theory. Sociology utilizes the vast array of literature on the history of society, including the many volumes on social thought and social philosophy, as bases for understanding modern society. It synthesizes the results of practical empirical studies into sound social theory, and it sets up the testing ground for this theory by its practical application to actual situations. In its more formal theory, sociology inquires into the "natural" basis of culture and seeks to understand all that can be learned about social processes, social organizations, and social control and tries to measure all these in the laboratory of social action and institutions. It seeks, then, to discover the margins of survival and development in the continuing change and adjustment between the folk culture and nature and the state culture and civilization.

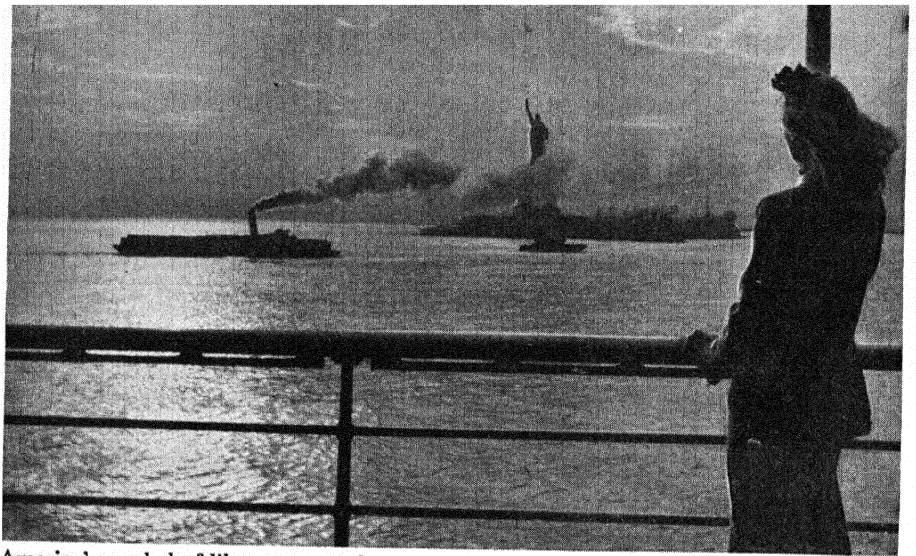
Sociology and social research. In all of these approaches, sociology utilizes whatever accepted scientific methods may be available. It seeks to discover and make available other emerging methods; to provide an increasingly unified body of knowledge gathered through these methods; and to make this knowledge accessible both to the student and to the public. It seeks to utilize its knowledge not only for the understanding of society

but for the reinforcement of education, the enrichment of literature and art, and the amelioration of the lot of mankind. It imitates no physical sciences, assumes no exclusive methods of its own, and refuses to substitute method for content. Its most comprehensive medium is what may be termed the cultural-statistical approach: to study cultural phenomena with maximum objectivity by means of the statistical method.

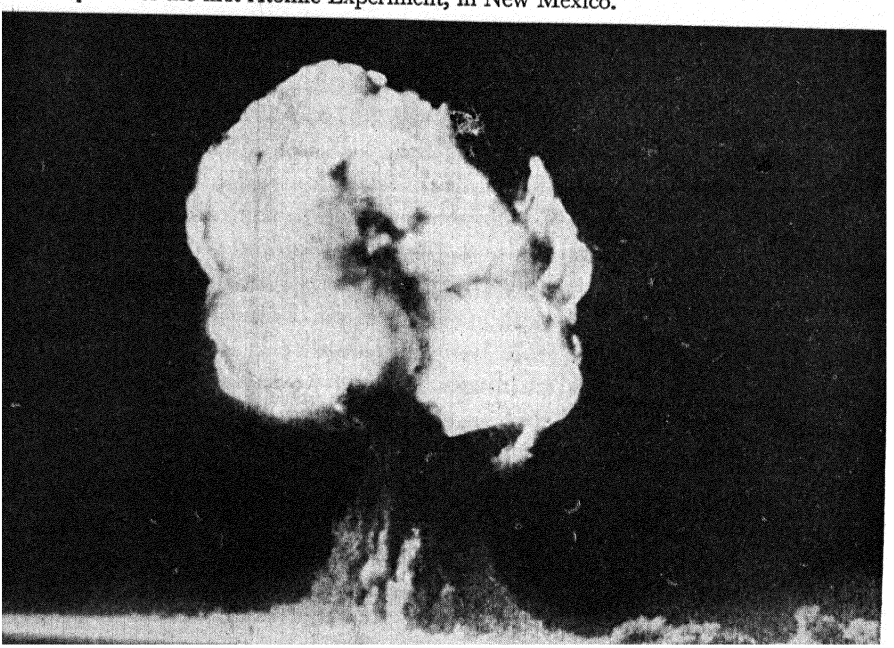
Sociology needs definitions and illustrations. Since sociology provides a systematic framework for the study seeking objectivity of methods, comprehensiveness of inquiry and co-operation with all science, it is necessary to utilize many words that will be new to the student. Other terms that are not new have special meanings. As in all science these words need to be defined and identified clearly. The last chapter in this text is devoted primarily to the importance and interpretation of such definitions, and at the end of that chapter there are several lists of sociological terms. Such terms are also defined in *The Library and Workshop* at the end of many chapters beginning with Part II. Nevertheless, even in the beginning of our systematic study, we need to define some of the terms which will be used frequently throughout the book.

We use the term *conditioning* in a meaning that derives from psychology, to indicate how the total environment has been responsible for much of society as we observe in it the individual and the group. We use the terms *folk, folk society, folk culture, folk-regional society* to indicate elemental aspects of the interaction of people in their relation to society. We characterize the folk as the universal societal constant in a world of variables since the folk is basic to all cultures. The folk culture is in contrast to civilization. The folk society is characterized by close adherence to the primary institutions and to loyalties and likemindedness. The folk-regional society, then, is the generic term describing the folk culture in its real setting.

Culture also is a key word. Although a number of chapters will be devoted to this theme, we need to note here that culture is the sum total of the characteristics of a society; culture is to society what personality is to the individual. Culture is used sometimes in contrast to *nature*, which is a key word indicating the total of the physical world and the laws of nature and the inseparable relationships between and among all factors of life. In contradistinction, the concept of *civilization* is used in its usual sense of the most advanced stage of culture as reflected in modern society, and also as a contrast to early culture. This is made clear by the fact that civilization is characterized by urbanism and industrialism; technology and organization; centralization and power; the dominance of the state and intellectualism.



America's symbol of liberty assumed new leadership when in 1946 the United States was selected as the home of United Nations and the President appointed an Atomic Energy Commission to work with the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. BELOW: Science Service photo of the first Atomic Experiment, in New Mexico.

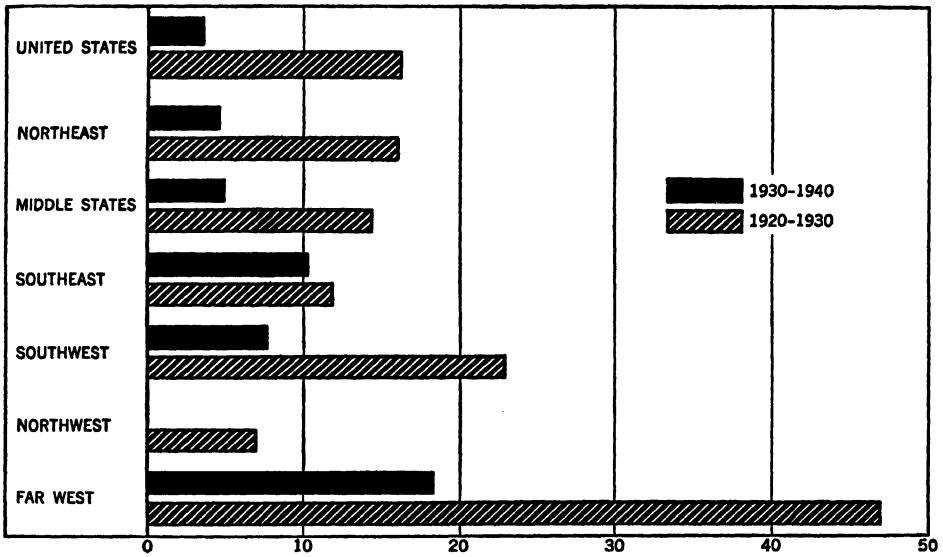


Technicways is a new word in contrast to the older terms *folkways* and *mores* which were habits of the individual and customs of the group that grew up to meet the needs of earlier slow-moving cultures. The technicways, correspondingly, are habits of the individual and customs of the group to meet the needs of a world of technology and organization. Technicways are not synonymous with technology but modes of human behavior resulting from technology.

We use the terms *realism*, *realistic*, and *living reality* not primarily as opposed to *romanticism*, but as vivid ways of emphasizing society at the present time as opposed to that of the past or that which is opposed to mere ideology or the possible utopias of the future. We use the term *dynamic sociology* to indicate a creative, functional science which studies the ongoings of the present world in action as well as and as opposed to that which studies primarily the historical and structural aspects of society. The term *ecology* as the science which studies the relation of organisms to environment, we borrow from the zoologists to help us understand how organisms adjust themselves to total environment and to indicate how sociology seeks assistance from other sciences in its study of society. Then we use the term *regionalism* in the sense of a general social ecology and to indicate how we study each society in relation to its environment and in relation to the total society of which each is a part.

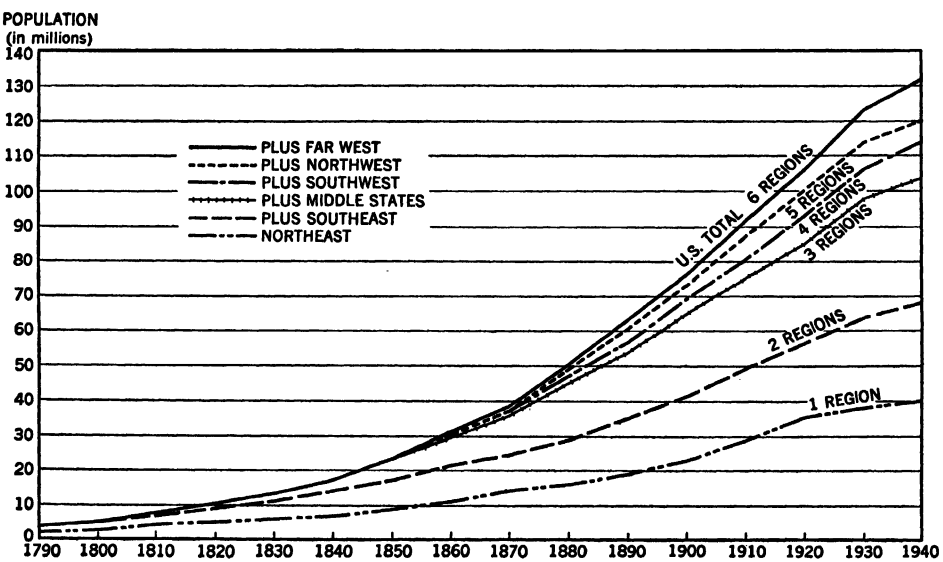
SOCIOLOGY A PART OF ALL SCIENCE

Natural science is a number of sciences. These definitions are enough to indicate something of the elementary ways in which sociology resembles other sciences, and how sociology will make its contributions through concrete studies and empirical research rather than through general theorizing. Let us look for a moment at what is called "science," by which is meant the category which comprises the natural sciences. This usage of the term "science" was similar to the earlier usage of "pure science" in contrast to what was later termed "applied science." These two came to comprise the term used often as *general science*, which implied a physical science whose province was the universe, whose unity was found in its method and in the universality of its phenomena in time and space and in cosmic evolution. This usage not only precludes the social sciences, but these overall terms are not enough to explain how the great truths of science and the great contributions which it has made to a transformed world of technology and change have not come through the great systems of metaphysical and philosophical products of general science. However priceless these are in



The Growth of the Population in the United States.

ABOVE: Percentage increase by regions, 1920–1930 and 1930–1940. BELOW: Population in millions, by census decades 1790–1940, showing increment and total in 1940, by regions. See maps and tables in other chapters for comparative analyses of the people of the Nation presented in varying graphic forms.



the world's intellectual heritage, the advance of science through discovery, invention and technology, has come through specific inquiries into concrete "problems" and phenomena.

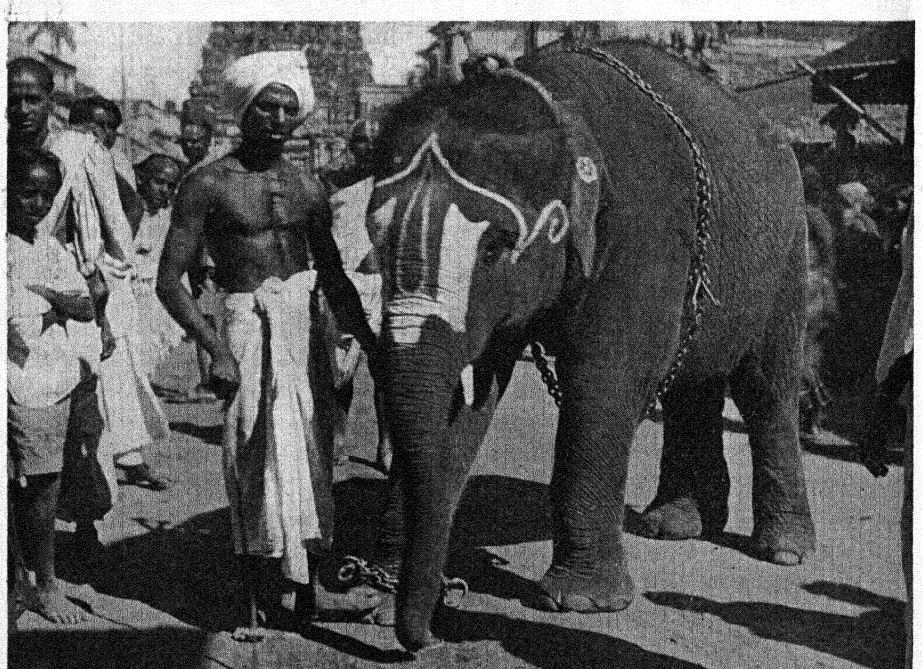
The great science, therefore, is a *number of sciences.* That is, there are what are usually called the basic sciences, namely, astronomy, mathematics, biology, physics, and chemistry. Then there is the increasingly large number of "applied sciences" of which more than a hundred variations may be catalogued. Through the continued perfection of skills and methods in the attack upon the world of matter, natural science has justified its promise by the totality of its contributions, the effectiveness of their integration into the larger system of knowledge, and the application of this knowledge to the world about us. Yet these many sciences, according to the verdict of their most able advocates, through their phenomenal discoveries, have led the world to the brink of disaster which calls for unprecedented advance by the social sciences.

Social science is a number of sciences. Sociology is one. Social science is also a number of sciences that have evolved through trial and experimentation in the study of human society. The social sciences seek their unity, as all science, through a scientific method which may be applied to the many units of social phenomena wherever found. The several social sciences, such as sociology, history, economics, political science, anthropology, social statistics, social geography, social biology, and jurisprudence, devote themselves primarily to the study of special phases of societal development and behavior. It remains for sociology to develop its field and method in the study of human society itself, society being both symbol and reality of the universal pattern of human association. The need for sociology as the supreme science of society is accelerated as human society and the world order grow more complex and mature, and as society's phenomena become increasingly susceptible to study and measurement.

Yet it seems unlikely that the great contributions of sociology will be made through systems of brilliant philosophical social thought. These are important in the literature of sociology, and they have contributed much to the study of human society. Yet, sociology must look to a more scientific and concrete study of society and all its parts as living laboratories for the next great advance of a dynamic sociology, if it is to be worthy not only of the science of society, but also of the reasonable expectations of the millions that are clamoring for reality and security in the modern world.

Sociology is a dynamic science. It is in this realistic study of living societies and of their physical and cultural environments as well as their needs in an epochal global transition that sociology seeks to advance. For

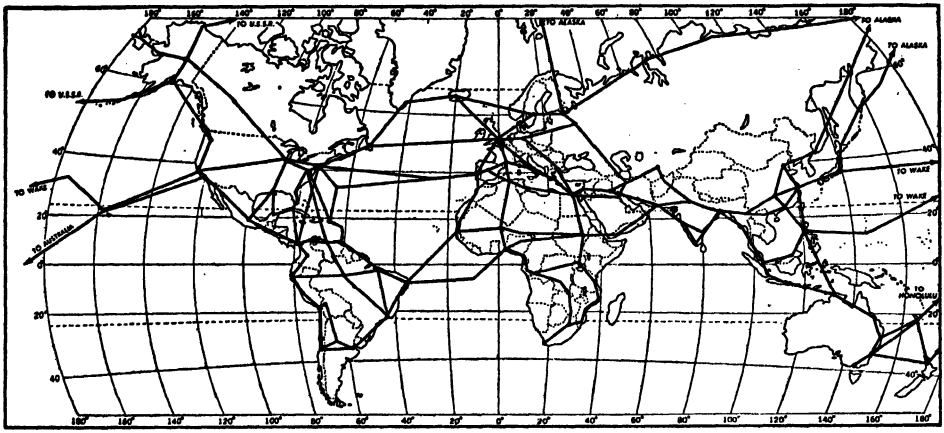
ABOVE: From Yugoslavia to Moscow's airport as shown in Sovfoto 30330 is a symbol of an all-world society even as BELOW Fritz Henle's photograph of a holy elephant reflects a part of that world.



society, after all, constitutes the most important field of knowledge that man can investigate, as he tries to understand its role in his own development and adaptation to this earth and as he seeks survival and progress in an Atomic Age. The implication of this is, of course, far reaching. In proportion as we understand society better, we shall be able to work with and for it more effectively. In so far as we understand the contributions and effects of natural science and technology, we shall be able to match them in the field of social relations. To this end sociology works closely with not only the natural sciences and the other social sciences but the special social disciplines — social work, public welfare, public administration, public health, public education, social planning.

It is necessary, therefore, for sociology to extend its study far beyond an inventory of the history of social thought; it must analyze society in its multiple forms and provide adequate illustrations and examples of all of these forms. Sociology no longer studies past and distant phenomena only; it studies the living society and societies of the present. The greater emphasis in the past was placed upon abstract concepts of society and in particular upon society as an organism. The old approach was often through analogies which tried to show how the human body and human society were similar. Now we know analogies are, at best, illustrations or comparative hypotheses. More recent trends have emphasized inquiries into the whole framework of human behavior and of universal culture traits as they have developed in relation to the total regional environment. The more dynamic sociology of the future, while recognizing the importance of all the historical and theoretical backgrounds, will attain new reaches toward bridging the distance between scientific facts and the practical uses of these facts in relation to our social problems and social guidance.

The world needs sociology. It is not enough merely to attempt to explain the origin, development, structure, and functioning of historical society. Sociology, to be adequate, must be able to come to grips with the living realities of modern society and its manifestations wherever found. If sociology is the scientific study of society, and if modern civilization, regions, nations, races, and processes constitute modern society, then sociology cannot be much of a science of society unless and until it can study these realities with effective methods and results. For, is not present society in a state so disordered and baffling that it cries out for a responsible and scientific sociology to rise to its need? Now perhaps for the first time, there is approximate unanimity among all scientists that the science of human relations must have new precedence.



Making the World Smaller. Making the World Larger.

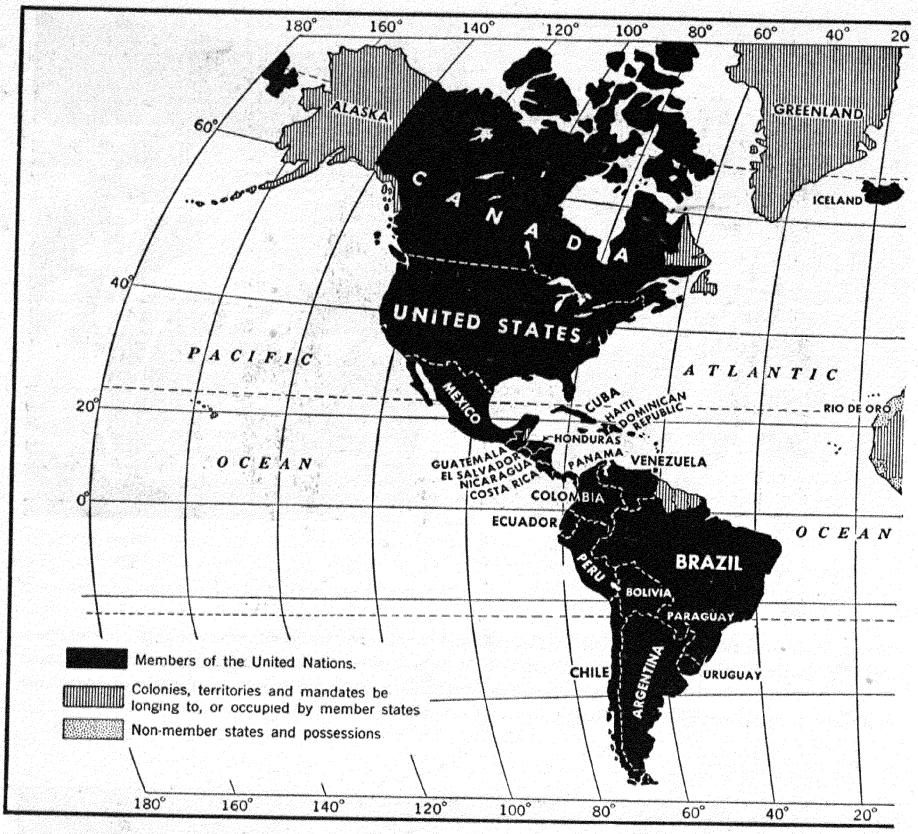
These will imply no essential contradiction in the framework of modern technology, o international and especially intercultural relations, and of the critical task of achieving the regional equality of men. Already as early as 1946 commercial companies had ordered planes capable of 300 to 400 miles per hour and carrying from 100 to 200 passengers.
All this accentuates the difficult problem of understanding, integrating and giving representation to the diverse cultures of the world, whose differences are often accentuated, rather than lessened for the time being, by modern communication and technology.
ABOVE: An air map of the world reflecting the airways of a new society.
BELOW: The Air Transport Association of America figures showing distances from Washington, D.C. to many points throughout the world. The time schedule can be found by dividing the mileage by the miles per hour of planes selected.

Berlin	4,167	London	3,665	Reykjavik	2,800
Bombay	7,988	Manila	8,560	Rio	4,797
Buenos Aires	5,216	Melbourne	10,173	Rome	4,435
Calcutta	8,088	Mexico	1,878	Shanghai	7,442
Capetown	7,894	Moscow	4,883	Singapore	9,834
Darwin	9,923	Oslo	3,870	Tokyo	6,769
Hong Kong	8,148	Panama	2,080	Valparaiso	4,977
Honolulu	4,829	Paris	3,828	Wellington	8,745
Istanbul	5,216	Peiping	6,922	Vienna	4,429
Juneau	2,834	Quebec	610	Zanzibar	7,884

William Fielding Ogburn, in his new book on *The Social Effects of Aviation*, which appeared late in 1946, has catalogued an extraordinary array of possible effects of aviation on the new world society. From international politics to local agriculture, from vacations to commerce, from war to peace, his enumeration sets the framework for inquiries into cultural conditions which must ultimately determine the nature and extent of such effects.

Some People Call It Civilization. Some People Call It Culture.

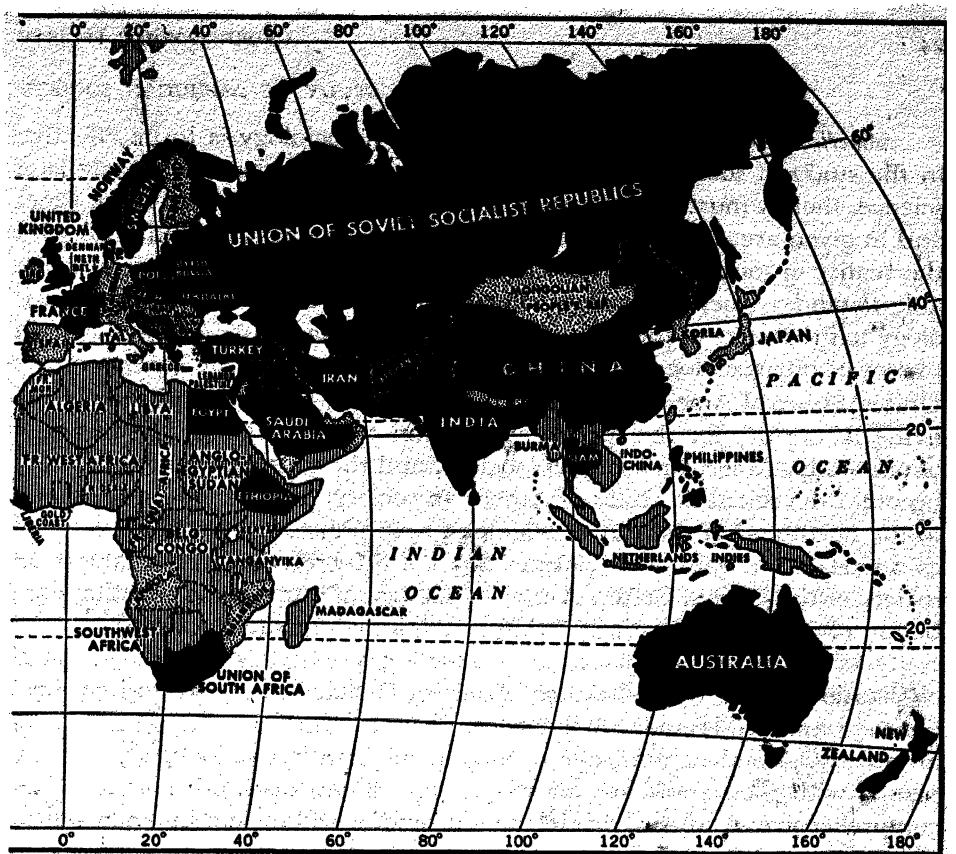
ABOVE: War and the shadows of war, bombs and blackouts, bacteria and rockets . . . destruction of resources to destroy men. BELOW: The peaceful pursuit of happiness and prosperity in democratic America suggestive of the alternative uses to be made of atomic energy and biological power, capable of destroying or of enriching.



The United Nations Symbolic of an All-World Society Basic to the Ideal Type Abstract Concept of "One World."

The second meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York in the fall of 1946 consisted of fifty-four nations admitted before adjournment. The new members were Afghanistan, Iceland, and Sweden. The fifty-four members as of December 1946 were:

Afghanistan	Costa Rica	Guatemala	Netherlands	Sweden
Argentina	Cuba	Haiti	New Zealand	Turkey
Australia	Czechoslovakia	Honduras	Nicaragua	Ukrainian S. S. R.
Belgium	Denmark	Iceland	Norway	Un. of S. Africa
Bolivia	Dominican Rep.	India	Panama	U. S. S. R.
Brazil	Ecuador	Iran	Paraguay	United Kingdom
Byelo-Russia	Egypt	Iraq	Peru	United States
Canada	El Salvador	Lebanon	Philippines	Uruguay
Chile	Ethiopia	Liberia	Poland	Venezuela
China	France	Luxembourg	Saudi Arabia	Yugoslavia
Colombia	Greece	Mexico	Syria	



The United Nations Structure is symbolic of the changing structure of modern society and provides the basis for new and dynamic sociology. On the first level, are the *General Assembly*, the *Security Council*, and the *International Court of Justice*. On the second level are the *Trusteeship Council*, the *Economic and Social Council*, the *Secretariat*, the *Atomic Energy Commission*, the *Military Staff Committee*, the *International Contingents of Armed Forces*. On the third level, stemming from the SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL, are the *Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization*, the *Food and Agricultural Organization*, the *International Labor Organization*, the *International Civil Aviation Organization*, the *International Bank*, the *International Monetary Fund*, the *World Health Organization*, the *International Refugee Organization*.

Of special interest to Sociology is UNESCO which met for the first time in Paris in the fall of 1946. How effective can the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization become?

THE STUDY OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

American society as a social laboratory. If sociology is to be effective in the study of society in general and if it is to function adequately as a science, then it must be competent to study special societies at given times and in given areas. This means that our sociology must come to grips with the reality of modern world society. But still more specifically, it must be able to study American society. The application of the principles of sociology to the society of the United States becomes, therefore, one of the main phases of our sociology. By American society is meant the society of the United States of America which in this particular application becomes the living laboratory for the special application of our sociology. In this part of our study, American society *is* society, and the scientific study of society becomes the scientific study of American society. The societies of Canada to the north and of the Latin American republics to the south are studied as a part of the regional society of the world in relation to the American society of the United States. A part of the test of our science will therefore be found in the application of the principles of dynamic sociology to the study of American society as it is now represented in the culture and civilization of the United States. America is rich in natural and cultural heritage and it abounds in the folk-regional culture that is definitive of all society. America, too, reflects modern civilization at its crest, and the people with their problems afford a social laboratory both concrete and comprehensive. And America in the setting of world society in a new epoch of airways and atomic energy, comprehends all the elements that go into the architecture of society anywhere. Furthermore, the sociological analysis of American society is abundantly documented by its inseparable history and literary story. Manifestly, sociology would lose one of its greatest opportunities if, while providing a systematic science of society, it did not apply its framework of study and direction to its own social laboratory.

2

How to Study Society

In Chapter 1 we have discussed some of the ways in which sociology is the science of society. We illustrated the range and dynamics of modern society and presented a system or framework for its study. This system provides for a logical study of the basic factors of nature, culture, civilization, and people and their problems by means of the primary tools of definitions and concepts, research and scientific method, sound theory and practical application. Inherent in our systematic framework was the assumption of an increasing need for a creative sociology capable of functioning effectively in an Atomic Age characterized more and more by technological civilization and world society.

Now we come to consider the more specific ways and means of implementing this system or framework in elementary principles of dynamic sociology. That is, we not only want to know that sociology is the scientific study of society, but we want to know how to study this society on practical levels of approach that will constitute effective first steps and, still more particularly, will make this book a good sociological text.

WAYS OF STUDYING SOCIETY

We therefore continue our systematic framework for the study of society by setting up seven ways, topically presented in this chapter and subsequently implemented in succeeding chapters with assignments and references in *The Library and Workshop*. These ways are: 1. The text in general; 2. Questions and Answers; 3. Definitions and Examples; 4. Reading and References; 5. Research and Statistics; 6. Observation and Experiment; 7. Illustration and Graphic Presentation.

First, in *this textbook itself* are found the elements and principles of

sociology basic to understanding society. These principles are presented in systematic arrangement by divisions and chapters to trace the development of society from its earlier stages, closely geared to nature and the region, through the various stages of culture and civilization and in relation to the people and their institutions, showing the resulting problems which arise in the development of society and consequently the need for sound theory to be continuously implemented through scientific research and practical work.

Second, *questions and answers* are utilized. Some of the questions seek simple answers in terms of statistical facts. How much, how many, of what sort, under what conditions? Other questions may be in terms of the statement of the problem. Given certain facts, what is the problem involved? Still others may be in terms of general conclusions. The facts about race, for instance, justify what conclusions on what levels? What are the most immediate critical problems of modern society? Others may be in terms of strategy or of practical problems. For instance, there is conflict between labor groups, between races, between Russia and the United States: So what? What of it? Who said there was no conflict? So what is to be done about it and how do it best? Other questions may be "general questions." What is the answer to the atomic bomb? What can sociology do for the individual? How can sociology contribute to the folk morale of the people?

Third, *definitions and examples* are utilized. Definitions are essential to adequate analysis and scientific study. Definitions are a part of the premises upon which inquiries are made and conclusions reached. They are necessary for uniformities and for clearness. Examples are utilized both for the purpose of illustration and sampling. Sometimes definitions are illustrated by examples. For instance, *morale* may be defined as the state of understanding a situation, believing and participating in it. *Folk morale* then would reflect the education, faith and action of the mode of the people who determine policy and action in the long run of survival.

Fourth, *readings and references* are utilized. The standard tools for study will continue to be source materials in the library. Readings and references will be of three types; references providing materials directly related to the subject; references related to special topics or research assigned; and general references from which special conclusions may be reached. In each of these there is wide range in accordance with the subject matter and methods used.

Fifth, *research and statistics* are basic. Not only special and general reading will be needed but an understanding of elementary statistics and some

original research will be necessary for studying society. In elementary or introductory sociology the student will need only the rudiments of statistics necessary to use census materials and to compute averages, modes, medians and to arrange and interpret statistical data effectively. For advanced sociology, a thorough acquaintance with statistics and a minimum practice in the statistical laboratory are required. Statistics is an essential tool for sociological research just as for all science. The statistical laboratory is an integral part of the research program.

Sixth, *observation and clinical work* are also important in the ever widening field of sociology. This does not mean merely a few casual visits to "institutions" or community field trips. These are often not only superficial for the student, but nuisances to the places visited. What is wanted is carefully planned schedules, prepared systematically in the social science workshop or laboratory with a minimum acquaintance with requisite organizations, institutions, clinics, urban and rural life. This means that social process, social action, and social organization in the living laboratory of the people and their institutions become an integral part of the study of society.

Seventh, *illustrations and graphic presentation* are increasingly important. In addition to visual methods of instruction, including radio, moving pictures and other visual aids in the classroom, photographs, maps, graphic charts and statistical arrays are an important part of the dynamics of social study and research. They are tools both for the search for truth and for its orderly interpretation to the student and public. In this field the statistical laboratory is supplemented by the workshop and exhibits laboratory for both the preparation of maps and illustrations and for their continuous exhibition on walls and panels and in books and teaching tools.

The Library and Workshop. We subsequently incorporate at the end of each succeeding chapter of the book a division with the over-all title, *The Library and Workshop*, through which these methods are utilized. *The Library and Workshop* is usually divided into four or five sections through which practical aids and usable tools are made available. As discussed generally under the main headings in this chapter, there are: *Definitions and Examples; Assignments and Questions; Special Readings and General Readings;* and *Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization.*

Questions and answers are included in the section Assignments and Questions. The section Definitions and Illustrations is part of *The Library and Workshop* in all the earlier chapters including those in Part III, but thereafter only in the first chapters of Parts IV, V, and VI and in the final chapter of Part VII.

The readings and references section is divided in each case into Special Readings from the Library [and] General Readings from the Library.

Observation and action programs are indicated in assignments under the heading: In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

In The Library and Workshop of each chapter what sort of questions are asked and what sort of answers are expected? A few questions may be asked in the way of review of the chapter. Others will be asked in order to illustrate the subject matter of the chapter with new materials to be sought elsewhere. Many will be assignments to indicate a wide range of applications and to aid student and teacher in exploring the field further. Not all questions can be answered in categorical terms of either yes and no, but may have many answers. Questions which expect *yes and no* answers may be asked to bring out the methods of arriving at the answers rather than the answers themselves. Sometimes assignments are intended to "raise questions," as: How can sociology contribute most to the crisis of modern society? And sometimes rhetorical questions are justified, as: What shall it profit society to gain the whole world of physical technology and lose its own character? Or: How can mankind justify the study of all things else before he studies his own society?

What questions of *general perspective* illustrate the sociological approach, as for instance, not only what is true, but what *else* is true? Not only what are the facts but what other facts exist and what is the relation of one set of facts to other sets of facts? What, then, is the meaning of these facts? Not only what is true but what is to be done about it either in further scientific study or in defining the problem or in the way of practical applications?

What are types of questions set in the *perspective of time?* That is, not only what was true yesterday but what is true today and is likely to be true tomorrow? In the light of these, what is true of change and the rate of change? What becomes of the customs and traditions, the folkways and mores, and what stateways and technicways arise in their place? What are facts and implications of succession and survival?

What types of questions are asked in the *perspective of place?* Not only what is true here but what is true elsewhere? Not only what is true of one culture but of other cultures, of one race but of other races, of many peoples and regions but of one world?

What questions may need answering in the *perspective of problems and values?* That is, not only what has happened but what else will happen under what circumstances? What questions may be stated in terms of the *scientific* problem? Given certain facts in relation to certain other facts, what is the answer? Or in terms of the *ameliorative* problem? That is, given certain situations that need remedying, what is the answer? What are the ways of improvement?

Illustrations and interpretations. We may illustrate some of these questions and problems in terms of examples and others in terms of definitions. For instance, how illustrate the scientific and ameliorative problems in terms of problems of human behavior, as in delinquency? Given youth everywhere, under certain conditions of growth and social relationships, how do they behave? Given primitive youth under patterns of their culture, how do they behave? Given youth in war-ravaged countries, how do they behave? Or given youth under conditions of American society, urban or rural, or in racial settings, how do they behave? These are scientific problems to be studied by sociology.

On the other hand, what are the *ameliorative social problems* in the same field? Given a situation in which juvenile delinquency is rising and criminals are in the making, what is the remedy? What community situations and what adjustments need study with a view to correction? What facts can be given to the social worker or public administrator or educator to help the situation?

What are scientific societal problems and ameliorative social problems with reference to race and human behavior? Given the universal facts of race and ethnic groups in concrete situations and in world relationships, what are the problems of behavior which result? This is the scientific problem. On the other hand, given the situation in which the American Negro, for instance, does not have equal economic opportunity, what are the remedies? This is the ameliorative problem.

What are scientific problems in other fields such as sex and what are social problems in the man-woman ratio in all phases of social and economic participation? In the social relationships between management and labor, and between and among conflicting labor groups, what are problems for academic, scientific study and what are problems that need immediate "solution"? So, too, in the disputes between government and business and in conflicting political ideologies, how does the ameliorative approach require the scientific study of society which presents true perspective?

Questions illustrated in terms of sociology's task. Again, what will be the nature and range of questions in terms of the perspective of sociology and the needs of folk morale in times of confusion and crisis? Is it true that the crises and complexity of modern society have accentuated the need for a realistic sociology and have also increased the expectations of the people as to what sociology can and should do? If, so the expectations run, sociology is a science of society, why can't it study the civilizations and cultures of the modern world and tell us much that we want to know? And, if we did not have sociology, wouldn't we have to discover something which would be the same as sociology?

The answers to these questions seem clear. For one thing, it is important for the public not to expect too much of sociology as the science of society, since, like all sciences, it must necessarily be limited in its capacity to understand or to explain all things, or to alter the course of human development. The public does not deprecate biological sciences because they cannot explain and cure all disease; or psychology because it cannot explain all the intricacies of love or the vagaries of human behavior; or chemistry because it cannot explain all matter. No more should the public expect sociology to do the impossible. This caution is especially appropriate in times of crisis and change, since, in such periods, people need, and ask for, absolute values and definite creeds to restrengthen their faith.

Yet, by the same token, since much is expected of the newer and more realistic sociology, and since such expectations are entirely logical and reasonable, a caution should be extended against the contrariwise assumption that too little must not be expected of sociology. It is important to repeat again and again, that not only does the present time offer the greatest opportunity up to now for the development of sociology as a science, but there is much evidence to indicate that sociology, more than any other science, may be able to approximate the proportions of a realistic and responsible social science now so long awaited.

The role of sociology is a difficult one. Now the sociologist, in the midst of such extraordinary obligations and opportunities as modern complex civilization and world crisis afford, manifestly finds himself in a more difficult position than that of other scientists. The sociologist, for all practical purposes, must often appear in the role of three persons — the social scientist, the individual, and the citizen participating in a social order. For the nature of his field of study and the phenomena which he studies are such that he has to become a part of his own field and laboratory. As a social scientist he knows that sociology's main purpose is not to solve problems; that it makes no decisions for him; sets no utopias, no

promised land; points to no pot of gold at the rainbow's end. As a realist, however, the sociologist knows that his science may equip him and others with facts which, by analysis and arrangement in adequate perspective, may be made available for use by individual citizens, groups, and organizations, and as contributions to scientific work-disciplines for the attainment of specific ends.

As a realist the sociologist knows further, if he faces the facts, that he is conditioned as an individual not only by the society around him, which sociology studies, but by the very facts which his science uncovers. Because of this he knows that he is inclined to rationalize his facts and experience toward desired objectives, and that he must guard against prejudices and emotional judgments. Consequently, he realizes, of course, that often it is not possible literally to separate the sociologist himself from his other personalities, as individual and citizen.

The sociologist is a realist. Yet, in the sense of approximating premises, from which vantage points he can search for truth and error and make them known, the sociologist tries his level best to look at the life about him with as much scientific objectivity as is possible.

Since the viewpoint of the sociologist is that of the scientist and the social scientist, he must look at society in *the same way*, at all times, whether in emergency or catastrophe, his assumption being that he must be able to look at, with equal effectiveness, *whatever aspect of society* he faces or which faces him. It follows, therefore, that it is not possible for the sociologist to be pessimistic, to be discouraged, to be disillusioned or bitter toward the life evolving about him. No more is it possible for the sociologist to become an easy optimist surrendering himself to wishful thinking or subscribing to uncritical flight-from-reality cults. By the same token, the sociologist knows no remorse for the past, no negation of the present, no cynicism for the future.

In the light of his scientific study, the sociologist knows that the time quality, the geographic factor, and the equipment and behavior of the people, all combine to determine the total result and the final verdict in any societal situation. He knows that today is not tomorrow, but that rather, in the analogy of Biblical wisdom, a thousand years when it is past is as a watch in the night.

Realism is tested in the light of history. The universality and uniformity of the sociologist's observations may be tested in as many historical or cultural periods as may be needed. Thus, when the glory that was Greece became dust and the grandeur that was Rome turned to ashes, the end of the world had come, or so it seemed to the people whose civilization was

being destroyed. Yet, in the order of the great succession, another golden age was yet to come, conditioned by and reconstructed upon these great milestones of culture. In the cycle of the ages the achievements of any period register as worthy of all the costs that went into their making.

Once again, to take another epochal example, in the darkest hour of the Crucifixion, the end of the world had come for the followers of the founder of Christianity. Yet for all practical purposes and for the enduring influence of the Christianity, it was only the evening and the morning of the first day of a new world. From symbol to the reality of a powerful medieval culture, the stream of Christianity swept down the centuries to give color and pattern to Western civilization and to remold the world into a new culture that was to be Europe and America. Surely this was not "gloom" or despair in the sociological sense.

So, again, it was in all the seven great cultures of historic society whose genesis and evolution sociology seeks to understand. Here, in the study of fulfillment, of cause and effect, sociology becomes a science. The record of these great cultures constitutes drama in the grand manner, epic and epochal in each major level of life and culture, from Babylon to Athens. The very processes and products of growth and development, of what was called success and failure, of "rises" and "falls," and of the ever-resurging indestructible spirit of man, have prepared the soil, sowed the seed, started the first growths of the society about which much of the world now seems to despair.

In so far as the sociologist does understand society and in so far as he is conversant with the great truths of history and life in their perspective, he becomes a scientist. He knows that out of the golden ages and dark ages alike, out of each succession of time and spatial events, has come that which has been called progress, and he knows that these assumptions hold in a modern world of confusion.

Questions and answers in relation to the individual. What similar questions need to be asked and answered in relation to the individual and his adjustment to crisis? Does the understanding of society give the basis for a folk morale that can be attained in no other way? Is it possible for sociology so to explain the facts and trends of world society, with all its confusion and doubt, as to aid the individual in reaching satisfactory conclusions and attitudes toward the reality of present-day civilization? That is, while it is not expected that sociology can tell an individual what to do, is it possible to equip him with facts, perspective, and a capacity to understand society in its relation to the individual? By the same token, is it

possible that the individual's relation to society may best be interpreted in this way?

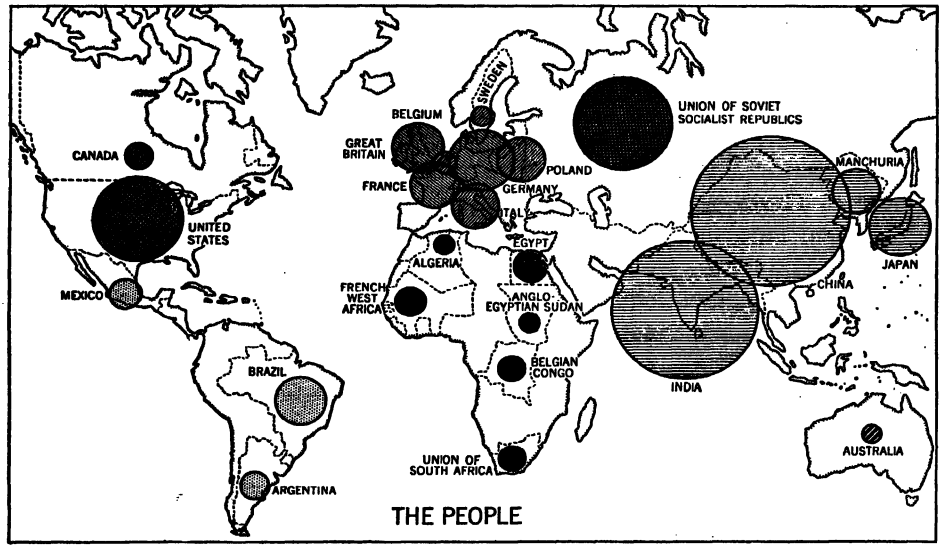
The answers to these questions are again implied in the tasks of sociology. The sociologist is trying to look at the modern world in its interrelated or Gestalt range of forces; he is trying to see it through forces of nature and culture. He is trying to understand society in terms of social change and technological civilization as well as in terms of tradition and culture. Because sociology does comprehend society in all its ramifications it is the only science which can contribute a universal folk morale, by which is meant not only a clear understanding of society but the will to participate in the processes of living and to work for survival and progress.

DEFINITIONS AND EXAMPLES

Society and sociology. Some of the questions and assignments in *The Library and Workshop* may well be given in terms of definitions. For instance, if sociology is the study of society, what are the meanings of society other than those we have already given? Is society, being a concept of social relationships, therefore, not real? Is it the concrete society which we study and in which we live that is real? Or is world society the supreme reality? Or is the study of American society the most real of all?

Are comparisons of different concepts and definitions helpful in our total understanding of society? If so, let us compare, for instance, the concept of society as given in previous pages with the following paragraph from *The Sociological Review* for January–April, 1940:

> "Society," writes MacIver, "we shall use in the very widest sense, to include every kind and degree of relationship entered into by men — and any other social creatures — with one another." Ellwood defines a society as "any group of individuals who carry on a common life by means of mental interaction." Cole writes: "I mean to use the term 'society' to denote the complex of organized associations and institutions within the community." Thus "society" in MacIver's conception consists of relationships, in Ellwood's conception of persons, while Cole uses the term to embrace both persons and relationships. Of course, the persons are in relationships, and the relationships are between persons; none the less, it is well to be clear whether the term is to apply to the one, or to the other, or to both. Ginsberg distinguishes explicitly between "society" in general and any particular society; the former he would use "of the whole tissue of human relations," whilst the latter he



Research and Statistics, Charts, Graphs, and Maps are Effective Tools for the Study of Society.

ABOVE: The peoples in the various countries of the world in symbols of relative distribution. These symbols of the people are to be compared with companion maps showing "The Land" and "Industrial Strength" in order to show regional imbalance and its hazards. See Chapter 3.

BELOW: Population, area, and density of population by world regions.

REGION	POPULATION		AREA		DENSITY PER
	Thousands	*Percent*	*Square Miles*	*Percent*	*Square Mile*
WORLD TOTAL	2,106,107	100.0	51,406,729	100.0	41.0
Europe	395,187	18.8	2,086,362	4.0	189.4
Russia	170,467	8.1	8,167,405	15.9	20.9
North America	140,754	6.7	7,592,789	14.8	18.6
South America	128,933	6.1	8,224,764	16.0	15.7
Mediterranean	64,853	3.1	2,631,890	5.1	24.6
Oriental Asia	1,060,014	50.3	8,440,413	16.4	125.6
Africa	137,430	6.5	11,185,170	21.8	12.3
Australia	8,469	0.4	3,077,936	6.0	2.8

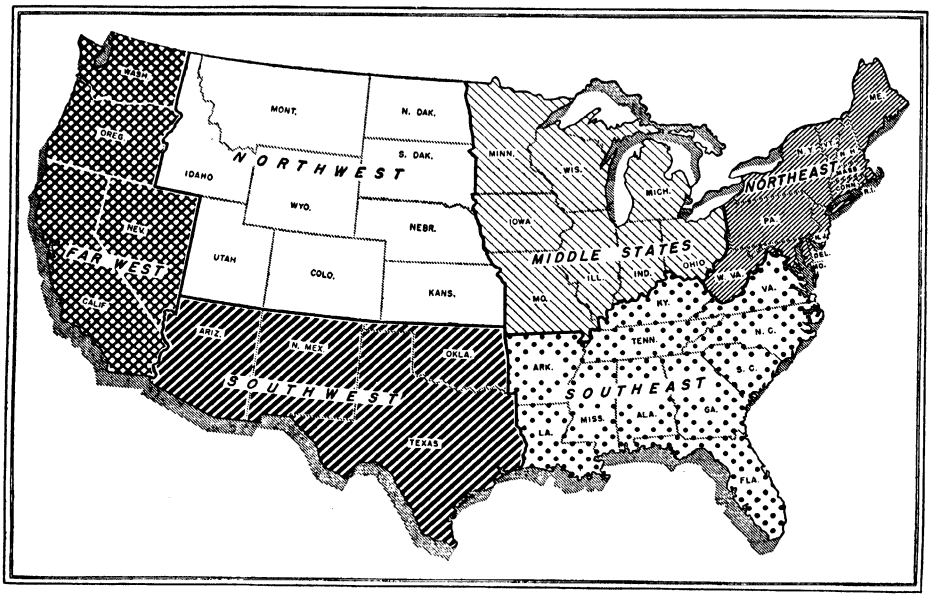
considers to be "a collection of individuals united by certain relations or modes of behaviour."

The problem of definition is at best a difficult one. Like society there are many definitions of sociology. Beginning with his *Elements* and *Principles*, Franklin H. Giddings made a large and notable contribution to its definition. Recommended samplings include no less than twenty-five definitions and characterizations of the nature, purpose, and function of sociology from *The Principles of Sociology*, pp. 5–6, 7–8, 421; *The Theory of Socialization*, p. 6; *The Elements of Sociology*, p. 9; *Inductive Sociology*, pp. 7, 8; *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, p. 226; *The Scientific Study of Human Society*, pp. v, 181; *Civilization and Society*, pp. 187, 263, 387, 402; "An Intensive Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI (July, 1930), 1–14.

Lester F. Ward also provided a wide range of meanings for sociology. Some of them can be summarized from *Pure Sociology*, pp. 3, 4, 15, 48, 62, 91, 145, 171, and *Applied Sociology*, pp. 5, 6, 21. The titles of all the major *elementary* sociology textbooks published in the United States from 1883 to 1946 are given on the end papers of this book. A heavy but rewarding task would be to catalogue the definitions in these texts.

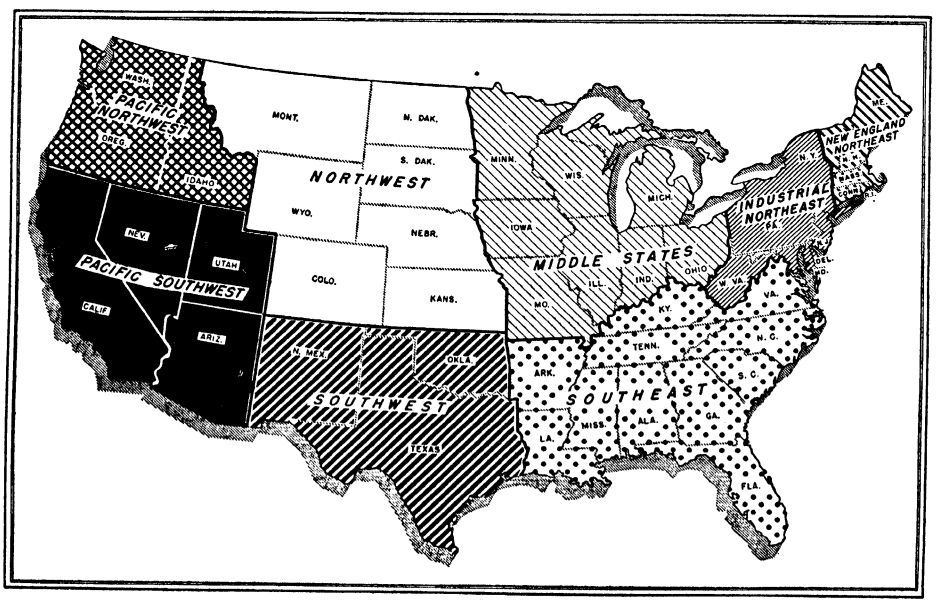
To what extent is it profitable for the student to compare the definitions of a number of sociologists or the different definitions of the same sociologist? Compare further the earlier pioneers: Albion W. Small, Charles Horton Cooley, Edward Alsworth Ross, Charles A. Ellwood, and Edward Carey Hayes.

Regions in American society. An excellent field of observation for the study of society are the regions of the world and more specifically the regions through which the culture of the United States has evolved. In the light of trends toward world order it is important to understand the new regionalism which is the science which studies the region in its relation to the *total area* or culture of which it is a component unit. The regional approach also gives us the best framework for the study of how all cultures grow up from beginnings with the folk in the region and expanding outward into larger societies combining other regions and finally empires and nations. Thus, the regional framework provides the sociologist with a sound theoretical approach which explains society, and a practical strategy for planning the future. In this book the regional approach is explored and tested in several ways. In the first place, it is introduced in this chapter as one of the best approaches to the study of American society. Then, Chapter 5 is devoted to the region as a part of the natural background and structure of American society. In Part VI, Chapter 35 is devoted to the



The Regional Delineation and Study of American Society.

ABOVE: The six-fold regional divisions of the United States utilized in *Understanding Society* for the study and direction of American Society; Approximating the greatest degree of homogeneity in most aspects for most purposes. BELOW: An eight-fold division suggested by the Standford University group.



problems of peoples and regions. Finally, throughout the book wherever appropriate, the regional approach is utilized in the study of culture and the folk, research and methods, and theory and definitions.

There are many possible regional delineations of the world and of the United States. Some of them are described and catalogued in various parts of this book. Both world regions and American regions are illustrated by maps in this chapter. For the purpose of this book, we have defined six major regions in the United States as the Northeast, Southeast, Northwest, Southwest, Middle States, and Far West.

The *Northeast* includes twelve states: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia; the District of Columbia is included.

The *Southeast* follows the general lines of the "Old South" and includes eleven states: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

The *Southwest* is made up of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona. These states are more characteristic of the West than of the South.

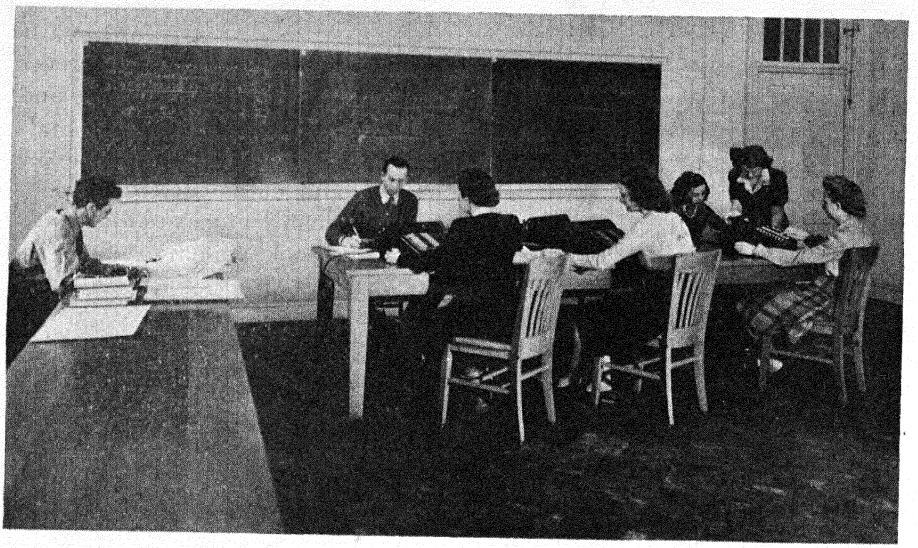
The *Middle States* or the Middle West includes eight states: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri.

The *Northwest* includes nine states: North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah.

The *Far West*, somewhat like the Pacific coast section, comprises the four states of Washington, Oregon, California, and Nevada.

The study of regionalism emphasizes the total society as made up of regional parts rather than focusing, as an end, on the local region. Thus we define regionalism, as opposed to earlier sectionalism, as a historical and cultural approach to national integration. Under this concept, therefore, regionalism cannot lead primarily to competition and conflict, because in the essence of regionalism will be found a strategy which matches resources and people in each region. Regionalism seeks also those arrangements which compete least with those of other regions, because the total objective is enrichment of the region and the people in relation to the total nation. In return, this enrichment of the nation always leads to a return service on the part of the Federal government to each region in terms of equalization funds, scientific research, expert guidance, and a fellowship and exchange of technical skills and personnel and resources.

Science, invention, technology. Since we use the terms science, invention, and technology so often, referring to contemporary society as a tech-



The Laboratory and Workshop in the Study of Society

A next step in the increasing scientific work of the social sciences is the wider use of the social laboratory and workshop. These may be of several sorts: the statistical laboratory, as ABOVE; the extension field work and interpretation, as BELOW with moving pictures to make recordings; and the areal or regional laboratory in which field work, research, and observation are planned with the same scientific precision as are the analysis of results.

nological world rather than a social order, we need to examine their meanings. *Science*, in general, is the discovery of new truth or the finding of new knowledge together with the total methods utilized in research. *Invention*, in general, is the discovery of new uses for scientific discoveries as they can be applied to devices, processes, or arrangements by means of experimentation, testing, and adaption to specific ends. *Technology* is the joining of both science and invention in the mechanical and organizational utilization of new ways of doing things.

We may illustrate these with the example of the atomic bomb. Science — the physicists and chemists — discovered the elements, the theory, and the processes which were basic to the production of the bomb. Invention — the engineers — was responsible for producing the bomb, for its physical form and structure. *Technology* was the combined processes of science and invention through which the bomb was put to use. *Technicways* were responsible for the use of the bomb to destroy men, women, children, animate life and inanimate structure against the beliefs, folkways, mores, and religions of all people everywhere. Here the technicways are the ways of a technological civilization which can destroy society in contradistinction to the folkways and the mores which have built society.

Technicways in the modern world. The study of the folkways as basic to early cultures and folk-regional societies led to the identification of the *technicways* which are ways of meeting needs and of surviving in the modern technological world. The technicways are the ways of behavior in an age of science and technology. The technicways transcend the folkways, supplant the mores of contemporary society, since the technicways transform the old world of behavior into a new world, and accelerate the rate of societal evolution. The study of technicways becomes a major inquiry, with implications to the modern world perhaps as important as any that have been presented in a long time. Among other things, the technicways become a way of measuring differences between folkways and stateways, between the old folk culture and the new technology, and lead to the assumption of a fundamental distinction between culture and civilization. From this point it becomes necessary to explore further the achievement of balance between culture and civilization — a theme discussed recurrently in subsequent chapters, where other definitions and examples follow.

SPECIAL READINGS AND GENERAL READINGS

An abundance of library materials. The regular flow of books about modern society, not only in the United States, but everywhere, is so great

that it is not possible even to refer to all of them except in the case of exhaustive advanced work. Then, in addition to the current volumes, an extraordinary number of books on modern society have been published in the years since 1900. There is, besides, a rich array of references on the history of American society. All of these publications reflect a world of organization and action; hundreds of special organizations grew up in the United States in the depression period, in the period of World War II, and in the postwar period. Conferences of the nations devoted to world communication, economics, organization and peace attended by the representatives of many nations, typify a new era in societal organizations.

Special Readings. The number and nature of the studies of special aspects of American society are such as almost to make necessary a special sociology devoted to the study of American life in which sociological theory would be tested in the light of living literature. One special study was *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, which was published in 1933 in a two-volume edition and later in a one-volume edition. It reported in twenty-nine chapters, on the result of researches in the major activities of American society. These volumes might very well be designated by the title "Studying American Society," a division heading which is used in several variations in most of the chapters of our present book. This study, undertaken at the crest of the nation's prosperity in the later 1920's, was the first major social inventory of a nation and its people to be carried out under the auspices of the nation's chief executive. The work was done under President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends, composed of Wesley C. Mitchell, Charles E. Merriam, Shelby Harrison, Alice Hamilton, William F. Ogburn, and Howard W. Odum, with William F. Ogburn as director of research and Howard W. Odum assistant director. Its findings are still of the greatest importance, especially as a basis of comparison for a similar study which should be undertaken twenty years later, or about 1953 in order to use the results of the nation's midcentury census. This potential second trends study would be the basis of an epochal American sociology.

Recent Social Trends, as it is commonly called and as it will be referred to hereafter, is the most comprehensive attempt to survey an entire nation that has been undertaken anywhere at any time. Yet, followed by the depression of the 1930's and by World War II, its chief value today is found in its framework of inquiry. It is divided into three parts: Problems of Physical Heritage; Problems of Biological Heritage; and Problems of Social Heritage. The subjects studied comprise:

The population of the nation
Utilization of natural wealth
The influence of invention and discovery
The agencies of communication
Trends in economic organization
Shifting occupational patterns
Education
Changing social attitudes and interests
The rise of metropolitan communities
Rural life
The status of racial and ethnic groups
The vitality of the American people
The family and its functions
The activities of women outside the home
Childhood and youth
Labor groups in the social structure
The people as consumers
Recreation and leisure-time activities
The arts in social life
Changes in religious organizations
Health and medical practice
Crime and punishment
Privately supported social work
Public-welfare activities
The growth of Governmental functions
Taxation and public finance
Public administration
Law and legal institutions
Government and society

Recent Social Trends will be utilized as a sort of standard reference in *The Library and Workshop* of all those chapters given over in whole or in part to American society. Special emphasis in these chapters will be upon *inquiry into new trends and changes since the researches reported in these volumes were undertaken.*

For special studies of the American people and their characteristics compared by regions, Rupert B. Vance's *All These People* will be referred to wherever needed.

For general reading and over-all understanding of American society, there is no substitute for Vernon Louis Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought.* In contrast to this is Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Frontier in American Life.*

For general cultural summaries, there are good historical treatises. Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard's fourth volume of their treatise on American civilization, *The American Spirit,* is one. James Truslow Adams' earlier popular *The Epic of America* and his *The American: The Making of a New Man* present an adequate and vivid picture. If a comprehensive review of complete historical background is wanted, the twelve-volume series, *A History of American Life* (1944), edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and

Dixon Ryan Fox with twelve other authors tells the story from *The Coming of the White Man*, through *The Rise of the City*, and *The Quest for Social Justice*.

For an excellent treatise on the cultural development of historical civilizations, showing the consistency of growth from the folk society to advanced civilization, Ralph Turner's *The Great Cultural Traditions* affords an authentic historical analysis.

Popular summaries are available. Several series of little volumes are available for popular interpretation of current studies and problems. They are often digests of important treatises. One series, the "Public Affairs Pamphlets" of the Public Affairs Committee, is concerned primarily with American life, while the other, the "Headline Series" of the Foreign Policy Association, naturally stresses international topics. In the Public Affairs series, more than a hundred titles have been published, and more than four fifths of these since the depression days of the 1930's. These range in nature from No. 96, *Houses for Tomorrow*, and No. 95, *The Negro in America*, back to No. 22, *Youth in the World Today*, with in between such subjects as taxes, income, food, machines, co-operatives, chain stores, women at work, marriage, consumers, factories, war and peace, jobs and security, and race riots.

The Headline Series, published six times a year, includes such titles as *A Peace That Pays*, *The Amazon: A New Frontier*, *The Changing Far East*, *The Puzzle of Palestine*, and others dealing with regions and nations — Canada, Mexico, China, the two Americas, the Balkans, Latin America, and Africa. Still others deal with United States policies, world order, and minority groups.

How much reading? First, with reference to readings, how many of the popular books should be read? How many *can* be read? How many of the texts and special sociologies or researches can be studied carefully? How many can be examined hurriedly? What is the minimum reading for the lay student to become "literate" in the field? How much for the student who expects to become a sociologist? Here will be found such abundance of attractive reading as to make selection difficult.

Next, how much of periodical literature can the student reasonably be expected to know? How much of learned journals and how much of popular periodicals? Acquaintance with the sociological journals may be assumed for the advanced student and the beginning student will at least know about them. They are *The American Sociological Review*, *The American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces*, *Educational Sociology*, *Sociology and Social Research*. There are special journals dealing with the Negro, such as *Opportunity* and *The Crisis;* those dealing with social problems, such as *The*

Survey and the *Journal of Social Casework.* There is an increasingly rich literature in the monthlies and the "liberal weeklies" that constitute important current information and discussion. For current news the minimum requirement may well be set for a daily newspaper and one of the weekly news digests and one pictorial review.

References cited in this book. In this volume the readings suggested are of several kinds. In *The Library and Workshop,* at the end of each chapter, there are two kinds of reading lists. First, there is Special Readings from the Library, a bibliography of condensations of the subject matter of similar chapters in a sort of "standard" series, primarily sociology textbooks; Special Readings run uniformly in all chapters, except those concerned with subject matter not discussed in the usual textbooks. These brief summaries give a quick glance at what other authors have said, and form a minimum list of references comparable to this textbook. Special Readings from the Library include these books: John L. Gillin and John P. Gillin, *An Introduction to Sociology;* Ernest R. Groves and Harry Estill Moore, *An Introduction to Sociology;* F. E. Lumley, *Principles of Sociology;* George A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology;* Robert M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology;* Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* and *Technics and Civilization;* Howard W. Odum, *American Social Problems;* Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore, *American Regionalism;* William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology;* Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions;* Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology;* Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology;* and Kimball Young, *An Introductory Sociology.*

Second, there is General Readings from the Library, a bibliography of the authors and titles of some of the general and special books related to the chapter, the very listing of which gives a picture of the range of treatment. Choice here is difficult and will depend upon special preferences. One requirement is for the student to keep up to date.

Reference is often made under Assignments and Questions to what the earlier pioneer American sociologists said, especially the first "big four" — Lester F. Ward, William Graham Sumner, Franklin H. Giddings, and Albion W. Small — with samplings from others such as Edward Alsworth Ross, Charles L. Ellwood, W. I. Thomas, and Robert E. Park. This is done in order to bridge the distance between the student of today and the beginnings of sociology. But much of this kind of treatment has been omitted in favor of present-day discussions.

Finally, there is a special type of book which — so broad is its canvas — may apply to most of the chapters and, therefore, constitutes a sort of

standard reference. *Recent Social Trends in the United States* is one example as are some of the others just cited.

Other general readings. Some of the non-sociological books appropriate to this preview of the study of contemporary society include the following: Theodore Abel, *Why Hitler Came Into Power;* Brooks Adams, *The Law of Civilization and Decay;* Franz Alexander, *Our Age of Unreason;* Carleton Beals, *America South;* Oscar Cargill, *Intellectual America;* Albert Carr, *Juggernaut: The Path of Dictatorship;* Stuart Chase, *Rich Land, Poor Land;* P. E. Corbett, *Post-War Worlds;* D. H. Davis, *The Earth and Man;* Guy Stanton Ford (ed.), *Dictatorship in the Modern World;* Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents;* Albert C. Grzesinski, *Inside Germany;* Konrad Heiden, *Hitler: A Biography;* Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* and *My New Order;* Preston E. James, *Latin America;* Alvin Johnson, *The Clock of History;* Clifford Kirkpatrick, *Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life;* Aurel Kolnai, *The War Against the West;* Thomas C. T. McCormick (ed.), *Problems of the Postwar World;* Nikolai N. Mikhaylov, *Soviet Geography;* Edgar A. Mowrer and Marthe Rajchman, *Global War;* Lewis Mumford, *Culture of Cities* and *The Condition of Man;* Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma;* Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States;* Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore, *American Regionalism;* José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses;* George Renner and associates, *Global Geography;* Bertrand Russell, *Power: A New Social Analysis;* George Soule, *The Strength of Nations;* Hans Speier and Alfred Kahler (eds.), *War in Our Time;* Nicholas J. Spykman, *America's Strategy in World Politics;* Wallace Stegner, *One Nation;* Robert Hupe-Strausz, *Geopolitics: The Struggle for Space and Power;* Warren Thompson, *Population and Peace in the Pacific;* Hans W. Weigert, *Generals and Geographers: The Twilight of Geopolitics;* and Wendell Willkie, *One World.*

RESEARCH AND STATISTICS

In sociology, as in other sciences, there is increasing recognition of the need and value of research. The need for social research has been accentuated by the increasing amount of research in the natural sciences in the universities and colleges as well as that done by industry and commerce, and by the Federal government of the United States. An illustration of the increasing role of research is found in the movements to have the Federal government provide, through a national research foundation, for more research. This was primarily due to the development of the atomic bomb

and other war weapons as a result of the billions of dollars expended on research in World War II. Although the fields and methods of research are studied in Chapter 37, we need to point out here something of the place which research, and statistics as a tool, will play in the scientific study of society and to note the limited amount involved in an introductory text on sociology. In order to make this clear we may distinguish between social research and social study and note that in a general introductory book on the principles of sociology the emphasis is more upon *study* than research. One reason for this is that research implies more maturity and special training than can be expected of the undergraduate student. Social research is defined as inquiry pursued through scientific methods acceptable to authorities in the field selected, whereas social study applies to inquiry made through any methods whatever — reading, observation, description, survey. Some of the questions and assignments in *The Library and Workshop* may require a limited amount of research but many of them imply only general social study through readings, analysis, description, discussion.

Statistics, which is the science of numbering and of measuring phenomena objectively, is an essential tool for research. Increasingly the statistical method is being used by sociology alongside the survey method, the case method, and the historical method as well as the experimental. Statistics, therefore, becomes a required subject in the sociological curriculum. For the elementary courses, however, the student is expected only to understand the nature and importance of the subject and to learn the relatively simple process necessary to use the census, to make systematic inquiries and calculations, and to know how to find and use source materials.

In this chapter and in *The Library and Workshop* of other chapters examples of the use of simple statistical summaries and distributions are given in two forms. One is in arrays of figures giving such facts as the number, kind and distribution of the people or resources. The other is the use of maps to show more graphically the regional variations of phenomena. In the original text matter for this book there were more than 400 pages of such statistical materials. Manifestly, the use of all these would make a text too ponderous; nor would the repetition of many statistics be of special value except for reference or for specialists seeking both more comprehensive and concrete facts than is necessary to understand the framework of elementary sociology. As a substitute for this, therefore, map pictures are reproduced, the result being designed to provide a combination of the book's theory with facts of practical situations.

OBSERVATION: SOCIAL PROCESS; SOCIAL ACTION; SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Outside the library and classroom things are happening, agencies are being organized, action is being planned, and society goes on its way in the midst of a most complex and serious world of today and tomorrow. The student wants to sense the full meanings of what is going on because he will soon be a responsible part of society — if he is not already. He not only wants to ask questions but he wants to know where to find the answers. He not only wants to know about the past but he wants to understand the present and to anticipate the future. And he wants sociology to contribute largely to these ends.

Since the modern world is one in which science, invention, technology, organization, and speed are the prevailing characteristics, it is but natural that modern society itself will have to deal more and more with social action, social organization, and social process — with what might be called social technology. The very fact that communication and transportation has given us "one world" makes absolutely necessary some sort of international arrangement whereby human beings may keep pace with technology. On the other hand, the terrifying prospects of future wars making possible the destruction of all civilization — an end-result of the potentialities of science and invention — makes mandatory a world organization to guarantee peace.

So, too, within each nation and each region similar pressure will everywhere be evident for social action, social organization, and the testing of social processes. The community and local areas, the co-operative processes and the social organizations, will necessarily be increasingly important in meeting the demands of the new world.

The student wants to learn about social processes firsthand. In the emphasis upon what is going on in the world of social organization and processes, it is important to remember that a large part of modern technology is social technology in forms of government, organization, propaganda, management, and "social inventions" that have arisen to meet the necessities of a complex civilization. In some *Workshop* assignments, therefore, the student may study the social organization and processes from firsthand sources. The full recognition of these social forces as realities and as teaching materials in no way implies any sanction or agreement as to the specific values of any one or more organizations or action groups. Rather the emphasis is upon the reality of their role. The implications for education and public policy in the dangers of social pressure and "power" are a part of the task of understanding society. It is here that the role of the

technicways is emphasized both in the understanding and direction of society.

With reference to these action patterns and organizations, the assignments will be only relative. In each field the opportunity to inquire into the latest movements or agencies constitutes a uniform assignment that may or may not be repeated. For instance, during World War II, special agencies for ameliorating race tensions were organized. Others had to do with relief and reconstruction of the suffering peoples of war-ravaged areas. Many of these agencies were temporary. Yet, still others which were launched in the postwar period, especially those relating to intercultural education and world organization, remain. So, too, the regulatory and service agencies of the Federal government, originating in the depression period of the 1930's and increasing during World War II and continuing afterwards, afford an excellent opportunity for profitable study. So many and so articulate have the opportunities for agency pressure become that questions are being raised as to how the public may be free to choose its own programs.

The social laboratory or workshop. Increasingly sociology needs the social laboratory for the study of society, and for the training of students. The laboratory may be of three types. The first is exemplified by study of special geographic areas, such as we have indicated under the previous discussion of regionalism. This laboratory may be the total nation or the larger regional units or the still smaller units of subregion, state, or community. The second type may be the statistical workshop where apparatus and tools are provided for research, tabulation, and map-making and for designing effective ways of fact-finding. The third type may be the larger workshop and exhibit room, where results are presented and various visual aids utilized. All of these should be available both for research and the exploration of action programs.

In the workshop the student tries to find out how much of the behavior of society outside the classroom can be observed and understood. How many and of what sort are the social movements arising and developing? How many and what sort of action agencies flourish? How many and what sort of propaganda agencies exert their skill upon the people? What sort of conferences are profitable and what sort of workshop methods can be used?

Again, what sort of collateral assignments in the way of social science laboratory work may be possible? How much field work can the student do without neglecting his classroom work and without being objectionable to a busy public? How can the student avoid coming to conclusions about problems for which he does not have the facts? How can a minimum con-

tact be made with the public in such mature ways as to carry the weight of educational values instead of prejudicing the public against sociology?

Assignments and questions. In this book, therefore, *The Library and Workshop* will necessarily emphasize, more than has been accustomed heretofore, the study and observation of social action, social process, and social organization. Perhaps no better illustration of this comprehensive field can be given than the co-operative preparation and organization, which culminated at San Francisco on June 28, 1945, when the representatives of fifty nations signed a document seeking to guarantee world peace.

In the field of American domestic life, a rich illustration is found in the fact that more than three thousand distinctive organizations can be listed, all of which seek to further social activities in the community, the state, and the nation.

For reference to general action agencies, the best over-all work is the *Social Work Year Book*, published in alternate years since 1929, with the exception of 1931, by the Russell Sage Foundation. The current edition presenting a *Directory of Agencies*, cites more than 60 national government agencies; 400 national and international voluntary agencies; 576 governmental state agencies; 59 voluntary state agencies and more than 40 specifically international agencies.

For reference to Federal government agencies, the two indispensable catalogues are the *United States Government Manual*, issued twice a year by the Division of Public Inquiries, Government Information Service, and the *Congressional Directory*, revised for every session of Congress. Both books are distributed by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

For action programs within a special field of social relationships, the *Directory of Agencies in Race Relations* (Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1945) provides a description of more than two hundred American agencies dealing with race relations and action programs. This book in itself makes rewarding study.

The *Book of the States* is published by The Council of State Governments at Chicago.

International social progress, social action. As an introduction to the method used in this section of *The Library and Workshop* in succeeding chapters, ten questions or problems are given here.

1. The extent to which scholars and publicists had begun early in World War II to study world reconstruction is indicated by the literature of the early 1940's. See James T. Watkins, IV, "Regionalism and Plans for Post-War Reconstruction: The First Three Years,"

Social Forces, June, 1943. See also Nicholas Doman, "World Reconstruction and Regionalism," *Social Forces*, March, 1943.

2. The American Council on Public Affairs published in 1944 a symposium on *Regionalism and World Organization*. In that volume, what was Arnold Brecht's "regionalism within world organization"? What is meant by "The New Europe," by Pan-Europa, or the federalization of Europe?
3. Name the members of the United Nations as of December, 1946, after the close of the second General Assembly. About what proportion of the world's populations is included?
4. Describe the UNESCO and its work at the first meeting held in Paris in the Fall of 1946, when Julian Huxley was elected Chairman.
5. What were the debated points involved in the final selection of New York as the permanent headquarters of United Nations? Would it be an accurate statement to refer, then, to New York as the Capitol of the world?
6. Describe other international conferences that were held between 1943 and 1946; on labor; on air transport; on the Americas.
7. Describe the preliminary work of the Research Board for National Security announced jointly February 11, 1945, by Secretaries Henry L. Stimson and James V. Forrestal of the War and Navy Departments and Dr. Frank B. Jewett of the National Academy of Sciences. What was the purpose of this research board? Compare its purpose with that of the National Research Council which grew out of President Wilson's recommendations for scientific research in World War I.
8. Discuss the role of the intellectual in bureaucracy as analyzed by Robert K. Merton in *Social Forces*, May, 1945. How are his conclusions peculiarly appropriate to the study of modern civilization?
9. Pan American Airways publishes a *Class Room Clipper* reviewing books on meteorology, airways, transportation, and allied subjects as well as presenting topics and schedules covering the field of world air transportation. In the February, 1945, issue, the leading article was "Plans for Post-War Airplanes, Schedules and Fair Rates Hold Promise of Global Air Travel for 'Average Citizen.'" Explore this idea further from the viewpoint of sociology.
10. As pictures of the folk society in evolution, compare Robert Redfield's *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* with John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* from which the following passage is quoted: "The cars of

the migrant people crawled out of the side roads onto the great cross-country highway, and they took the migrant way to the West. In the daylight they scuttled like bugs to the westward; and as the dark caught them, they clustered like bugs near to shelter and to water. And because they were lonely and perplexed, because they had all come from a place of sadness and worry and defeat, and because they were all going to a new mysterious place, they huddled together; they talked together; they shared their lives, their food, and the things they hoped for in the new country. . . . In the evening a strange thing happened: the twenty families became one family, the children were the children of all. The loss of home became one loss and the golden time in the West was one dream. And it might be that a sick child threw despair into the hearts of twenty families, of a hundred people; that a birth there in a tent kept a hundred people quiet and awestruck through the night and filled a hundred people with the birth-joy in the morning. A guitar unwrapped from a blanket and tuned — and the songs, which were all of the people, were sung in the nights. Men sang the words, and women hummed the tunes. Every night a world created, complete with furniture — friends made and enemies established; a world complete with braggarts and with cowards, with quiet men, with humble men, with kindly men. Every night relationships that made a world, established. . . ."

ILLUSTRATIONS AND GRAPHIC PRESENTATION

Dynamic sociology identifies science with life. In so doing it is not only not less scientific but more so. The experience of the individual life is measured in terms of living, social experience being measured in terms of social relationships. Total social and cultural experience has customarily been portrayed in terms of time periods, political epochs, historical civilizations or in the case of earlier societies in terms of descriptive cultures. Yet, the historian cannot portray the power and reality of the living processes and persons that make history. The novelist, dramatist and biographer strive to supplement the psychologist, the anthropologist, and the historian to give reality to the experience and life of the individual and sometimes to recapture the spirit or ethos of an era.

Sociology, in addition to its task of description and scientific measurement of society, seeks also to portray the living experiences of societies and their people in both individual and group relationships. This is difficult to do

merely in terms of aggregate facts and recorded data. Therefore, in addition to providing effective ways for observation and participation in social processes and social action, sociology seeks also to utilize portraiture of what happens while it is happening and also to illustrate facts and relationships in graphic form. Sociology also seeks to utilize the new technics of communication and visual aids to recapture as much as possible of that reality from which science derives its data. This may be done by the use of photographs, documentary moving pictures, radio programs, and mechanical means of making graphic the plain facts of statistical summary or distribution.

In this book, therefore, three types of illustrations are featured. One is in the form of photographs of samplings of life and experience which illustrate and make vivid the text discussions. Another is through the map pictures as already described. A third is in the references to documentary moving pictures and film strips which may be available. The photographs have been selected from a wide range and presented in full page display with two illustrations, either in contrast or conformity with descriptive comment and legend printed between the upper and lower illustrations. The map pictures follow the same order with two to constitute the full page.

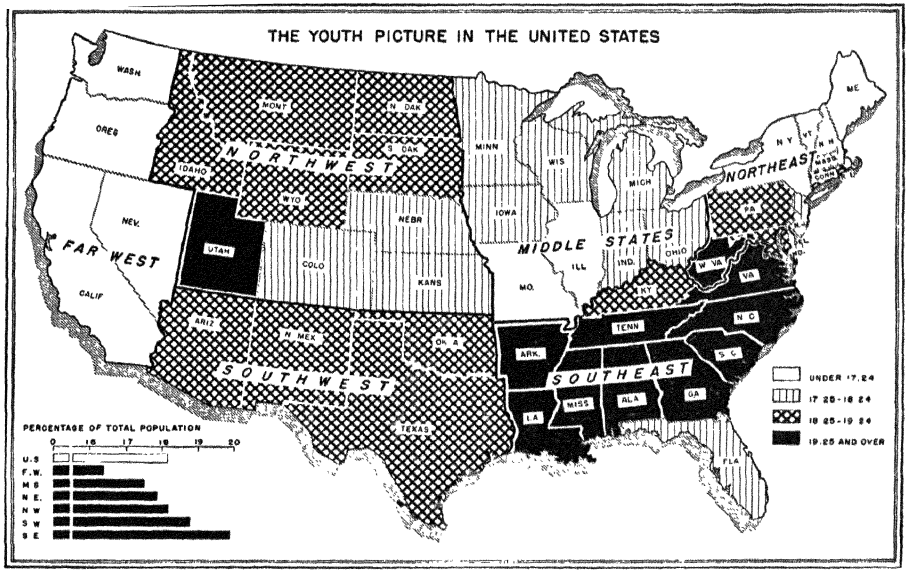
The following assignments will net important results both in utilizing what is already available and in the search for new and better materials.

1. After showing the Encyclopaedia Britannica films on the six regions of the United States, produced in collaboration with Howard W. Odum and the staff of the Institute for Research in Social Science, special inquiry should be made:
   (a) What is the difference between the United States as culturally integrated regions and the nation as political divisions?
   (b) How should these films be supplemented to include more about the people?
2. Arrange in connection with several of the proper chapters in the book for the showing of certain documentary films prepared by Federal governmental agencies. These include: *The River*, *The Plow That Broke the Plains*, *The Land*.
3. Many other pictures are available such as *Youth and Crisis*, *The Growth of Cities*, *Farmers in a Changing World*, *Housing in Our Time*, *On the Road to Tomorrow*, *Pig Iron to Steel*, *The Power Behind the Nation*, *Power and the Land*.
4. What other films are needed, especially in the field of social organization planning, international problems, races and peoples?

5. The American Council on Education has prepared a series of film strips on American life. These include a presentation of the six regions of America prepared especially for the South America Good Neighbor relations. A good assignment would be to make an analysis of these in accordance as they fit into the framework of our study of society.
6. Other graphic ways to present subject matter of specific situations is found in mounted pictures and maps. To what extent can these be used in the teaching of sociology on the college level?
7. On what levels of learning and what subjects can radio programs be utilized? What type of special radio programs might be designed for teaching purposes in the college?
8. How can the student of sociology, at the same time that he utilizes these visual aids, exercise a constructive criticism of the trend to interpret everything in terms of pictures?

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING THE UNITY OF SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Finally, all these ways of studying society are means to ends. The first end is the understanding of society. Yet other ends are closely related. To understand the total society is to be able to live in special societies knowingly and well. To study concrete societies in all their differentiation and diversities is to contribute to the science of society and to understand the great society. To study society so realistically that each individual and each group senses that it is their life and society that is being portrayed is to implement the unity of the individual and society and to identify science and society; for just as society is an abstract concept until it becomes real through the integration of its living societies, so the individual as a socially behaving individual is real only as a member of society which in turn is the process and product of living together with other individuals. This unity and universality of relationships may be illustrated realistically in the modern society by what is often called "one world" and more specifically "one nation" or "one America." Manifestly one world is primarily an abstract concept until the folk societies and peoples of the world can be integrated into world society and world organization through the framework of intercultural understanding and representation. How all these unities and relationships work out in their cultural elements may be seen further in the text and in *The Library and Workshop* of subsequent chapters.



The Analysis, Presentation, and Interpretation of Statistical Data for the Study of American Society

The most abundant source for statistical data for the study of society in the United States is the United States Census. See, specifically, *Catalogue of 16th Decennial Census Publications*, issued in 1945 and 1946 and featuring main divisions in Agriculture; Business; Geography; Manufactures; Mineral Industries; Population; Technical Bulletins, Articles and Reprints; Territorial Possessions; Vital Statistics. Statistics are presented by summaries for nation, states and regions, and many reports are made on specific cities and on special subjects such as standards of living. See also under "Technical Bulletins" such publications as Philip M. Hauser's "Research Possibilities for Sociologists in the 1940 Census."

On this and the following page are illustrated three ways of presenting results. One is the statistical array of figures showing items, distribution, totals. Another is the map visualizing distribution together with bar charts to supplement, as in the "Youth Picture in the United States." Other full page illustration of bars, graphs, pictorial symbols are presented in subsequent chapters. For each map, there is a basic statistical array prepared for documentary support.

ABOVE: On this page the map, The Youth Picture of the United States, shows, from the full page table on the following page, the percentage of youth 15–24 years of age in 1940. This map, and others in this text, are adapted from Rupert Vance's *All These People*, and figures are from the *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*. Note especially the contrasting picture of the Southeast and the Far West, and how indices for youth conform closely to the six-fold regional delineation of the United States.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF YOUTH 15–24 YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES — 1940

AREA	*Youth 15–24*	*Percent Youth*
UNITED STATES	23,921,358	18.2
NEW ENGLAND	7,255,188	17.8
Maine	145,152	17.1
New Hampshire	82,868	16.8
Vermont	61,539	17.1
Massachusetts	755,223	17.5
Rhode Island	131,625	18.4
Connecticut	315,042	18.4
New York	2,271,057	16.8
New Jersey	752,024	18.1
Pennsylvania	1,866,908	18.8
Delaware	47,565	17.8
Maryland	332,709	18.3
District of Columbia	114,163	17.2
West Virginia	379,313	19.9
SOUTHEAST	5,612,641	19.8
Virginia	535,373	20.0
North Carolina	760,584	21.3
South Carolina	417,981	22.0
Georgia	633,048	20.3
Florida	339,496	17.9
Kentucky	540,649	19.0
Tennessee	561,982	19.3
Alabama	562,067	19.8
Mississippi	427,681	19.6
Arkansas	376,986	19.3
Louisiana	456,794	19.3
SOUTHWEST	1,838,076	18.8
Oklahoma	440,422	18.8
Texas	1,204,518	18.8
New Mexico	100,931	19.0
Arizona	92,205	18.5
MIDDLE STATES	6,253,848	17.5
Ohio	1,224,834	17.7
Indiana	600,844	17.5
Illinois	1,360,838	17.2
Michigan	935,371	17.8
Wisconsin	546,610	17.4
Minnesota	502,941	18.0
Iowa	443,131	17.4
Missouri	639,279	16.9
NORTHWEST	1,345,689	18.1
North Dakota	123,501	19.2
South Dakota	119,584	18.6
Nebraska	232,440	17.7
Kansas	313,745	17.4
Montana	102,414	18.3
Idaho	99,848	19.0
Wyoming	47,298	18.9
Colorado	197,377	17.6
Utah	109,482	19.9
FAR WEST	1,625,916	16.4
Nevada	17,933	16.3
Washington	295,592	17.0
Oregon	182,860	16.8
California	1,119,531	16.2

II

Society and Nature

3

Nature and Her Resources

Nature as a symbol of the unity of life and society. One of the distinctive appeals of sociology is that it explores the total picture of society at the same time that it affords the opportunity for concrete study in special fields of social endeavor. While sociology recognizes the essential unity of human life and society, it seeks equally to understand the constituent parts which go into the making of that total unity. This is nowhere illustrated more vividly than in the study of nature and her resources. For, in the first place, nature, in the livingness of her materials and in the laws and processes of her operations, becomes both symbol and reality of the oneness of life and society. And, in the next place, nature and her resources not only typify bounty and abundance but reflect laws and strategy through which the mastery of nature and the wise use of resources may enrich society or through which neglect and waste may impoverish it. This is apparent from observations of world society and of concrete cultures such as that of the United States. So forcefully has this idea been presented to us of late that it is often said that it is not the niggardliness of nature, but the stupidity of man that leads to poverty, to the "haves" and the "have-nots" of this world, and to the consequent war and suffering which follow in the wake of imbalance between men and resources or to exploitation and waste in their interrelationships.

Nature is of three sorts. It must be recalled, however, that there is something far more significant about nature than physical life in itself. Nature and resources find scarcely half of their measure in air, water, and earth. The power and glory of nature are in her laws and in the process of growth and evolution and in her capacity to produce; and finally, nature's laws and processes are not only synonymous with science itself but are

basic to human nature and human society. In reality, nature is of three sorts: the material things of this planet; natural laws and processes; and their human counterparts: the social relationships of man and nature and of man *in* nature.

And so we come to sense that the "elements" of life are just as basic as are the elements of numbers and letters. The intangible essence of nature and nurture, of beauty and bounty, may be as fundamental as the measures of physical wealth. These elements and essences include far more than descriptions and measures of the visible elements of nature. They include the concepts and facts of growth and evolution. They comprehend how things grow; how cause and effect work; and how nature's laws make no allowance for ignorance. But more than this, the elements include the story of how things are made; how soil is made and wasted; how homes and buildings are made; how business is built up; what things cost; and how work of what sort results in achievements of what sort. To illustrate, the understanding of the processes and difficulties through which the farmer works is as important as knowing about the rain and the soil. The limitless processes through which chemistry utilizes coal and the engineering needed to mine it for use or the hazards and hardships of labor in coal-mining are commensurate with the facts of coal in the earth as a potential resource.

Nature and resources are also human nature and human resources. Finally, we must never lose sight of the fact that the supreme climax of nature is in the personality of the individual and the folk of the people. This means the continuous recapturing of the fundamental meaning of the inner personality and individual differences of people whenever they aspire to be appreciated, recognized, loved, rewarded, and praised — and whenever they revolt against the opposites. It means that the rediscovery and esteem of the folk-personality may be the supreme task of the new world. And all this reflects the profound truth that the mere redistribution of resources and technology through standardized procedures of machines and industry, isolated from the elements of folk life, will never bring harmony and peace to the world. The powerful truth is that human resources, constituting the basic wealth of all society, cannot be separated from either the laws of nature or the land which provides place for folk to live and work for folk to do.

The study of nature as the beginnings of wisdom. In the long road of man's epic search for the explanation of things, the study of nature has been "the beginning of wisdom." This "nature" comprehends all of man's physical environment. It comprehends what we call heredity. It comprehends that which is "natural" in the conditioning influences which nature

exerts upon the individual, upon the group, and upon the culture which grows up. It is the basis also for the rich philosophical and scientific heritage of "natural laws," "natural processes," "natural rights," and "natural science." It implies much more than all this. The "natural" is associated with survival values and with what is considered "good" and "normal" as opposed to the "unnatural" — the "artificial" and "abnormal." The natural is, of course, what nature does, or life according to nature, nature being the world of physical fact, of living organisms, and of evolutionary processes. Manifestly there are physical facts and processes as numerous as the world of living things. And of course there are natural and physical bases for spiritual and mental processes. And there is, for instance, human nature, itself a product of interaction and survival processes.

The range of natural science. The most important body of facts about nature is reflected in natural science. This natural science, grounded in the five basic fields of astronomy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology, is often characterized as the systematic collection and arrangement of facts concerning natural objects or phenomena. Natural science studies all things not made by man. It has multiplied its reaches into scores of applied branches that have transformed the modern world, and hence studies artifacts made by and utilized for man. The sociologist knows that every human society has its physical foundation somewhere in the great realm of nature, whether this be the geographic foundations of man's habitat and his regional cultural environment or the organic nature of man's body and the biological reality of living people, with all the elements of growth and health and habitat. These facts in themselves are elemental and fundamental.

The power of nature. It is necessary to know, therefore, not only something of the nature and extent of this natural basis of society, but also especially the importance of comparative study of nature and her endowments. This means a knowledge of the relation between soil and minerals and nutrition and productiveness. It means a knowledge of weather and airways; of air waves and communication. It means, in general, a sense of the range of relationships between man and the three great kingdoms of animals, plants, and minerals which are basic to the conditioning and survival of all societies in a very practical and realistic way. And, finally, it is important to understand something of the power and inexorableness of the "laws" of nature; to understand that in the course of human and societal development wishful thinking, irresponsible experimentation with human life, and loose generalizations may be no more valid in the social world than in the natural world. A knowledge of this may well be basic to the explana-

tion of much in the modern world that is often called nonlogical and inexplicable but which in reality may be quite logical and easy to explain.

The regional balance of man. Within recent years sociology has come to inquire more realistically and intimately into the interrelationships which exist between society and the total natural environment. It is true that social theorists have always recognized the general influence of geography and nature upon society. Theoretical "systems" of explanation of society have been predicated on "geographic factors," "geographical patterns," "the physical basis" of society. However, it was not until society itself began to observe the extraordinary role of natural resources, the regional imbalance of man, the regional patterns of culture, the relation of man to natural history, the results of disturbing the balance of nature, and the effects of these on war and peace that sociology recognized the full meaning of these relationships and the opportunity for new scientific study. In the light of what is known it seems clear that the regional balance and equality of man, in harmony and equilibrium with resources, culture, and situation, will constitute a key problem of the new era of world society.

All of this, like most aspects of sociological study, is bound up with the totality of the cultural situation, including the historical phases and the relation of science and technology to the uses of natural wealth and the distribution of peoples in relation to abundance and scarcity. Such inquiry also seeks knowledge of ecological forces, including optimum adjustment between the flora and fauna of the region and the people; between climate and general geography, and regional development, as well as the development and waste of resources. In this field, many of the new techniques of planning and the new reaches in the co-operation of sociology with other sciences may be explored and developed.

HUMAN SOCIETY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Resources a key to understanding society. The role of nature in human society is nowhere more richly and comprehensively illustrated than in the natural resources. In a way, all that nature affords to man may be comprehended under the term natural resources. The story of nature and earth may be read in the story of what the earth and climate offer and do to man and his society. Yet their chief significance to the sociologist, outside of the facts explaining relationships and evolutionary factors, is found in the use which is made of these resources and the part they play in the technical and cultural character of the people. In reality, one of the best approaches to the understanding of a given society is an inventory of its resources

and of their development and utilization by the people of that society. Such an inventory implies systematic analysis based upon two main inquiries. The first has to do with the nature and range of resources, and the second with their conservation, development, and use. In human society, use of resources is of greater significance than range and kind. The story of a nation or of a region or any human society begins with the resources of the people and the influence of nature's endowment upon their culture. As time goes on, the story continues with more emphasis upon how the people use their resources and what the people do to and with nature and the kind of spiritual culture and institutions they develop.

Resources are what the people have to live on and to do with. Sometimes they are what men live for and die for in terms of their native lands. Nature and resources are always the physical background of the culture of people and the wealth of nations.

Nature's endowment of man consists not only in the abundance of material natural resources, but also in the tell of time, the cycle of seasons, of days and nights, and the incidence of cold and heat, sunshine and rain. It consists also in the laws of nature and of science, from which flow invention and technology, and of man himself in nature.

Because nature's endowment is translated into resources through man's capacity and will to develop, to conserve, and to use wisely, the chief resources of any society are the people themselves, skilled, trained, and at work in the places they live and in interchange with other peoples and other places.

It is often said that potential resources are not real until they are used and that the harnessing of nature is man's biggest job. It follows that the development, conservation, and wise use of resources can make a wealthy people in a lovely land, but that man's exploitation of nature or nature's exploitation of man with the resulting waste of resources can make a poor people in a barren land.

Five general types of resources. Resources are of many sorts. It makes little difference how they are designated or classified if the catalogue is adequate to help us sense their range and meaning and to make possible scientific and practical planning for a better society.

One way in which this can be done is to classify all resources into five main divisions: natural resources, technological resources, money resources, human resources, and institutional or cultural resources.

Sometimes, in making practical inventories, the term wealth is preferred. The catalogue then reads: natural wealth, technological wealth, capital wealth, human wealth, and institutional wealth.

Sometimes these five classes are reduced to three: natural resources or wealth, human resources or wealth, and social or cultural resources or wealth. In this classification, technological resources are more often catalogued as social or cultural.

Sometimes these five groupings are reduced to two: natural or material resources or wealth and human resources or wealth. In this classification, technological wealth belongs in both categories, since science, invention, and technology applied to natural resources yield capital wealth but also in terms of discoveries, organization, and management they contribute largely to institutional and cultural wealth and to the satisfaction and welfare of the people.

Natural resources. Potential natural resources are so abundant that they have never yet been fully catalogued. Mountains and rivers, forests and plains, climate and situation, are powerful forces not only because of the natural resources which they provide, but because of the tremendous influence which they exert upon the people and their culture.

Yet, land and water, minerals and lumber, animals and plants, are no more resources than are science and technology when they utilize both the materials and the laws of nature to produce continuing and immeasurable wealth and power. Nor were the glory-vistas of nature's beauty made fully manifest as spiritual resources until the love of nature and the creative work of engineering and the arts were made articulate by human wealth.

Technological resources. Technological resources not only translate natural wealth into capital wealth but transform the face of nature and the lives of the people. Science, invention, technology, and skills multiply the quantity and quality of useful resources. Not only the basic five sciences of chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics, and astronomy, but a hundred applications — oceanography and aeronautics, medicine and agriculture, machines and power — add limitless resources to the incredible catalogue.

Scientific research and technological laboratories, testing grounds and measuring technics, trained personnel and multiplied robots, are new resources which make a new world.

Yet all these are not resources except as processes and products of human leadership and skills, education and training, organization and management. Nor can natural resources and scientific discoveries be utilized wisely and controlled well except as all our technological wealth is applied to institutional wealth, which in turn conserves, develops, and uses wisely again the basic human wealth.

Capital resources. The range and meaning of what is called capital resources or wealth may be seen from an examination of their common

synonyms: riches, plenty, abundance, fortunes, income. The nature of such wealth may also be seen from the sources from which the riches of individuals or of nations have come. Thus, in early America, "fortunes" were made from the fur trade in which the natural resources of stream and field were translated into money or negotiable wealth which in turn came to be invested capital. Other fortunes were made in steel and oil, in cotton and wheat, from railroads and urban transportation, and from retail and wholesale trade and shipping.

Such wealth is measured in many ways: in money, incomes, bank deposits, invested capital, per capita wealth, value of profits, purchasing power, standards of living, expenditures, and, in later years, in corporate fortunes and new "billion-dollar industries." Wealth also is measured in terms of evaluation, or "worth," or natural resources and technological resources, as well as in terms of public works and institutional wealth.

But in whatever form — money, exchange, income, stocks, bonds — both the symbol and reality of capital wealth are keys to the utilization of all resources and become, therefore, the central measure of what the people have "to do with" and "to live on" in material wealth.

Human resources. It must be clear, however, that the people represent the supreme wealth of any society: all other resources have meaning only in relation to the people and the society which they represent. "Only the people count" is a symbol of the evaluation of human resources. The people represent the universal human wealth which is part of the physical basis of society even as natural resources and the earth itself. The people are both creators and creatures of wealth. In their role as creators they have contributed the measurable wealth and institutions and technology that go into the making of society. As creatures they are susceptible to physical and technological forces.

And, like other resources, the people are of many sorts. Millions strong, the people represent many races and nationalities, many religions and political faiths, many occupational levels and many levels of achievement. Yet, they cannot be classified only as totals in a census or as blocks of resources. Old people and young, men and women, children in a million homes and a thousand schools, white man, black man, yellow man, brown man, they represent this ever-reproducing resource of human society. Of what sort and how many, working in how many ways and places, what society does to them and for them — these are criteria of the sort of resources and wealth a region or a nation may have and hold.

Institutional resources. The institutions of the people, however, constitute the greatest wealth of all, the products of the people working with

nature and culture. The home and family, the school and education, the church and religion, the state and government, industry and work, association and the community — these are the main sources of institutional wealth. These millions of homes, of schools, of churches, of helping institutions, of agencies of art and literature, of money and exchange, of capital and co-operation, and of organization and management make an almost unlimited catalogue of the institutional resources that go into the making of a rich culture and economy.

Resources are measured in terms of use. To catalogue all these resources of a region is the beginning of the task of understanding and developing its culture and economy. To sense the meaning and power of the aggregate wealth of all kinds is to give momentum and concreteness to planning and direction. To apply the yardstick of this five-fold framework of natural, technological, capital, human, and institutional wealth, is the first step in translating potentiality into power and in bridging the distance between deficiency and abundance. The good society is a society capable of translating its natural wealth into capital wealth and then utilizing it for the creation and development of the institutions through which the lives and culture of its people are enriched.

The relation of resources to nature and society is especially well implemented in the natural resources, which are resources for human society only in so far as they are used or useful to that society. For the American Indian coal was no resource, but in the modern world it is an essential resource. However, coal would not be an essential natural resource if technology should develop oil or other fuels to the point where they would supplant it. Mines would become holes in the earth, mining communities would become abandoned towns, coal would be but a constituent part of the earth. Functionally, therefore, natural resources may be said to represent nature in the service of man or, to turn the other side of the coin, man in the mastery of nature.

The relation of natural resources to society may be illustrated in numerous other ways. Land and water, the two fundamental resources in enabling man to live and prosper, may be used to illustrate the two-way role of each: Both land and water may enrich or may impoverish. Land is a basic natural asset, but rainfall washing away the hills and fields where row crops are planted year after year becomes a liability. In the form of beneficent rainfall, or narrow streams and broad rivers, water is given to soil and animals, also to man and for water supply, transportation, and power — the sine qua non of life and abundance. Yet, as ruthless floods, sweeping away property and land, water may be one of the most destructive of elements. But

the same water, stored in great reservoirs, becomes an essential resource for irrigation in barren lands and turns desert into gardens, waste into wealth.

Again, in the northern timber woods around the Great Lakes and the Northwest and in the southern piny woods of the Gulf states, forest lands were once the symbol and the reality of the chief resource of wealth. Yet in the depression era, the exhausted cutover lands became one of the nation's chief "problem areas," producing situations of poverty and pathology, of displaced citizens who had resources no longer for occupation. Here the student of sociology checks back and notes the part man has played in this imbalance as well as learning the meaning of land resources.

Multiple uses of resources. The nature and value of resources will depend upon the functional use of each resource. Thus land, quite unsuited to productive farming, might be well adapted to building lots for a town or city. Great swamps constitute no land resource for agriculture until they are drained, yet they are valuable resources when used for wild-life sanctuaries. The nature of the land resource depends upon the availability of the land for special uses or the skill of man to make it so available. The city-planning authority Carol Aronovici has set up thirteen factors which make land usable for building purposes — the natural character of the raw land as a building site; its geographic relation to the community; its quantitative relation to present and future needs; its stability and future possibilities; its place in the evolving community; its exposure to outer influences; its available community services; its obligations as present and future investment; its capacity for economic development; the relation of the units of ownership to use; the degree of intensity and the variety of development possible; the margin of profit to be derived from additional investment and management; and existing social controls over the use of the land and their relation to stability of investment and possibility for speculation.

On the other hand, the resources not usable in the country or city — the mountains and hills, the ravines, the canyons, and the lakes, the forests and the deserts — are often the most prized resources for game and wild-life conservation, recreation and scenic wealth. In the forms of national parks, monuments, forests, and wild-life sanctuaries, they are more and more regarded as among the greatest of our natural resources. As an index to their value, more than fifteen million persons visit these areas each year. Indeed, these lands are utilized as one of the greatest means of translating waste into resources and wealth.

NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE UNITED STATES

In the total analysis of resources in the United States two major pictures appear. One is the kaleidoscopic catalogue of wealth of resources in their natural setting of rivers and lakes, mountains and valleys, flora and fauna, climate and soil. The other is the measured value of usable resources as they have been developed and distributed to the people. So, too, the sociologist must find the answer to some of his inquiries about the relation of United States society to world society in the facts of resources. Thus North America, with a little more than 6 per cent of the people of the world, has resources in many fields that indicate the nature of her power and wealth. For instance, North America is credited with these percentages of total world production: a little more than 60 per cent of crude petroleum, 72 per cent of motor vehicles, 50 per cent of ginned cotton, 40 per cent of electric energy and water power, and 30 per cent of coal; and produces nearly a third of the world's milk and meat. How these ratios and others like them will shift is a part of the picture to be explored further as world society changes and adapts its technology and science to new needs.

America offered rich endowments for a new society. Yet, more specifically, what was the range and kind of natural endowment which made men want to conquer the wilderness of the New World? The primal foundation was two-fold. First, there were such geographical and ecological backgrounds as were essential to the development of any human society; and, second, there was something more, something very special, partly embodied in a catalogue of the elements of American nature, and partly in the distinctive features that greeted the newcomers to American shores. These elements reflect further that abundance of natural reserves which were to ensure the rapid growth and continued development of a new society. Here, then, were early natural foundations of the new nation:

The password "primeval," of immeasurable resources, everywhere manifest, echoing a natural glory and grandeur before ever Greece and Rome came of age.

Beauty and mystery and awe-inspiring power in mountain and stream, land and distance, enough to kindle the aspiration, the curiosity, and the worship of any race of men.

The eternal storehouse of a sustentation area adequate to support life and to ensure the survival of the group.

The optimum convergence of many factors of situation and resources, of necessity and ingenuity, of folk and work.

The stimulating and constraining power of a climate of extraordinary range and consistency.

The essential resources needed for all the primary occupations — hunting, fishing, lumbering, mining, and farming.

The master pattern of ruthless frontier strategy and survival.

And always the time-quality in the resistless flow of the seasons and the never-failing cycle of suns.

What was it that brought the great migration to America? To understand this America and its rugged road to now; to love its rocks and rills; its woods and templed hills; and to project its future course, is to sense the meaning of all of this. For here were natural endowments of nature happily converging with the new migrations of men breaking away from European patterns of bondage. Yet there were other distinctive factors that the first settlers and the later colonists were to discover, definitive forces of survival and growth which would determine the outcome of many a future issue. That is, in addition to those traits which appear common to the beginnings of all societies, there were certain distinctive features in the American horizons that, from the earliest days, foreshadowed the shape of things to come; that tempered the new democracy; that conditioned the development of the future regions and people of that United States; and set the stage for new world survival.

Before the white man was the American Indian. One of these distinctive features, inseparable from landscape and continent, was ever the fleeing American Indian, himself a sort of personification of nature. Sometimes he was slipping shyly through the trees or along the streams; sometimes boldly becoming a part of the landscape, as if he ran down from Appalachia to the sea to be the first welcomer to the strangers; sometimes terrible, savage, and vengeful, sometimes indescribably pathetic, and as simple and beautiful as nature folk; but always an unforgettable picture.

As the early frontier settlements advanced farther upstream and into the interior, Indian man and nature were still inseparable forces of the new continent. If the American legend has often been portrayed as the epic of the pioneer in the mastery of frontier, the Indian was always inseparably associated with the frontier. It was so in the coastal plains; it was so in the plateaus and highlands and the mountain ranges of the Appalachians; it was so through the Cumberland Gap and "old Kaintuck" and in the Ohio country. It was so from Champlain's inland sea to the Great Lakes and on down the Mississippi; it was so as ever the frontier became west and farther west; and it was pre-eminently so in the plains of the Far West.

The Indian was primitive natural society. If America was frontier and that frontier was nature, then nature was in part the Indian, the aboriginal, and America was of nature and Indian, twin hosts and enemies to all newcomers. Nature was with the Indian; nature *was* the Indian. The Indian heritage was of the essence of nature and the continent, not only because the American Indians, a million strong, were part and parcel of the continent to be conquered and taken; but also because the Indian culture was natural; because Indian tribes and languages exhibited an extraordinary consistency in cultural-natural-geographic clusterings into *religions;* and because, of all cultures and peoples, the American Indians have personified nature and earth, the wilderness, rivers, trees, and colors, and animal partnership which existed for the glory of natural struggle and survival or for death and the long sleep of nature. This magnificent America of nature's heritage which we have sketched was the America which faced the first Europeans coming across the Atlantic to found a new society.

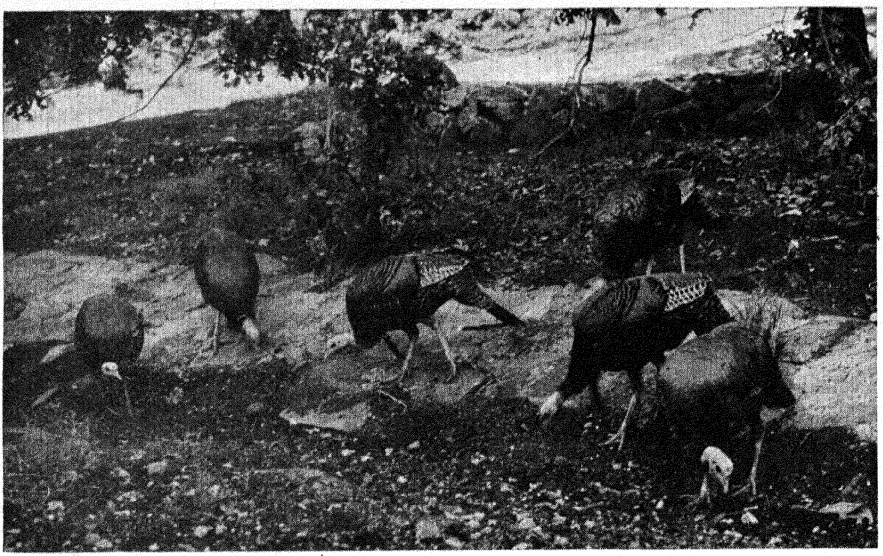
Definitions and Examples

A number of words in this chapter are used with special sociological meanings in addition to their customary meanings. We use the term *organic* frequently to mean elemental, essential to living entities, to survival. That is organic which, if taken away, would result in death or decay. Interpreting human society analogically, as an organism, the folk culture is organic in that it is a constant in all living societies. Or the states of the United States are organic in the sense that, if they were eliminated, there would be a new type of America.

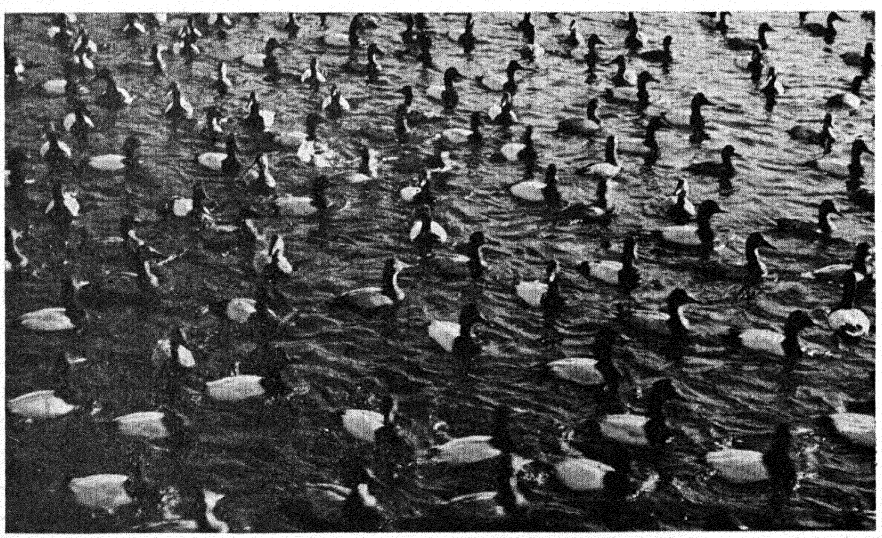
When we define *ecology* as the science which studies the adjustment of organisms to environment, we mean by organism the living plant or animal; when this definition is applied as *human ecology* it refers to human society as an entity existing alongside nature's plant-and-animal society. To illustrate again, grass was organic in the natural economy of a region which became the Dust Bowl when nature was thrown out of balance.

When we use the term *unity of life and society* it is in the sense that society and the individual are inseparable and the individual himself is a living organism inseparable from nature. Every social experience has a natural history or background. Nature knows no favoritism to group or class. The laws of nature, of cause and effect, work in human society as everywhere else. We use the term *natural* often both in the sense of an attribute of nature (as opposed to *artificial*) and in the sense of organic survival. That is, the natural is the capacity of an organism to function successfully within the framework of its geographic environment and its inherent endowment. Thus primitive behavior would be natural in the places where the primitives live but not natural in Los Angeles or Chicago, let us say. This is the essential meaning of the word when we characterize folk culture as natural and state civilization as artificial.

We use the term *symbol* often to indicate more than analogy. There is no contradiction in making *symbol* and *reality* synonymous when we speak of folkways and mores as being both symbol and reality of culture. The folkways and the mores, which we have already defined, stand in the place of formal control yet are so real that they actually have the function of control and are instrumental in the development of formal laws and institu-



The early settlers wrote enthusiastically about shooting fifty wild turkeys in a morning and of wild ducks so thick that they needed only a stick to knock them out. Now turkey ranches provide millions of new turkeys and the conservation programs provide breeding places and sanctuaries for other millions of wild ducks.



tions. *Symbol* is a more vivid and effective general term than *analogy* and the colorless word *representation.*

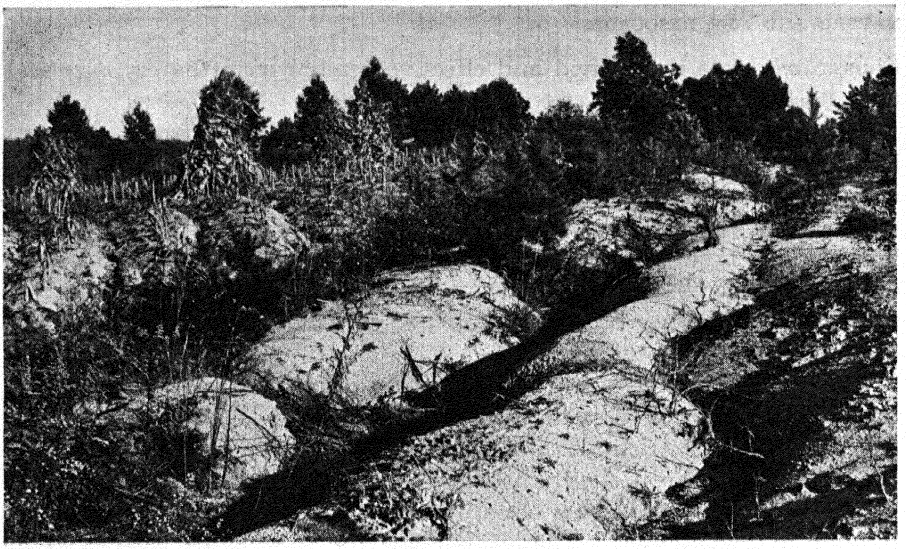
The term *process* is used often in two ways. First, in this chapter, the term is used primarily as the processes of nature, which means the orderly, logical procedures of operations; practically the laws of nature. In later chapters, and in sociological texts, *social process* means primarily interaction between and among forces and organisms, as between society and nature or between social forces. Adaptation, accommodation, assimilation, and some numerous other processes explained in Chapter 30 are illustrations of processes of social interaction.

The term *primeval* is used to indicate time-quality involved in phenomena or traits which stem from the first order of nature. The term *sustentation area* was used by Franklin H. Giddings to mean an area or a region capable of sustaining life. From the study of the sustentation area he came to define *circumstantial pressure* as forces of nature which condition man in contradistinction to *societal pressure.* The terms *wealth* and *resources* are used as co-ordinate rather than synonymous words. More accurately wealth is riches whereas resources implies the sources from which riches may come. *Wealth* is a term of special meaning in economics, in which *resources* would often be defined as raw materials or reserves. Both terms are useful provided the difference in meaning is understood.

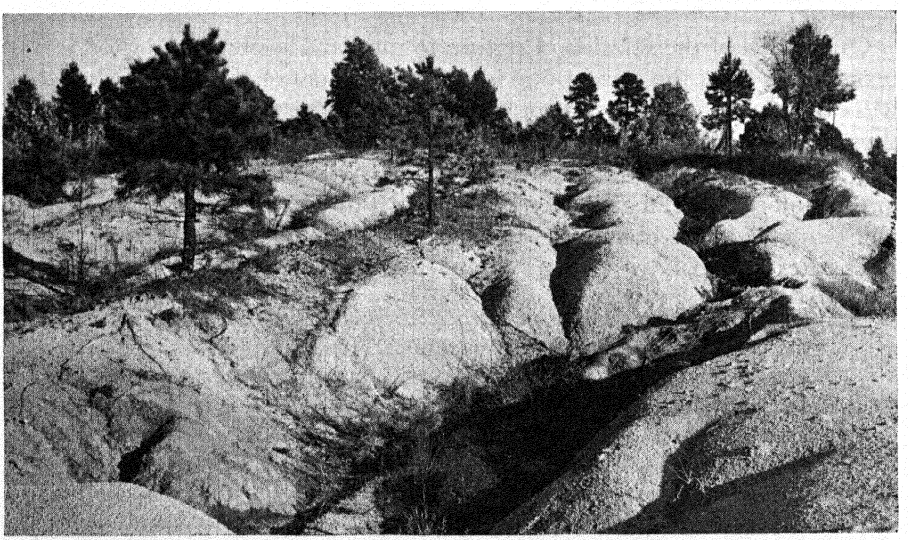
Assignments and Questions

One aspect of the relation of nature to man and society is omitted in the text. In this book the assumption is that the student of elementary sociology will not need to give much time to the study of the theories of evolution as they relate to man's kinship to animals. At most it is important to know they exist to the end that those who wish to specialize on the biological or anthropological analogies may know where to look. The student however will want to know about the great principle of organic evolution which permeates all life.

1. In so far as the student of introductory sociology may wish to follow up the elemental facts with reference to early man, he can find characteristic sociological approaches in Frank H. Hankins' *Introduction to the Study of Society,* Part II; Hornell Hart's *The Technique of Social Progress,* pages 25–48; Franklin H. Giddings' *Civilization and Society,* pages 74–88; Jerome Davis, Harry Elmer Barnes and others' *An Introduction to Sociology,* pages 3–132; Charles Horton Cooley, Robert Cooley Angell and Lowell Julliard Carr's *Introductory Sociology,* pages 1–17; Frank W. Blackmar and John



The tragedy of Nature; when man's two great resources of water and land are translated into two great deficits. Soil erosion and waste, and the run-off of a beneficent rainfall combine, through lack of foresight and planning, to make poor men living on poor land, turned back to the briers and foxes. ABOVE and BELOW, illustrations of land typical of millions of acres of eroded waste land in America.



Lewis Gillin's *Outlines of Sociology*, pages 51–271; and others. So, too, representative treatment by the cultural anthropologists may be found on pages 1–87 of A. L. Kroeber's *Anthropology*, pages 212–250; of Clark Wissler's *Man and Culture*, pages 7–22; of Ralph Linton's *The Study of Man*, and in many others. If the student wishes to inquire into the antiquity of man from the viewpoint of evolution or biology, he can find an adequate elementary picture in chapter IX of H. H. Newman's *Evolution, Yesterday and Today;* or John M. Tyler's earlier *Man in the Light of Evolution.*

2. Consider the following concept of evolution from H. E. Crampton's *The Doctrine of Evolution*, page 1: "The Doctrine of Evolution is a body of principles and facts concerning the present condition and past history of the living and lifeless things that make up the universe. It teaches that natural processes have gone on in the earlier ages of the world as they do today, and that natural forces have ordered the production of all things about which we know."

3. Does H. H. Newman's definition of evolution apply to human society? See his *Evolution, Yesterday and Today*, pages 102, 103, 164, 165, 169. It is now generally agreed that isolation of some sort is an essential factor in organic evolution. Of itself, evolution does not produce anything new, but it works hand in hand with mutation, heredity, and selection to produce new species. It aids chiefly in giving new types a chance to establish themselves and prevents them from being wiped out by interbreeding with the much more numerous individuals of the parent species.

4. In his *Lester F. Ward, The American Aristotle*, page 184, Samuel Chugerman says, "Probably the clearest and most brilliant epitome of evolution is to be found in the first volume of Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*. If those who run also read, they can learn from it that evolution is the law of development, of natural change and growth as opposed either to chance or special (Divine) creation."

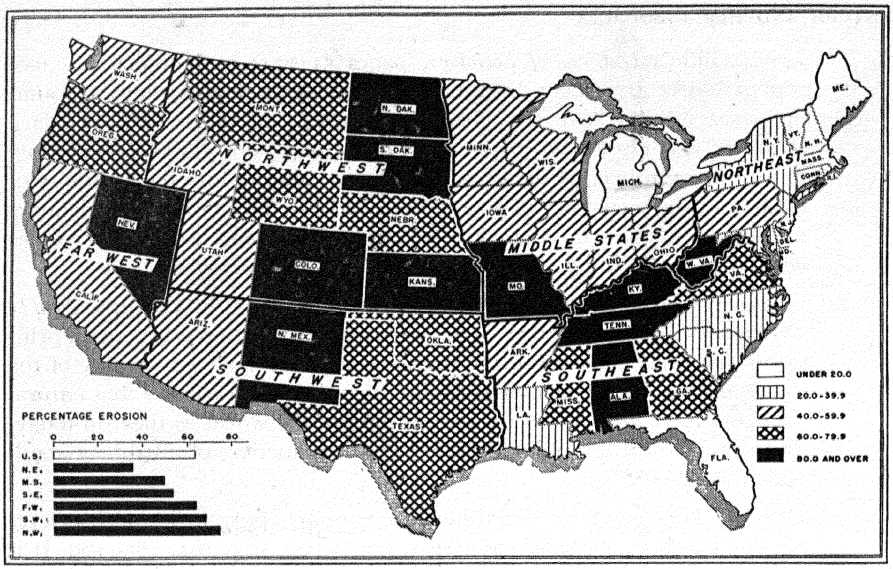
5. Explore further the premises that nature is of three sorts: (a) natural elements such as water, soil, minerals, and so on; (b) nature's processes of growth, evolution, laws; (c) human nature.

6. Explore the premises in Hans Kelsen's *Society and Nature, A Sociological Inquiry.*

7. What is meant by natural laws? Natural rights?

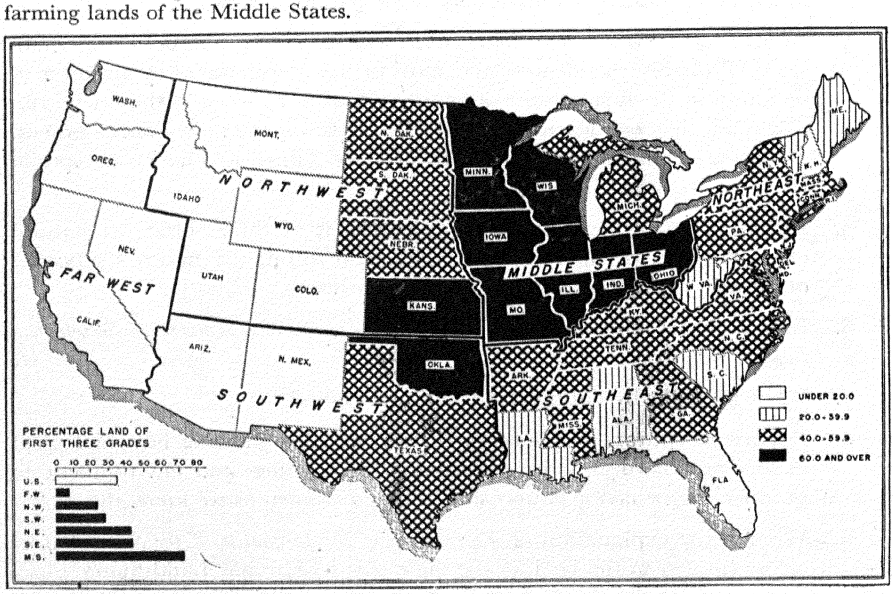
8. Report on Amram Scheinfeld's *Women and Men*, showing how biological factors and natural forces combine with training and environment to produce the behavior patterns of men and women as we know them.

9. What is the explanation of *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes* as interpreted in the book of the same title by Gunnar Landtman?



Land as the Main Resource for Wealth and Living

Nature is benevolent and also ruthless when wasted land exacts its price of poor men. ABOVE: Percentage of land in the United States in which erosion reflects at least 25% top soil lost. Here man and nature are out of balance — see Dust Bowl as an Ecological phenomena. BELOW: Percentage of land in first three grades — excellent, good, fair — Note the rich farming lands of the Middle States.



10. What are the implications of Frederick J. E. Woodbridge's characterization of nature as the domain in which both knowledge and happiness are pursued. See his *An Essay on Nature.*
11. Of the natural resources, is it likely that land exercises a greater influence upon society than any other? What was the Sumner-Keller "man-land ratio"? See their *Science of Society.*
12. Make a critical appraisal of Hermann R. Muelder's and David M. Delo's *Years of This Land* as it relates American history to "soil, sand, rocks, wind, water, and rain, grass and trees, bread and butter of real life."
13. To what extent is Darrell H. Davis' *The Earth and Man* a valuable book for sociologists?
14. Is it possible that some of the laws of nature are broken not only in such levels as a Dust Bowl experience but in modern technology and the substitution of machines for men?
15. Compare human and natural resources of the several continents of the world. See *Statistical Year-Books of the League of Nations; Population Index; Foreign Commerce Year Book, 1938; International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics, 1938–1939; Economic Almanacs* of the National Industrial Conference Board: 1940 and 1941–1942; Inter American Statistical Institute, *Statistical Activities of American Nations, 1941.*
16. What role have land and other abundant natural resources played in the development of the United States as a material culture and in the development of an American philosophy?
17. Sketch the total land picture of the United States as a nation and as it is made up of regions.
18. What evidences from contemporary society can be given that seem to bear out the fact that the marginal limits of waste and wear of the land, water, forests, or minerals have been reached?
19. What is meant by the statement that "all progress must be in harmony with nature"? In what ways has technology failed to take cognizance of this? What have been the results?
20. Check the introductory sociology texts of Kimball Young, R. L. Sutherland and J. L. Woodward, John L. and John P. Gillin, for special study of society and nature. See also the other texts mentioned in the paragraphs following.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology,* chapters I, II, VI, VIII, IX–XI, XXVI, and XXIX. Sociology as it studies man as a product of society. The biological and psychological bases of social behavior. The personality

Nature's endowment in scenic beauty, symbolic of the search for balance between man and nature. Northeast, Southeast, Northwest and Far West and Southwest — rhododendron wild and gardened; dogwoods, in forest and in park, reflect a part of the beautification of America's landscape. ABOVE, rhododendron picture and BELOW, dogwoods in the Springtime.

development of the child; drives, complexes, and conflicts of human growth; and the task of adjustment in society. Man as he adapts himself to the world of nature and remakes his natural environment into products to be used in building a culture. Economic organization seen to depend on the tools man has to use and how well he can organize the resources around him. Social adequacy as it is measurable in terms of variability and basic uses of raw materials.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapters I, IV, V, XIII, and XV. The anthropological origins of man; the innate qualities that determine the nature and form of human society. The human mentality as a raw material in culture building. The primitive society and its extensive use of the land, game, plant life, and bodies of water in the natural habitat. Social patterns shaped by the degree of advancement in cultural development and the amassing and wise use of natural advantages.

Lowie, Robert H.: *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, chapters II–XII and XVIII. The utilization and influence of the resources of nature in every phase of primitive life: food, dress and ornamentation, houses, handicrafts, trade and transportation, amusement, war, and art. Efforts of the family, clan, and tribe through government, religion, and economic organization to transform the materials and energies of nature into social valuables.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, chapters I, III, V–VIII, and X. The corollaries and implications of the physical sciences for sociology. The theories and important facts concerning human group behavior and the societal processes. Economic behavior of man; the major aspects of economic patterns. The relative values involved in the attempts of man to equalize the ratio of wants to satisfactions.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, chapters I, II, VII, and VIII. The part played by natural resources in the development of a mechanized civilization. Agitation for the conversion of more raw materials into power and new energies, economy of production, normality of consumption, and the socialization of creative activity. The need of our technological civilization for new cultural values and a type of progress accompanied by an organic ideology. Assimilation of the machine as a means of simplifying the cultural environment and utilizing all of man's achievements for the creation of a humane society.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapters V and VI. The regional approach in the study of society and the many aspects in which such an approach is an attempt to find the organic and natural order of life. Human and cultural values to be found by man in a culture that follows balanced lines of growth rather than those values born of a man-made urban order. Regionalism includes the recognition of natural resources as the raw materials for societal development. Regional planning comprehends the use of the natural landscape as a site, resource, structure, and theater.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters II–IV, VI, and XXVII. The important relation of social problems to the waste and misuse of the nation's

natural resources. The natural potentialities of the country and a program of physical planning. Examination of the biological and psychological background of the American people proposed as an approach to the study of American society and its problems. Education and democracy interpreted as means of developing and making the wisest use of our natural and social inheritance.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, especially chapters III, IV, XVIII. The natural regions of the United States as a background to understanding the six cultural regions. An inventory of the natural resources of the Northwest, Middle West, Far West, Northeast, Southeast, and Southwest.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapters I, III–V, XIV; pages 33–34, 120–24, 476, 569–582. Emphasizes the comparative influence of natural environment, heredity, and group life on learning and behavior. The problem of social change as a process of accumulation through differing rates of growth effectuated by natural environment and collective behavior factors. Use of natural resources by prehistoric and primitive peoples, especially the Eskimos. Effect of natural resources on standard of living and culture.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapters 2–5. Nature as a determinant and as a conditioner of human group behavior. The biological, physiological, and psychological factors that are basic to an understanding of the matrix of individual, group, and institutional interrelationships that make up society.

See Rupert B. Vance's *All These People*. Give his concept of human resources.

See David E. Lilienthal's *TVA; Democracy on the March*. Show how all resources are conserved and co-ordinated.

See *The Pacific Northwest: A Regional, Human and Economic Survey of Resources and Development*, edited by Otis W. Freeman and Howard H. Martin.

Recent Social Trends, Introduction, pages XV, XVI, XX, chapter II; pages 220, 1300, 1328, 1350. Problems of minerals, power, and land — with conservational suggestions: increasing use of scrap metal, growing difficulties of mining, rise of water power, evidences of mineral depletion and shifts in sources of supply, economic organization of mining and its effects on the waste of resources, scattering of ownership of mineral property and conflict of local interest as obstacles, rooted in English common law, to unification of policy among producers. Need for conservation. Problem of land: how to control use of land for continuous adjustment of production to consumption. Depletion of soil resources. Advances in agricultural technique. Trends in agricultural and forest land utilization; causes of regional shift in crop areas. Possibilities of development of a village life toward solution of the problem of the drain of rural wealth to cities. Conservation and development of natural resources have retained same relative emphasis at the end as at the beginning of period: government aid increased proportionately to civil activities as a whole. Expenditures for experiment stations charted.

The Great Problem: In Search of the Regional Balance of Man and Resources

COUNTRIES RANKING FIRST AND SECOND IN PRODUCTION OF IMPORTANT HUMAN, AGRICULTURAL, AND MINERAL RESOURCES

1937

RESOURCE	FIRST	SECOND
Population	China	India
Land Area	Russia	China
Wheat	Russia	United States
Rye	Russia	Germany
Rice	China	India
Corn	United States	Brazil
Oats	Russia	United States
Coffee	Brazil	Colombia
Tea	India	Ceylon
Vegetable Oil	China	India
Potatoes	Russia	Germany
Cocoa	Gold Coast	Brazil
Fish Catch	Japan	United States
Meat	United States	Germany
Milk and Dairy Products	United States	Germany
Wool	Australia	United States
Cotton	United States	India
Silk	Japan	China
Tobacco	China	United States
Cane Sugar	India	Cuba
Coal	United States	Great Britain
Lignite	Germany	Czecho-Slovakia
Petroleum	United States	Russia
Iron Ore	United States	Russia
Rubber	Malaya States	Netherland Indies
Copper	United States	Chile
Zinc	United States	Germany
Lead	United States	Canada
Silver	United States	Canada
Gold	U. of S. Africa	United States
Aluminum	United States	Germany
Tin	Malaya States	Netherland Indies
Tungsten	China	Burma
Antimony	China	Mexico
Chromite	S. Rhodesia	Turkey
Manganese	Russia	India
Nickel	Canada	New Caledonia
Mercury	Italy	Spain

SOURCE: BY ALICE DAVIS, STATISTICAL YEAR-BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1940/41.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Chase, Stuart, *Rich Land, Poor Land;* Faris, Ellsworth, *The Nature of Human Nature;* Giddings, Franklin H., *Civilization and Society*, chapters I–III; Humbert, Archer B., *Soil. Its Influence on the History of the United States;* Johnson, Gerald W., *The Wasted Land;* Kelsen, Hans, *Society and Nature. A Sociological Inquiry;* Landtman, Gunnar, *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes;* Lord, Russell R., *Behold Our Land;* McAdie, A. G., *Man and Weather;* Muelder, Hermann R., and Delo, David M., *Years of This Land;* Mukerjee, Radhakamal, *Regional Sociology;* National Resources Committee, *Energy Resources and National Policy:* Report of the Energy Resources Committee, January, 1939 (see a dozen other reports of this committee); Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill, *American Regionalism;* Odum, Howard W., *Southern Regions of the United States;* Sauer, Carl O., *Man in Nature;* Scheinfeld, Amram, *Women and Men;* Smith, J. Russell, *Men and Resources: A Study of North America and Its Place in World Geography;* Sumner, William Graham, *Folkways;* Ward, Robert DeC., *Climates of the United States;* Whitman, Walt, *Leaves of Grass;* Whitney, Milton, *Soil and Civilization;* Wissler, Clark, *The Relation of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America;* Woodbridge, Frederick J. E., *An Essay on Nature;* Zimmerman, Erich W., *World Resources and Industries.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. What is the nature and purpose of the agency, *Friends of the Land?* Describe its work and give samplings from its publication.
2. What state and regional agencies are at work in the field of conservation? Private? Public?
3. What are the chief national agencies in the field of resource conservation: (a) voluntary, (b) governmental?
4. A case study of the National Audubon Society, including its successes and failures, would give a good picture of social organization and processes.
5. A similar case study of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals would prove interesting. (A beginning would be the biography of the S.P.C.A. founder, Henry Bergh: *Angel in Top Hat*, by Zelma Steele, published 1942.)
6. An inventory of learned societies that include action as well as study would make a worthwhile piece of research.

7. Trace the origin and development of the movement in education for "resources education." In this connection check on John E. Ivey's *Channeling Research into Education.*
8. The most significant action or administrative agency in this field was the National Resources Committee, later the National Resources Planning Board, funds for which were discontinued by Congress in 1941. Describe the work of the N.R.P.B.
9. Review the studies of the N.R.P.B. on river drainage basins. How many major river valleys did they delineate?
10. Report on the National Resources Committee three-part analysis of *Research: A National Resource.* To what extent was this an inventory of technological resources?
11. Using the numerous published studies of the TVA, describe the Authority as an action agency for resource conservation and use.
12. What have been the conflicting issues involved in the TVA's development of regional resources?
13. What other river valley authorities might be so organized as action agencies? What is meant by M.V.A.?
14. What regional planning agencies have devoted attention to regional resources?

4

Ecological and Geographical Factors of Society

Society and nature are inseparable. We have pointed out in previous chapters how, within the great frame of reference which we call nature, there are inseparable relationships between elements of human society and nature. There are abundant evidences to indicate the nature and range of these interrelationships. Some are found in the physical backgrounds of society, in man's biological bases, and in nature's laws and processes of growth, pressure, and penalty. Some evidences are recorded in the great religions of man as they assume a close relationship between God and nature, or as they direct man through nature to God. Some are found in the history of the role man has ascribed to nature and others are to be found in the heritage of art, literature, and philosophy. Still other evidences are reflected in the recurring patterns of human thought which seek to join natural science and philosophy, or science and religion, and to bridge the distance between mankind's knowledge and theory and his needs and desires. All of these interrelationships and the multiple evidences of their reality are many times reinforced in a new world where technology, fabricated of physical science, joins all mankind together in human relationships, the nature and future of which will be determined by the kind of world the social sciences may help develop.

Ecology contributes much. All these general relationships are a part of the system or framework through which sociology searches for reality in the modern world. Here sociology calls upon ecology, the science of the relationship between organisms and environment, and finds it a most important aid in the study of the relation of man and his society to the land and all of the natural environment. Consistently in this search for understanding sociology tries to co-ordinate its work with the physical sciences

and the other social sciences. Consistently it studies the balance between animals and plants; between these and the land and resources for their development; and the regional balance of man in all these relationships. Sociology may thus anticipate society at its best when there has been approximated the perfect adjustment between man and his physical environment, and thence consequently the best possible cultural adjustment within the total framework which we call society.

Geography contributes much. Sociology not only seeks to understand the functional relationship between organisms and their environment but especially the relationship between society and its physical environment. Still more it seeks to know the nature of that environment and its conditioning influence upon culture. In this search for special knowledge of physiographic backgrounds, sociology finds its chief support in the increasingly comprehensive science of geography. For geography, once the relatively elementary science which studied the physical facts of earth and described the location of places and peoples, has come to put its chief focus upon human factors and relationships. Thus the geographers not only explore what was originally called physical geography, then specialize in what was called human geography, economic geography, and political geography, but consolidate their total inquiries to include the whole range of man's relation to the earth and its resources.

So comprehensive has geography become that it is increasingly closely related to ecology, regionalism, and demography as the study of people in the places where they live. More than ever, from now on, the sociologist must have the help of the geographer in understanding and describing the physical and cultural environment of people the world over. The ecologist's researches into functional relationship and the geographer's facts about the total physical environment will help to tie together the people of the world, distribute their resources more fairly, and make a new global world of interrelationships.

Ecology studies the natural processes closest to man. Ecology, a science of natural relationships, holds a three-fold interest and value for the sociologist. In the first place, ecology, as the study of the relation of the organism to environment, comes near to understanding that great part of nature which is closest to man. Here, analyzed, interpreted, and explained, is nature in all of its zoological and botanical glory and power. And, in inquiring into the resemblances and differences between the human community and the animal and plant community, students are continuously trying to discover analogies to human society. In the second place, from the point of view that sociology needs to discover and develop increasingly more

effective scientific methods, ecology does offer many an object lesson in precise definition and systematic classification. Ecology, through its skills in classification and observation, its close correlation between geography and biology, and its definite laws of "biomes," "climaxes," "succession," and other processes, provides the sociologist with an example of scientific method. In the third place, ecology is being expanded into what the ecologists themselves call the application of their science to the life of man and what the sociologists call human ecology. The new regionalism is sometimes called world ecology. In addition to the many relationships in the natural world which can be compared to relationships in human society, the sociologists who have pioneered in human ecology stress the roles of competition and adjustment in human society.

Ecology is the comparative study of societal adjustment. In utilizing the ecological approach, the sociologist will sense the immensity of the relationship of time and space to the evolution of regions, and the inevitability of the consequences following on disturbance to "the balance of nature" by whatever means. He will get a new sense of the unity of all nature and of all society in a way that could not be achieved in any other study. An important consideration in any general introduction to ecology is the concept that life and environment are interchangeable in the sense that one does not really exist without the other. To illustrate from the elementary study of physics, it is sometimes difficult for the student to realize that when a giant tree crashes to the earth in some primeval forest, there is *no sound* — unless there are ears there to hear it. Sound is not in the falling tree, but in the human or animal organ receptive to its waves. In some such way the student of sociology, from the study of ecology, will realize that "life consists essentially of a process of interchange between the life substance or protoplasm and the environment." It is so in organic nature; so in the protoplasm from which the human being evolves. By the same token, the powerful conditioning influence of environment finds its genesis in this relationship between the organism and the environment.

And so ecology studies living things, not as individuals themselves, but "as members of a complex network of interconnected organisms" functioning in a similar complex environment which includes physical nature, other units in the species, and other organisms in the same species. In many ways this is quite analogous to the role of the individual in human society. And the ecologist is likely to feel that, by using the resources and techniques of all the branches of biological science, he is likely to attain "the nearest approach to the truth concerning life that science is likely to obtain." Accordingly, the emerging and widening range of this study of life now

comprehends plant ecology, animal ecology, and human ecology. It is interesting to note that in 1869, when Ernst Haeckel invented the term *ecology*, he based it on the Greek word which meant house or dwelling, and it is, therefore, quite appropriate that ecology should come to comprehend the human habitat as well as plant and animal habitats.

Ecology explores natural communities and cultural capacity. There are other important aspects of ecology for the sociologist. One is that it is a science of communities. Another is that it measures the carrying capacity of human culture, which involves all wild environment in the utilization of natural resources in all of their regional aspects. This is of the greatest significance to the social theory involved in our present text, which explores what we call the marginal theory of survival. This raises the question of how big and how complex; how technological and how specialized; how artificial and how superimposed society may become before it starts decaying. Or, stated differently, the margin of survival may be reached when the demands of artificial society through supertechnology exceed the adjusting capacities of the organism. Such an explanation of the decline of civilizations may well be studied together with the theories of Spengler and others which assume an inevitable natural cycle of growth and decay as in the analogy of childhood, youth, manhood, and old age, or spring, summer, autumn, and winter.

Human ecology as the regional balance of man. One of the first approaches to the study of human ecology by sociologists was Radhakamal Mukerjee's pioneer textbook on *Regional Sociology*, which he has followed by many articles on distribution and succession and on the concepts of balance and organization. All this is of importance in the sociologist's study of the region, which Mukerjee defines as "an area where many dissimilar species of inhabitants adapt themselves to a common existence, so that the ecological community as a whole keeps on." He warns repeatedly that man and his social organization as an integral part of the region prosper or are doomed as the region as a whole prospers or is doomed. He points out that social ecology may reveal that in crowded regions the disregard of regional balance, the result of population pressure, ultimately may lead "both man and his habitat to a common doom." Man is often guilty of actions that bring the disharmonies which finally mean his own failure in that region. "Of all animals," wrote Mukerjee, "man has not planned his effort and food supply as a species on a contributing basis, and the appellation *Homo Stultus* is nowhere more applicable than in rich regions laid waste after a few generations of his brilliant and wasteful achievement, Civilization."

Human ecology as the study of urban areal distribution. At the University of Chicago, American human ecology had its rise primarily in the work of Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess. Their studies of urban areas in the city of Chicago resulted in a large body of material dealing with the areal distribution of social phenomena. Other surveys of concrete social problems, of crime or delinquency or poverty have resulted, in which the analyses of areal distribution of phenomena are entitled ecological. Roderick D. McKenzie extended his inquiries into urban regions and emphasized the element of time along with those of space and competition. "Human ecology," wrote McKenzie, "differs from demography and human geography in that the main object of attention is neither the population aggregate nor the physical-cultural habitat, but rather the relations of man to man. The human ecologist, obtaining his point of view and some of his concepts from the plant and animal ecologists, concerns himself with the nexus of sustenance and place relations of the individuals and institutions which give the community its characteristic form and organization." According to McKenzie, the underlying assumption of competition was the fact that struggle is associated with the function of order. The ecological unit of "the communal organism" comprehended "an aggregation of individual persons, a geographical and cultural habitat, and an interrelated and interdependent biosocial unity."

GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS IN HUMAN SOCIETY

Although ecology and geography are so intimately related that they are sometimes considered the same, geography contributes more to the total description of the physical environment of all organisms including man and his society. There is, for instance, the whole of the earth's climates of hot and cold, wet and dry, sunshine and cloud, storm and flood, and all their variations from region to region. There is the soil with its hundreds of varying types suitable for the growth of thousands of species of plants for food and drugs. From the earth's geology there is the great world of minerals for power and commerce, for food and ornament. The soil is the foundation of agriculture and mining, of hunting, fishing, and forestry — primary industries basic to all early cultures. Here, too, are rivers and waters basic to commerce and travel, fishing and trapping, and recreation and power — molders of civilizations. Here, too, are mountains and valleys, situation and isolation, again basic factors in the development of peoples and cultures. And all of these are distributed in varying character by regions and

by areas all over the world, so that the study of society must assume the study of what has been called "the geographic pattern of mankind."

Here, as in the case of ecology and of the broader aspects of biology, the student will find a two-fold objective of his study, the one seeking to understand the facts of nature and the other the relation of these facts to man and his society. Here also he will come to study not only what geographic influences do to man, but how mankind has mastered and changed his environment, especially through the techniques of communication and transportation as well as multiple other inventions. As the student of sociology progresses in understanding the world, he is presently at home with the savage or the civilized, with the forces of nature or the organizations of society that have grown up to meet the needs of survival in all kinds of situations. This, again, is "the beginning of wisdom."

Geographic factors are powerful in the development of culture. The understanding of society in relation to geography is not only bound up with the historical development of man in his geographic patterns, but of the theory and thought upon the subject. In substance, summarized from many sources, the role of geographic factors in the development of human society may be stated variously about as follows. First, there are certain *general effects* of geography. Man is the child of the earth. They cannot be separated. History and geography go hand in hand. Culture and geography are inseparable. The earth feeds, mothers, constrains, and develops man and his society. The land molds the people and the people mold the land. Rivers and mountains, valleys and plains affect the religion, the literature, the art, the philosophy of the people. There are no exceptions in the long road of evolution. There are also geographic effects upon *economic life.* The struggle for existence is a struggle for land, for space, for resources. Rivers and harbors afford means for transportation, food and power, and towns and cities grow up around them. Rich land means rich people. Climate, land, and situation give a people economic opportunity. Natural resources of all sorts are basic to high standards of economy. All sorts of conflict, including war, have arisen because of needs or desires for better resources. Some theorists hold that the problem of distribution of men and resources in balance between the two is a supreme problem of societal adjustment. There are also many effects of geography upon *political life.* Even though the newer geopolitics was overpublicized inaccurately as a specifically Nazi political theory, nevertheless geography is basic to most nations and to their expansion, either by peaceful methods or war. But especially geographic factors condition the nature of laws and institutions. The older

theories held that men in colder regions were more austere, courageous, and inclined to fight, and, contrariwise, the inhabitants of warmer climates were less warlike. There were also many theories of the general effect of climate upon people and their cluture.

ECOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY IN THE STUDY OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

We have already pointed out the significance of the physical continent with its great resources that makes Amcrica distinctive, and we have sketched something of the balance of man and nature in the United States. From this viewpoint the whole of the United States may well be envisaged as a laboratory for the study of human ecology and geography. It is generally assumed that higher types of culture and civilization bring a more complete adaptation and mastery of the physical environment. Yet the story of man's civilization is also a story of exploitation and waste of resources. This can be illustrated by many regions where technology and science have been used by man to remake the geographical landscape to fit a desired cultural pattern; but also by other regions where the prevailing mode has been, and is, one of waste.

Illustrations are so numerous as to make selection difficult. There are the negative exhibits of the Dust Bowl and the cutover timber areas, and the single-crop "cotton economy" of the South. Because of the tragedies of the farm folk, and the general cultural and economic breakdown, the Dust-Bowl region of the Great Plains is a frequent and vivid citation of how man has disturbed the balance of nature. The land, so the assumptions go, was grass land and not crop land; the water supplies were replenished by rainfall, and, when man interfered by draining the lakes, streams, and wells, the inevitable results were that the water supply was diminished. This illustration needs scientific and historical verification. However, soil erosion from rain and leaching and wind, the cutting down of timbers on the hillsides and adjacent to streams, are generally accepted substantiations. Thus, the erosion of soil fills the streams from eroded lands that are then too poor for crops. This throws the stream out of order and in general throws nature out of balance. The inhabitants of the region pay the price. So, too, the exploitation of wild life is another example. The conservation movement, as it is related to wild life, is cited as a remedy for the destruction of birds, and consequently this movement has had a measurable influence upon the decrease of insect pests.

On the positive side, an excellent example is the aqueduct by which water is carried from the Owens River for 238 miles over and through the moun-

tains to supply the city of Los Angeles. Without the aqueduct, bringing water from the high Sierras, the growth of the city would have been limited. Salt Lake City also is an illustration of the mastery of a natural habitat. When courageous Mormon settlers came through the canyon passes and first gazed upon the basin where the city now is situated, they saw only a wide expanse of sage growing on parched soil, one lone gnarled tree in the whole valley, and clouds of grasshoppers and locusts. Vision and human strength slowly built a Zion in which trees, flowers, and fruits abound, and in which some one hundred and fifty thousand people find the struggles of their forefathers an inspiration to keep building a greater culture. In Florida, man has shown still another type of ingenuity. Florida swamps, drained, their malarial mosquitoes destroyed, have been reclaimed for productive farm land and prosperous urban areas. Miami, a popular winter health and vacation resort and a sizeable seaport, was, until the land was drained and the harbor deepened, a sparsely settled part of the state. Other examples are the great hydroelectric dams for flood control and irrigation, and the pipe lines that transport millions of gallons of oil through miles of underground ways.

Whether it be a bridging of wide rivers, the tunneling of once impassable mountains, the building of airports on land once under the sea, or safe and rapid air transport to out-of-the-way places, the achievements of science and invention are lessening the control of climate, geography, and distance over man. Yet they increase the hazards of technology's destroying nature, and it must be remembered that nature demands that society respect the laws of organic survival.

Definitions and Examples

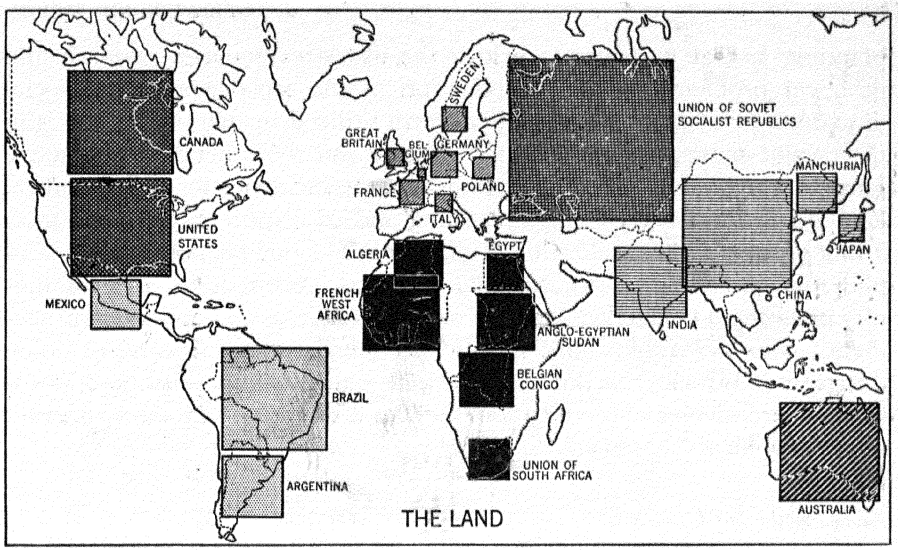
One of the terms most frequently used in this chapter and in many places throughout the book is *balance*. Often it is used as more or less co-ordinate with *equilibrium*. Thus we refer to the regional balance of man; or again to the balance of man, animals, and plants; and again to the balance between men and machines; or the balance between the culture of the folk and the civilization of the state.

In its application to the ongoings of American society we refer to the *regional balance of America* as the most important problem of domestic organization and economic development. Then we illustrate with *balanced economy*, *balanced agriculture*, and *balanced culture*. In terms of world society we cite the *imbalance between men and resources* as one of the causes of war and maladjustment. In terms of world organization we refer to the balance between men and resources on the one hand, and culture and technology on the other, as the key to enduring peace and prosperity.

While these terms and phrases are important as stimulating symbols of objectives and as premises for study, they also have accurate, concrete meanings. The two key meanings of balance as used most often are the *concept of equality of factors and functions* and the *system of correlated parts working together in harmony and perspective*. Thus balance means equality not only in the sense of debit and credit.

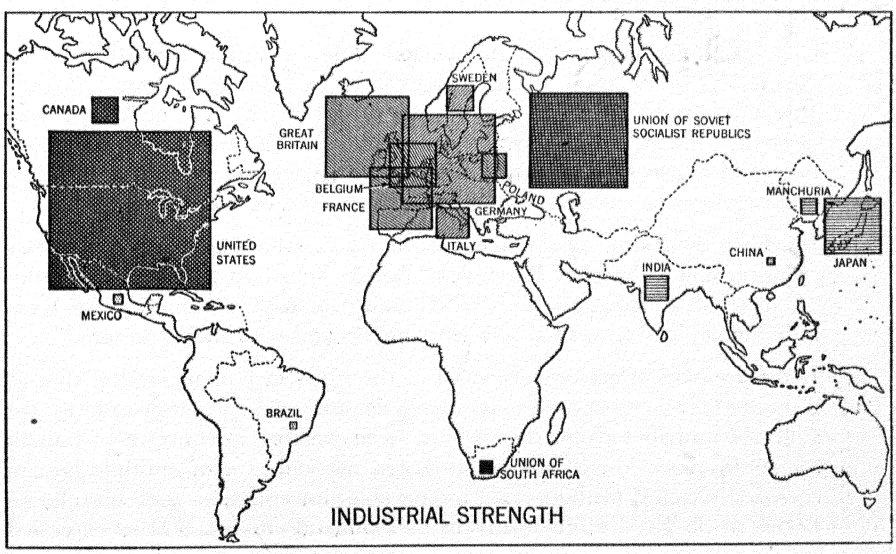
Implied in the definition of balance are many factors besides the technical one of a balanced economy. The heart of the problem is found in the search for equal opportunity for all the people through the conservation, development, and use of their resources in the places they live, adequately adjusted to the interregional culture and economy of the other regions of the nation. The goal is, therefore, clearly one of balanced culture as well as economy, in which equality of opportunity in education, in public health and welfare, in the range of occupational outlook, and in the elimination of handicapping differentials between and among different groups of people and levels of culture may be achieved.

The terms *regional development* and *regional planning* are used often. One good definition of *social planning* may be stated in terms of balance. It is reflected in the postulates that the essence of planning is the search for balance and equilibrium among conflicting forces. Another concept of



Regional Imbalance between Men and Resources

ABOVE: Land area in symbols of distribution by world regions. This and the map "The People," similarly symbolized in Chapter 1, can be compared with BELOW: Industrial Strength in symbols of distribution by world regions. See the figures for population to be found in the map and tables in Chapter 1 and note the imbalance between, say, China and the United States.



planning is that it strives to bridge the distances between research and practical problems through application of the social sciences to social direction. *Social direction* is a general term utilized in two ways. One is in the passive sense of trends and movements and the other is in the active sense in which education and planning set the incidence for social change. The distinction between social planning and education may be seen from a more or less formal definition of planning. For our purposes here, social planning, including world, national, regional, urban, state, and community planning on whatever levels of natural resources and cultural arrangements, connotes design, and specific, technical, workable ways of doing things set in priority schedules of time and spatial relationships, as opposed to the mere ideological, educational, general direction of society inherent in philosophical "systems."

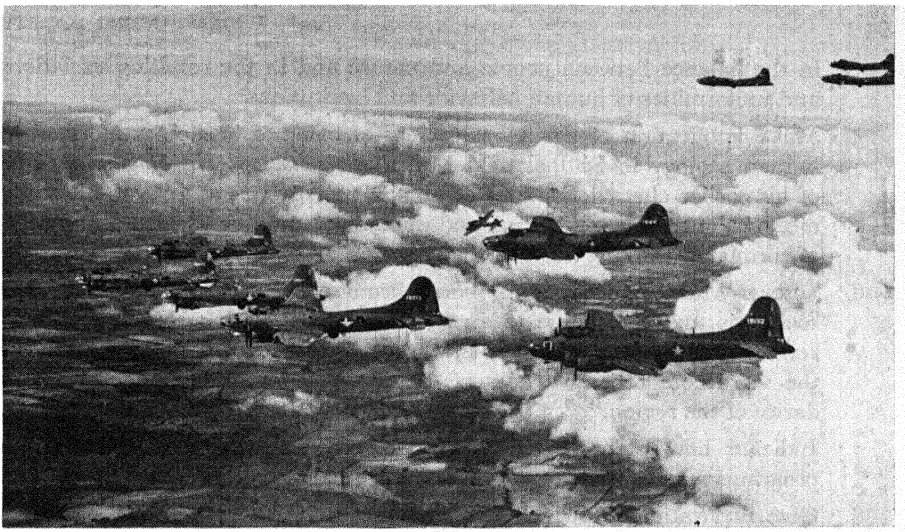
Assignments and Questions

1. Apply some of the ecological concepts to the following quotation from George T. Renner: "When, in America, the world's most productive grassland becomes a 'desert on the march' and casts its dusty shadow nearly 2,000 miles eastward to the Atlantic Ocean, we suspect that something is amiss. When the fertile farms of the American Midlands slide silently layer by layer downstream to build mud flats on the floor of the Gulf of Mexico, or when magnificent forests dwindle to burned-over wastes of blackened stumps incapable of restocking themselves in timber, we become apprehensive."

2. Give examples to substantiate the following quotation from Charles C. Adams' "The Relation of General Ecology to Human Ecology," *Ecology*, July, 1935, page 332: "Human ecology is not restricted solely to the past or to the present, it is also vitally concerned with the future. It is the tradition of ecologists to endeavor to understand the present in terms of the past, and regularly to anticipate future successions and developments."

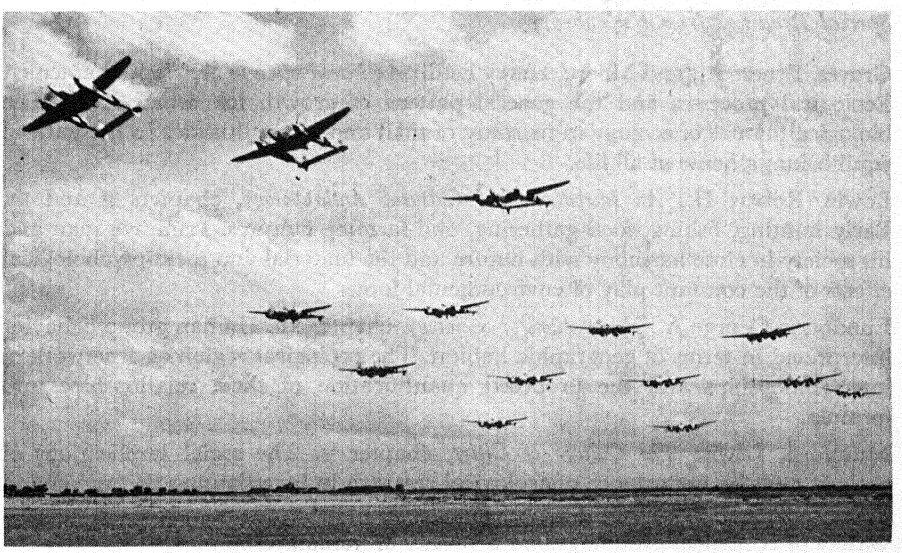
3. Illustrate the following statement from W. C. Allee's and Thomas Park's "Concerning Ecological Principles," *Science*, February 24, 1939, page 169: "Ecology deals not only with individuals and with communities of these individuals; it is concerned also with species and with their relations."

4. If the premises of ecology are valid in the study of human society; that is, if human ecology becomes an available and effective approach to the study of human society, then would it be possible to conceive of human society in general or of human society in particular or of multiple human societies existing without the inseparable interrelation and correlation between the physical environment and cultural environment as expressed



World Geography Brought Within the Range of Study and Exploitation

No longer isolation with two billion people popularly characterized as being a world community. A long way from covered wagon and sail boat to 100 Octane gas. Yet the challenge of the folk is still supreme. ABOVE: Airways, like atomic energy, a new key word — Flying Forts. BELOW: A master formation of P-38s, planes outmoded before their allotted time.



in the balance between people and nature and in the resulting variations and uniformities of human behavior and institutions?

5. Make application of this by samplings of common meanings ascribed to human ecology in Radhakamal Mukerjee's *Man and His Habitation.* One of his earlier characterizations of human ecology was as a "synoptic study of the balance of plant, animal and human communities, which are systems of correlated working parts in the organisation of the region."
6. Discuss Mukerjee's assertion that: "From the ecological point of view society is man's response to an increase of population. Human ecology reveals that the laws, structure and processes of human population subserve the more comprehensive laws of ecologic balance, interchange and solidarity of the region."
7. Indicate how plant breeding, animal breeding, and soil conservation programs may contribute to the ecological balance of a region.
8. Give illustrations in which the introduction of animals, birds, or plants that were foreign to a region has disturbed its balance.
9. Point out how the study of American urban distribution is not ecology because of the time element involved.
10. How does human ecology differ from demography? See R. D. McKenzie in *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*, edited by L. L. Bernard, pages 58–59.
11. Discuss the cultural features of Russell Smith's principal books on geography. What regional divisions did he utilize in *Men and Resources?*

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter IV. Ecological processes and the general pattern of growth for urban areas. The biological nature of ecology in its study of man and his institutions in the natural equilibrium scheme of all life.

Lowie, Robert H.: *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, chapters II and III. Early hunting, fishing, food-gathering, and farming cultures. Primitive man and his society in close harmony with nature and the material and socio-psychological effects of the constant play of environmental forces.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, chapter XII. Human group behavior interpreted in terms of geographic habitat. The ecological region as a network of interrelationships and the proposed quantification of these relationships into formula.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapter V. The social implications of ecology and the importance of ecological research in investigating the region and the organic web or society it represents. Social balance as it involves the use of a variety of ecological groupings and a variety of human responses.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, chapters III–VII. A story of the development of technology revealing the succession of economic and cultural stages of man in society. The phenomenal change in human and institutional life with the building of industry and the rise of the city. Assimilation of the machine seen to be necessary before man can return to the natural, organic, and functional way of living.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters II and III. The present-day problems of adaption and mastery of the geographical environment. Ten ecological regions of the United States classified according to the climax of plant and animal life.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, chapters XIV and XVII, in which the ecologists' views of the region are presented and in which the sociologists' use of ecology to define the region is discussed.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapter XIV and pages 124–129; 432–439. Relationships between man and his environment as they affect choice of settlement, migration, size and type of community. Modern man's control over environmental factors by means of inventions compared to relative lack of control of animals and earlier cultures. Present distribution of world population and possibilities for support of future increase.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapter III. Ecology as the science which studies the relation between physical environment and cultural patterns. The various ways in which man has destroyed his natural collaborators while building his culture and the dire results of imbalance which forces man to develop an artificial mode of life.

See especially Rupert B. Vance's *All These People*, chapters VIII, XII, XIII, XXXI.

Recent Social Trends, Introduction, pages xxi–xxiii, xxxix–xli; chapters I, IX, and X. Distribution and density of population. Need observed for social and physical planning of communities. Rural and urban growth plotted and explanations offered. Five groups of cities of most rapid growth delineated and explanations presented for the increasing populational concentration within these groups. Trend toward metropolitanism observed and analyzed, particularly the significant migration into those metropolitan regions situated near deep-water rim of the country. Metropolitan regionalism discussed; process of metropolitan growth; suburban movement; notation of segregation as an urban characteristic. Structural changes plotted. City and regional planning and zoning. Conclusion that recently emerged metropolitan community will characterize indefinitely our national urban life. Villages studied as to growth, stability, and characteristics of their populations; role of the village; emergence of larger rural communities. In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Alihan, M. A., *Social Ecology;* Allee, W. C., *Animal Life and Social Growth;* Bews, J. W., *Human Ecology;* Bowman, Isaiah, *Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences;* Clements, F. E., Weaver, J. E., and Hanson, H. C., *Plant Competition: An Analysis of Community Functions;* Chamberlain, James F., *Geography and Society;* Elton, Charles S., *Animal Ecology* and *Animal Ecology and Evolution;* Fairgrieve, James, *Geography and World Power;* Fleure, Herbert J., *The Geographical Background of Modern Problems;* Forde, C. Daryll, *Habitat, Economy, and Society: A Geographical Introduction to Ethnology;* Hesse, Richard, *Ecological Animal Geography* (translated by W. C. Allee and Karl Schmidt); Hubbard, George D., *The Geography of Europe;* Huntington, E. C., and Carlson, F. A., *The Geographic Basis of Society;* Landon, Charles E., *Industrial Geography;* McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community* and *Readings in Human Ecology;* Mukerjee, Radhakamal, *Regional Sociology* and *Man and His Habitation;* Park, R. E., Burgess, E. W., and McKenzie, R. D. (eds.), *The City;* Pearse, A. S., *Animal Ecology;* Pomfret, John E., *The Geographic Pattern of Mankind;* Sauer, Carl O., *The Morphology of Landscape* and *Man in Nature;* Smith, J. Russell, *American Lands and Peoples;* Vance, Rupert B., *Human Geography of the South* and *All These People;* Weaver, John E., and Clements, Frederick B., *Plant Ecology;* Webb, Walter Prescott, *The Great Plains;* Whitbeck, R. H., and Thomas, O. J., *The Geographic Factor: Its Role in Life and Civilization;* White, C. Langdon, and Renner, George T., *Geography: An Introduction to Human Ecology.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. What organizations are interested in the development of ecology? What is its organization within the American Association for the Advancement of Science?
2. What is the general field covered by *Ecology* which has now been developed through more than a score of volumes? See July, 1936, pages 333 following Warner P. Taylor's answer to the question, "What is ecology and what is it good for?"
3. In so far as it has implications for social action, or practical applications, would regionalism be world ecology?
4. What practical help is there in ecology for geopolitics?
5. In planning a major regional economy within the United States, is it possible that ecology, as the science which studies the optimum arrangements for adaption of animals and plants to an area, might make a very realistic contribution?
6. Describe the history, organization, and general program of the National Geographic Society. How does it differ from the usual scientific academic society, such as the American Geographic Society?

7. Beginning in 1939, the National Geographic Society produced an unusual series of regional maps of the world. Describe the regions covered in this series. What was their main use?
8. Describe the *Geographic School Bulletins* of the National Geographic Society. How do they typify a larger service than merely "the increase of geographic knowledge and its popular diffusion"?
9. What international geographical societies provide public services?
10. To what extent has the Institute of Pacific Relations been an agency of study and an agency of action?
11. What other action societies are now, or should be, available?

5

The Regional Foundations of Society

Regionalism as scientific theory and practical study. In the search for an adequate framework for the understanding of society in its relations to physical and cultural environment, sociology explores the concept of regionalism as an approach for research and as a tool for planning. Regionalism assumes the regional foundations of society to be elemental in both historical and modern cultures in world society and in American society. For the region, as the unit of all folk-regional society, is the creator of culture. The region is the elemental constituent unit of the total larger society everywhere and is the smallest unit for study that combines all the factors of time, geography, and folk behavior essential to complete analysis. How regionalism fulfills our characterization of sociology as both sound theory and practical study may be seen clearly from its concept as the study and planning of each region with special reference to the integration of all regions into the societal whole.

Regionalism as a scientific approach. Regionalism, as a framework for study and planning, may be characterized as a science in a number of ways. First, it is a science in the sense that it represents a substantial body of scientific materials. This body of knowledge comprehends a wide range, including research into areal situations and phenomena in the fields of geography, biology, ecology, history, economics, anthropology, and sociology. Furthermore, these materials are being continuously analyzed, interpreted, and utilized in productive ways. In the second place, regionalism is a science in so far as it represents sound inquiry into the organic character of the relation between men and resources, areas and culture, and physical and cultural environments. All societies begin with the area or region and expand into larger developments, so that cultural environ-

ment becomes as natural as the physical. Regionalism lies at the basis of world ecology and helps to interpret sociology as a science; it measures the capacity of social organisms to function within the framework of their natural environment and their inherent cultural endowment. Accordingly, regionalism, interpreted in the scientific sense, is a methodological approach to research.

The folk-regional approach. Regionalism may be interpreted further as a science in the sense that it comprehends what can be called the folk-regional society, which is the smallest unit through which all society can be studied. The community, for instance, does not comprehend all the factors of time, area, and cultural conditioning. The same may be said for the family; while the individual is too small a unit. The folk-regional society, therefore, becomes the basis for folk sociology. As it seeks to discover the margin of survival in the conflict between culture and technology, it is folk sociology that must inevitably become the general science of societal development. In the folk region, it is not only possible to utilize a combined cultural, descriptive, and historical approach; the folk region also affords an excellent laboratory for statistical measurements within a frame of reference that is comprehensive enough to be complete but limited enough to ensure thoroughness. The region provides the perfect laboratory for social research and planning. To this end, the regional approach affords the best opportunity for the co-operation and co-ordination of all the social and natural sciences attacking a problem.

NATIONAL AND GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF THE WORLD

For the purposes of understanding the scientific nature and the comprehensive background of regionalism, it is important to note the universality of its application to all societies. Regionalism not only helps to understand the organic nature of culture but also helps to explain the modern world and aids in finding direction for the new postwar world. Perhaps one of the best ways to understand the generic meaning of regionalism is to survey the *world regions* in which people and resources have found their setting, but often in situations of ill distribution, imbalance, and unevenness. Such world regions, limited in terms of nature's setting, include climatic regions, regions of natural resources, and regions of situations bounded by rivers and mountains and oceans. More and more the understanding of the geography of world regions is necessary for the understanding of modern world society.

Vital regions of the world. There have been many attempts to delineate world regions and many more are in the process. For the present such

attempts are primarily important for illustration purposes. An illustration is found in The National Geographic Society's maps describing briefly a dozen "Vital Regions of the World." They were: (1) the British Isles and Western Europe; (2) West Indies: Our Crescent of Panama Canal Defenses; (3) Malay Jungles to Tropical Riches; (4) China's East Coast Trade; (5) Bible Areas Now Lands of Bombs, Buses, and Oil Pipe Lines; (6) Japan, an Empire Spun from Silken Threads; (7) the English Language "Empire" and How It Spread; (8) Central Europe, and Why It Grew Industrially; (9) The Mississippi, a River Scatters Its Riches; (10) Where South America's Bread and Meat Regions Merge; (11) Northwest Africa, Nearest Atlantic Neighbor of the New World; (12) The Mediterranean, Where Sea Power Was Born. Some of the regions of course interlap and can be regrouped, according to the point of emphasis, political, geographical, or social. For instance, the Arab-speaking states of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan, and Yemen are one region within a larger region, the Middle East.

Ten greater Pacific regions. Another way of exploring world regions is to study the areas, peoples, and cultures by which the great oceans are bounded. This sort of regional delineation was illustrated vividly in the six murals painted by Miguel Covarrubias for the Pacific House in San Francisco's Golden Gate World's Fair. The complexity and all-inclusiveness of the field of regional delineation are evidenced by the fact that six major murals were necessary. The six murals portrayed the folk-regional societies which center upon the Pacific Ocean; and the Pacific was visualized as an integrating link of cultural communication rather than as the traditional barrier. The research for these murals was carried out under the direction of distinguished scholars, chiefly the anthropologist, Alfred L. Kroeber, and the geographer, Carl O. Sauer, both of the University of California. The first of the murals portrayed the people themselves in the ten major regions that bound the Pacific basin: North America with twenty-seven types of people; South America with fifteen types; Polynesia with eleven; Micronesia with two; Melanesia six; Australia two; Malaysia thirteen; India, Indo-China, Burma twelve; China, Japan, Tibet eight; and Siberia, Mongolia seven. In addition to types of people, the six murals included the economy of the peoples, showing not only crops but implying problems and facts of land utilization and major commodities, and the general economic complex of all factors; the flora and fauna, the plant and animal life typical of each region; the arts of each culture worthy of being recorded as contributions to world society; native dwellings, another specialized form of culture economy reflecting distinctions between and among the

different peoples; and transportation, new symbol and old of culture and civilization.

Continental regions. Another way of delineating world regions is the conventional classification of cultures and economies by continents. In such classifications, changing geographical and political arrangements necessitate a flexibility which allows for alternative and special-purpose divisions. In general, the major continents constitute at least six world regions with a great number and variety of subregions within each. Europe, North America, South America, Africa, Asia, Australia, and perhaps Oceania, are the standard continental divisions. Yet, manifestly, in the light of geographic, technologic, economic, political, and cultural factors, no such simple analysis of world regions can tell the whole story, except as scientific delineation of subregions and the closer integration of interregional units make possible more exact delineation. In the light of the extraordinary interrelationships between, for instance, the United States and the Pacific regions, culminating in the new postwar world of the 1940's, a much more detailed regional analysis is needed.

The Americas as one major world region. The advantages and disadvantages of continental regional analysis are illustrated well in the case of North and South America — the "Americas." In one grouping of subregional units, North America would comprise Alaska, Canada, Greenland, Newfoundland, and the United States. Middle America would be made up of the Canal Zone, the six republics of Central America, British Honduras, Mexico, and the West Indies; or this region would be considered as a part of *South America* in addition to Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, the Guianas, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela. But, if the grouping is on the basis of Pacific relationships, Oceania (Australia and New Zealand, Malaysia, and other islands) would be added to the North and South American countries bordering on that ocean.

AMERICAN REGIONS

American regionalism is of two sorts. American regionalism, however, is essentially of two sorts. One may be described and measured in terms of a regionalism of *all of the Americas* as contrasted with a regionalism of the United States alone. This idea of a joint North and South American regionalism has profound implications for interhemisphere relations, and would contribute to a better economic culture. An understanding of this comprehensive American regionalism is fundamental to the understanding not only of the world culture of today and tomorrow, but to the planning of

any realistic postwar-world reconstruction. In terms of research and planning, the field and obligation here are compelling. In terms of the future of society, such regionalism becomes, as it were, synonymous with "destiny."

Within this greater regionalism of North America and Latin America, there is the second field of *American regionalism.* American regionalism may be described and measured in terms of a well-nigh universal usage which has resulted from the pre-emption by the United States of the chief role in and the designation of "Americanism." This usage follows the historical pattern that has made the United States synonymous with the "New World." But, for purposes of sociological accuracy, such characterizations as "the American dream," "the American way," and "American democracy" may, in the future, become more flexible. In this book, American regionalism as a frame of reference for statistical study and planning is indicated by the division of the nation into six composite societal regions. (See Chapter 2.)

Regional diversity from the air. In addition to the delineation of American regions through statistical and cultural analysis as illustrated throughout the book, there are other ways of studying regional America. An understanding of the physiographic or geographic United States might be possible if the reader could fly at a reasonably low altitude over the whole country. Like air travelers from Europe, he would approach the continent from the Atlantic Ocean, and his first glimpse would be of a rugged coast line broken by many rivers and valleys going down to the sea. His plane would then rise up over the great Appalachian Mountain region which extends all the way from New Hampshire and Vermont down into Georgia and Alabama. He would continue across broad flat plains, a thousand miles of the Middle America, drained by mighty rivers, and stretching from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. From there the plane would rise again over the vast snow-capped ranges and plateaus of the Rocky Mountains. Somewhere along the California coast line near the sharp boundary of the Pacific, the plane would land.

In the midst of these larger parallel regions of mountains, plateaus, and valleys running north and south, each of which became a frontier in American expansion, the observer would glimpse at least seventeen major and hundreds of minor river regions, all symbolic of the power and rich resources of the American domain.

Then if the observer could fly from north to south over the same regions, he would pass through great climatic regions. He might sense also some of the environmental factors which, at one time, so conditioned the people of the United States as to divide them into "North" and "South." For this

closer inspection of the combination of certain physical and cultural factors in North and South, he might well start in New England. Here he would see an extensive seaboard and its coastwise freighters, fishing vessels setting out from Boston, the smokestacks of textile mills and metal refineries, and the campuses of universities — all reflecting a concentration of industry, commerce, culture, wealth, and a melting-pot population. After by-passing the skyscrapers of New York and Philadelphia, he would find the South beginning about at Washington. Here he would glimpse a different sort of American culture, yet uniform, like all of America, in the fabric of its highways and communications. Although there would be growing cities, the main character of the life would appear rural. Here would be cotton and tobacco lands, and millions of black folk living in a separate world alongside the white world. But the observer would see evidences that agricultural onesidedness is being transcended by a better balance of industry — steel, textile, and furniture mills, and that farming is tending to become more diversified — livestock and truck crops as well as cotton. The ways of the Old South are agriculture and industry. Passing still farther southward he would see the long Gulf coast line, the winter resorts of Florida, and signs of the new reaches of subtropical agriculture. Here the new agriculture is being balanced with livestock and truck crops and also with prospects of new developments in South American commerce and perhaps in the discovery of oil and chemical industries to give new incidence to the regional balance of America.

Then, our plane observer might choose to fly on across the Mississippi to Texas and Oklahoma, where he would look down over vast cotton and wheat lands, cattle ranches, turkey farms, truck gardens, and an empire of oil fields. All of these are contesting with each other as the rapid increase of cities and industries transforms a frontier culture into a youthful civilization. Across the continuing fringe of the Southwest into New Mexico and Arizona, then over the mountains to San Diego and up the Pacific coast, the plane would return. Here the observer could see something of an exotic American and un-American culture, in which the East and West of the United States and the East and West of the world meet in southern California. On up into Oregon and Washington and into the first reaches of Canada he could see something of the culture and the lumbering-and-fishing economy of the Far West. Thence, the East-West lap of his journey completed, he would swing back east again over mountains and plains. Here would be seen the remarkable power and irrigation dams, national parks and forests, copper and gold and silver mines, expanses of winter-wheat and grazing lands, and a sparse population. Still farther eastward,

the plane would slip over the Middle States, vying with the East in the concentration of wealth, industry, and population but also holding steadfast to their agricultural and rural traditions. And in the upper reaches of the Ohio River valley with its cities and industries, its tributaries would blend with the East in the western Pennsylvania and West Virginia coal fields.

Observation from plane, train, automobile. If, however, the observer wishes to obtain a still better view of his United States, there could be another more intimate review of the great regions from three levels of travel. He might begin with the Pacific Northwest and move back eastward, retracing his route by railway and automobile as well as by plane. On one level the airplane would circle over and along the Columbia River country from the Canadian borders down through Oregon and Washington, over the Bonneville and powerful Grand Coulee dams and other engineering achievements in which new waters have made over lands and furnished power for a million folk. Yet no air view could be adequate to note the wealth of detail. Train level is needed, and still more, automobile speed, with such stopovers as might be desirable. By adding up the meaning of these resources and what their development may mean if integrated into the national culture, a realistic knowledge of regional potentialities could be gained. And so for the other regions. For instance, such a three-level picture of the Great Plains and of the old area of the Dust Bowl, as reflected in the planning and decentralization of a war period, would image an amazing picture of what can go into the regional balance of America. Or again, an intensive review of the South with its Tennessee Valley, its industry and cotton and tobacco in the Appalachian and Piedmont regions, its Deep South, would be something of a preview to a Missouri River valley development.

River regions. There are still other ways in which we can sense the regional quality of America and the need to integrate the component regions into a still stronger and better balanced nation. One way is through an understanding of the rivers and river valleys. And one way to approach that is through the biographies of the rivers of America. As were the rivers, so were the people as they won their way in the new America and as they formed their character and fixed their loyalties. This is true whether in the little river valleys of a Sweetwater, Tennessee, or in the composite Tennessee River valley with all its tributaries bringing in the waters and the folk alike to a powerfully vibrant total. It was true of the people of small mountain valleys where roads and creek bottoms and the names and community spirit coincide in the patterns of folk culture and identification. It is true

in the big and powerful rivers, the Missouri and the Ohio, the Columbia and the Mississippi. It is true of the rivers selected for the "Rivers of America Series" for their contributions to the understanding and enrichment of America. In the words of Constance Lindsay Skinner who planned the series: "It is as the story of American rivers that the folk sagas will be told." And in this effort to "make a whole interpretation of a few American folk" as symbolized in river localities, there is the "greater adventure, namely, a composite study of the American Folk as a Nation." Over fifty of the American rivers are eventually to have a book-length biography; over twenty-five of this series have appeared. The titles of this series symbolize the river and the region — *Kennebec: Cradle of the Americas; Upper Mississippi: a Wilderness Saga; Sewanee River: Strange Green Land; Powder River: Let 'er Buck* — "history warmed by love of spacious country."

Seventeen river-valley regions. Another way in which it is possible to understand America through its rivers is to measure the length and breadth and power of the great river valleys as integral regions of the nation. There is the picture of the Tennessee valley with the T.V.A. — "democracy on the march"; or the winding Columbia, upper of British Columbia and Washington, lower of Washington and Oregon, into which the Willamette and many lesser tributaries merge. There is the wide expanse and the long turning of the Missouri and a prospective M.V.A. In these river-valley regions are measurable units of culture and economy, susceptible to scientific study and planning, contributing to America's diversity and unity. A great Ohio River valley, encompassing so much from Dayton, Ohio, to Dayton, Tennessee, must surely represent the need and symbol of unity because of the very diversity of its culture and people. The Ohio must somehow be a symbol of the distinctive regional quality and variety of the folk themselves because of the many states through which it winds. A river is not only a measure of economy and a symbol of folk and nation, but also a problem for central government to be worked out with the states and the regions it influences. Besides the measure of regional quality all of the seventeen major river valleys designated by the National Resources Planning Board are basic water-supply and river-drainage planning areas. The major river valleys are: (1) New England, (2) the North Atlantic, (3) the Middle Atlantic, (4) the Southeast, (5) the Tennessee, (6) the Ohio, (7) the lower Mississippi, (8) the western Gulf, (9) the southwest Mississippi basin, (10) the upper Mississippi-Red River, (11) the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence, (12) the Missouri basin, (13) the Colorado, (14) the Great Basin, (15) California, (16) the upper Rio Grande, and (17) the Pacific Northwest.

Metropolitan regions. The regional diversity of America may also be understood through a knowledge of the metropolitan regions or districts. In the urban picture also may be found prevailing trends of population and industry, measures of unevenness and imbalance, and areas of conflict, as between labor and agriculture, or producer and consumer, and evidence of the need for both economic and cultural balance. For in many ways urban centers drain the hinterlands and exploit the folk and resources of the rural regions and set the incidence for inequalities of culture and opportunity. The total urban quality of the nation may be realized in several ways. One is to examine the characteristics of the 140 metropolitan districts of the United States which were set up by the census of 1940; or to examine the 92 cities which in 1940 had a population of 100,000 or more, which, grouped together in census reports, reveal cumulative urban characteristics. Another way is to analyze the two great regions of concentrated population and wealth, the Northeast and the Middle States, where the dominant power of urban and industrial America finds its greatest expression.

Regionalism in American history: Sections and frontiers. Still another approach may be found in the historical aspects of regionalism. For, in order to understand the premises and need for this regional balance of America, we have to go a considerable way back into America's experience. For our main assumptions are that the promise and prospect of the nation are to be found in the substitution of a genuinely realistic regionalism for the older historical sectionalism, which featured separatism, isolationism, and economics, and political pressures and conflict.

First, of course, was the American frontier on the several regional levels and its influence upon the character of American culture. The frontier is significant in two fundamental aspects, both of which partially conform to Frederick Jackson Turner's concepts of American history. The first was the conclusion that, in the process of adapting to a new geographical environment, the economic, social, and psychological demands made upon the pioneers resulted in the creation of new culture patterns which progressively became more American than European. But, unfortunately, this frontier culture set the incidence for something that was also reminiscent of European conflict, namely, American sectionalism. Its significance, according to Turner, "is that it is the faint image of a European nation and that we need to re-examine our history in the light of this fact. Our politics and our society have been shaped by sectional complexity and interplay not unlike what goes on between European nations. The greater sections are the result of the joint influence of the geologists' physiographic provinces

and the colonizing stocks which entered them. 'We must shape our national action to the fact of a vast and varied Union of unlike sections.' " Some types of American sectionalism which have grown out of these premises are the conflict between North and South, which James Truslow Adams called "America's Tragedy"; the subtle dissensions between New England and the West, and country and city, and the ever-present feelings between different geographic areas and between states.

The essential framework through which sectionalism evolved and upon which the new regionalism must be built had its genesis in the telescoping series of frontier regions, the "wests on wests" of American expansion. The first wests represented the approaches to the Appalachians prior to the breaking over to the real wests. These were movements from eastern New York and Pennsylvania toward the western parts of these states, and subsequently the great southwestern trek to the State of Franklin and toward western North Carolina and Tennessee, followed by another westward movement in the exploration of Kentucky through the Rayburn Gap, and a similar overflow behind the Appalachians. A succeeding western frontier resulted from movements into Ohio, preliminary approach to a next westward movement toward the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River toward what may be termed the Great Northwest. Still another series of frontiers were opened up in the westward movement toward Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, and what was then the Louisiana Purchase area, followed by the explorations of Lewis and Clark, the Mormons, and others across the Mississippi and the more or less isolated continuation of the westward movement. Then came the great Oregon Trail and the California gold rush, followed by a rebound from the Far West and a revival of the westward movement to the Northwest into the northern Great Plains. And, following these, settlers moved into the great southwestern plains, into Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona.

The evolution of American regionalism. In other ways, the historical development of the concept of regionalism helps to interpret the total picture. Perhaps the first type to appear is what is generally called *literary* or *cultural regionalism*, in which differing groups of people, their cultures, folkways, and institutions, are described as definitive indices of homogeneity. This is little more than localism and conforms to the earlier sectionalism. Such regionalism, however, has a distinguished background, has been richly documented, and continues to exist in many forms. Next, perhaps, is *metropolitan regionalism*, a logical outgrowth of the rise of urbanism and the subsequent extension of the cities into suburban area. The multiplication of cities and the concentration of population has given rise to several trends,

to decentralization of residential areas and industrial activities, resulting in expanding metropolitan districts to the incorporation of smaller into larger municipalities, and to increasingly comprehensive urban planning. Metropolitan regionalism, like literary regionalism, is primarily local and focuses upon improvement of the situation within given areas of concentration. Then there is what might be called *administrative regionalism*, the regionalism of business and government. Business, industrial, banking, educational, and religious organizations have all found it convenient to group the forty-eight states into divisions for practical purposes of decentralization and organization. In the Federal government for administrative purposes, the nation has been variously divided over the years into systems of areas, corps, districts, regions, and zones. More than a hundred and thirty such areal divisions have been designated by various governmental agencies for administrative purposes, such as the earlier army area corps, the Federal reserve banking system, the more recent New Deal and war administrative subdivisions — the Farm Security Administration, Work Projects Administration, the Office of Price Administration, the Federal Housing Authority — and many others. Finally, a specialized combination of physiographic, economic, cultural, and administrative regionalism is that of the *Tennessee Valley Authority*, which explores the strategy of planning for both cultural and economic development of a specific geographic region.

Ignorance, one region of another. One of the best testing grounds for understanding the regional quality of the United States is what the people of the several regions know about and think about each of the other regions. This is sometimes peculiarly true of many people whose experience leaves a wide gap between down-to-earth knowledge of the breadth and meaning of all of the regions, and the knowledge of general political history and ideological philosophy growing from a busy world of specialisms. This was explained vividly in one way by Constance Lindsay Skinner when she wrote that, "If the average American is less informed about his country than any other national, knows and cares less about its past and about its present in all sections but the one where he resides and does business, it is because . . . few writers have displayed to him the colors and textures of the original stuff of American life; or made him comrade of the folk." Out of this ignorance of one region of another grow disputes and misunderstandings and failure to realize on the powerful factor of union in diversity.

Regional loyalties. Yet, after all, the greatest evidence of the regional quality of America is found in the cultural quality and loyalties within each great region. And how people love their own regions and criticize others! "Where I come from" is still the perennial proverb for excellence

From a multitude of southerners: "I hope I shall never have to live outside of the South long. I have enjoyed California and the Middle West and I love New York, but I don't want to live there." And of the windy great plains of the Northwest one writes: "I loved the fabulous sunsets, lakes of gold and the dreamy purple mountains." From the multitudes who love California, some would be found as "seekers of health, sunshine, change, beauty, rest; shunners of toil, care, routine and tumult; haters of closed walls, and lovers of the open air," and others, just Americans demonstrating that East and West do meet — East and West of America, East and West of war. And to New England, from soldiers temporarily in the South: "I want to go back where one can really live. I don't see why anybody would want to live in the South." And to the South, from soldiers in the North: "I don't see why anybody would live up here in this God-forsaken Michigan winter — I want to go home." Or *Deep in the Heart of Texas* may be a symbol of all the regional romance of America. One writes, "It is easy to see why Lee loved Virginia so much." Another calls attention to the fact that New England assumed her culture to be most American because American culture was defined in terms of what New England had.

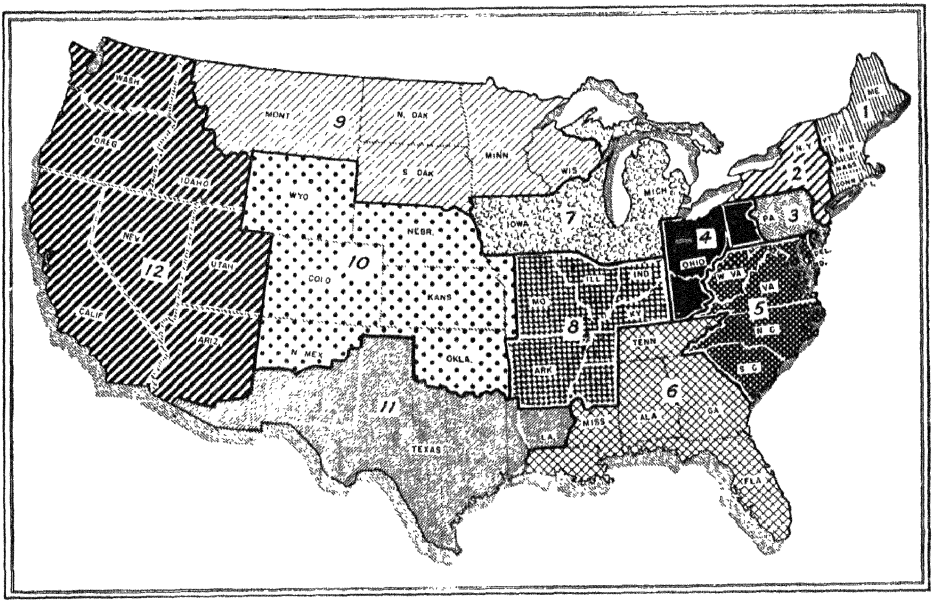
All this means simply that the way of each region is the way of its culture, and that each culture is inseparably identified with its region. This is not only nothing new but has always been recognized as a definitive part of understanding peoples and their institutions. It has always been recognized by the common people in their loyalties and devotion to their own, and their criticism of other customs and institutions. It has always been recognized by anthropologists and sociologists in their study of cultures. Regional attitudes and mores are so definite and powerful that they constitute rights and wrongs; they determine the nature of behavior and institutions; and they sometimes seem inevitable since the types of culture differ so radically. But intolerance of the mores of a people reflects narrowness and provincialism of outlook, and a strange backwardness in an age of communication, transportation, and intellectual liberalism.

Definitions and Examples

Although many aspects of "Americanism" and regionalism have been presented in some detail in this and previous chapters, there is still need for further definition and illustration of these terms. Strictly speaking, the general meaning of the word *American* is different for the sociologist and the anthropologist from what it is to the creative writer or the historian. In the larger accurate sense, "American" must mean that which pertains to America, which in turn means The Americas. Yet the sociologist, studying American society, must also often follow the customary usage which designates the culture of the United States as "American," and then specifies other American cultures by name, as of Canada or of Mexico, or of the South American republics, or of still more concrete designations.

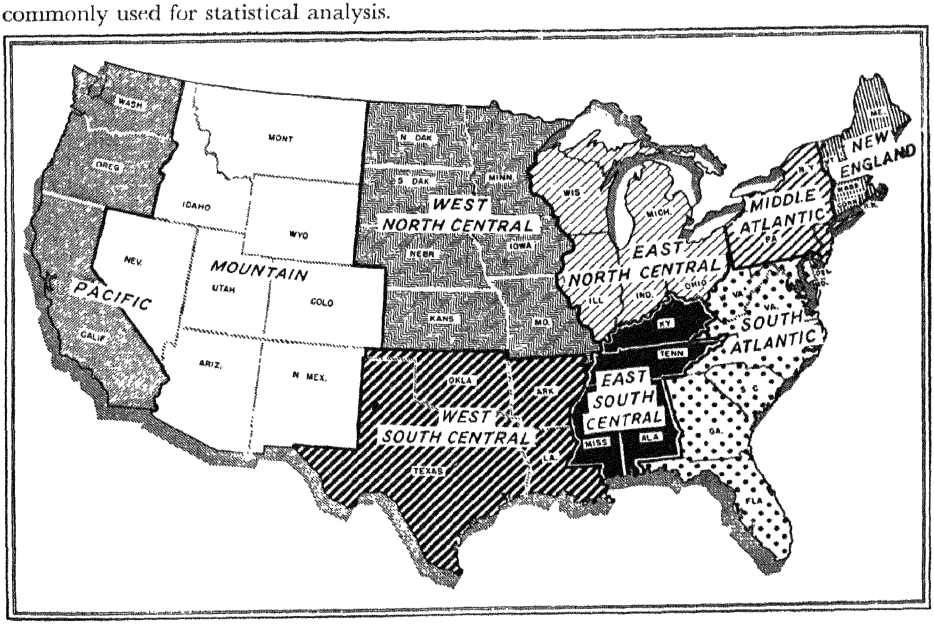
We may illustrate the authenticity of the use of the term American as applying to the United States by referring to any standard American history or literature. The Beards' *The Rise of American Civilization*, with the fourth volume entitled *The American Spirit*, is in the same definitive spirit as Alexander Meiklejohn's *What Is American*, the answer being with Beard "civilized society" and with Meiklejohn "liberty." James Truslow Adams' *The Making of an American* describes the "American" as of the United States of America. And so on: to catalogue the histories of the United States is to define America in this limited sense. "The American Dream" has come to be an almost proverbial reference to the concept of democracy in the United States. Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought*, to which we have already referred, is a profound study of America *vs.* Europe, *America* being the United States of America, of course. The same is true of the many texts on "American literature," "American poetry," "American politics," and so on.

The point of emphasis here is that it is not so important which way "American" is defined as it is to know how and state how the term is used and to make conclusions consistently on the basis of accurate definition. This will be true with reference to chapters throughout the text and will not need to be re-emphasized in all chapters. In the present chapter, however, it is still necessary to re-emphasize the meanings given to *American regionalism*. Some of these meanings are asked for under Assignments and Questions. It is important here, however, to point out again the particular



There are Many Regional Delineations of the United States Used for Many Different Purposes.

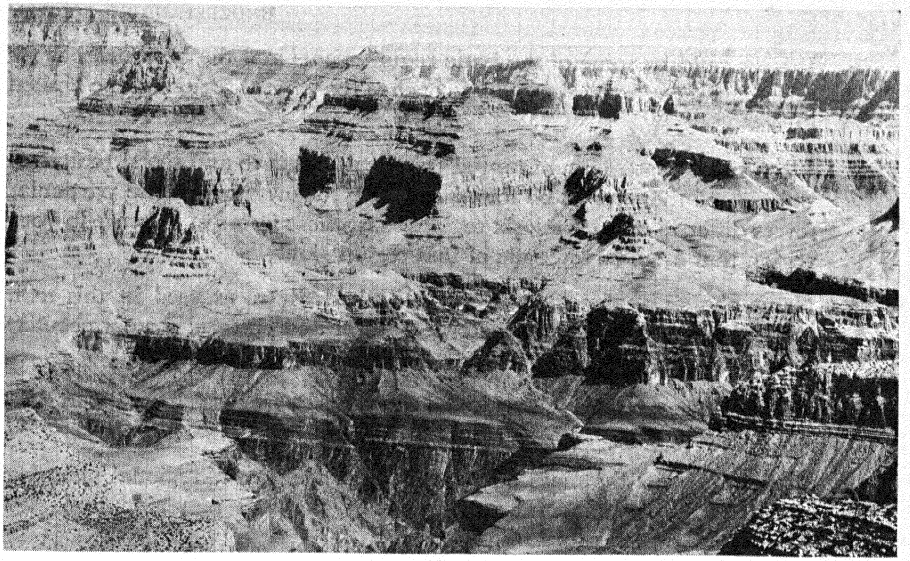
It is estimated that more than 130 separate regional delineations have been employed in the work of the Federal Government. Needless to say an important task is to make them more uniform. ABOVE: The Federal Reserve System. BELOW: The United States Census Divisions, commonly used for statistical analysis.



meaning of regionalism as opposed to sectionalism in American life, because of the common confusion of the two terms and because of the profound influence of sectionalism in American life. Regionalism in the accurate meaning of the word, first, last, and always stands in contradistinction to provincialism and sectionalism, in which separatism and isolation are inherent. The region for sociology is first of all a constituent unit of some greater composite society. The region cannot be defined except as it is a part of the whole, although it is that part which, more than any other, combines all the elements of human society. The region is, of course, an area, but it is always an area of the earth's surface with the complex fabric of physical, human, and cultural factors that go into the architecture of human society everywhere. Regionalism, as the science of the region, therefore, is more the study of the total society of integrated regions and their relationships to each other and to the total, than it is a study of the regional unit itself. The regional profile of a society or of a country or of the world presents the most accurate picture that it is possible to attain, both of the total and of the composite parts.

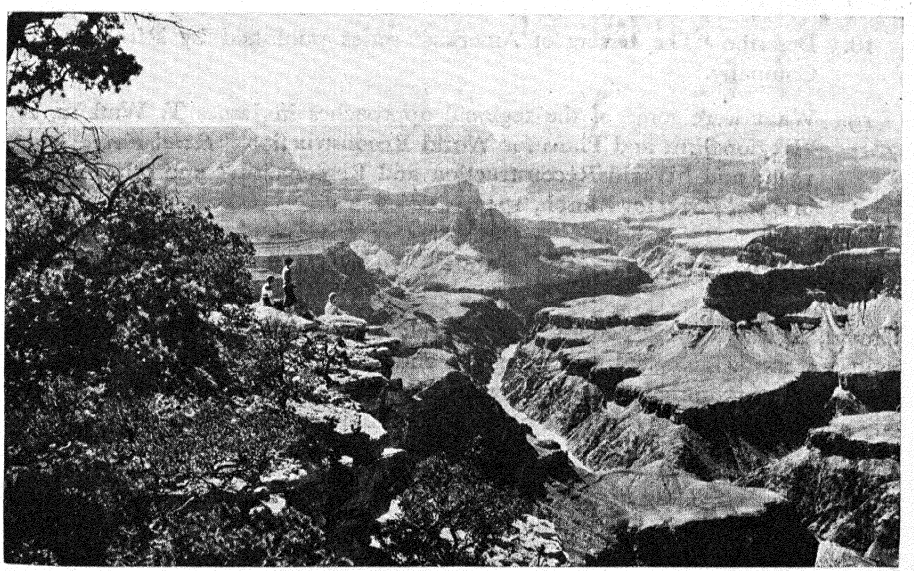
Assignment and Questions

1. Catalogue the various definitions of a region as given by the geographer, anthropologist, psychologist, ecologist, economist, political scientist, and administrator. In what ways does the sociologist's definition differ? See chapters 2–9 and 12–17 of *American Regionalism* by Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore.
2. What is meant by a regional approach to the study of society?
3. Compare regionalism with ecology as studied in the previous chapter. For a discussion of regionalism as world ecology, see George A. Lundberg, *Social Forces*, December, 1942.
4. How does regionalism present a key for attaining social balance? Recall definitions of balance in the previous chapter.
5. Discuss the eight regions utilized by Stuart Chase in *Rich Land, Poor Land.*
6. Define *metropolitan regionalism, literary regionalism, administrative regionalism.*
7. In what important respects does regionalism differ from sectionalism? From nineteenth-century "sentimental" regionalism?
8. What are the natural regions? Illustrate: river valley regions; soil regions.
9. List the nine physiographic regions of North America as presented in *The Physiographic Provinces of North America* by Wallace W. Atwood.



Regional Symbol of the Beauty, Grandeur, and Power of Nature

ABOVE: View, North, from Grandview Point, showing the first four geological eras. Cape Royal at the left BELOW: View down canyon, from Mojave and Pima Points awe-inspiring in its expanse, breath-taking in scenic beauty, America's greatest erosion exhibit dominates a region.



10. What would be some of the basic requirements and the best methods for setting up a research laboratory in each of the various regions of the United States?

11. What is meant by circumstantial (physical) pressure and social (cultural) pressure as they are to be found in society? How would these particular forces differ in each of the six regions? List those forces of pressure in your region that are characteristic of that region alone.

12. Name the six major regions of the United States as used in this text. Catalogue under each region some natural and cultural factors peculiar to that region.

13. Describe the twenty-nine regions delineated by J. Russell Smith in *Men and Resources.*

14. List and discuss the main characteristics or features of regional planning that indicate the inherent principles and methods of regionalism. See Chapter 36 on the problems of planning.

15. List the various phases of regional planning. What program of activities does each phase of planning comprehend?

16. Discuss the assumption that in the United States the most important problem for planning is regional equality.

17. What is a folk-regional society? How does it differ from a regional folk society?

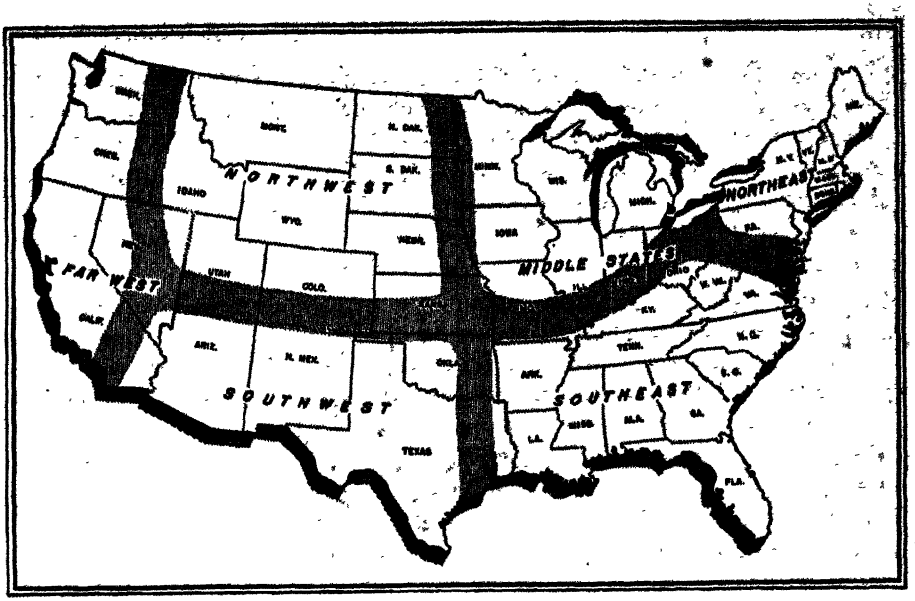
18. Describe "The Rivers of America" series published by Rinehart and Company.

19. What were some of the regional approaches in James T. Watkins, IV, "Regionalism and Plans for World Reconstruction," *Social Forces*, May, 1943; and "World Reconstruction and Regionalism" and other articles in *Social Forces* for March, 1943.

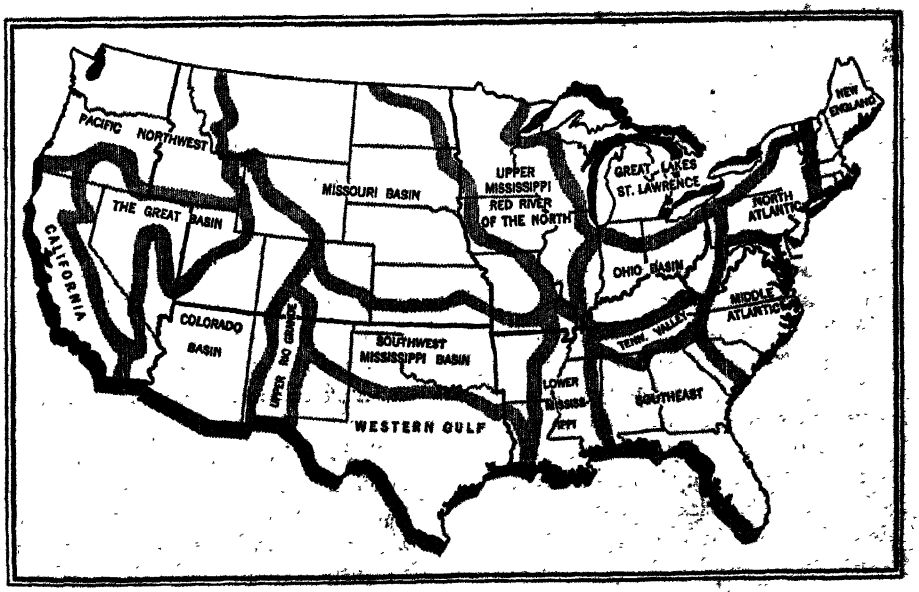
Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapters XVIII and XXIII. Biological, psychological, and cultural agents of social control as they are at work in the region as integrative forces. The regional importance of the city and the community and the peculiar conditioning factors within each.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XIII. The local groups that approach a regional understanding of primitive society. The pattern of growth of primitive societies from hordes, villages, and bands into tribes and the forces that condition the size and nature of life within each.



Regional boundaries, under ideal-type delineations, shade both ways rather than consisting of surveyed lines, such as states and counties. The ABOVE map indicates border areas between regions, if it were not necessary for statistical purposes to use state line BELOW: River Valley Regions designated by the National Resources Planning Board.



Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, chapters v and xii. Pressure factors acting on human behavior mechanisms. The ecological region or natural area studied in terms of energy relationships of the organisms distributed therein.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters vii, xxv, and xxviii. Regional differences among the people and institutions as found in the social problems of the nation. The correlated regional and national approach discussed as the best possible method for understanding the American societal whole.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, chapters i and ii of Part i. See also chapters xviii and xxv of Part iii. The new science of the region as it designates for study and research the largest possible area having the greatest relative homogeneity of physical environment, economic organization and activities, and cultural background.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, chapters vi and viii. Nineteenth-century culture as it gave birth to a "sentimental" regionalism with a parallel movement for a return to nature. The new economic regionalism seen as a means of balancing the social economy and as a way to find the natural equilibrium of the man-land ratio.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapters v and vi. A reorientation of social thought to the cultural and folk factors in American society. Regionalism as a framework for studying and making wise use of the achievements of civilization. The structure and territorial relationships of the city as a product and center of the regional complex.

Odum, Howard W.: *Southern Regions of the United States*. Indices used for characterizing regions and the comparisons of southern regions with other American regions.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, pages 420–428 and 459–465. The region gains in importance as the local area decreases in function. Transportation improvements constantly enlarge the region, while political and other institutions lag in meeting regional problems. Differences in population distribution and income in regions of the United States.

Recent Social Trends, pages 6, 43, 237, 451–455, 458, 481–487. Regional birth rates presented. New or intensified regional competition in industry resulting from industrial expansion and struggle for markets since World War I has led to major shifts in localization of industries. Regional planning developed recently from city planning to make both cities and regions convenient, healthful, and attractive places in which people may express themselves in well-rounded living. Limitation of city planning leading to its being superseded by regional planning which, however, is thwarted by the large number of politically independent communities with which planning bodies must deal. Metropolitan regionalism treated: the city is invariably considered the starting point, and the surrounding country only an area of proximate functional control (zones of metropolitan influence). Economic regionalism considered as a product of motor transportation.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

See especially *Social Forces* for March, 1945, a special issue entitled *In Search of the Regional Balance of America.*

General Readings from the Library

Bowman, Isaiah, *The Pioneer Fringe;* Brooks, Van Wyck, *The Flowering of New England* and *New England's Prospect;* Brown, Ralph H., *Mirror for Americans;* Davidson, Donald, *The Attack on Leviathan: Regionalism and Nationalism in the United States;* Freeman, Otis W., and Martin, Howard H., *The Pacific Northwest;* Giddings, Franklin H., *Civilization and Society*, chapters I–III; Gooch, R. K., *Regionalism in France;* Hazard, L. L., *The Frontier in American Literature;* Hulbert, A. B., *Frontiers, The Genius of American Nationality;* Kizer, Benjamin H., *The United States-Canadian Northwest;* Leyburn, J. G., *Frontier Folkways;* Lilienthal, David E., *TVA; Democracy on the March;* Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities;* Mukerjee, Radhakamal, *Regional Sociology;* National Resources Planning Board, *Regional Factors in National Planning and Development* (See also the N.R.P.B. reports on a dozen regions, including several metropolitan regions.); Newbigin, M. L., *A New Regional Geography of the World;* Odum, Howard W., *Southern Regions of the United States;* Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill, *American Regionalism;* Peate, Iorwerth C. (ed.), *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment;* Richardson, R. N., and Rister, C. C., *The Greater Southwest;* Smith, J. Russell, *Men and Resources;* Turner, Frederick Jackson, *The Significance of Sections in American History;* Webb, Walter Prescott, *The Great Plains* and *Divided We Stand.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Describe the Conference on International Organization of the fifty nations meeting at San Francisco April 25, 1945: in New York in 1946.
2. What are the functions of regional organizations in business? In public service? In government?
3. Describe the New England Council as a type of northeastern planning board. Is its purpose primarily the general development of New England or the development of commercial and business opportunity?
4. Contrast the Northwestern Planning Board which comprehended an inventory of all resources and the channeling of regional facts into education.
5. Then contrast with these two the Southern Regional Council, the main purpose of which is to seek a more adequate adjustment between people and resources as related to race relations in the South.

6. Describe any regional Governors' Conference (Northeast, Southeast, West, or Midwest). What would you recommend for a more effective organization?
7. Describe regional arrangements in manufacturing, chain stores, college athletics and others.
8. Anticipate Chapter 35 on the problems of peoples and regions and Chapter 36 on the problems of social progress and social planning, by suggesting practical regional planning organizations for the United States.
9. Draw up a plan for a council or agency or committee to work on the regional development of China as outlined in "Regionalism in China's Post War Reconstruction" by Cheng Ch'eng-k'un in *Social Forces*, October, 1943.
10. What recommendations for actual organizations would you make to implement the suggestions made by J. O. Hertzler in "Some Basic Queries Concerning World Regionalism," *Social Forces*, May, 1944.

III

Society and Culture

6

Culture and Character in Human Society

Culture is the essence of human society. This thing we call culture, so generously and loosely discussed in both popular and learned circles, is elemental in all human society. It is of the essence of society, but it is also measurable in terms of the sum total of the processes and products of the societal achievements of any given people at any given time. Culture is the generic measure of the character of a society and the behavior of its folk. Culture of the folk may be likened to personality in the individual. It follows, therefore, that culture does not grow up over night, neither is it changed in the twinkling of an eye. As the supreme character of human society, culture is not only what men live and die for, but is the product of all that for which they *have* lived and died, constituting also, therefore, the rich heritage of the past. Culture, moreover, is of and by all the groups, wherever found, whether in single isolated folk groups or among folk groups within some larger society. The total culture of a people is, therefore, interwoven into a fabric made up of variegated parts developing on different levels of time and regional society. So much is this true that the historian has come to recognize that the variegated threads of folk culture too often have been neglected in the attempt to document and to describe the total civil society of the past.

Culture is always close to the people. For culture is the rich process of living and experience even more than the recorded product. The intensity and quality of culture, like a man's character and personality, dominate life and behavior and make up the very essence and drama of living society. Culture might very well be Santayana's "public experience . . . the stars, the seasons, the swarm of animals, the spectacle of birth and death, of cities and wars . . . the facts before every man's eyes." Many of these the doc-

umentary historian cannot see. Nor, like Carl Sandburg, does he always sense that —

The people is every man, everybody,
Everybody is you and me and all others.
What everybody says is what we all say.

And applied further, what everybody feels is what we all feel, and what everybody does is what we all do. What we all do is the individual and group behavior and one way of characterizing culture.

Culture is of the mass behavior, yet also of the individual. Culture is of the past, yet also, and more, of the present. It is of the individual, yet also, and more, of the institutions which come nearer than anything else to embodying the total culture, of a society to measuring its orderliness. Culture is society growing up in the way of nature and the frontier, of race and the folk developing from the earlier folk society, maturing through rich folk cultures and flowering in technological civilization. Total culture, therefore, comprehends but is different from civilization, which is more often found in specialization and certain measurable and definable crests of achievement.

SOCIOLOGY STUDIES CULTURE AND ITS MEANINGS

In this chapter we come to the second division of our study of society, in which sociology explores the field of culture. In Part II we have indicated some of the ways in which sociology studies society and nature. In these three chapters we have shown how the increasingly vigorous sociology finds the realistic study of nature and all its implications more basic to an adequate understanding of society than was often assumed by earlier sociologies. One way in which such study is so important will be found in the relation of the natural environment to the universal human trait of culture; the first of the folkways and the mores of culture grow up around the phenomena of nature. So, too, just as nature and resources constitute the physical foundation of society, so the folk always provide the physical foundation of culture. We need to emphasize that, although they first appear with peoples inseparably related to their basic physical environment, cultures ultimately evolve through processes in which the original impulses merge and cross with other impulses. It so happens, therefore, that culture itself is "natural" in the sense that it inevitably develops wherever human society exists.

Culture a comprehensive measure of society. Accordingly, it would seem that the most comprehensive approach to the understanding of society is a study of culture. Culture is not society, but it comes near to describing society. More than any other entity, it is common to and inseparable from

all societies. The significance which we attach to culture is well illustrated in the sequence of the divisions of the present volume. That is, following an exploration of nature as the background of society, sociology studies society and culture co-ordinately with society and the people, and society and civilization. Yet few terms are more misused or ambiguous than *culture*. This is not only true of the general public but of scholars and students, among whom there have been many diverse interpretations of the concept. It is important, therefore, because of these many ideas of the main characteristics of culture, to come to an agreement upon its meaning.

We have already indicated how culture is the universal trait of human society and have assumed that it is culture that binds men together and gives society its enduring quality. We have also intimated that in order to understand modern society it is necessary that culture be distinguished from civilization. In contrast to civilization, culture in its broader societal meaning comprehends the sum total of the cumulative processes, products, and achievements of any people. On the other hand, civilization is a special stage and level of culture and is primarily the product and end of the cultural process. Civilization is, of course, culture, but not all culture is civilization. All peoples, no matter how primitive, are rich in culture. Many people are not "civilized," both in the societal meaning and in the popular meaning. This distinction accentuates the importance of culture as the key approach to the understanding of society.

Culture is high achievement. For the most part, and in the popular sense, including some of the meanings ascribed by anthropologists and sociologists, culture implies the highest quality of achievement. This achievement may be high individual intellectual achievement, or after the fashion of Lester F. Ward, the totality of societal achievement, or of Herbert Spencer "the sum total of human achievement." In the individual, culture may mean learning in the classics or personal attainment in literary or aesthetic fields. The cultured individual is one who is "accomplished" in music or literature. The same definition is often applied to the high achievements of a cross section of civilization or national attainments. In the earlier periods, the American student went to Vienna or Paris or Berlin for "culture." The rural inhabitant went to the city for advanced study. German "culture" was outstanding in science and music. French culture was outstanding in literature, painting, decoration, and fashion. Western culture was allegedly higher than Eastern culture; modern culture was always in advance of primitive culture.

Culture reflects human behavior, institutions, and traits. Another clustering of meanings centers around the concept of behavior. Culture may be

the total patterns of human behavior, including the acquired characteristics which are transmitted through individuals and institutions to succeeding generations. Thus, the culture of a primitive tribe would be quite different from that of America as typified by the Old South or New England, in both of which there was a cumulative institutional character reflected in religion, education, economy, and politics. The plantation system was a part of the one; the town meeting, a part of the other. Another clustering of definitions would make culture the framework or system of human traits. That is, traits of human society are different from those of animal society. Clark Wissler listed the universal culture traits under the nine heads of "speech, material traits, art, mythology and scientific knowledge, religious practices, family and social systems, property, government, and war."

Culture is heritage. Another set of definitions tends to make culture the product of total evolution to the extent that it includes all of tradition and social heritage, cumulatively conditioned by all of human evolution. Thus, a large number of authors treat culture and civilization as synonymous, civilization being both the qualitative and quantitative measure of "advanced" culture as opposed to earlier primitive culture. Some authors go almost so far as to make culture and human society synonymous; in this interpretation it is pointed out that culture is an attribute of man only and not of animals.

Culture is individual attainment. Still another cluster of meanings tends to make culture a characterization of the individual. Thus the individual so conditioned by his total environment, one way or another, is cultured with the emphasis in him always on the upper brackets of intellectual or artistic achievement. The artist, the musician, the well-read person, or the well-educated person is described as "cultured." The individual conditioned to a life of liberty, or of luxury, or skilled in special techniques represents the concept often used by educators, psychologists, and writers. Culture here is "quality" and "quantity," combined in the total acquired attainments. In this sense, the individual therefore does "inherit" what his forbears have achieved since it is in the "cultural" setting which they transmit that he is "conditioned."

Culture is natural as of the folk, not artificial as of the state. Finally, it is profitable to interpret another group of meanings which denote culture as the "natural," evolutionary, cumulative process common to all early societies and therefore fundamental and constant. Primitive people have cultures. Culture is as natural as physiography, in that culture, as it develops, is the total of all the environment of interrelationships — the total

of all that is not the physical environment. This natural culture is cumulative and includes the totality of processes and achievements at any given time or cross section of regional societal development. In distinction, civilization is "artificial" in the sense that it often discards parts of the culture complex, destroys other parts, and is built upon the mechanical, technical, and organizational which supersedes the natural. This is one reason why sociology must study the folk-regional society and primitive cultures in order to understand the total society and its survival patterns, just as biology and medicine must understand both human and animal anatomy and disease in order to promote man's physical welfare.

The culture area is a tool for social study. There remain two other aspects of culture that need to be mentioned. These are the primitive cultures and, growing out of them, the concept of the culture area and of universal culture traits. In these areas of investigation, it is possible to test our definitions of culture and to contrast them with the structure of civilization. One of the best illustrations of the value of primitive society as a laboratory for the study of all culture is that it is primarily to studies of American primitive culture that we owe the formulation of the concept of the *culture area* and the catalogue of what has been generally accepted as universal culture traits. These concepts and characterizations need not be universally accepted, however, to serve as one approach to the study of early cultures. Clark Wissler's systematization of previous beliefs about both the culture area and culture traits will be used as illustrations.

The concept of the culture area was based upon studies of many diverse American Indian cultures, which, of course, had no historical records from which to trace their evolution and development. Wissler characterized the various cultures by the clustering of indices of homogeneity as measured by food areas, types of occupations, housing, art, writing, and language. His fifteen culture areas, ten in North America and five in South America, are: the Arctic or Eskimo, coastal; Northwest or north Pacific coast; California or California-Great Basin; Plateau, the northern intermountain region; Mackenzie-Yukon, the northern interior forest and tundra tract; Plains, the level or rolling prairies of the interior; Northeast or northern woodland; Southeast or southern woodland; Southwest, the southern plateau, subarid; Mexico, from the Tropic of Cancer to Nicaragua; Colombia or Chibchan; Andean or Peruvian; Patagonia, an open, semiarid country; Tropical Forest, the vast Orinoco, the Amazon, and the La Plata; and the Antillean, the West Indies, including the Venezuela coast.

Many appraisals have been made concerning the usefulness of the culture area for the study of society. One of the best of these is that of the late young

sociologist Russell Smith, who pointed out that the culture area as a method of classification "represents an attempt to reduce the chaotic details of primitive social behavior to the level of human comprehension, to provide that ordered body of knowledge without which scientific factorization and generalization are impossible." So, too, "the delimitation of culture areas involves an analysis of artifacts, folkways, institutions into their constituent elements." Malcolm M. Willey applied the concept to modern life by paraphrasing a common saying, "Tell me from what culture area you come, and I will tell you how you will behave . . . Knowing from what part of any culture area individuals come, it can be predicted with rather definite limits what reactions they will make in most of their life situations."

Regional society may be compared on the basis of universal culture traits. In much the same way, Clark Wissler's universal culture traits may be utilized as an effective approach to the study of all cultures. Based upon the elemental analyses of primitive cultures, they also are a frame of reference for the understanding of all cultures and for the comparison of many societies, old and new, wherever found. Thus, the catalogue of universal traits may well serve as a tool of systematic sociology in that it sets up a comprehensive series of indices for observing resemblances and differences among various people. We have already pointed out that, applied, for instance, not only to the earlier Indian cultures but to the present regional cultures in the United States, these culture traits reflect essential qualities and contrasts in the South, East, West, and North. Thus, Wissler's nine categories of universal traits provide an almost complete frame of reference for characterizing the society of a particular region at any given time.

This frame of reference is illustrated even more comprehensively by Carl J. Warden, who enumerates the main types of cultural activities as follows: *food:* food gathering and growing, hunting, fishing, herding; *shelter:* clothing, family domicile, stockades, forts; *protection:* individual and group methods of attack and defense; *family:* marriage, care of young, puberty rites, reckoning relationships; *language:* vocal speech and gestures, writing system; *social forms:* folkways and mores relating to neighborhood, clan, tribe; *government:* political organization, legal and judicial procedures; *property:* personal and group property, barter and commerce; *construction:* tools, weapons, utensils, shelters, transportation; *artistry:* ornamentation of the body, carving, painting, drawing; *curiosity:* magic, mythology, religious beliefs and rites, scientific notions; and *play:* sports, games, dramatic events, music, dances.

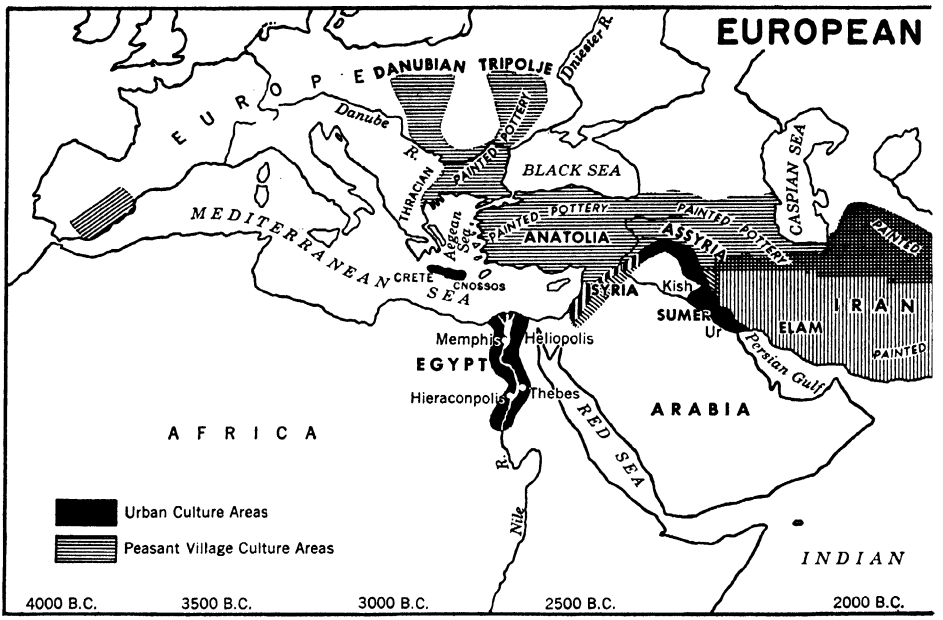
Definitions and Examples

The general definitions of *culture* given in this chapter may be illustrated by examples in which usage determines the meaning. Thus, in popular usage, culture may assume the definite larger meaning commonly ascribed to "the great cultures" of the past, such as the Greek, the Roman, or the Egyptian. Culture and civilization have been used interchangeably so that it has been customary to refer to these cultures as the great civilizations of the past; or to cite civilization as a universal measure of man's cultural progress.

From this vantage point again come such sweeping generalizations as that of European culture which, for centuries dominating the Western world, was destroyed and passed away during the catastrophe of the 1940's. From that viewpoint also come such generalizations as Frederick Jackson Turner's that American culture came to be different from European culture as a result of the frontier experiences of Americans with nature.

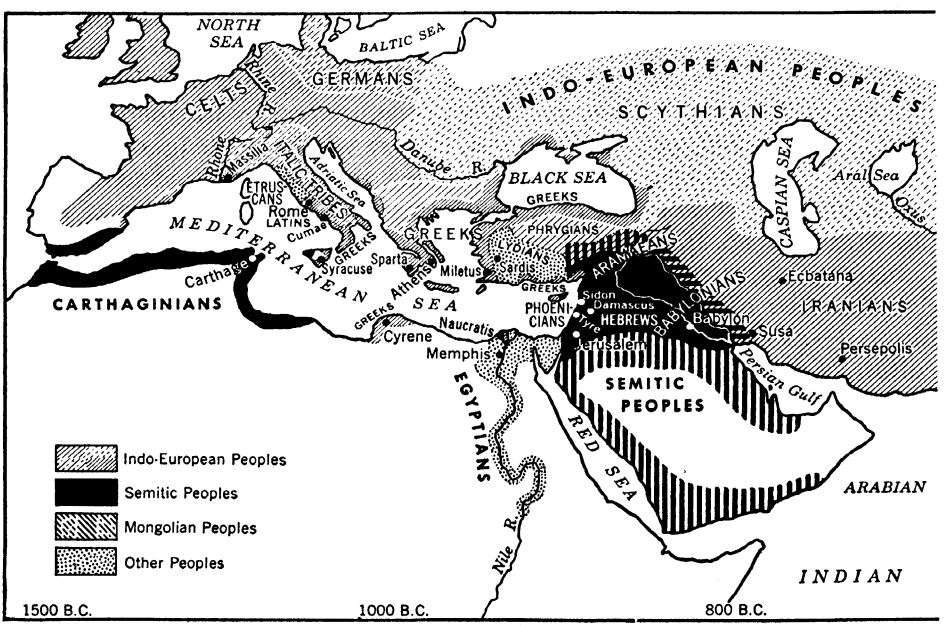
The sociologist knows that these generalizations are true only upon certain premises which define culture as the upper brackets of certain intellectual, technological, and political achievement. He knows that European culture, as the dominant culture of the Western world, probably is no more; but he knows also that Europe has scores of folk cultures to be fabricated into a new European culture that will be conditioned by the many folk-regional units. Sometimes this European culture will be made up of minority folk, and sometimes the new culture will be a reflowering of urban achievements in Paris or London, or a new composite Russian culture of great power and sweep. If, as has often been said, culture is the exclusive trait of human society, then by the same token culture can be seen in the distinctive character of a folk, a nation of composite units of folk, or a period of history — as the particularly English culture of the Elizabethan Age or the culture of some new period yet to come.

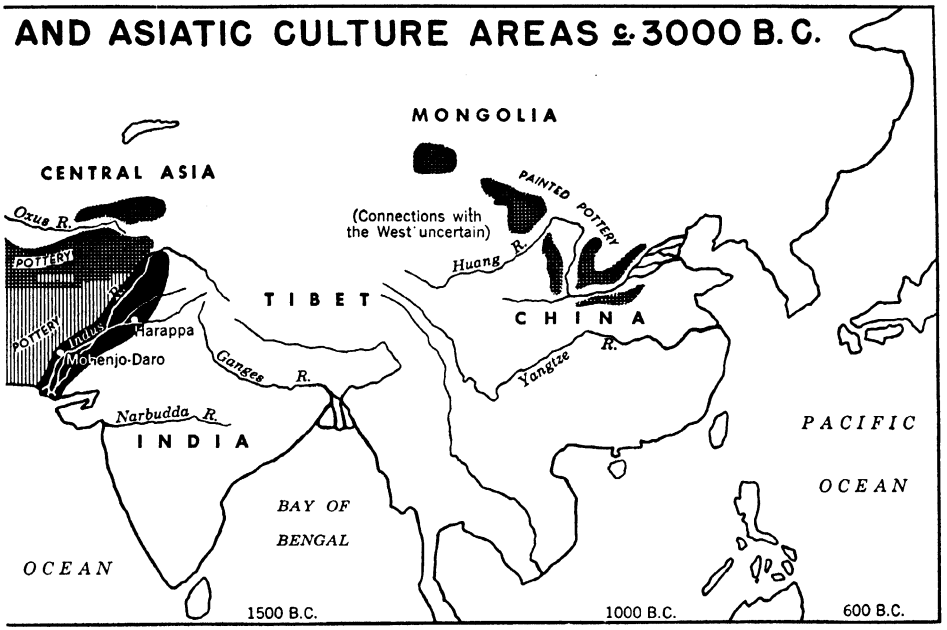
As a further illustration, consider the conflicting and distinctive minority folk cultures that are so important a part of the scene in Europe. How could the culture of the now Soviet Baltic States be understood without a knowledge of the cultures of their minority folk? To take just one of many other examples, in the Soviet Union it would appear rather ridiculous to refer to one Russian culture in the light of its many well-known folk groups and



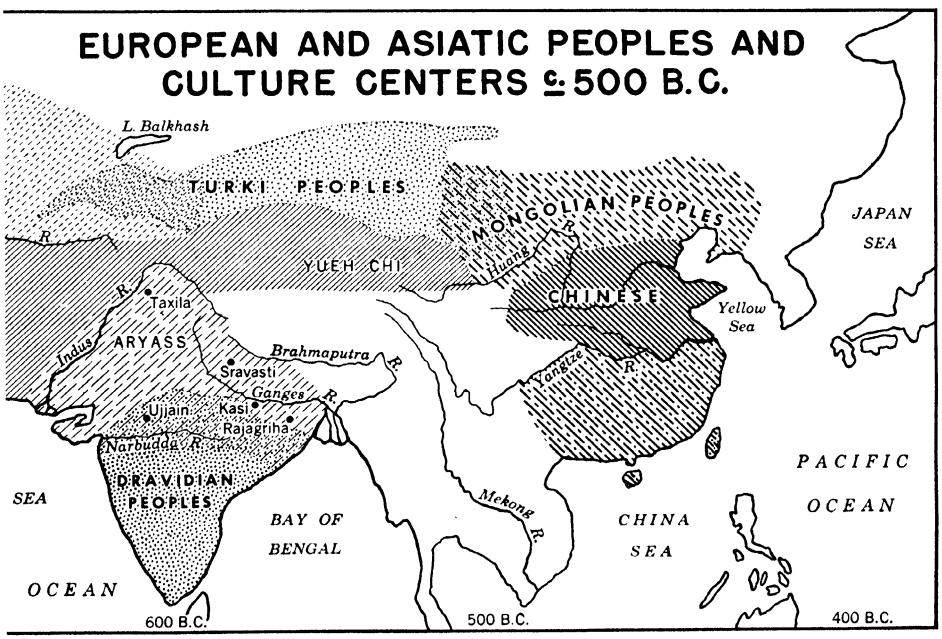
The Growth and Spread of the Cultural Areas of the World from 3000 B.C. to 5000 B.C.

In his notable work, *The Great Cultural Traditions: The Foundations of Civilizations*, Ralph Turner devotes Volume 1 primarily to the Ancient Cities and describes more effectively





than has been done elsewhere the beginnings of the cultural developments among pre-literate men, the transmission of their achievements and the organization of the structure of behavior, feeling and thought. The maps ABOVE and BELOW are adapted from his books, to show the spread of world culture.



minority groups. The population in eastern Europe and northern Asia contains an estimated 175 nationalities.

"American" culture is also complex. Knowledge of its diverse folk and time levels is also the beginning of the understanding of American society. Though a historian of American literature may write of *The Flowering of New England* as more or less synonymous with American culture from 1815 to 1865, the same New England society today, in which the population includes a dozen or more of these same European nationalities working in textile mills and on fishing vessels, would be quite a different "American culture." And a knowledge of the great Jewish folk culture, functioning powerfully within the framework of the total American society, is essential to the understanding of American society. So, too, the Negro folk society becomes increasingly one unit in the total problem of integrating all other units into the national total. Likewise the "culture" of "The West" or of "The South" is an example of America's diversity, a knowledge of which is essential to any understanding of the nation and its problems.

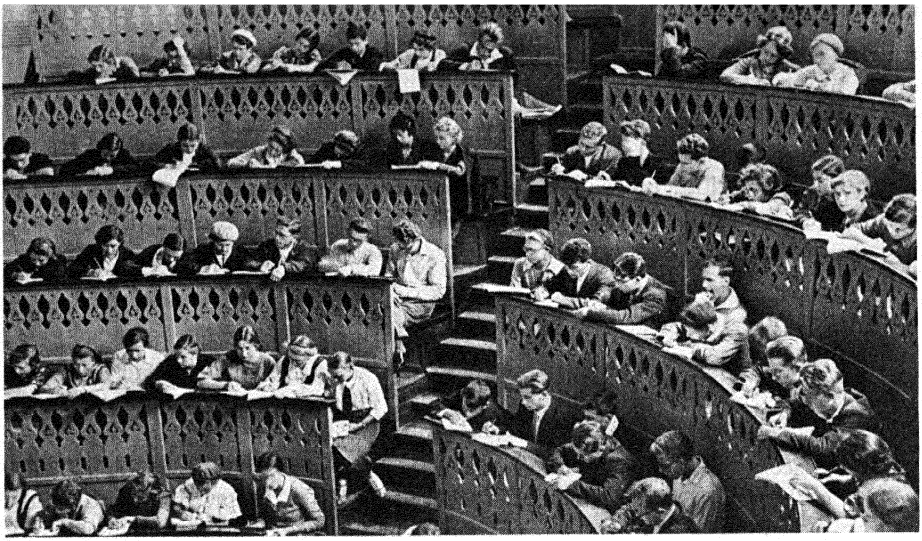
How important it is to understand the fabric of culture is illustrated well in the case of the "Old South." Undoubtedly there was a romantic pattern to this culture which was fabricated from certain economic and social arrangements flowering through the plantation and the institution of slavery into southern chivalry and the southern way of life. Yet the sociologist, if he is to understand the real South—its relation to the nation, and its potentialities, how it grew up and why the people behaved as they did—must understand this: the way of the South has been and is the way of the folk, symbolic of what the people feel, think, and do as conditioned by their cultural heritage and the land which nature has given them. The culture of the South is the culture of the folk often in contradistinction to civilization at a flood tide of urbanism, intellectualism, and technology. This folk culture is deeply rooted in the realities of nature and the frontier struggle, in the rise and fall of folk aristocracy, and in later powerful race and regional conflicts. This is the elemental, definitive reality of most of the South's culture and economy. The folk society of the South is well-nigh all-inclusive; it is visible on many levels of time and class; and its folk-regional society is evidence of how all societies are formed and grow up.

There are certain basic elements through which all societies can be explained. These elements include race, sex, religion, ceremony, war, work, rural life, shelter, diet, dress, art, play, and humor. When we have ascertained the relationships between these elements and culture, and when we have sensed the nature, range, and power of the folkways and the mores which grow inevitably out of these experiences, we have gone a long way

toward understanding any early society. And when these elemental experiences have matured into the institutions, giving them order and stability, we have the explanation of the enduring nature of culture. The main institutions which grow out of the maturing mores of society group around the family, religion, education, government, work, and personal association which, in modern life, take form in the home, the church, the school, the state, industry, and the community.

Assignments and Questions

1. Give the general topical outlines utilized in the cultural survey of the Yale Institute of Human Relations. The report is entitled *Outline of Cultural Materials* and was published in 1938.
2. Discuss the following passage from page 21 of Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1926): Cultures, each springing with primitive strength from the soil of a mother-region to which it remains firmly bound throughout its whole life-cycle; each stamping its material, its mankind, in *its own* image; each having *its own* idea, *its own* passions, *its own* life, will and feeling, *its own* death.
3. What is your criticism of the statement that "culture is society"?
4. What arguments can be given to support Ralph Linton's statement that of the three basic elements that make up society, the cultural element is more important than the natural environment or the human personality?
5. Compare the various types of definitions concerning the nature and meaning of culture. What is the sociological concept of culture?
6. In what manner and aspects is culture "inherited"?
7. What is a culture area? How are Clark Wissler's two North American culture areas related to primary food areas?
8. What is meant by a "pattern of culture"? Cultural base? See Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture.*
9. Characterize the different regions of the United States according to Clark Wissler's universal culture traits: speech, material traits, art, mythology and scientific knowledge, religious practices, family and social systems, property, government, war.
10. How can a study of American culture give insight into and facilitate the wise use of our institution of government? Of education?
11. What is the "cultural lag"? Do *technicways* accelerate the process?
12. What criticism must be made of Spengler's theory of cultural development? Can historical facts be found to support the theory? Are there any new forces in modern society that might tend to contradict the theory?



Advanced Stages of Culture, and Education, and Science

Many students have felt that the universality of science and learning would give a new definition to universal culture. UNESCO will explore this hope. ABOVE: A group of students at a lecture in a Moscow University. BELOW: Students in front of some University Buildings. Compare these with similar groups in the United States, Great Britain, France and their promise of cultural achievements.

13. Why does Spengler designate the nineteenth century as the period for the transition of Western culture to Western civilization?

14. What are the characteristics of the three main forms of culture mentality that are present in all societies according to Pitirim A. Sorokin in *Social and Cultural Dynamics?* Does twentieth-century American culture show the presence of these thought reactions? If you were asked to classify the American culture mentality as typical of one of these forms, which one would seem most appropriate? Why?

15. How can "one world" be made real and under what conditions could a people be "made over" to fit an ideological order of society unknown to their way of life?

16. Culture is said to have specifically individual qualities, and yet a close analogy can be found between the development of a culture and the development of an individual. What are some of the likenesses and differences between the two?

17. What was E. B. Tylor's classical definition of culture? How is this qualified by William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff in their treatment of culture?

18. How does Robert Redfield in *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* trace culture from the informal folk-region society to the more formal civilized culture?

19. Criticize Spengler's declaration that "Every culture passes through the age phases of the individual man. Each culture has its childhood, youth, manhood, and old age." See page 107, also pages 104–106 of *Decline of the West.*

Special Readings from the Library

Boas, Franz: *Race, Language and Culture,* pages 243–259, 260–269, 281–289, 290–294, and 305–311 in the section on "Culture." Anthropological research as it seeks the relation between racial type and cultural structure. Culture defined and its development summarized. The difficulties in studying cultural integration and evolution. Various methodologies for examining cultural phenomena.

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology,* chapters VIII and IX. The cultural environment of man seen as a social heritage that conditions personality development in the individual. The fundamental elements and processes necessary for the understanding of culture and its evolution. Institutions a part of every culture and a means of every society for enriching its material and nonmaterial culture.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man,* chapters V, VI, XVI–XXVI. A cultural anthropological description of society in terms of individual and group participation in culture. The background and distinctive aspects of cultural development. The problems and relative quality of the various world cultures. Role of discovery and

invention in cultural evolution. The phenomena of interests and values as societal forces and as powerful conditioning factors in culture.

Lowie, Robert H.: *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*. Chapter I a key to using the culture studies that make up the book. Differences in culture illustrated by studies of primitive societies. Early economic, political, and religious structures using a universal cultural pattern as a frame of reference.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, chapters V and X. Culture a mass of societal action patterns that have been proved to be successful adaptations or adjustments of the individual and group. Institutions considered as group behavior patterns that may be latent or manifest. A psychological treatment of the fallacies in interpreting the meaning of the group in society.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, chapters I, II, and V. The preparation of cultural and natural materials for use by technology in building a civilization. The nature of the cultural base and its stages of development into a superorganic society.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapters I–IV. Man's building of the culture patterns of the Western world traced from the fifteenth-century town and rural culture to the twentieth-century megalopolis of civilization. Conflict of the "natural" and the "artificial" tends to contradict the concept that culture and civilization are synonymous.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter V. The transition of American society from rural culture into urban civilization. American society a splendid example of cultural evolution. Contrast and conflict between the interests, attitudes, and way of life of the founders of the republic and of Americans today.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, chapters I, X, XVIII–XXIV. Implications and meanings of regionalism in contrast to and in elaboration of the older concept of the "culture area." The six societal regions of the United States may be seen as the present American cultural areas.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*. A textbook emphasizing the beginnings, development, and dominating influence of culture. Culture contrasted with other factors influencing human society. See especially chapters I, II, V–VII, XIV, XVIII, and XXIV through XXVIII. The creative relationship of culture to the biological, geographical, and collective behavior factors which mold individual and group life and the social institutions, and result in social change.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapters VII, VIII, and X. Culture defined in all of its material and sociopsychological aspects. Cultural development in the evolution of Western culture. Special terms used in the study of all cultures — cultural base, pattern complexes, and (the processes of) accumulation, conditioning, diffusion, and parallelism.

Recent Social Trends, pages xv, xxiv–lxx. The concepts of culture and civilization are used interchangeably. Civilization is explicitly defined as "the cultural environment" and "our social heritage"; and within this concept the problems of change are presented. Civilization is distinguished from man's heritage of the natural environment; and the individual's biological inheritance — "our racial characteristics" — is apart from environmental influences. Problems of social heritage, the raison d'être of the volumes, are presented in crux in part 3 of the Introduction.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Benedict, Ruth, *Patterns of Culture;* Boas, Franz, *Race, Language and Culture;* Branford, Victor, and Geddes, Patrick, *Our Social Inheritance;* Chapin, F. Stuart, *Cultural Change;* Crawford, M. D. C., *The Conquest of Culture;* Dixon, Roland B., *The Building of Cultures;* Folsom, Joseph K., *Culture and Social Progress;* Hart, Hornell, *Technique of Social Progress;* Leyburn, James G., *Frontier Folkways;* Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man;* Lippert, Julius, *The Evolution of Culture* (tr. and ed. by Peter Murdock); Ogburn, William F., *Social Change;* Panunzio, Constantine, *Major Social Institutions;* Redfield, Robert, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan;* Riggs, Arthur S., *The Romance of Human Progress;* Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, 4 vols.; Spengler, Oswald, *The Decline of the West;* Sumner, William Graham, *Folkways;* Turner, Ralph E., *The Great Cultural Traditions*, 2 vols.; Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class;* Wallis, Wilson D., *Culture and Progress;* Warden, Carl J., *The Emergence of Human Culture;* Wissler, Clark, *Man and Culture.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Most of the social agencies or social action groups in the general field of culture in America are likely to be specialized. List a number of them according to their reason for existence.
2. Describe, for instance, the Society for Ethical Culture.
3. What is the American Council of Learned Societies?
4. What is the National Conference of Christians and Jews? Is it altogether a religious body?
5. What is the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.)?
6. What was the American Country Life Association?

7. Catalogue the chief action groups in the field of cultural promotion, such as A.A.A.S.
8. List some of the national organizations of the minority peoples of the United States.
9. Draw up a plan for a "Hall of America" in which the folk contributions of minority peoples would be exhibited.
10. Describe the work of the Bureau of Intercultural Education at 1697 Broadway, New York.
11. Catalogue current organizations working for "one world."
12. Describe the work of The Institute of Ethnic Affairs, organized by John Collier, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 817 Southern Building, Washington, D.C.

7

Culture, Race, and Folk

Sociology studies culture and race. What sociology can contribute in the way of sound theory and practical study can be seen in the field of race relations. In modern world culture, the relations between the races is an increasingly serious problem. Race is the toughest wrought pattern in the fabric of society, where folk and culture are inseparably interwoven in nature's time and space. So much is this true that we may well extend our study to inquire into the meaning of race as it is essentially a cultural product. For the picture of the world's total peoples shows a great diversity of folk and of cultures always closely interrelated.

We have called attention to the varied European peoples and cultures. The anthropologists began their study of the races of man with these European peoples whose racial entity has set them apart from the native peoples of Asia and of Africa. The Chinese and the Japanese, as well as other peoples of minor island groups of the Orient are different both in bodily features and in folk culture from the peoples of the Western world. Again, the African Negro, the American Indian, the Eskimo, and many minor racial branches differ both in race and in culture. But each of these races is associated with its cultures and if for no other reason than this, it is natural that race and culture should be associated together early in our effort to understand society.

In reality, "Race" is more often "Folk." It is in this area of race and culture that sociology now approaches the study of society quite differently than it did before. To the sociologist, race is no longer thought of primarily as a biological phenomenon; rather, race is interpreted as a complex of societal conditioning in which culture is considered to be a more dominant factor than biology. That is, although the "natural" and biological factors

are inherent in and basic to the total situation, the major emphasis is upon the societal fact of culture, not the ethnological fact of "race." For this and other reasons which will appear, sociology may well consider substituting the term *folk* for *race* wherever the latter is used loosely in referring to ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the scientific understanding of race is basic to any solution of racial problems.

This sociological concept of race is of the utmost importance in understanding all the factors which constitute society as a whole. It is important in primitive societies and in the evolution of all cultures; but it is equally important in the many aspects of social conflict the world over. For the ratio of race-culture problems to all the problems of civilization is a large one; so large that there are many students who feel that, if satisfactory adjustment of racial-cultural conflict could be attained, the great society would become a reality. The "problem" aspect of race, however, will be explored in Part VI, in which we present something of the application of sociological theory to the problem of race.

Race is more of cultural conditioning than biological inheritance. In so far as sociology can present realistic conclusions based upon all the evidence available, it explains race as a phenomenon which has been a constant factor in societal evolution. Race is the cumulative product of societal and physical forces working together over long periods of time. Accordingly, we treat the subject of race in this part of the book on Society and Culture rather than in the second part, on Society and Nature. Instead of being inherently and organically different from each other, races are *group* products of the same universal human being going through the same processes; therefore, race reflects the total physical, cultural, and folk-regional background. This does not mean that sociology ignores the common meaning of the term *race* in community life, in census enumerations, and in a thousand practical situations. It means, rather, that back of these practical uses are certain fundamental scientific facts, rooted in man's folk-regional origin, which, when understood, help both to understand race and all society and to point the way to the wiser direction of the future. This interpretation of race emphasizes the earlier descriptions in this book of the influence of all natural processes, and recognizes both biological and cultural heritage. It is in the more scientific and practical use of these principles that sociology presents its interpretation.

Race "differentials" a more accurate description than race "differences." In this interpretation the assumption is that there are more accurately race *differentials* than race *differences* in the sense of inherent, ineradicable traits

or of inferior or superior races. This is not merely an academic distinction. How realistic and practical it is may be realized by a loose theorem that may show how the common meaning of the word *differences* has come about. The observer reasons (roughly): "Certainly the Negro who is black is 'different' from the white man who is not black. Certainly the Negro's behavior and his culture are different from the white man's. Therefore, there must be differences." Yet more accurately it is possible to distinguish between the two terms through the use of another formula: Differentials extending over a long period of time, receiving the sanction of society, incorporated into the laws and customs of a people, and resulting in a series of character traits, will equal, for all practical purposes, *differences*. The *action program* would provide for the increasing elimination of differentials in laws and customs, over a long period of time and sanctioned by the culture of the people, to reduce the differences.

It seems quite likely that these differentials are reflected even in anthropometric measurements; often there is a greater range of differences between and among individuals of the same race than between those individuals and individuals of another race. Any miscellaneous group shows a great variety of differences just as will a given racial or ethnic group. The explanation of the earlier alleged *differences* is relatively clear in the understanding of these *differentials*. If the student should be inclined to doubt the validity of the premise that it is the cultural and physical environment that determines the nature of the race, he might study examples of environmental influence observable "before his own eyes." The changes in the American Negro or the descendants of the immigrants even in so short a time as a few generations are so marked that they are visible evidence of what will happen when this influence is carried on for hundreds of years. Franz Boas studied European immigrants in America and found that they changed in cephalic index and in other bodily traits within two or three generations. The student might study the descendants of folk from rural America who have lived in a metropolitan environment for several generations and note startling "differentials" among individuals of the same families. For the sociologist the term *race* thus assumes both a less important and a more important role: less important because race no longer means a closed class; more important because race is essential for realistic culture study.

Two broader meanings of race. It must be emphasized here that there are two larger meanings for the term *race*. One is the usual definition which the term carries even among sociologists and anthropologists, as based upon the interpretations of ethnology, the science of race. Race can be ac-

curately used for specific purposes, if it is defined as applying to this usage. In other definitions, present-day scientists undertake to give an enduring meaning to the term in the light of all that is now known.

The anthropologist, Carleton S. Coon, in his *The Races of Europe*, emphasizes that it is difficult to define the concept of race in view of "the complexity of the human species, as a result of cultural peculiarities which have separated it from the rest of the animal world." "Prodigious differentiation" has been produced by all the social processes, chiefly amalgamation, selection, and environment; and amalgamation and selection have been profoundly affected by response to environment. Thus, selection is especially closely related to the complexity of the social structure, since it takes time for cultures of two or more ethnic groups, from two or more geographical areas, to blend, and for the people living according to these cultures to mix or merge. In the same way, selection at the sources of the emigration is definitely the result of the cultural environment, which influences both those who emigrate and those who do not. From this viewpoint a race is a group of people who possess the majority of their physical characteristics in common, and this resultant blend is given a distinctive character by the processes of selection and response to environment. Applying the definition to the so-called white race, Coon describes the white social family as "a composite amalgamation of peoples thrown together by accident of geography, blended into some semblance of homogeneity in major diagnostic features, and altered by environmental and cultural circumstances and by migration." In substance, then, race is the product of differentials over a long period of time reinforced by geographic and cultural forces.

The Germans were not a superior race but a powerful folk. A common misuse of the term and concept is well illustrated by the Nazi racial-political propaganda of the 1930's, which was based upon the fallacy that the Germans are a separate race. Nothing of this kind could be further from the fact. Thorstein Veblen pointed out as long ago as 1915 in his *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* that "the German people is not a distinct race either as against the non-German population or within itself. In both of these respects the case of this population is not materially different from that of any other national population in Europe. These facts are notorious." The German people, however, for most of their history have been a powerful "folk" of great homogeneity and ethnic unity, and it was this "racial" culture which played such havoc in the world. The case of Germany will always prove an excellent example, especially illuminating in the social aspects of Nazi Germany, of the cultural and folk-societal explanation of

race as opposed to the biological. Veblen also corroborates this when he points out that "in respect to the stable characteristics of race heredity the German people do not differ in any sensible or consistent manner from neighboring peoples; whereas in the character of their past habituation — in their cultural scheme — as well as in respect of the circumstances to which they have latterly been exposed, their case is at least in some degree peculiar."

Racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Another way of approaching the study of society through the comparative racial ideology of cultures is to study American society in terms of its immigrant constituents. Thus American society at the present time is a composite of many differentials of what are termed races and nationalities. Certainly it is not possible to understand America without this cultural background, intensified through ethnic or national groups. Thus the census classifies the people of the United States by race and the foreign-born population by nativity; the foreign-born white population of the United States lists at least forty definite "countries of birth" or major ethnic groupings. Inherent in this picture is the cultural influence predominating over the biological or ethnological backgrounds. The total cultural influence has made the original ideal of the melting pot both more realistic and yet often less of a unifying agent than was expected. There are still many ethnic cultural diversities that have not been integrated, and there is conflict because of assumptions of race where there is no race.

There are practical values to scientific definition. This premise about race is important not only as a scientific approach but also as a background for racial attitudes, beliefs, and prejudices. On the one hand, the study of racial groups, objectively, unit by unit, of differentials of present standards of living and past cultural backgrounds, becomes a way of "looking at" the situation instead of "feeling" about it. On the other hand, the understanding of how different religious, cultural, and economic factors have conditioned many ethnic groups, including the Negro, for example, will go a long way toward giving a sympathetic attitude toward traits as not just "racial" or "Negro" but as logical results of explainable causes that are not primarily racial at all. For race character is often primarily what one group believes and feels about other groups. This is another way of anticipating the meaning of the term "folk" as a substitute for "race" when cultural relations are concerned. Thus it must be clear that if an attitude is based upon the realities of tradition, habits, customs, and feelings, the essential criterion is not biological race but the values set up by different groups at different times and places.

The individual is powerfully affected by racial ideologies. The relation of race to the mass of people provides a rich field for sociological study and understanding. In the first place, it is not possible to study population without classifying the world's people into the categories of race and ethnic groupings. But race also is closely related to the individual. First of all, there is the age-long question of individuation and socialization. That is, does the member of one race have a right to be an individual as well as a member of a race? Case studies from race groups the world over, and particularly of such minority groups as the Negro, show powerful personality complexes which arise because of race. In extension, race also affects the individual through the impact of race attitudes and race practices upon individuals of other races.

Race relations are race problems. The sociologist will find in the area of race relations one of the most important divisions of social problems. In the modern world of global conflict, the old problem of race has taken on a broader sweep and new meanings, and it is generally assumed that because of World War II race relations and attitudes will never be the same again. In the United States, the problem of Negro race prejudice and Negro-white relations is assuming new and more complex proportions. So much is this true that it seems quite possible that this problem, with its elements of interregional conflict, is America's Number 1 domestic problem, following in the wake of the problems of demobilization, reconversion, and employment that always sweep down upon every people after war. But race has always been an important factor in the shaping of the nation. From the first there was the Indian, who from a position of single ownership of the North American continent was reduced by the people of another race to the status of a minority group living for the most part on scattered reservations. The American Indian culture is a fine illustration of primitive culture and he has played a definite role in American culture. The story of the American Negro is a part of "America's Tragedy." The attitude of the United States toward the Oriental peoples as seen in the history of immigration is another story, a part of it the handling of the wartime problem of the Japanese and Japanese-Americans who lived on the West coast. The cultures of both the American Indian and the American Negro, commonly neglected by the sociologists, are excellent fields for the application of sound theory to practical problems.

Facts, problem, strategy. In the case of the Negro in the United States there has been perhaps a tendency to swing to the other extreme and to assume that the problem must be "solved" immediately and that the necessary arrangements can be made. The sociological approach must be

more responsible. It stems from the earlier assumptions that in many instances there is no one solution, but many solutions in the way of continuing adaptation and adjustments. First, it is necessary to get the facts — meaning all facts of physical measurement and of social relationships. Then from these facts it is necessary to state the problem involved both in the general sense of race relationships and in each particular situation involved. Finally, it is necessary to explore the problem of strategy as to what is the best way to go about further scientific study and practical work. The United States can tell South America or India how to solve their race problems with little grace if it neither knows the facts nor "solves" its own problem. The same general application may be made with reference to Chicago's or New York's capacity to "solve" Atlanta's or Los Angeles' problems. There is always the problem then of understanding, representation, and integration of all cultures.

Definitions and Examples

Popular definitions and illustrations of *race* have been numerous. For instance, the simplest concept is in terms of color. The Caucasian is the white man, the Negro the black man, and the Oriental the yellow man. In literature, the Indian, the American aboriginal race, has sometimes been the "Red Man," and the peoples of Oceania "Brown Men." These are accurate designations in so far as they are used specifically.

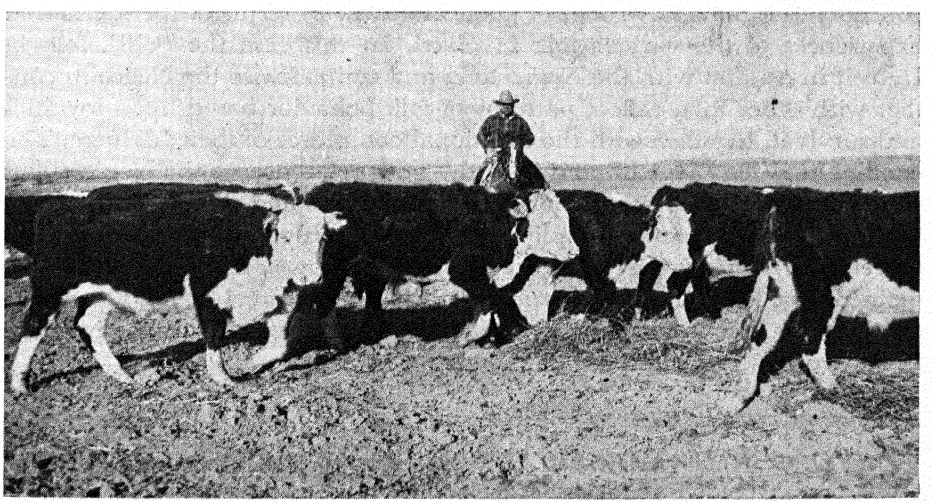
Then there has been accentuated a common usage which divides mankind into the white and colored. Unless something is done to change this trend, it has been said, there is danger of world war between the white races and the colored races. That culture is stronger than color was illustrated by the different ideologies and alignments of China and Japan. Yet, the threat of war between the white races and the colored races was not an idle threat because of the Japanese strategy which would have combined all of Asia into a powerful bloc of colored peoples.

The designation of the Jewish people as a race is a common but inaccurate usage of the term. The Jews are not a race any more than any other Caucasian people. But Judaism, the Jewish religion, and the Hebrew folk culture and heritage have been strong and, over a long period, have tended to isolate the Jews, so that the sociological definition of race as cumulative cultural heritage appears quite appropriate applied to this people. Another corroboration of the sociological definition is found in anti-Semitism in which prejudices have assumed the proportions of "race prejudice." The accurate designation is still, however, that of a folk and folk culture. The Jews are an illustration of a *folk society* which has survived over the centuries within many different *state societies*.

The American Negro is one of the best illustrations of the strong influence of race upon the individual. This influence is two-sided. One is the effect of race discrimination and frustration upon the Negro, such as is illustrated in Richard Wright's *Black Boy* and *Native Son*. The other is the effect of race upon the natural behavior and freedom of both Negro and white in the South, where the constraining folkways and mores of white and black, caste and class, leave neither of the two races free to act spontaneously and honestly.

An analogy of the power of race is the power of culture, an illustration

Descendants of America's First Families symbolize the cultural processes and products of a new intercultural understanding of the American Indian and his part in American life. ABOVE: Children of the generations of aborigines. BELOW: The Indian president of the Cattlemen's Association in charge of the Indian Tribal Herd in the Fort Hall Indian Agency, Idaho.



of which may be seen in marriages between "Americans" and "foreigners." Differences in language, differences in ideals, differences in behavior between European and American cultures have often been represented as so great as to be equivalent to race differences. Yet the fallacy of confusing these differences with race is demonstrated by the simple process of observing the second and third generations of such marriages. That is, a very considerable portion of America's "best" people are the product of the blending of early Americans with Germans and French and other Europeans of different language and culture.

Excellent illustrations of the usages of the terms *race*, *nation*, and *minority* are found in the titles of books, such as *America: Our Racial and National Minorities*, by Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, and *One Nation*, by Wallace E. Stegner and the editors of *Look*, both published in 1945. An earlier volume in the *Recent Social Trends* series by T. J. Woofter, Jr., was entitled *Races and Minority Groups in America*. The theme of all of these publications is essentially "America composed of groups of every race and nation." The point emphasized is that it doesn't matter so much what the definition of race is, provided the way in which it is used is described accurately.

Gunnar Myrdal, in his two-volume *An American Dilemma*, defines the American problem of the Negro as a *moral* problem. By this he means that the chasm between the "American Creed" and actual performance is so great as to cause a major dilemma which becomes "a problem of the heart." A more accurate sociological concept of *moral* would have to do with the concepts of right and wrong, of good and evil, in terms of the ideals and experiences of the various folk involved. In this case the Polish folk in Detroit in conflict with the Negro folk, and contrariwise the Negro in conflict with other folk, reflect patterns of folk behavior based upon loyalties and survival, together with the emotional complexes of their heritage. The conflict between "North" and "South" with reference to the Negro stems from the heritage of what each feels to be right and wrong, so that the "moral" issue becomes complicated. The definition of what is "moral" therefore is an important item. So, too, the concept *one world* will have to be defined sociologically as *abstraction*, until it becomes real in the actual understanding and integration of the diverse cultures and people into the larger world society and organization.

Assignments and Questions

1. Others than sociologists have made important contributions to the understanding of race. List the contributions of the ethnologists, anthro-

Folk and mass enthusiasm reflect the character of a people and indicate the powerful forces of group loyalties. ABOVE: A group cheers on the occasion of the USSR Agricultural Exhibitions. BELOW: Crisis and danger are reflected in the faces of this crowd listening to Stalin speaking on behalf of the State Defense Committee at Moscow during World War II. Will the people support the Peace as they did War?

pologists, psychologists, and missionaries and other church representatives toward the formulation of a new concept of race.

2. What is the basis of the religious conception of equality among races? How has this affected democracy?

3. What is a sociological definition of race? Give the ethnologist's definition. Give Franz Boas's concept from *The Mind of Primitive Man* (revised edition).

4. What is meant by race differentials? Is this a better term than race "differences"? Why?

5. Which of the physical traits of the racial stocks are considered to be the best indices for the classification of races?

6. Do individuals *within* the same racial groups often differ as much in physical indices as individuals of different races?

7. Why is not "looking at the situation" by means of the modern concept of race sufficient to remove all former race prejudices? What are some of the factors that cause race prejudice? Can an illustration be given of instances where the scientific concept of race was not as strong as other factors conditioning human behavior?

8. What is the difference between a race and a nationality? What are often the cultural symbols of each? Why is it permissible sometimes to use the phrase "racial background" when referring to nationality?

9. In the past, the United States has expected that the ways of the immigrant will be changed by the "melting-pot" Americanization process. Has this process been uniformly successful? How has the nation been affected?

10. What people were the original American race? What were their general physical characteristics? At the time of the arrival of the white man, what were the main Indian families in America?

11. Statistically, what is the racial composition of the American population today? How are the races distributed regionally? The term is used according to the standard scientific definition.

12. What are the scientific definitions of a breed, race, and stock? Why are these distinctions useful in classifying mankind? (See Ralph Linton's *The Study of Man.*)

13. What are some of the environmental factors that determine the distinctive characteristics of each racial breed?

14. What mental differences have been found among the various races? What are some of the difficulties of discovering and measuring such differences?

15. What one possible objective criterion does Constantine Panunzio set up for judging the superiority of a race? What does he mean by "superiority"

as used in this sense? Does Franklin H. Giddings recognize this type of racial superiority?

16. What recent trends in the United States and in the world at large have changed the emphasis in the attitudes toward the race problem in America?

17. What would be the regional approach to the study of race problems? The national approach? Illustrate this with a race problem as it exists in your region.

18. What implications does the concept of race differentials have for social planning?

Special Readings from the Library

Boas, Franz: *Race, Language and Culture*, pages 3–75 and 160–171 in the section on "Race." Also see pages 324–330 in the section on "Culture." The American population from the viewpoint of the functional significance of racial differences and the social bases of race antagonism. The racial history of man and a classification of racial types. The Indian as the original American race and builder of the original American culture.

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter v. Racial variation and numerous methods for measuring physical, mental, and cultural differentials. The social importance of race and the many forms of interracial relationships. Race consciousness as it exists in present-day American society.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapters i–iii. Race according to physical anthropology; facts concerning human origins. Classification of man's physical and mental traits into general stocks and breeds. Psychological and social significance of race differentials as they demand the attention of the sociologist.

Lowie, Robert H.: *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, chapter i. An anthropological grouping of the races according to similarities in physical and mental make-up. Cultural differentials or certain aspects of cultural growth cannot be explained at present by race psychology.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters xv and xvi. The situation of races and nationalities in the American cultural drama characterized by poor assimilation and conflict in varying degrees. The Negro, Mexican, Indian, Oriental, and northern and southwestern European immigrant groups present their own peculiar type of regional and national problems.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, chapters ii, xiii, and xvii. The cultural region explored by the anthropologist and the sociologist. The determinative factor of the folk and their problems of associative living in the pattern of each region.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, pages 94–101; 436–444; 897. Race as a strictly biological concept. Heredity and natural environment as modifiers of racial criteria, and culture as it determines race differentials and prejudices. Distribution of racial populations in the world and in the United States. Technological advances and race conflicts.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapters VI, XXVI, XXVII, and XXX. Theories of race origin, probably factors that underlie raciation, and a classification of the human races. Race similarities and dissimilarities and the possibilities of race superiority. Race contacts and conflicts as they appear in modern institutional problems.

Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, chapters II and XI. The difference in the mores of the racial groups in meeting the same situations. Social codes of the primitive groups and of the races of man with an analysis of those code characteristics that are modern elements.

Recent Social Trends, pages xxiv, xli; chapter XI; and pages 1001–1002. Problem of minority groups within and without the continental United States considered more cultural than racial. Restrictive immigration policy of United States selects quality by favoring northern Europeans and restricting southern Europeans; but inconsistent as to nonwhites. The confusion enveloping so-called racial characteristics. Perhaps immigration policy questionable in selecting according to racial rather than individual type. Racial and ethnic heterogeneity basic to America. Increase and distribution from immigration and natural increase. Race relations observed to vary with the number and concentration of minority groups. Population movements. Economic life of minority groups. Social problems; health; education; race prejudice; Negro-white co-operation; factors of assimilation. Negroes and Indians in the arts.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Adamic, Louis, *A Nation of Nations;* Benians, E. A., *Race and Nation in the United States;* Boas, Franz, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, also *Race, Language and Culture* and *Anthropology and Modern Life;* Coon, Carleton S., *The Races of Europe;* Dixon, Roland B., *The Racial History of Man;* Embree, Edwin R., *Brown America* and *Indians of the Americas;* Finot, Jean, *Race Prejudice* (tr. by Florence Wade-Evans); Garth, T. R., *Race Psychology;* Herskovits, Melville J., *Myth of the Negro Past;* Johnson, Charles S., *Patterns of Negro Segregation;* Klineberg, Otto, *Race Differences* and (ed.) *Characteristics of the American Negro;* Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man;* Miller, Herbert A., *Races, Nations, and Classes;* Muntz, Earle, *Race Contact;* Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma; The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy;* Odum,

Howard W., *Race and Rumors of Race;* Radin, Paul, *The Racial Myth;* Reuter, Edward B. (ed.), *Race and Culture Contacts;* Sterner, Richard, *The Negro's Share;* Warner, W. Lloyd, and others, *Color and Human Nature;* Weatherford, W. D., and Johnson, Charles S., *Race Relations;* Woofter, T. J., Jr. (ed.), *Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life.*

Other references are given in our chapter dealing with the problems of peoples and classes.

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Catalogue international organizations that have to do with race; with nationalities.
2. Make a catalogue of the most active national agencies that have to do with race.
3. List the most active national organizations that stem from the cultural interests of ethnic groups.
4. Write a brief account describing the action taken and the organizations formed on behalf of Japanese citizens during World War II. What was the *Pacific Citizen?* What was the J.A.C.L.?
5. Describe the evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans from the West coast following Pearl Harbor.
6. Describe the organization and work of the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League.
7. What is the American League for a Free Palestine?
8. What is the India League of America?
9. What is the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans?
10. Describe the work of the American Association of Indian Affairs.
11. What was the Indian Arts and Crafts Board?
12. Describe agencies existing for the study of race or for the improvement of race relations in a local region.
13. What was the significance of the name that the Japanese applied to their conquered territories — the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" — and of their slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics"?
14. The Bureau of Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York, can provide bibliographies, visual aids, and other aids for the study of racial and cultural problems. Analyze their titles on general intercultural education, evaluation, prejudice, religion.
15. List and arrange for classroom purposes the thirteen radio scripts, Americans All — Immigrants All, prepared by the United States Office of Education in co-operation with CBS.

8

Culture and Religion

Religion is elemental in universal culture. In the search for those elements which make up the fabric of universal culture, religion appears early as playing a powerful role in human society and in the character and behavior of the individual wherever found. Indeed it has often been said that religion, like culture, is an exclusive trait of human society. Among the evidences of the exclusive universality of religion in human society is the fact that it does not appear in animal societies; that all known human cultures have it; and that it contributed to the beginnings of many human interests and inquiries, such as science, philosophy, education, art, and government. It has persisted throughout the various levels of human society from primitive culture on up to contemporary civilization. So, too, it has constituted one of the major social institutions along with the family, the state, the school, industry, and the community. And it has provided the most powerful of all the controlling mores, sometimes even dominating the stateways of a sovereign society.

In the realm of individual life, religion has been a powerful force in general conditioning of character and behavior. It has been instrumental in stimulating inquiry into the mystery of life and has often become a part of man's first search for explanation and adjustment. Religion has been instrumental, too, in stressing the importance of the individual's relation to society through his relation to the Divinity and in emphasizing the inner spiritual worth of the individual. Religion, both through the great religions of many people, and especially through Christianity, has often laid the foundations for democracy and the equality of all men. The first chapters of the biography of man reflect the story of religion and the story of religion reflects much of the annals of human culture. In Western civilization, Chris-

tianity brought out the conflict between the individual's ambition to become powerful and his obligation to society. The human equality concept was a product of the brotherhood of men under one Fatherhood of God. Race prejudice has part of its explanation in the negation of this concept, while to the sense of guilt has often been ascribed the basis of personal maladjustments and social pathology.

Through nature to God was a first principle. In our study of the role of nature in societal development we called attention to the universal and fascinating effort of mankind to explain his environment and to improve his lot on this earth. We suggested the study of nature as the beginning of wisdom, adapting the Bible saying that "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." This verdict grew early out of man's search for the elemental factors in the development of human society. And one of his first steps was to inquire into the meaning of nature and its powerful influence upon man. In previous chapters we have recognized this and have also examined the range and meaning of regions, of geographic factors, and of natural resources and the universality of the fundamentally natural folk societies which grew up on the regional conditioning of each folk. Strangely enough, one of the chief manifestations of this effort to explain the physical world was religion. In this search to understand the universe, it was natural that a very large number of interpretations of nature and of its relation to the universe would develop. In this respect, therefore, the story of religion is a peculiarly paradoxical one; while many of the first inquiries of religion stemmed from nature, its later development is characterized as extranatural or supernatural. This natural cultural phenomenon of material origin evolved in the concept of the spiritual. From these earlier beginnings, through the long road of continuing, evolving folkways and institutions, religion increased its range and power both in the coloring of culture and the control of human behavior.

Early religions found their gods in nature. There is no more vivid explanation of how man has leaned on nature than the names and the attributes of the early nature gods. Their catalogue is symbolic of the range of needs, wishes, and fears of each people in close relationship to its particular natural environment. Beginning with rain and the fruitfulness of the soil, there is, on the one hand, an extraordinary catalogue of gods symbolizing nature and ceremonials giving thanks for their beneficence. Against storms and drought, on the other hand, the rites and ceremonies attempted to appease nature, which was often personified in terms of nature forces, and implored them to deal mercifully with the petitioners. Here were early attempts to explain thunder and lightning and wind and other natural

phenomena as these reflected the needs of the people. The mountains and the forests, the rivers and the lakes became the homes of symbols of the forces of nature and of gods to be worshiped in accordance with the people's culture. The animal world furnished symbols of worship, of fertility, and of beneficent and malignant forces. In the various cultures a number of animals — the cow, the bull, the dog, the bear, and a score of others — were wrought into the religious fabric of the people.

The search for knowledge of the unknown. But there were other phases of nature not quite so easily understood or susceptible to worship by symbols. There were sickness and disease, dreams and nightmares, echoes from across the mountains and valleys — the personifications of nature, the great animistic interpretation of life. From the simple, symbolic creations of gods and ceremonies it was natural for man to go further and try to interpret the meaning of the strange and unknown. The echo across the mountain must certainly mean a spirit or something other than the physical body of another man. If there was a reflection in the lake, there must certainly be another person. If a man died, certainly his spirit must go somewhere else, and surely there was the brother tree or the brother animal, and there must be family and fellowship in all nature. Earth was the mother. The sun might be the father and in the dreams at night things happened — personalities appeared, experiences seemed real. All of these must be explained, and so, on and on, the catalogue of religious experiences and interpretation grew.

Call the roll of nature gods. In the long road of prehistorical and precultural society no man knows how many sun gods there may have been nor what their names were. Even so, many have been recorded, including a no less distinguished name than Apollo of the Greeks, who was also a shepherd, a master of animals, and the protector of farmers and their grain, as well as the later great god of the oracles. In Assyria, there was Ashur, god of gods and divine ruler, with his winged sun disk, symbol of universal dominion. In Babylonia, there was Marduk, the shining one, child of the day, master also of water and storms, besides Ningirsu of Lagash and Nergal of Cetuhah, and the Semitic god Shamash of Sippar. In Egypt, there was Aten, the sole lord, creator and ruler of the universe, whose symbol was the solar disc; there was Re and Re-Harackte, first god of the delta, and the personification of the sun god. In India, there was Pushan, vivifier and stimulator of all life. There was another Indian sun god, Savitar, swift strider of the celestial heights, Vishnu, Vairochana, and many others. There were storm gods: Adad and En-lil (Babylonian), Hadad and Yahweh (Semitic and Hebrew), Rudra and Indra (Vedic and Hindu), and the

better-known Mars and Zeus. There were fertility gods and goddesses, fire gods and goddesses, gods of healing and health, of the moon and the stars and the planets.

The widening nature of religion. As the culture of the varying peoples and societies developed, religion widened and deepened its range of influence, and the nature of the gods multiplied. The functions of religion became more complex, and the folkways and the mores of the people came to be based more and more on the ways of religion and on religious sanction. Religion became a guiding influence on the farm and in the market place, in the home and family, and in the making of taboos and customs of sex, marriage, diet, work, and war. Religion was to influence government and education, developing powerful priesthoods and state religions. The ground was laid for a fellowship within churches and a conflict between churches often equal to and sometimes stronger than ethnic or blood kinship. Thus, the stories of culture and of religion again become synonymous, even in the modern world, and through their study one may characterize the societies of every nation.

The world religions are measures of culture. Finally the great world religions are the supreme evidence of the cultural character of religion. The characterization of each religion is a symbol of the nature of its members and their culture: Hinduism, the religion of divine immanence and an heredity-graded social structure; Jainism, the religion of asceticism; Buddhism, the religion of peaceful, ethical self-culture; Sikhism, the religion of disciples of the one true God; Confucianism, the religion of social propriety; Taoism, the religion of the divine way; Shintoism, the religion of nature worship, emperor worship, and purity; Judaism, the religion of obedience to the righteous God; Zoroastrianism, the religion of struggle along with a good but limited god against the evil forces inherent in the world; Islam, or Mohammedanism, the religion of submission to the world potentate; and Christianity — basic to the new Western culture and to American institutions, especially in its influence upon democracy.

From culture to civilization. A great change in the nature and influence of religion is seen as early cultures recede and modern civilizations flower by technical and material progress. The transition from a nature religion into a social religion (the "death of the gods") is a sort of milestone between culture and civilization. The religion of the Greeks and the Romans became a part of their art and literature, and essentially an index to their cultural phenomena. In many ways, also, the cultural religion of the ancients, as differing from modern religious organization, institutions, and worship, might be said to be a sort of dividing line between the ancient

and the modern. In modern civilization, religion and worship have assumed an almost entirely different structure and function, and appear in diminishing ratio in the totality of influences. This will be studied further in the discussion of civilization and the social institutions.

The individual and religion. In this development of religion, as in most other aspects of the development of the human race, the key is the individual's aspirations. It was the individual who was afraid. It was the individual who knew he must survive. It was the individual who dreamed. It was the individual who saw his shadow and heard the echo from the hills. It was the individual who hunted and fished and planted the grain and prayed for the harvest. The evolution of individual religion into ceremonies, dances, worship, and institutions again is a symbol of a transitional period in the socializing process of human beings associating together. In the developing cultures of various peoples, the ceremonies, rituals, dances, and later institutional forms of worship, organizations for youth, and functional services of the churches primarily have found efficacy through the individual. In the later world, religion had a powerful influence upon the education of the individual, first of the youth and then of the adults. In a still later world, religion had its great function in the home and the family, in the founding of educational institutions, and in the binding of people together in like groups. But always the influence of religion on the individual has been organic and elemental, and it has been responsible for many of the spiritual and mental variations in the individual. So, too, like philosophy, the theories of religion and worship have been worked out by individual thinkers and dreamers and pioneers in a search for the best way of life. Throughout the development of culture and civilization, religion has played an important role in art, literature, music, and dancing.

The relation of religion to the individual may be studied primarily in two important ways. First of all, it was the individual's search for the understanding of the unknown and for the explanation and personification of much of nature that paved the way for early religious inquiries, and throughout the development of peoples religion has been the chief mode of worship or the expression of aspiration of the individual soul. And, second, in the modern world, religion has conditioned the behavior of the individual, and the main teachings of most religions have focused upon his behavior. Individual conduct, therefore, in earlier societies such as that of the United States, was greatly conditioned by religion and religious teachings. So much was this true that the lack of religious motivation and guidance has been interpreted by many publicists and educators to constitute

one of the problems of modern youth and of general morality. That is, given a new generation that has not been taught the special obligations of morality as implied in religion or the fear of God or the fear of punishment, and with no adequate substitution, the implication is that the resulting condition is one of the factors in increasing crime.

Other larger problems that arise because of religion have to do with religious denominations, religious education, the changing nature of religion from formalism to the social gospel, the decline of the rural churches, the decreasing influence of the church — all of which are reflections of a changing culture to be studied and appraised for what they are.

RELIGION AND AMERICAN CULTURE

When we come to the task of understanding American society, the role of religion in the New World may be easily traced. The student might catalogue a dozen indices giving testimony of the religious background of the New World. Earlier documents and even letters began with the symbolic salutation, "In the name of God, amen"; laws, constitutions, and public documents were all made in the name of God. Strong puritan New England culture grew up from a religious foundation; early American institutions of learning were established by the churches; Federal Constitution, state constitutions, important documents of state, inaugural addresses of the Presidents, the oaths of allegiance of new citizens, of Army and Navy officers — all reflect the religious basis in which American culture was grounded. Standard oaths in many of the states are still taken with the Bible as a tangible witness, while some state universities still present copies of the Bible to their graduates. In fact, religion can still be taken as index of American cultural life today as it was in earlier colonial territorial days. The most powerful of all folkways and mores, Christianity has played a far-reaching and effectual role throughout the growth and development of our national institutions.

Desire for escape from religious persecution and dreams of a group life more nearly realizing their ideals seem to have been foremost in the hearts and minds of the earlier settlers of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. In New England, the Puritan, Pilgrim, and nonconformist migrant folk translated their religious beliefs into concepts for their social patterns. When the years saw the full settlement along the Atlantic seaboard, religion again became one of the primary forces in extending the new civilization across the Appalachians into the West. In the vast middle-western region the Mormons, fleeing from oppression and

intolerance and in search of Zion, were one of the first large groups to lead the way across the plains. Most important, wherever the fundamentalism of the East came in contact with the fresh spirit of the frontier, new life was engendered into belief and freedom from artificiality was welcomed.

Religion in American institutions. The role of religion in the settlement of the nation and its influence on the educational institutions, music, and literature has been fairly generally recognized, but few people have comprehended the psychic structure with which religion in the past and in the present day has supported all institutional growth. The close interweaving of Protestant concepts and early ideals of democratic life has been well described by Ralph H. Gabriel in *The Course of American Democratic Thought.* Sensing the strength of folkway patterns, this historian pointed out some five parallels in the development of American religious and political concepts. He believed that both democracy and Protestant Christianity recognized primarily the sanctity of the individual personality. Whereas in American religion there was the doctrine of the fundamental law of the Supreme God, in democratic doctrine there was the belief in a fundamental moral law underlying the stateways. As a cultural parallel to the American Constitution, there was the Bible, inviolable authority for centuries. As the counterpart of the fear of a strong Federal government, there was the fear of eternal damnation. Americans believed themselves a chosen people, having been given the true way of democratic life and the true way of worshiping the Supreme Being. The mission of carrying the American democratic ideals abroad was matched only by the belief of the culture-personality in carrying Christianity to the "heathen." With these nonmaterial culture traits expressed so strongly in both government and religion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is but natural that one should find the same concepts in the body of all other social institutions of the time.

The impact of Darwinism and of pragmatic science on American religion was in all probability the greatest cultural shock occurring in the early twentieth century. Expression of belief in the potentialities and capabilities of rational man for finding mental security for himself and cultural progress for his group replaced slowly the older authoritarian beliefs. A new emphasis upon the social individual and group welfare found expression slowly in all institutional concepts. In government, social legislation has become an accepted concept; in education, scientific pedagogy and progressive techniques took the place of indoctrination and outmoded disciplines. In religion, the social teachings of Jesus became the new fundamentals of the modern church.

The total picture of religion in the United States remains as one in which

religious freedom is stressed; in which there is great diversity of beliefs and organizations; in which there is conflict between two great bodies of Protestant and Catholic folk; and in which leaders of the people profess publicly the principles of Christianity. Religious literature constitutes a large bulk in the total publications of the nation. The churches increase their membership in special instances. Nevertheless the situation here parallels that in many other aspects of life, namely, the role of religion in a technological society is a changing one to be measured alongside all other aspects of social change.

In the total world society religion and its powerful folkways, morals, and traditions continues to be a dominant force in nearly all fields of human relationships. Extraordinary laboratories for observation and research are to be found in Japan, in India, in Russia where new integrations are taking place and in Italy and Spain and other nations where change is imminent.

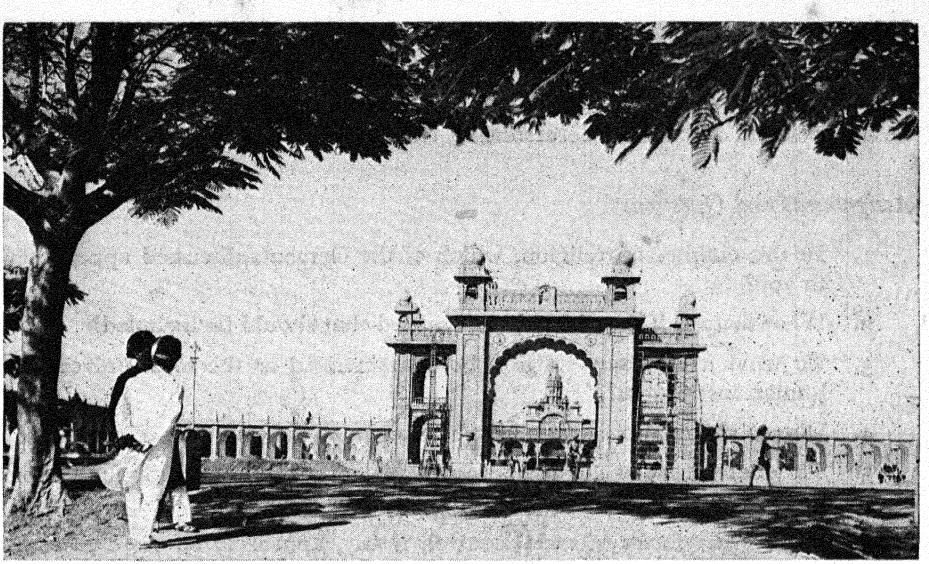
Definitions and Examples

It is often difficult to isolate and define the exact influence of religion upon culture, although illustrations of its general influence are abundant. Its meaning in this sense may be illustrated by looking first at the general meaning of *religion* and then at the specific meanings of *religions*. The great faiths of the world — Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Confucianism — are manifestly perfect illustrations of what religion has meant to cultures in the past. Religion is the force which binds the spiritual nature of man to some concept or ideology of a supernatural being; religions are clearly the systems of faith and worship through which religion has developed. In contemporary society the church and religion have come to mean that institution through which men worship, but even today the heritage of religion is much more powerful than any ritual of worship.

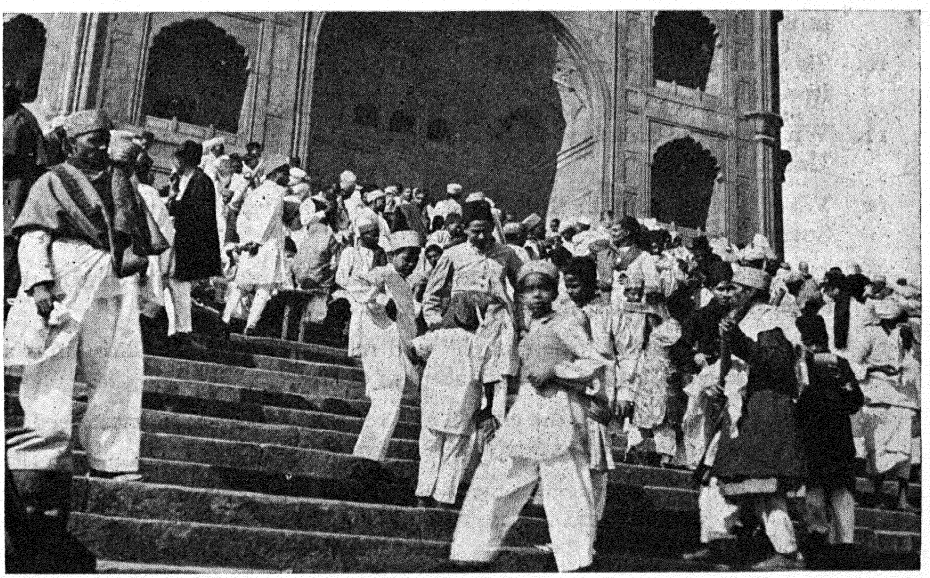
Another way in which the role of religion in culture may be illustrated is to trace the heritage of *religious freedom* through the ages and to try to measure the power of *religious intolerance*. *God in Freedom* by Luigi Luzzatti is an admirable attempt to do this. A vivid illustration of the other side of the same power in the religions of the world is given by A. Eustace Haydon in *Biography of the Gods:* the gods are on this side of the mystery that enshrouds the universe. Like man, they are earthborn. The roots of their lives are in the rich soil of human hopes and hungerings. If man had been perfect in joy and mastery the familiar folk gods of history would never have been. They were born and grew to grandeur because of man's desperate need. Through the ages they have walked with him, beloved companions of the way, powerful helpers in the age-long quest for knowledge, beauty, and the joy of living.

An illustration of the influence of religious culture so powerful as to assume the proportions of *race* may be found in the Jewish people. What religious persecution can do to the world also is illustrated in the history of the Jewish people. This, too, is described by Luzzatti. Other illustrations are abundant in religious movements such as Mormonism. There are also innumerable examples of the powerful control exerted by religious fanatics, cultists, and revival preachers.

In the larger field of Western culture, Catholicism and Protestantism are examples in which the system of religion and the form of worship have



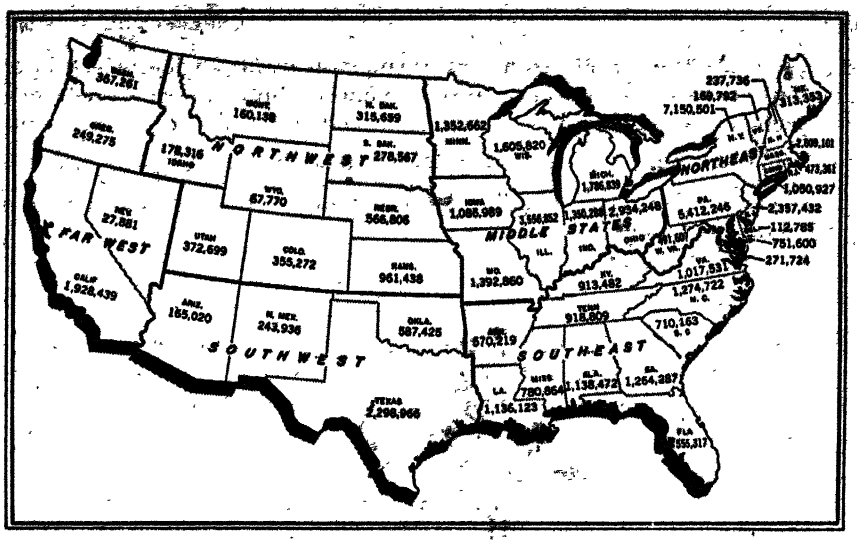
A major task of intercultural relations is the understanding and appreciation by all peoples of other cultures and religions, especially, so different from their own. "One World" is only an abstract concept until cultures can be integrated into an all-world society. ABOVE: Palace of the Maharadja. BELOW: The great Mosque in Delhi.



constituted a strong dichotomy. So, too, the contrasting Western and Eastern civilizations are illustrations of religious conditioning which may be as powerful as race in determining differences.

Assignments and Questions

1. In this chapter on religion, which of the elements discussed appear new to you?
2. What factors, if any, have been omitted that should be included?
3. To what extent may religion be characterized as the most universal of human institutions?
4. Discuss the relation of natural phenomena to the evolution of religion.
5. To what extent would it be possible to get acquainted with the various peoples of the earth through a study of their religions?
6. What other forms of social control, if any, appear to be more powerful than religion?
7. What evidence do you find that the influence of religion on all of social life has increased or decreased?
8. Trace the influence of religion in American life. Is it diminishing or increasing?
9. Which of the regions in the United States appear most "religious," and in what ways?
10. To what extent did World War II accentuate the meaning of religious freedom?
11. What are the sociological aspects of the church and of religion in the United States?
12. What is significant in the official change of attitude toward religion in Soviet Russia?
13. Discuss the church in relation to the other institutions — the school, the state, the community, industry, the home.
14. Distinguish between "the church" and religion. What was Christianity's first main contribution to the concept of democracy?
15. What special studies of the church and religion appear to be most needed to help us understand society today?
16. As the theme of the development of folkways and mores is continued in this book, keep in mind the assertion that religion is the most powerful of all of them.

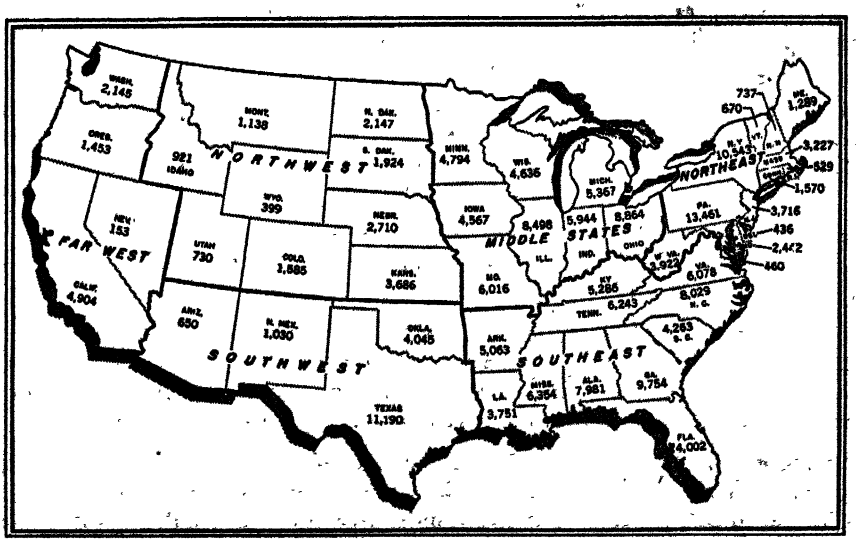


In the United States, as Elsewhere, Religion Varies With Culture

ABOVE: Map showing distribution of members; BELOW: Edifices, U. S. Census 1940

U. S. 1940	NORTHEAST	SOUTHEAST	SOUTHWEST	MIDDLE STATES
55,603,580	21,402,165	10,279,989	3,295,347	15,066,558
199,302	43,002	66,804	16,915	48,686

The Northwest then had 2,986,665 members and 15,240 churches, while the Far West had, respectively, 2,572,856 and 8,655.



17. If early America placed a greater emphasis upon religion, which in turn affected the behavior of the people, what substitutes are now made for the religious influence?
18. Illustrate ways in which the religious influence survives in American life.
19. How does religious experience throw light on the conflict between the individual and social goals?

Special Readings from the Library

Boas, Franz: *Race, Language, and Culture*, pages 328, 446–450, and 596–618 in the section on "Culture." Myths, concepts, and beliefs of primitive cultures concerning supernatural forces, the soul of man, and immortality. Theories of the idea of future life as expressed in primitive religions.

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter XXV. Early theories advanced by Spencer, Tylor, Müller, Frazer, and Durkheim on the origin of religion. The social importance of religion; the folk needs and emotions out of which grew beliefs in the power of the supernatural. The everyday functions of primitive religion; the role of religion in the history of American society.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, pages 89–90, 458–463. Religious systems designed to meet the needs of the primitive peoples. Magic, fear of the supernatural, in the Tanala culture, a typical primitive society.

Lowie, Robert H.: *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, chapter XVII. Impersonal and personal supernaturalism and their various expressions in primitive cultures. A summary of all types of religious beliefs and magical practices. Ceremonialism in early and present-day religious systems.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, pages 406–410, 446. Religion as the individual's philosophy of life vitalized by emotion. Religious behavior patterns and the common functions of such patterns in all types of human societies, primitive or modern.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, pages 321–322. A single stimulating thought concerning the region as a transformer and translator of universal beliefs and forces, such as religion.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter XXII. The modern and rural churches and their concepts and program of service to the community. The contributions of Christianity to the ideals of democracy and the part that these contributing forces have played in the development of American government.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, pages 229–231. Regional division and problems of the various religious sects. Differences in religious form and practice as they are indicative of folk and cultural differences.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, pages 30–39 and chapter XXI. Evidences of religion in Mousterian and Eskimo cultures. Religious institutions have developed from the all-pervasive belief in the supernatural among primitives to the more restricted and specialized modern churches. Influences of science and changing culture. The role of religion in supplying integrating spiritual beliefs and leadership in social and individual ethics.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapters XVIII and XIX. The origin and development of the concepts and forms that made up the early religious institution. A brief history of the church from primitive society through the Middle Ages and modern social order. Maladjustments related to institutionalized religion and the possibilities of religion meeting the needs of contemporary man.

Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, pages 82–83, 87–88, 96, 103–104, 116, 160–163, 181, 190–191, 222, 230, 236–260, 326, 400–416, 567–568, 613–627. Folkways and mores sanctioned and used by the churches of Rome and England, by Islam, by the religions of the Orient, and in primitive tribal worship. The teachings and practices of the ancient, medieval, and modern religious institutions as they strengthened or modified customs of sex, marriage, economic activity, education, and government as well as helped determine status and role in society.

Recent Social Trends, pages xlviii–xlix; chapter XX; pages 397–414, 674, 695. Changes in religious interests and attitudes as reflected in books and magazines. Conclusions: a declining approval of organized Christianity and a rise of "openminded religion." Possible prognoses. Trend in religious functions of the family varies with the religions and areas and is affected as much by trends in religion as in the family. Weakening of the control of religion over marriage as a possible cause of increase in divorce. Antagonism between science and religion. The church has been forced to compete with increasing numbers of secular agencies and activities. Church pronouncements on the social gospel relating to economic problems and the family. Church membership. Church wealth. Ministers and their training; religious education for the population at large; agencies for youth; church unity and co-operation; foreign missions; programs of the local churches.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Burtt, E. A., *Religion in an Age of Science;* Cooke, G. W., *The Social Evolution of Religion;* Douglass, H. Paul, and Brunner, Edmund de S., *The Protestant Church as a Social Institution;* Durkheim, Emile, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life;* Ellwood, Charles A., *The Reconstruction of Religion;* Haydon, A. E., *Modern Trends in World-Religions* and *Biography of the Gods;* Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution;* Hopkins, E. W., *Origin and Evolution of Religion;* Kirkpatrick, Clifford, *Religion in*

Human Affairs; Leuba, J. H., *The Psychology of Religious Mysticism;* Lowie, Robert H., *Primitive Religion;* Luzzatti, Luigi, *God in Freedom; Studies in the Relations between Church and State* (tr. by Alfonso Arbid-Custo); Marett, R. R., *The Threshold of Religion;* Oldham, J. H., *Christianity and the Race Problem;* Radin, Paul, *Primitive Religion;* Rivers, W. H. R., *Medicine, Magic and Religion;* Shotwell, James T., *The Religious Revolution of Today;* Starbuck, E. D., *Psychology of Religion;* Wallis, Wilson D., *Religion in Primitive Society;* Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (tr. by Talcott Parsons).

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. The Crusades remain the outstanding example of the power of religion. Illustrate and explain.
2. Which wars have been fought on religious grounds or because of complications resulting from religious factors?
3. How was the revival of the Ku Klux Klan following World War I related to religion?
4. How many religious bodies in the United States? See the United States Census of Religious Bodies (1936) and the *Yearbook of American Churches.*
5. Describe some of the religious movements that have flourished in the Los Angeles culture area.
6. What is the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America?
7. What religious action agencies have been organized to combat race prejudice and discrimination?
8. Trace the development of the religious education movement in the United States.
9. What is meant by the "social gospel"? In contrast to what other gospel?
10. Describe organizations within American churches, especially some of the missionary societies.
11. What is the National Religion and Labor Foundation? See the Social Work Year Book.
12. Describe the anti-evolution movement in America in the 1920's. How did this compare with the attack on Darwin in England?

9

Other Constant Elements of Culture

The study of comparative cultures is important. We have often characterized the folk as a universal constant in a historical world of societal variables. Inherent in all cultures, therefore, are the elemental folk processes that derive from primary association, folk loyalties and ideals, and the folk morale of work, faith and the will to live. The nature of the folk, of folk culture, and of the folk-regional society as the foundation and genesis of human society constitutes a central theme in the further study of culture. At this point, however, certain constant elements that go into the building of all cultures need to be examined in this and succeeding chapters of Part III.

In addition to the value of analyzing culture by its component elements, the assumption is that, if we know the elements of a culture that make it survive and grow, we can also know how to explore the qualities of the margin of survival in society as culture evolves into a more complex civilization. As medical science studies both man and animals in order to learn what elemental factors may be utilized to increase vitality, eliminate disease, prolong life, and enrich the human experience in modern civilization, so through the comparative study of cultures and the folk elements that go into their making, sociology can help to direct social growth in modern technological civilization.

What are the "elements" of culture? We have defined culture in terms of its exclusive social nature, in its capacity to characterize and describe human society, and have described some of the fundamental relationships of nature to culture and man. Race and religion are two of the larger elements or symbols of culture which illustrate the inherent nature of cultural experience and behavior. There are numerous other elements which com-

plete the analysis of culture, each of which is a specialized field for sound theoretical study and practical work.

Such an element is morality which not only evolves through the folk experience but also tends to crystallize and stabilize behavior through more or less informal societal pressure. From the folkways and mores come morals in the sense of values which accrue through the folk-wisdom of the years. What is right and what is wrong in the setting of each people's society becomes a part of the guide to survival. Then from morality, as tested standards of behavior, evolves the institutions which become the measure of orderly society and the ways of serving the individual and the group in constant interaction and change. Morality is a sort of sustaining background to which is referred issues and action programs to be tested in terms of selective processes. In the folk morality are found the balanced elements of emotion, the width and depth of loyalties, and the rationalization of change. The selection and articulation of survival values is thereby reflected in the folk wisdom which has become morality, reinforced by the rich primary personal ideals on the one hand and the primary institutions on the other. The recapture and reorientation of the folk morality in modern civilization has often been adjudged the chief task of education and religion.

Such an element also, manifestly, is found in work as it applies to both the individual and to society. The role of work as it relates to the individual is clearly evident in his development, in his equipment for survival, and in the later phases of creative effort and intellectual equipment. As it relates to society, work constitutes the foundation for the great institution which we call industry with its manifold ramifications in the modern world of labor and management and the economic order. Another element is found in the arts and crafts, and in the designs and fashions of housing and clothing. So, too, the other side of the coin, namely play and recreation, music and dancing, and the leisure-time expression of energy and personality constitute elemental factors definitive of folk culture. Again, war and conflict appear as another societal element in the total epic of struggle that appears universally in nature and as reflected in the biological theories of survival and the struggle for existence.

Another elemental stage of cultural development is found in man's relation to nature. Man's relation to land, to natural resources, to hunting and fishing, to rural life and later to agriculture as a way of life, manifestly reflects a constant element in all early cultures, just as the city and urbanism are first elements of civilization.

THE STUDY OF SEX

An element that requires special study perhaps more than at any time in history is that of sex and the whole man-woman ratio, along with the powerful folkways of sex and the family, and thence its influence upon morality. The relation of sex to culture and to society is peculiarly well suited to illustrate the approach to the study of society embodied in this textbook. First the subject symbolizes the need for sound theory and practical study of actual problems. And, second, it is well adapted to the procedure of studying each aspect in the same sequence as it is utilized in the framework of this text. That is, beginning with the natural backgrounds, we may next explore the cultural *aspects* and then, in contrast to earlier cultural phases, we may study the theme of sex in the setting of *civilization*. We may then seek to understand as much as possible of the relationship of the subject both to the *individual* and to the group. From these inquiries we pass logically into the range of *problems* which arise because of the specific phenomena which we are studying. From this inventory, then, it is possible to examine *processes*, *organization*, and *institutional phases* of our subject together with the nature and range of *research* needed.

The natural aspects of sex are symbolic of society. In its most elementary aspects, sex is primarily physical or biological. It is "natural" in both the plant and animal world, where its functioning reflects no cultural character. The numerical count of the people always reflects the most elementary index of the natural sex character of the race in that those humans are automatically divided into two approximately equal halves of male and female. This is no minor mood of mankind to be changed by action groups. It is one of the ultimates of life. Not only in the reproduction of the race, but in the psychological and cultural conditioning of the behavior of men and women, the man-woman ratio is organic in societal development. As an oversimplified way of describing the situation, the ratio of the sexes has set a natural class basis for all population phenomena and problems. Social problems of the division of labor or of the reproduction of the race have grown up around the fact of the "division of the human race into two sexes." From the biological bisexual organism of man, then there grew up the anthropological facts of sex differentiation, and from this, still again, the sociological facts of social relationships growing out of the man-woman ratio and the social institutions and behavior which evolved. If this early natural basis of sex set the stage for much of human behavior, it is equally clear that in all societies sex has almost universally conditioned the mores

and folkways or has been the basis for customs and institutional developments and social relations which constitute the subject matter for sociology.

Changes in the nature of sex problems. As earlier cultures expanded into mature civilizations the role of sex has changed its relation to other problems and there has emerged a great array of problems ranging from that of individual sex conduct, through the total mores, morals, and institutions of marriage and the family, to the role and rights of women in the modern world and their participation in life outside the family. Although there have emerged from the modern world of scholarship some psychological interpretations and implications of sex in relation to most phases of man's conduct, sociology has been able to achieve little more in the solution of major sex problems than in racial problems.

So important is the problem of sex considered by the sociologist, that there are those who feel that, if a single problem of association between and among individuals in modern society should be selected, the solution of which would contribute more to the solution of all other problems, it would be this relationship between men and women. Many students feel that one reason why not much intellectual progress has been made since the days of Plato and Aristotle is because women have never been free to contribute naturally to the intellectual and cultural creative work of society. It is a logical development that the cultural aspects of sex become increasingly important as society itself develops into maturity. This, of course, is not different from similar trends in other "natural" phases of societal development. Geographic factors and physical environment, for instance, condition early societies and dominate the first stages, setting the pattern of their cultures. As society matures into civilization, the cultural environment subsequently always becomes the dominant force, transcending that which is primarily physical.

Sex as a basis for institutional behavior. So it is with the development of societal folkways and mores in the important field of sex and sex relationships. The sex appetite, physical in its urges even as the hunger appetite, sets the stage, and the means for the reproduction of the race and its first manifestations are physical and biological. From this simple biological beginning grows the family and family relationships in their many forms and functions. Folkways and mores, taboos and ceremonials, develop and reflect the essential cultural nature of these relationships. So, too, this physical basis of sex, as is the case in hunger, sets the stage for manners and morals, for refinements in human relationships, both individual and social, coloring much of the whole cultural life of society.

Once, again, the cultural development of a people records changing attitudes towards sex, new and important stages in the development of the division of labor, new ranges in the occupational work of women, new reaches in the training of women and in their whole educational outlook and equipment. When we come to the changing role of sex in civilization, we again proceed a step further in the progress of society, from its earlier cultural, natural stages to its later technical and civilized development. Here, undoubtedly, in all civilizations, has been recorded many indices that measure the changing cultures. Sex in Rome, for instance, in its later days was not the same as in the earlier cultural, religious, or ceremonial stages. No more are the present-day problems of sex in New York or Los Angeles or London or Paris so simple and elemental as they were in frontier America. And, after a great war of world interrelationships, new complexities are added to these problems.

Sex in relation to the individual. In the study of sex in relation to the individual and to social problems, the sociologist finds one of the most important of all his fields of inquiry. Just as quantitatively the problem of sex is of the first importance in the study of society because of a continuing relationship between the two halves of the population, so in the individual's life the role of sex, both quantitatively and qualitatively, is of the greatest importance. Most all anthropologists and biologists feature the relation of sex to the individual behavior as basic. Many authorities claim that sex is perhaps more powerful even than hunger appetite. The sociologists and anthropologists would not go as far as the Freudian psychologists in making sex the most powerful force in the subconscious and conscious action of the individual, but all would give it an important place in the total of the personality. On the positive side sex is responsible for the continuance of the race and for romantic love, and often is a stimulus for creative work; on the negative side, when maladjustments are predominant, a certain amount of delinquency and pathology results from sex.

We shall inquire further into the relation of sex to social problems in later chapters dealing with sociology and social problems. Some of these problems have to do with the facts of organic sex differences, and some have to do with the immediate practical problems of men and women in the modern world. Among these in American society are the changing economic and legal status of women, and new codes and practices relating to the family and children, and to sex relationships, as well as in the age-long problem of prostitution. In education and government, as well as in industry, the woman of the new era becomes an increasingly important actor on the stage.

THE STUDY OF WAR

Another elemental thread in the fabric of culture is war, although in reality warfare, as it has now developed, is a relatively new phenomenon. More accurately war might be called a product of civilization rather than of culture. Yet its effects on the culture of civilized peoples is so great that war becomes a part of the study of the elements of society and culture. War and the history of wars affords an excellent framework for the comparative study of earlier and later cultures and civilizations. War also falls into that category of social phenomena characterized by Giddings as *social incidence*, those forces which are not yet predictable and not yet susceptible to measurement. For the present, then, war must be included among the elements which go into the making of society.

How true this is may be gathered from an examination of Quincy Wright's two volumes, *A Study of War*. Beginning his comprehensive cooperative study of war in the hopeful days of Locarno in 1926, Wright published it about fifteen years later in the midst of the most destructive war in all history. While affording no easy direction to a warless world, the book is, nevertheless, a powerful sociological document for mankind to study and to profit by. In the second part of Volume I on the history of war are studies of the origins of war, of animal warfare, and of primitive warfare quietly contrasted with the "character of modern civilization" and the "functions of modern war." Chapters on the technique and theory of modern warfare and the contradictions of modern civilizations contribute to a full survey.

In the light of modern man, reversing his intentions to conserve resources and utilize them for the welfare of mankind by destroying them on a scale never dreamed of, the sociologist continually finds himself confronted with the new and startling reality of war, which he must re-examine if he is at all to understand the society of twentieth-century civilization. Can the sociologist help in understanding the modern world through a revitalized study of war?

Physical and psychological causes of war. The extraordinary acceleration of the war spirit and the widening reach of war toward the middle of the twentieth century may remind the student of Darwin's assertion that war is not just the contrast to peace, but "another form of expression of the uninterrupted battle of nations and men." Darwin called war "an expression of the highest and best in manhood." Such an extraordinary verdict must be interpreted on the basis of Darwin's emphasis upon biological survival and, therefore, may well serve to introduce the student to the study of the

physical bases of war. For war, like our other elemental factors in societal development, finds much of basis and cause in the nature of man and his environment.

The sociologists and the biologists seem to agree upon the main physical factors of war. On the one hand, there are the natural biological factors and, on the other, those which have to do with the physical environment of man and his sustenance and habitat. William Graham Sumner traces war back to the fundamental socializing forces of hunger, love, vanity, and ghost fear, which are the militant impulses back of war. Antagonism arises from the struggle for existence and the competition of life, and violence towards competitors is its first expression. Sumner points out that war, with all of its hazards and costs, is evoked in response to life conditions. Unless the evolutionary process changes, selection must be continuous and, so far, selection has taken place only through conflict. According to Raymond Pearl, the basic biological principle underlying belligerent behavior is the "will to live," which is a characteristic of all living things. This characteristic has played an important role in the evolution of both the individual and of collective human behavior. The stimuli leading to belligerent behavior arise from three sorts of situations (in many ways similar to Sumner's forces): namely, (1) predacity, (2) invasion of territory, and (3) courtship, mating, and reproduction. That these stimuli lead to essentially the same types of response in birds and mammals as they do in man, indicates the evolutionary background lying behind war as a form of human social behavior.

The purely psychological causes of war are many. "Human nature being what it is" or "You can't change human nature" or "Men always have fought and they always will" are common sayings which indicate the "natural" basis of war in human nature. Fear, excitement, mob action, the thrill of battle, and other emotions contribute to the stimuli of war and to its glorification. In later societies, where races and nations are involved in conflict, the psychological factors merge into the larger cultural situations. Thus, Steuart Henderson Britt lists ten bases for nationalistic prejudices which contribute to war. These include difference in appearance; distrust and fear of the strange; separatism or isolation; ignorance; personal experience; economic and social competition; differences in culture; stereotyping; propaganda devices; jingoism, patriotism, community loyalty; and nationalistic indoctrination in social institutions.

Folkways of war. Other general cultural processes and products of war include the great body of folkways about war and its role in the whole of cultural evolution. War, it is said, helps in the selection of a strong

people through the survival of the fittest. War is a great stimulus to patriotism and loyalty. War teaches heroism and unselfishness. War brings out the best in a people. War unifies purpose and, through suffering, refines a people. War teaches new methods of doing things. War leads to invention and organization which can be utilized in peacetime. War is the only way to settle fundamental issues. War is effective. Yet there was always the other side of the picture: war decimates the population, spreads disease and disaster, destroys property, hardens the hearts of men, and results in tyranny and slavery. The aftermath of war is always one of lowered standards, of disease, crime, and other maladjustments among individuals and groups, of financial disturbances, and many other complications. Yet all of these also have been cited as forces needed for the development of strong peoples. Manifestly, in the modern world, many of the alleged virtues of war disappear. There is not much efficacy to a survival value when tons of explosives strike strong and weak, soldier and civilian, adult and child, men and women alike. The new technicways of war which permit attack upon hospitals, cathedrals, and civilians do not test the nobility and heroism of the race of man.

War and civilization. When we come to look at war in the modern civilized world, we are appalled at the length, the breadth, and the depth of the phenomenon. What happens is that the maximum achievements of science and technology are applied to war with results that tax our ability to record. These results will be studied more in the chapter in Part VI dealing with technology and civilization. In the meantime, it is important to emphasize again that war at its worst is essentially a product of civilization; that cities, the supercreation of civilization, will be destroyed "wholesale" by war; that power and totalitarianism which are developments of civilization, have been the chief cause of the greatest global war; and that this war has destroyed the folk and their cultures, has resulted in the worst societal tragedy ever recorded, and has led Europe into the darkest of dark ages. If, then, it is argued that out of war come great scientific discoveries, the sociologist may well argue that mere sciences and invention profit little if they are only to add up more tools for the destruction of the society that creates and utilizes them for its own destruction. War as a product of civilization and as an index of progress so negates the goals of all social planning as to appear either completely insane or fantastic. Yet the sociologist knows that the mere preachment of these sentiments, although everywhere agreed upon and for a long time, must be transcended by the *technicways* which will be adopted as means of survival in the civilization of tomorrow.

War, the individual and social problems. When it comes to the influence of war upon the individual, we again have a long record of cultural experiences. Conflict and competition play their major role in the life of the individual, even as they do in the group. Survival has often been posited primarily in terms of individual struggle. Yet, in modern warfare, survival has little to do with the character or heroism of the individual. Nevertheless, the generals of the world's great mechanized armies have stressed the fact that in World War II, as never before, the individual soldier was of most importance. In the terrific battles such as those on the Japanese islands and in the Battle of the Bulge, it was the courage of individuals that gave character to victory. War also has often resulted in the remaking of many individuals, and nearly always in the making of a new set of leaders. Yet war has always taken its terrible toll in the breaking of many individuals in mind and body. All this is in addition to the tragedies of malnutrition for millions of children and adults, the slowing down of normal population growth through the absence and slaughter of millions of men, and the immeasurable destruction of all resources and wealth, of art and learning.

Problems of social maladjustment of great difficulty always accompany and follow war. The usual problems of vice and crime are only a part of the total complex of situations in the armed services, in the families of soldiers, and in the communities throughout the nation. Problems of rehabilitation, lower standards of living, and depression economics are always to be worked out. Even though the sociologist should accept the assertion of some biologists that all these are ways of determining survival values in the struggle of the fittest, or the view of some religionists that war is a terrible punishment for the sins of the people, nevertheless, his verdict is that it is a terrible price to pay for failure so to understand and plan as to avoid such catastrophe.

WAR IN AMERICAN CULTURE

When we come to apply the pattern of war in the United States, looking at it especially before the two world wars, it is clear that war as a cultural phenomenon has had an important role in the evolution of American society. American culture had its beginnings in the efforts of its settlers to escape the religious persecutions and economic insecurity of the Old World. In the New World the pioneers were forced to continue to struggle against the natural and the human forces that opposed their building of a new society. Conquest and mastery of the land, the forests, and the waters of the areas along the seaboard and across the continent, and contest with the Indians for their possession, and dominance as a race and cultural group

marked the pathway of the rising nation. Yet the struggle of the white man to replace the Indian and to survive in a new environment is not the whole story, for the conflict among the European nations for empires in the rich new continent brought fighting among the English, French, and Spanish colonists.

As the culture-personality of the American colonies developed, they expressed the desire to free themselves of the mother culture. Futile negotiations led to the open conflict of the American Revolution. Once a nation unto itself, the new states grew along lines of development peculiar to their particular geographic environment and their individual folk heritages. Years of struggle were experienced, for attempts to harmonize economic and cultural diversity into national homogeneity and strength led to internal strife between the various states. Peace brought an arbitrary adjustment of the differences and they continued to be a basic problem of the nation. Conflict within the nation was but one phase of its cultural struggle, however, for as a group personality it was, in spite of its division, experiencing a growing nationalism and an aggressive determination to defend itself and its rights against outside forces. Consequently, there were also the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Spanish-American War.

In the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, governmental, financial, and administrative policies indicated that the United States was realizing that no culture could develop into a civilized state if it lived within itself. Taking the bulk of its work population from the European nations, in immigration and borrowing, and lending economic and cultural techniques and materials, led to close ties with the cultural groups of the rest of the world. World Wars I and II saw the United States in actual combat in Europe. Participation in these outside wars came as an inevitable reaction to forces which violated the American concepts of societal arrangement and folk values and as a result of tangled economic and social interests.

Folkways and technicways of later wars. In each of the American wars, the technicways and the folkways of war were varied according to the technological advancement of the nation as a cultural group. These technicways and folkways could well be used as an index of the nation's material progress and would be another phase of the cultural role of war which could be traced in detail. So much was this true of World War II, as the United States came to perform almost miraculous feats of production, transportation, and combat, that war came to be almost synonymous with technology. How the technicways of war changed the whole world was illustrated by the atomic bomb.

Here again were reflected all the symbols of what war means to society, reflecting what the sociologists wrote about war and what the realists of the modern world predicted, yet multiplying all these aspects many times. What the reach of inventions might be in changing society would not be evident for a generation, but it would be tremendous and the costs of war in men and resources either in Germany or in Russia alone would exceed the totals of World War I. And America has been changed from an isolationist country to a world leader in international affairs.

Definitions and Examples

We use the terms *element* and *constant* in essentially the same way as they are used in scientific study and experiment. The elements of culture, for instance, are the component parts, rudiments, or constituents of culture wherever found. Thus when we refer to something as elementary, we mean primarily that it is rudimentary, natural, primal. The term is also used in the same general sense in which it is used in chemistry or biology or mathematics, namely, as that which cannot be reduced to any lower form.

Although the identification of the elements of culture is not so exact in sociology as are the elements of chemistry, biology, or mathematics, the analysis of culture on the premises of certain elements so defined is essential to the understanding of all society. This may be illustrated in one way by contrasting the elements of early culture, such as work, sex, conflict, struggle, rural life, play, or crafts, with certain elements of civilization, such as industry, leisure, romantic love, war, recreation, art, urbanism, politics, power, organization, or centralization.

By *constant* we mean something that always remains essentially the same under the same conditions in contrast to that which is *variable* or not constant, subject to change and not having consistency in value. Thus, in the search for the cause, let us say, of the common cold, if one factor were found constant in all cases in the midst of variables in some, the constant factor will then be examined more exhaustively as the probable cause. We may illustrate the use of the term *folk* as a universal *constant* by pointing out that in the origins of all cultures or in the rebuilding of old cultures after war or decay, only the *folk* remains the same constant and elemental factor. Thus the *folk society* is defined as the constant, elemental, definitive society, from early primitive culture to late civilization. Our definition of the *folk*, elaborated in later chapters, implies that the folk is not the people but the natural cultural product of the interaction of the people and their environment.

We may illustrate these usages again by referring to the folk as elemental for survival and the elements of the folk culture as measures of the marginal survival of society. That is, just how large and complex can the modern megalopolitan civilized society be in order not to destroy society? The point where the elementary forces and factors of culture cease to reproduce

War Tends to Change the Structure of Society in Relation to Women's Work and Participation

An illustration is found in the work of men and women in the great steel industry. ABOVE: Skill, personality, seniority in directive services. BELOW: The skill of women in the important process of handling sheets.

society and other factors of civilization tend to destroy it, becomes the marginal point of survival, as when science and technology, utilized in the form of the atomic bomb, accentuate power and destruction rather than folk and culture.

These premises of the elemental constants in culture are basic to the study of what we sometimes call *comparative society* or *societies*. Here we inquire into the elements of cultures which have survived or succeeded in defined ways and seek to apply those elements to other societies with a view to understanding them.

Another way of illustrating the nature of certain elements of culture is to examine the meanings of such elements as are found in the writings of earlier American sociologists. Thus the background and evolutionary nature of sex may well be studied through an examination of the general theories of sex and of women's place in society as presented by the earlier pioneer sociologists. Lester F. Ward, for instance, attacked the views of Auguste Comte, the "father of sociology," who held woman to be the complete and absolute slave of man. Ward then explained the subordinate position of women up to now through a logical sequence of evolutionary events. That is, a more uniform sexual appetite in the man made him the aggressor and gave woman the power of selection, which resulted in man's becoming the superior in bodily strength. Later, by utilization of imagination, reason, and, finally, economic advantage, he learned to persuade woman to satisfy his desires and took over her prerogative of selection. This conquest, according to Ward, led to the biological effect of suffering during menstruation and to the social effect of looking on woman as property resulting in sexual service becoming manual service.

The emphasis in Franklin H. Giddings' treatment of woman's position is found in his rather full account of the early history of marriage and family forms and the influence of the economic factor. In a chapter on "The Social Composition," he describes social composition in animals and then in human society, particularly metronymic and patronymic tribes. In the chapter on "Ethnogenic Association," he deals more specifically with the origin of metronymic tribes and presents other theories of the earliest form of the family. Regarding types of families among primitives, he wrote: "It seems to be an economic condition then which, in the lowest communities, determines the duration of marriage and possibly also the line of descent, through mothers or fathers. Consequently the stability of the family increases as the division of labour between the sexes becomes perfect. . . . It, therefore, seems quite wrong to conclude that women in savage life are always slaves, and men their tyrannical masters. Certainly

Secret Weapons and General Patton, Symbols of Technology and Men in Combination in World War II

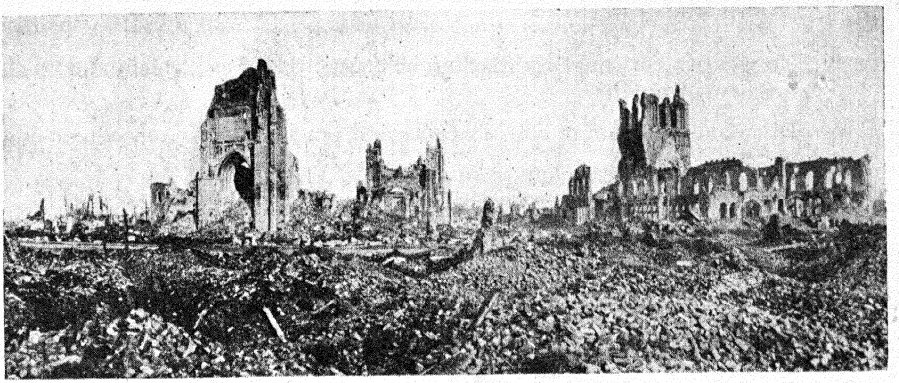
ABOVE: An apparent endless stream of supplies flows from transports and landing craft with incredible speed and power on the Normandy front — barrage balloons as protection from low flying aircraft. BELOW: The way General Patton and the men did the job.

their condition is wretched, but at the outset it is made so more by the social conditions than by masculine will and power. There is plenty of evidence to show that . . . the women . . . are on a substantial public and private equality with men."

William Graham Sumner treated abundantly many aspects of culture and sex. For instance, in his section of "Mores and Institutions," he says, "Property, marriage and religion are still almost entirely in the mores . . . Within the prescribed conditions, 'Capture' became technical and institutional, and right grew out of it. The woman had a status which was defined by custom, and was very different from the status of a real captive. Marriage was the institutional relation, in the society and under its sanction, of a woman to a man, where the woman had been obtained in the prescribed way. She was then a 'wife.' What her rights and duties were was defined by the mores, as they are today in all civilized society."

Assignments and Questions

1. What were the titles of books on sex written by E. A. Ross and W. I. Thomas? How do they stand up under present-day study?
2. From Ernest R. Groves' *The American Woman*, trace the evolution of American women and note regional differences.
3. Should sociology study merely the historical, theoretical, biological, and psychological aspects of sex, or should it also add considerations that have to do with practical and institutional phases of the man-and-woman relationship?
4. In earlier definitions and later chapters on social problems, the "scientific social problem" is distinguished from "ameliorative social problem." The scientific problem is one that seeks the answer to a question or the solution to a problem regardless of what that answer is. The ameliorative problem implies an answer which will improve conditions. Illustrate in the case of the problem of sex and society.
5. We have only referred to Freud's teachings concerning sex. Why should we not discuss Sigmund Freud and psychoanalysis more intensively in this chapter?
6. For those who are interested in more advanced study, what are the fundamentals of Freudian theory?
7. Illustrate some essential differences in the folkways and institutions of sex as found in different primitive societies. The student can find ample discussions of these in books by such anthropologists as Bronislaw Malinowski, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead.



The modern technicways of war have supplanted the old mores which protected women and children, hospitals and cathedrals. The bombs of modern technicways know no strong and no weak in survival process. ABOVE: All that is left of a famous cathedral. BELOW: Children in evacuation training with special gas masks and other equipment. Are these products the ends of societal achievement or is it possible to evolve a social structure for Peace?

8. To what extent could sex freedom be characterized as a chief index to all urban civilization?
9. Discuss the relation of new sex codes and practices to the reproduction of the race.
10. What are sex differences according to psychology and biology?
11. Discuss the problem of equal opportunity for men and women in terms of "same opportunities."
12. Contrast the education of modern women with the education of primitive women. · ·
13. From Clifford Kirkpatrick's *Nazi Germany; Its Women and Family Life*, compare the folkways of sex with those of earlier cultures.
14. What are some of the fundamental "scientific problems" of sex in the modern world?
15. What are some of the everyday social problems of sex in the modern world?
16. How did Lester F. Ward explain the difference between women's ideas and men's ideas?
17. What can the sociologist contribute to the understanding of war in the modern world?
18. What can the study of war contribute to sociology in its efforts to understand all society?
19. From Quincy Wright's two-volume *The Study of War*, give the essence of his (a) economic interpretation; (b) political interpretation; and (c) sociological interpretation of war.
20. In the light of the Second World War, to what extent will it be necessary for the sociologist to revise his "teachings" concerning war and peace?
21. Discuss the prediction that, because of the war the world of *race* will never be the same again. What changes seem most likely?
22. What can the sociologist contribute to society's enduring peace?
23. What are the main costs of war as they may be measured and estimated from World War II?
24. To what extent does the understanding of Hitler's Germany explain the genesis and nature of World War II?

Special Readings from the Library ·

Boas, Franz: *Race, Language, and Culture*, pages 82–85, 94–102, and 114 in the section on "Race." See also pages 370–378 and 384–396 in the section on "Culture." The influence of environment and heredity upon bodily form and mental

and physical growth of the sexes. The effect of sexual differences in shaping primitive social organization.

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, pages 93–95 and 107–112 and chapters XV and XXIII. Sexual distribution and its effect on each of the human institutions in the early days of the nation and in the modern United States. The institution of the family as it functioned in primitive society and as it has played a part in the settlement and growth of the United States. The emancipation of woman from the home and her new functions in the present social and economic life. The conflict of values and interests among national groups, races, and classes. The role of war in culture, and the effects of conflict upon personality and the institutional patterns of thought and action.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, pages 116–117, 135–142, 223, 240–252, 351–353, 452–458, 462–463. Status and role in society as marked by sexual differences. Sex habits of *homo sapiens* and the effect of these habits in the building of culture patterns. Sex offenses in primitive society and social controls for meeting such offenses. A contrast in the sex interests as found in the Comanche and the Tanala cultures. War as the main agency in the evolution of tribal society into state or national society. The problems of conquering and subjugating cultural groups. War analyzed as a force in the process of social integration and as a factor in determining cultural role and status for individuals and groups.

Lowie, Robert H.: *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, chapters XII and XIII. The weapons of war and the patterns of warfare to be found among various primitive groups. Motives and military purposes of war as conducted by early man. The influences of war upon the cultural framework and processes. The biological and social aspects of human sex life. An excellent summary of endogamy and exogamy mating, all forms of pair and group marriage, matrilocal and patrilocal residence, and the early family and its functions in ethnic society.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, pages 384–386, 432–435, 467. Sexual relationships as a type of subordinate behavior pattern of the familial structure. The sex ratio and the significance of geographic and occupational distribution of the sexes. Various causes of imbalance in the sex ratio and the cultural effect of this imbalance.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, pages 24–47, 265–266, 272–292, 431–432. Life in the metropolis as it encourages by its impersonal and anonymous nature the debauchery of sex and the cheapening of values. The process of urbanization and its reduction of the family unit to one of biological function exclusively. Twentieth-century society characterized as an age of sexual efflorescence. The psychological tensions and the economic and cultural problems of the megalopolis as they play a role in the origin and conduct of modern war. The war metropolis as an anticivilizing force and as a noncity in an age of decay.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, pages 83–101, 165–167, 179–180, 192–196, 260, 277–278, 300, 316–320. Sexual starvation and degradation as one expression of the new industrial order of the nineteenth century. Technical control of population as it conflicts with the natural sex habits of man. Sex as a normal function of man or as an escape from the monotony of an industrial order and confused urban values. War as an agency of mechanization and the army as the ideal life form toward which mechanized life leads. Science and technics used as arts of war and seldom as instruments of peace. Genius and invention, when once stimulated by war needs, are no longer cloaked in social lethargy.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, pages 281–282 and chapters XIV, XXIII, and XXV. The new realism of the people indicates a great change in attitude toward sex conduct, marital relationships, and functions of the family. A regional survey of all age groups of women in the home and in the economic world. The economic and social significance of women actively participating in the struggle to make a living. The American family and home and its dramatic gains and losses in function and status with social change on every front in American society. The world outlook and the problems of imbalance which perplex civilization and mankind. Co-operation and planning for amelioration or solution of human problems rather than the use of war to obtain temporary adjustment.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, pages 51–53, 285–301, 509–510, 623–625, 641–645, 759–769, 785–788, 799–810. The role of war as it differs in certain cultural groups. The effects of national struggle upon general social organization as well as upon each of the social institutions. Emphasis upon the economics of war. An excellent treatment of war propaganda as it shapes group consciousness and opinion.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, pages 54–63, 73, 148–149, 293, 366–389, 429–430, 433–441, 484–489, 536. The sex drive as a constant factor in all cultures. Physical and mental differences of men and women and the social significance of these differences. Charts showing sexual distribution of world population and of certain divisions of populations of the United States. The ideologies of the modern nations and the concept of war as the only force for the realization of such group ideologies. War seen as the final form of interinstitutional struggle, which results in tremendous human costs and trouble-bearing effects.

Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, pages 5, 12–24, 28, 48–66, 70–80, 118, 178, 244, 334–335, 498–508, 645–653, and chapter IX. Impulse as the original force behind the attitudes and desires which lead to the formation of the action patterns of struggle and war. Conflicts arising from cultural ethnocentrism, extreme patriotism, chauvinism. Social controls in time of war. A recommendation for sampling chapters X and XI. The meaning of sex mores as they are found in the cultural institutions of the primitive, medieval, and contemporary cultural orders

of Europe and the United States. Marriage and divorce customs of many countries and races.

Recent Social Trends, pages 26–37, 53, 151, 342, 414–423, 514–517, 605, 700–702, chapter XIII. Sex distribution of the population; sex ratios and marital conditions (with some explanations). Significance of increase in percentage of women in schools and colleges. Shifts in opinions about sex and family relations. Antagonism toward traditional sex attitudes, and declining approval of religious sanctions for sex conduct. Slightly higher life expectancy for females than for males. Short history of birth control; birth control legislation; influence on population growth. Abortions. Relationships of husbands and wives; only slight loss in personality functions of the family, but a greater loss in institutional functions. See also pages 221–225, 1121, 1282. World War I the dominant influence on American economic life since 1914: high-prosperity in industry; change from a debtor to a creditor nation; but agriculture exhibited the instabilities of the world economy some time before the depression. Increase in government costs of the period attributable to payment for past wars and preparation for future wars. Agreements outlawing war. Recent scientific inventions and discoveries such as poison gas and the depth charge may greatly influence future wars.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Abel, Theodore, *Why Hitler Came Into Power;* Beard, Mary R. (ed.), *America Through Women's Eyes;* Bernard, L. L., *War and Its Causes;* Briffault, Robert, *The Mothers* (3 vols.); Breckinridge, Sophonisba P., *Women in the Twentieth Century;* Burgess, Ernest W., and Cottrell, Leonard S., Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage;* Davis, Katharine Bement, *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-Two Hundred Women;* Davie, Maurice R., *Evolution of War;* Ellis, Havelock, *Man and Woman: A Study of Secondary and Tertiary Sexual Characters;* Ferrero, Guglielmo, *Peace and War* (tr. by Bertha Pritchard); Freud, Sigmund, *Totem and Taboo* (tr. by A. A. Brill); Groves, Ernest R., *The American Woman;* Gumplowicz, Ludwig, *Der Rassenkampf* (*The Struggle of Races*); Halle, Fannina W., *Woman in Soviet Russia* and *Women in the Soviet East* (both tr. by Margaret M. Green); Hitler, Adolf, *Mein Kampf;* Kirkpatrick, Clifford, *Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life;* Knight, Bruce W., *How to Run a War;* Lasswell, Harold D., *Propaganda Technique in the World War;* MacCurdy, John T., *The Psychology of War;* Malinowski, Bronislaw, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society;* Mead, Margaret, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies;* Norton, Henry K., *Back of War;* Pruette, Lorine, *Women and Leisure;* Scheinfeld, Amram, *Women and Men;* Schmalhausen, S. D., and Calverton, V. F. (ed.), *Woman's Coming of Age;* Schreiner, Olive, *Woman and Labor;* Speier, Hans, and Kahler, Alfred (eds.), *War in Our Time;* Thomas, W. I., *Sex*

and Society; Tolischus, O. H. D., *They Wanted War;* Turner, Tell A., *Causes of War;* Waller, Willard, *The Old Love and the New;* Westermarck, E. A., *The Future of Marriage in Western Civilisation* and *The History of Human Marriage* (3 vols.); Wright, Quincy, *A Study of War* (2 vols.).

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Discussion of the question of "woman's rights" today appears old-fashioned and sometimes naive to many younger women. What was once fought for is now often assumed. Yet, in many instances, women are discriminated against, with little change in recent years over the same situations as they have existed in the past. The assumption of the intellectuals and the liberals is always that progress is measured directly by the proportion of "emancipated" women. An assignment here is that of listing the fields in which women do not have equal opportunity. Which of these can you relate to woman's organic nature or her childbearing function?
2. Describe the earlier feminist movement: in England; in the United States. Why do the methods of the earlier leaders of this movement seem so outmoded as to seem only picturesque stories from out of the past?
3. Name a dozen of America's great women leaders. Name some of the English pioneers.
4. What action groups and agencies today are working in the same fields of endeavor as did the early suffragettes?
5. What are some of the main objectives of the American Association of University Women (A.A.U.W.)? What has been the policy of America's larger privately-endowed universities toward women members of their faculties? Ratio to men? Professional ranking? What handicaps have women had as college teachers?
6. What is the administrative setup and what are the functions of the General Federation of Women's Clubs?
7. Trace the rise and development of the National League of Women Voters. What is the Women's Trade Union League?
8. Action organizations have been numerous in the field of peace and war. Such agencies have included scientific foundations and religious agencies, longstanding organizations and short-lived ones. The relation of war and peace to individuals and to the American credo was made vivid by the conscientious objectors in World War II. Describe the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. See the *Social Work Year Book,* 1943, page 657.
9. What is the World Peace Foundation which was founded in 1910 by the Boston publisher Edwin Ginn?

10. Describe the general work and program of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
11. What is the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace? See the *Social Work Year Book.*
12. What was the United Nations Information Organization?
13. What was Americans United for World Organization, Inc.?
14. To obtain an idea of how war enters into almost every aspect of life, list the national war agencies of World War II, exclusive of the military organizations, from the *United States Government Manual* or the *Congressional Directory* for 1945.

10

Work and Play as Elements of Culture

Culture and the dynamics of human energy. Inherent in social change and the dynamics of culture are the ways and means through which the energies of men are expended. Ecology points out that competition is a process even in animal and plant society. Undoubtedly struggle and competition are also natural outlets for man's energy. War has often been explained as an expenditure of surplus energy and the origin of the state sometimes has been explained in the same way: restless kinship groups must go out and conquer other groups. So, also, struggle and competition have been assumed to be elementary processes in evolutionary development. It has been pointed out, too, that religion and sex are elemental ways of expending natural energies. Some of the principal explanations of play among animals and men hold that it is chiefly an outlet for surplus energy. Subsequently, the explanation of individual maladjustments has been based upon assumptions of suppressed energy and emotion. In all cultures, play has come to be characterized in terms of recreation, leisure-time activities, sports, hobbies, and so on.

The processes through which energies are expended and the products which are developed, such as the family, industry, wealth, and recreation, are clearly elements of universal culture. The roles of religion, sex, and war have been studied at length by the biologists and the psychologists, whose findings are available for sociology. The consistency of the social process and the inseparable relationship between and among the different parts of society are illustrated in the fact that struggle, expression, and aggression are inherent in two other great elements of culture — work and play. These are important elements of culture which have perhaps been too much neglected by sociology in the past. The roles of work and play in

early society have matured in contemporary civilization into such complicated societal relationships, organization, and art as to become social problems of the first order.

CULTURE AND WORK

The early folkways of work. Work has a distinguished heritage in the development of society. The dynamic Lester F. Ward thought that if he were to choose a single word which "could be made to convey the whole notion of man's supremacy over nature and his superiority over all living things," he would choose *labor*. For man's labor of mind, seconded by his labor of body, "has made him conqueror of nature and master of the planet." It may well be that the order of *body* and *mind* should be reversed, since the first work of man, in the struggle for survival, was the mastery of a physical environment that would not yield him food and shelter and protection without the work of the body. This also may be a part of the explanation of why the physical exertion of work, in many climates and among most peoples, has always been considered painful rather than pleasant and why these folkways of work persist abundantly among civilized peoples. But whether this is true or not, the way of survival has been the way of work. This is one reason why the "element" of work is considered basic to the understanding of all earlier culture.

Another of the distinguished pioneer sociologists, William Graham Sumner, found the struggle for economic survival from the need for food, or from hunger, one of the four elemental urges. From this struggle developed not only work, but complex economic activities and institutions. Yet Sumner, like Ward, points out that the nature of physical work was such as to set the folkways against it. Thus, in his *Folkways*, Sumner points out that no man would do any hard work if he could help it. As an example of avoidance, he pointed out the custom of making defeated peoples do the manual work of their conquerors. Yet, Sumner points out further, in his *Science of Society*, in labor as man's early "bane" he found his ultimate blessing, for "it is by labor that men lift the burden of life's ills and carry on culture." And, later still, labor becomes the means of consolidating energies and skills and the basic element of achievement and character.

The organic nature of work. The role of work in the development of the individual and of culture must be studied in many ways. The importance of work lies not only in the more mature products of labor, but also in the part it plays in modern civilization. It is not only in the popular claim that "work is a law of life," and in the zestfulness and intellectual stimulus that come from the passion for creative work in the artist, the

craftsman or the skilled worker. It is not only in such folk wisdom of the petition for a blessing on the work of one's hands. It is all of these and more. Profound implications are found in the natural functions of growth and development, in which doing and learning and living are mutually organic.

The romance of work. If the work of the individual has often been synonymous with hardship, it may also be said that work has contributed romance to the history of cultures. Writers and educators have made the story of work synonymous with the story of the rise of mankind. There was romance in the skill and purpose of the primitive man as he felled a great tree, hacked out a canoe, and taught himself to navigate it, to use it for hunting and fishing. There was romance in the forest, in the lakes and streams, in the farm and cattle lands of the plains, such that the record of a pioneer civilization often assumes mythological proportions, as Babe, the Blue Ox, and of Paul Bunyan, the huge lumberjack, heroes of the myths of the early lumbering era, Pecos Bill, the oversize cowboy character of Western song and story. The rivers and the lakes which have been the scenes of the struggle of civilization, of exploration and discovery, and of the development of navigation, of rivergoing and seagoing craft, are the basis of a powerful literature. Emil Ludwig's biography, *The Nile*, for instance, is a story of the mastery of a great river region and period in history. For here, after centuries of work, the engineering skill of the Europeans joined with the labor of the natives has tamed a force of nature.

In the United States, a new realization of the power of the rivers and lakes has just begun; and the romance and realism of travelers and traders, of the river routes, north, east, west, and south, and of the conquest of floods become a part of the history of the nation's work. The early history of the fur industry, in which French, English, Spanish, Russians, and Americans, aided by the Indians and the Eskimos, fought for high profits, constitutes an epic part of the country's beginnings. The hazards of rivers and rapids, of snow and ice, of Indians and wild beasts, hunger and thirst — all of these go into the natural basis of the nation's first work.

In few areas of human activity has there been more romance and tragedy, struggle and competition, than in the search for gold. Whether it was the Spanish adventurers seeking gold and more gold and still more gold, searching for some rainbow's end of gold for the taking; or whether it was the discovery of gold in California, the Yukon, the South African Rand, Siberia, or in other utmost parts of the world, this primary occupation of seeking wealth from the earth has recorded vivid pages of the human story.

The building of houses and barns, the making of tools and farming implements, the designing and decoration of furniture and household

articles, and the whole range of skills and crafts of the frontier people are eloquent testimony of the romance and realism of work. Later the work of the artisan — shoemaker, cabinetmaker, blacksmith, cooper, wagon-maker, buggy-maker, shipbuilder — gave richness to the total fabric of American culture. The work of the farmer, the poetry and music of pastoral life, cabins in the trees or at the foot of the hill by a bubbling spring — in all of these are the romance as well as the hardship which established the beginnings of civilization.

Work is sometimes synonymous with culture. When we inquire into the part that work has played in the development of culture, we have a well-nigh universal application to all cultures. It is not possible to understand the societies of different peoples without first understanding the nature of their work and the role it plays in their culture. In the primitive world the nature of the work determined the nature of the skills and crafts and culture habits; hence the nature of the economy and hence the nature of culture areas peculiar to respective cultures of primitive peoples. The study of world geography and peoples nearly always begins with the type of work that people do and their attitudes to their work. This has been an elemental approach not only in new methods of teaching, but in the broad appreciation of man's cultures. The story of man's work becomes the story of his culture, nor does it stop with the earlier stages, but continues on through the modern stages of civilization, in which the different peoples are known by the nature of their work, the kinds of products they make, the kinds of work they develop, and their standards of work.

Revolutionary movements. From these fundamental relations of work to human society, it is relatively easy to note the next great transition. This is from the informal, natural ways of earning a living, largely through individual and small co-operative efforts, to the Industrial Revolution and the evolution of the labor movement.

In many ways we may consider the rise of modern civilization synonymous with the Industrial Revolution. The changeover from single-person production to machine production began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In the late 1800's an intellectual revolution began, the flowering of many of the aspects of civilization which have led to radical social change; the compositions of Richard Wagner and the ideas of Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, Louis Pasteur, and other revolutionary thinkers and scientists contributed to this change. Just as in the earlier cultures the range and nature of the work and the equipment of workers conditioned the nature of the culture, so in later days the development of technology led to great changes in the economic institutions and relationships. First of all,

the nature of the Industrial Revolution was such as to affect the whole of society and to have a strong effect upon rural life and occupations as well as upon urban and industrial life. It seems quite likely that the influence of technology upon the culture of civilization today will be even greater, if that is possible.

The labor movement. In studying the labor movement in the United States as a part of understanding American society, we must not forget that it was a combined product of European and American civilization. If we remember that many millions of Europeans emigrated to the United States to do a large part of the manual work, and to make possible a nation of great wealth, it is easier to understand why labor unions are a natural and inevitable part of American development. From 1820 to 1944 a total of 38,423,276 persons emigrated to the United States; in 1905 alone 1,026,000 were admitted — these were the people who made up, in large part, the American labor force. In this study of the relation of work to culture, we are keeping in mind the elemental role that labor plays rather than its detailed history so that we must first look at the general principles before examining the special movements in the United States. These will be examined in Part IV in the chapter on industrial development. Let us see, therefore, if we can characterize the labor movement as a societal force.

First of all, collective bargaining is an advanced stage in the development of the labor movement, symbolic again of how movements develop from simple folk processes to more formal organization. Collective bargaining fulfilled a need of a special kind in its earlier days, and later, in the complex development of the labor movement, the principles of collective bargaining meant a great deal more than better wages, hours, and working conditions. Both to the worker and the intellectual, it has assumed something of the proportions of industrial democracy, or representative government, or the interrelationship between citizenship and industry. How collective bargaining will develop from now on is problematical, but it seems clear that the influence of the worker will continue to increase. It may mean the transformation of agriculture. It may even mean, as a way of satisfying labor's demands for relative equality with management and for an increasing share in profits, the essential transformation of the historical American pattern of free enterprise to some form of state socialism. This field provides the sociologist with innumerable opportunities for research.

The individual and work. In all of these developments, it must be clear that the role of the individual is an important and difficult one, and that, likewise, many problems arise because of group relationships. The

early American individualism still carrying on in many rural communities of the Northeast, the West, and the South holds that the individual has a right to work under any conditions and circumstances which may be acceptable to him. Many of the earlier court decisions held that the labor union was either a class movement for the benefit of a few employees or a class movement against employers, both of which were "un-American." In the midst of all these changes, there have been an increasingly large number and variety of labor-management problems, as indicated by the enactment by Congress of laws setting up Federal agencies with the purpose of making the largest number of adjustments with the greatest justice to all. These problems of labor have increased in direct ratio to the increase of technological, industrial, and urban society, so that most of them are essentially problems of modern civilization. (See Chapter 18.) Among the special problems which relate to the individual are those that have to do with his attitudes toward his work, toward his employer, toward the union, and toward the problem of government assistance. The machine age, corporate control, large-scale manufacturing, and the division of labor have all tended to make the individual of less and less importance in the manufacturing process, less and less conscious of his relationship to the product. Instead, the worker looks to the standard of living, the prosperity of the country, his rights or privileges as an employee or as a union member, and the co-operation of the social order in upholding these rights or privileges. This is a different worker's psychology and may be interpreted as progress or regress, from whichever viewpoint the student may inquire. If it is the role of work in the development of the personality and interest of the individual in the product, that is one thing. If it is looking toward the enrichment of the worker's life, toward an increase in his standard of living, and toward giving him a larger voice in the control of industry, that is another. The expansion of vocational training for young people and some newer realistic ideas of youth's participation in work are movements seeking a balance between extremes.

Work in American life. Once again, the story of American culture recapitulates that of the general societal development. Work as a social and cultural value in American society has had an interesting evolutionary role, first in the development of the physical resources of the continent and then in the growth of American civilization itself. The frontiersman and pioneer had work as their law of growth and knew firsthand the seemingly natural and vigorous process of exploitation of man and land for the purpose of realizing their dreams. And in the colonial and early statehood periods, the individual workman — the craftsman and the unskilled

laborer — enjoyed the full status which social recognition of his workmanship gained for him.

The pioneer's proverb, "A man works or he does not eat," became an integral part of the American folk philosophy, and for decades afterwards it fitted the conditions of American life. Benjamin Franklin's "A man works or he does not succeed," was but the rephrasing of the folk value for a new age, an age in which the individual and the group were hungry for personal success. One has but to glance back over the teachings and writings of the outstanding nineteenth- and early twentieth-century educators, clergymen, businessmen, and legislators to understand how deeply the folk believed in the value of honest and industrious labor. Horace Mann and Henry Barnard helped to formulate the educators' creed for teaching the youth of the nation the importance of "industry, thrift, and good morals" as the passkeys to achievement. In a later period, Carnegie and Rockefeller became the examples of what an individual could achieve although he start with but a pittance. The man who could not or did not find economic success blamed only himself, and society in general had but little sympathy for him.

In the era when America was still agricultural and rural and all workers still owned their tools and could largely determine the way in which they made their living, economic individualism encouraged the American belief in the dignity of work. The growth of the factory system, the development of technology, the division of labor, the standardization of work, and the rise of urban industrial centers — all placed the American worker in a new economic and cultural order of his own making. In time he began to question the dignity of even honest work that was often monotonous and profitless. The individual craftsman who turned out the whole product rather than a part of it, became a more-or-less isolated survival of an America fast disappearing. Work with the hands no longer had the social recognition once given it, for the "white-collar jobs" were now the goals of those who prepared themselves to earn their livings. The folk idea of a man being solely to blame for failure in the business world was challenged first on one side and then on another. Truly, the song of work was no longer that of frontier dynamism and Whitmanesque vigor, but a new one to which the worker could not alone attune himself.

With the bargaining power of the individual laborer weakened, the skilled and the unskilled found that only by organization could they protect their right to work and maintain a fair level of economic security. In time the labor unions, fighting to awaken American workers to the changed social scene, developed organizational techniques for the expression of their

rights. Growing unemployment and narrowing economic opportunities in many fields seemed to negate the early American folk idea that the right to work would never be denied any individual. Even further removed from the national heritage is the present-day scorn for the menial task, and the economic aspirations of all the social groups for a more leisurely existence. The subject of unionism, however, is explored in more detail in Chapter 18.

CULTURE AND PLAY

In much the same way as the physical work and primary occupations of early folk culture evolved into the "labor" and "industry" of civilization, so the elemental processes of expending surplus energy in play and the exercise of the creative and competitive impulses in folk arts and crafts evolved into organized recreation and the fine arts. And in somewhat the same way in which play and spontaneous singing or dancing, or idleness and rest, may be reflections of the opposite pole of hard work, so leisure-time activities in the modern world seem logical because of the intensity and complexity of industry, and because of increasingly larger amounts of leisure in a world of machines and labor-saving devices. In all instances, then, work and play are constant and interrelated wherever cultures grow up. In the broadest sense of the word, nearly all activities and products of art and play may be termed recreation in so far as they are leisure-time activities or in so far as they are products of the spontaneous creative impulse. As culture develops into civilization, the arts tend to become technical and professional and are especially the creatures of the city. Yet, as culture becomes more complex and art more specialized in urban society, there is even more need for relaxation, recreation, and leisure-time pursuits, the organic needs for both being more or less the same. So, also, in "Arts and Crafts" are reflected both the recreations and the occupational aspects of culture. A large part of the play life of youth may be found in the various social relations between the two sexes. The modern dance is theoretically a social activity, yet for youth, the two sexes represent the essential attraction. And much of poetry and of painting has had its inspiration and highest achievement through sex and love. And, by the same token, much of the psychological complex of modern society may be related to the suppression of this fundamental urge.

Interrelations between play and work, art and recreation. It is, therefore, no reflection on either art or recreation, the one primarily a product, the other a process, that they appear inseparable from work in the complex of society. The more complex the society, the more *each* level of creative ac-

tivity is needed; and, as in other aspects of society, the more advanced the culture the more there is of technical, formal art and recreation. Thus, in the outline of a cultural survey prepared by the Yale Institute of Human Relations in 1938, *recreation* is presented topically as involving such ordinary, human elements as idling, conversation, humor, visiting, festivals, athletic sports, games and gambling, and hobbies, while *art* included decorative art, representative art, architecture, music, dancing, drama, oratory, and literature. In advanced cultures that approach the level of civilization, both art and recreation become professional in many of their aspects. Thus, music, painting, dancing, literature, boxing, football, baseball, the stage, and moving pictures are all so inseparably intertwined in the culture fabric and with business and professional life that it is not possible to understand modern society without knowing something about them. At this point, however, the student of sociology is interested in their elementary functional contributions to society rather than their specializations.

Recreation is an industry. The range of recreation is so wide and the action patterns so dynamic that it is important to know at least the main areas of recreation, and the organizations at work and the services rendered in these areas. In terms of modern business, recreation has become an industry giving work to thousands of employees. It is also important to know the basic theory and philosophy of all play and recreation — the elemental need for relaxation, the satisfaction of competitive feelings, the outlet for energy, the stimulus to creative expression, and many others. The administration and organization of recreation in the community, urban and rural, and in schools and colleges, is important; so also the field of organized or professional sports, physical education, and playground activities. National parks and forest areas have become a chief element in American recreation and culture. And as an economic asset, recreation has become a major plank in planning programs for states and regions the nation over.

The Library and Workshop

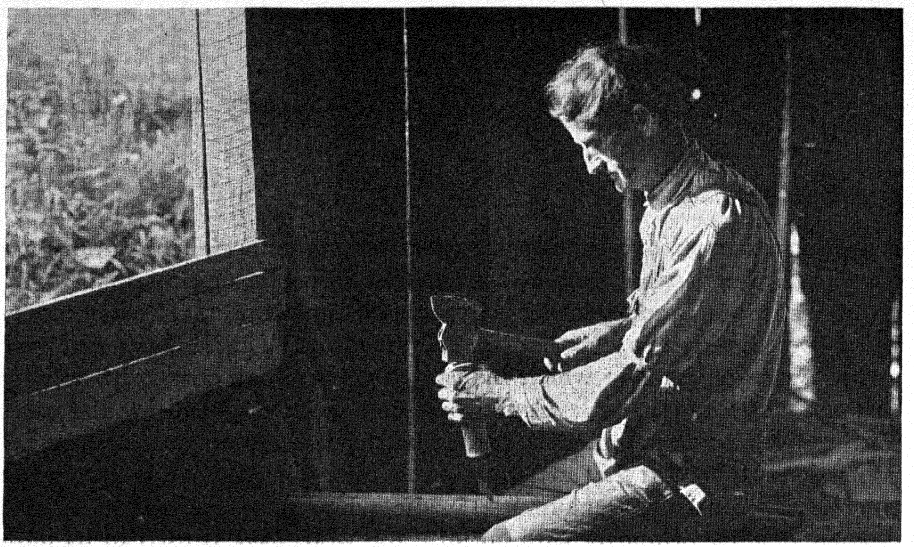
Definitions and Examples

In this textbook, two aspects of each of the major social institutions are examined. One is what may be termed the elemental or generic meaning of the institution, and the other is its form or organization. The dichotomy is for co-ordination rather than for identification. Thus *industry* and *work* are co-ordinate terms in which industry is the modern composite activity through which the many levels of work are channeled. Industry also takes on a more specific meaning in contrast to commerce, agriculture, or the professions. It is with that meaning that a later chapter (18) is devoted to the rise of industry as a major step in the evolution of civilization. In this chapter dealing primarily with culture, the word *work* is used in its most elemental meaning as the process of physical activity through which men make their living. Work is illustrated by all the primary occupations — hunting, fishing, agriculture, lumbering, and mining. It is illustrated by the Biblical saying, ". . . if any would not work, neither should he eat." It is used in the sense that work is a law of life, meaning that it is an elementary function from which both survival and progress result. The role of work in the conditioning of culture has often been illustrated by a comparison of the attitudes toward work in tropical climates and in temperate climates; the assumption has been that the necessity for work has been the differential between advanced and backward cultures.

The term *struggle* is used in somewhat the same elementary way as work. It is illustrated by the common expression, *struggle for survival.* It is used somewhat synonymously with *exercise* in the sense that those functions, body or mental, which are not exercised, atrophy or cease. The closely related term is *competition.* War is an extreme form of both.

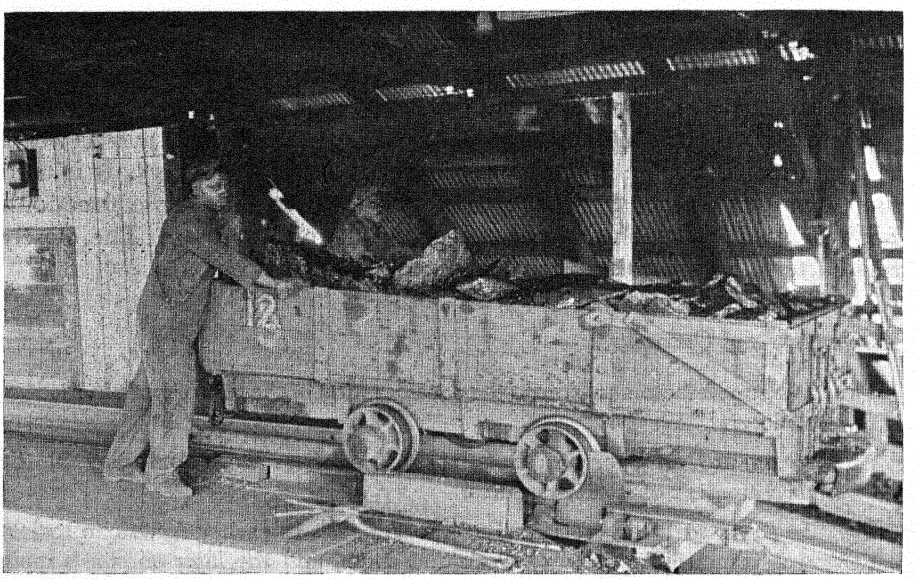
Assignments and Questions

1. What new factors enter into the consideration of the role of work in modern society?
2. What are some organic relationships between work and play in the development of earlier cultures?
3. In so far as it can be said that the emphasis in earlier American society was primarily upon hard work and thrift, and the later emphasis more



Work as Elementary Process of Interaction and Survival

From earlier rural societies to later industrial civilizations, the range of occupational needs and the division of labor reflects much of the social change in the structure of society. ABOVE: The Chairmaker. BELOW: Working in the coal mines.



upon leisure and spending, what problems might arise between these two ideologies where they come into conflict?

4. Discuss training for adult work through the apprenticeship system and permissible work for youth in the earlier days with the present arrangement of compulsory education, child-labor laws, and vocational training in the schools.

5. Would an analogy between football practice, for instance, and learning by doing be a valid one from the viewpoint of the function of work in early society?

6. What new factors have entered into the question of leisure-time activities?

7. Discuss the relation of old age and youth to the problem of work and recreation.

8. Discuss the relation of work, including kinds of work, to personality and social adjustment.

9. One of the guiding ideas of Sherwood Anderson, the author, both in his writing and his own life, was the co-ordination of physical work and exercise with creative expression. Discuss this idea from the viewpoint of the individual and of selected groups.

10. Compare this chapter with the chapter in Part IV which deals with the rise and development of industry. Is there a difference in the meaning of work in earlier and in later civilizations?

11. In the discussion of institutions, *work* is referred to as very old and *industry* as relatively new. Discuss this distinction.

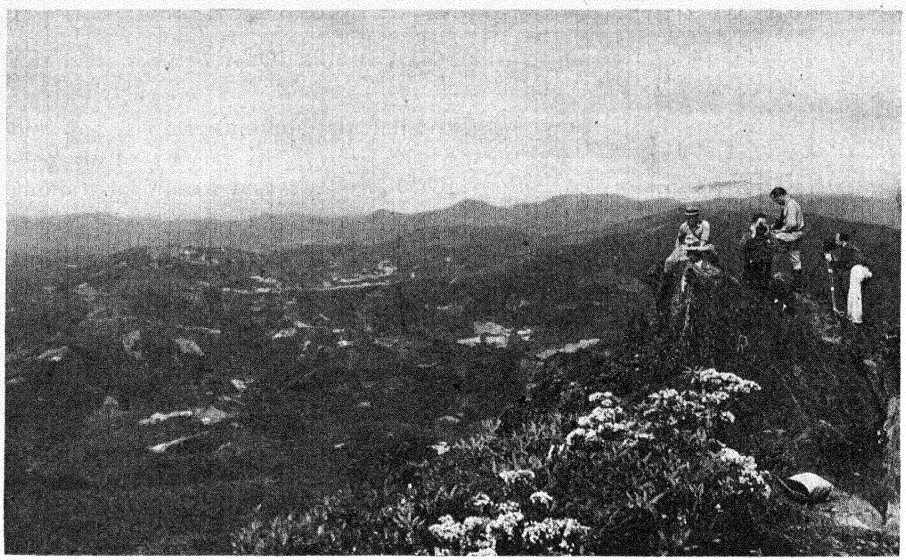
12. William James' notable verdict was that most institutions by the nature of the way they come to be administered sooner or later tend to become obstacles to the purposes which their founders had in view. Discuss this dictum in relation to labor unions and to manufacturers' organizations.

13. Are there serious implications in the two attitudes toward work — the one to look on it as a necessary evil and the other to rate it as a virtue?

14. Contrast the role of work in the early United States, when there were very few occupations, mostly primary, with the hundreds of occupations of today. Discuss the relation of this diversification to personality adjustment and to the changing attitudes toward the institutions.

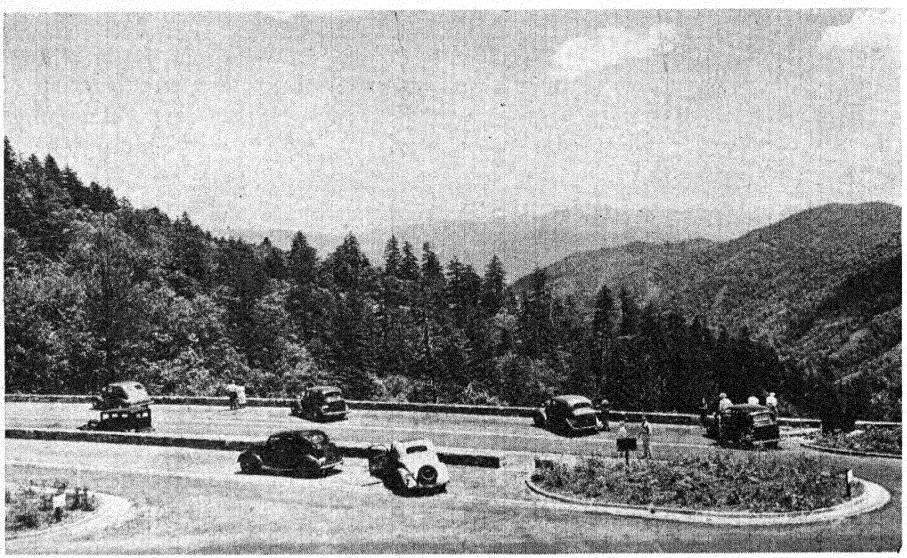
15. Would a descriptive cataloguing of the kinds of workers in a good society characterize that society in contrast with another society which has a different arrangement either in time or quantity?

16. The United States census classifies employed workers into these major fields: agriculture, forestry, and fishery; mining; construction; manufacturing; transportation, communication, and other public utilities; whole-



Work and Play, Man and Nature Still Constitute the Physical Basis of Society

From earlier cultures to later civilization the ratio of work time to leisure time tends to be in inverse ratio. Where pioneers once struggled for the promised land, people now enjoy the fruits of hard work.



sale and retail trade; finance, insurance, and real estate; business and repair services; personal services; amusement, recreation, and related services; professional and related services; and government. What are some of the subdivisions of these categories? What are some of the professional services?

17. What are some of the questions about work and culture which remain unanswered from these discussions?

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, pages 129, 262–263, 267–269, 551–553. The social significance of the economic experiences of man. Co-operation as a fundamental process in human social survival in earlier and contemporary societies. Traditional attitudes and values concerning work and its status in primitive and modern cultures.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XXIV. Cultural interests and values involved in the particular work mores of primitive societies. The concepts of a people that ultimately shape all systems of cultural behavior patterns and indicate actual processes of growth.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, pages 235–236, 337, 386–393. A "folk-work-place" study of dynamic society that will give the student a mechanical interpretation of societal behavior. Occupational characteristics of the people as indicators of human and cultural forces in the process of energy transformation.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, pages 172–178, 378–379, 385, 410–417. Degradation of the worker in a mechanical industrial world and replacement of the old values of creative satisfaction for those of efficiency and economy in maximum standardized production. The social inefficiency of a folk that cannot find in their work a normal expression for their talents and interests. The problem of finding an ideal or gospel of work for machine production.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, pages 11–12, 35. Life in society should be an expression of the individual and group finding satisfaction, instead of a degeneratic stagnancy. The medieval worker found his work an integral part of his family and primary group life; the modern laborer more often is forced to subordinate primary life interests for successful pursuit of employment in a sphere of impersonal and secondary associations.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters IX and X. Work as the original way of American life and the place of the economic interests in American society today. A statistical and verbal picture of the rural and the urban worker and of their particular regional and national problems.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, pages 345–346, 568–586, 708–715. Co-operative and companionable labor. Types of work in early eco-

Of the primary occupations in earlier society, hunting, fishing, farming, lumbering and mining, hunting has become primarily a sport, with value for part time earnings, and inland fishing has tended toward the same status. Both, however, reflect millions of dollars in expenditures for apparatus, recreation, transportation, as well as an important part of the Conservation movement in the United States.

nomics. Effect of work on family life before the Industrial Revolution and in modern rural communities.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, pages 198–200, 214–221. Economic activity a basic system necessary in all cultures. The nature and far-reaching effects of man's efforts to provide himself not only with the necessities of life but also to make those adjustments demanded by physical and social environment. The economic folkways of primitive and modern societies.

Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, chapter IV and pages 71, 119–126, 129–130, 134, 205, 261–267, 283–291, 307, 609–610. Classical, medieval, and modern views of labor; corruption of the mores of wealth-getting with the transition of society into an industrial order. The nature and peculiarity of the work mores of different peoples interrelated to religious, natural, and language elements. Origin of the philosophies that rationalize slavery as a social institution; the relation of slavery to work mores and social ethics.

Recent Social Trends, page xxv; chapters V, VI, XIV, XVI, X, and pages 669–672. Our material culture and the problems it has raised, including rapid change; industrial technique and economic organization; the problem of economic balance and economic planning; and current changes in economic institutions. Prospering industry and languishing agriculture and trends since the last war; tremendous consolidation in all fields of business; proportion of the population gainfully employed; major occupational groups and selected occupational changes; occupational insecurity and unemployment. Women's present household duties one of the major industries. Statistics on women who work outside the house; the kind of work they do; legislation concerning women's work; women's earnings; women in government. Shifts within the working population; effects of industrial changes on the position of labor; standards of living; the position of labor in industry. Occupational and industrial situation in agriculture, including farmers organizations and trade unionism. See also chapter XVIII, and pages 674–676 and li–liv. Nearly all lines of recreational activity for which comparable data are available show increases in institutions outside the home; the relative position of the home is thus affected. Public recreational facilities. Travel and outdoor life; sports and athletic games; clubs and associations; commercial amusements; rural recreation; the cost of recreation studies. Mass production, modern distribution, new habits of thought, new social situations have created new aesthetic problems and art forms; these and other influences affecting the arts analyzed.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Adams, Brooks, *The Law of Civilization and Decay;* Barzun, Jacques, *Darwin, Marx, Wagner;* Counts, George S., *The American Road to Culture;* Groos, *The Play*

of Animals and *The Play of Man;* Davis, Maxine, *The Lost Generation;* Harris, Herbert, *American Labor;* Hobhouse, L. T., *Social Development;* Keppel, F. P., *Arts in American Life;* Kropotkin, Peter, *Mutual Aid;* Leiserson, William, *Right and Wrong in Labor Relations;* Lombroso, Gina, *The Tragedies of Progress;* Myers, James, *Do You Know Labor?;* Mumford, Lewis, *The Condition of Man;* Sorokin, Pitirim A., *The Crisis of Our Age;* Steiner, Jesse F., *Americans at Play;* Stolberg, Benjamin, *The Story of C.I.O.;* Wolman, Leo, and Peck, Gustav, *Labor in the Natural Life.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Give a brief history of the American Federation of Labor. What were its main purposes? Compare the A.F.L. action programs under Samuel Gompers and under William Green.
2. Give a brief history of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. How does the C.I.O. differ from the A.F.L.?
3. Write the story of the breach between C.I.O. and A.F.L. Was the quarrel one of the members or of their leaders?
4. What was the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O. in the 1944 presidential election campaign?
5. What action groups among the manufacturers have opposed organized labor?
6. What is the International Labor Organization?
7. What is the American Association for Labor Legislation?
8. Describe the work of the National Association of Manufacturers.
9. Describe the work of the National Recreation Association. What was its earlier name?
10. What is the National Park Service?
11. What is the Motion Picture Research Council?

II

Folk Art and Rural Life as Elements of Culture

Folk art and rural life are rich in cultural characteristics. In the previous chapter we have called attention to the elemental factors of work and play in all cultures and to the contributions which evolve from organized recreation and the arts as they become a part of the fabric of advanced civilization. It is of some value now to explore folk art and the rural ways of living; or, in other words, the elemental culture of rural life, which combines the traits of early society with those of advanced culture. The study of society through the rural as antecedent to the urban is a universal approach. Rural sociology, furthermore, may come to play a large part in the total science of sociology. The field of rural arts, and especially folk music, is a constant element in the building of all cultures. The story of the folk arts and crafts reveals much of the character of man's early culture, and the annals of country life, so close to nature, are a catalogue of many of the simple elemental ways of human society that are basic to survival as well as definitive of early culture. This is illustrated vividly in the endeavor of city people and city organizations to recapture folk values and pleasures by reviving folk crafts and folk dances, and through their efforts to go back to the more simple and natural country life.

CULTURE AND FOLK ART

Artifacts as measures of culture. So much is this true that, continuing our search for the understanding of society and seeking some universal measure or traits which will help us also to trace the development of society from earlier folk culture through later civilization, we may well turn to that which is called art. By art, the sociologist understands not only the application of skill, training, and technique to certain aesthetic fields,

such as the shaping of pottery, the writing of poetry, the composing of music, painting, singing and dancing, but all of these and more, including the whole range of artifacts which represent training, skill, and experiment toward specialized ends, and which reflect the history of culture from primitive times to the present. The anthropologists and the sociologists often have undertaken to explain the character of culture through these artifacts and have sometimes made both the spontaneous and formalized processes and products of creative expression almost synonymous with culture itself. So, too, the idea of the culture area (Chapter 6), came about through the utilization of certain aspects of art and economics to differentiate the various cultures.

The universality of art. The arts, all told, affect not only the nature of culture but also the individual from childhood to old age, in his inner and his outer life, in work and in play. The individual may create art himself or he may enjoy the art of others. He may like to sing or to dance and he may also work so hard trying to master its technique that singing or dancing becomes hard work. In few areas of study, therefore, is it possible to trace more effectively the stages of cultural development as they apply to the individual and to society than in art. The anthropologists tell us that no primitive people has ever been found who did not have some sort of distinctive art. Certainly, on the other hand, there are no modern peoples who have not specialized in one or more forms of art. Certainly, too, although the modern educator and artist have realized the importance of primitive art and it has greatly influenced modern forms, few cultural traits could be found in which the primitive and earlier cultural development are more different from the modern.

Again nature. Here, again, the first stages of art are rich in the lore of nature, so much so that, in its content, form, and enjoyment, earlier folk art was "natural" in comparison with art in civilized culture. It thus happens, therefore, that in art the student has an admirable medium for the understanding of human societies and how they grow. He also has an excellent medium for comparing stages of culture. The African folk chant, the American Indian war dance, or the fiddler's song among mountain or flatwood folk is simple and natural in contrast to the musical intelligence and training and the hours of labor required to master the compositions of Bach or Beethoven. Perhaps it would be difficult to find a greater contrast between the simple folk music of early culture and the intricacies of modern music than the simplicity and spontaneity of folk singer and fiddler set alongside the picture of the young women who fall by the wayside of nerves

and failure in the highly competitive training in the music schools of a world metropolis such as New York City.

A major expression of the folk-sensing of beauty has always been the country man's rapport with the knowledge of nature in contrast with the city dweller's ignorance or lack of feeling for nature. This is an old generalization. Although civilized peoples sometimes conclude that primitive people take nature "as a matter of fact," and that people of rural or frontier cultures do also; perhaps the sense is so deeply embedded in their environmental conditioning that it lies hidden in the presence of strangers or its expression is an inner one. The test that comes when people are forced to move from their natural habitats reveals such organic closeness to nature that frustration, sickness, and maladjustment often result. People will fight to live where they love: this is inherent in the folklore of all peoples. The nature songs of the American Indian, the nature devotion of people of the hills, and the loyalties surrounding localities have their genesis to some extent in the love of nature. In societies made more articulate by writing and by art forms than primitive societies, there is ample evidence of love of nature.

The power of folk music. More articulate, perhaps even more universal and powerful than love of nature, is that part of art which is called folk music. There are no people among whom some form of music is not an elemental expression. This is especially true in the power of music to stir and unify a people in time of war or danger. That this power goes on and on into modern cultures may easily be seen in the national songs and patriotic songs. And of all music the folk song perhaps comes nearest to being the universal symbol of the folk soul. Whether it is Pascal D'Angelo's pick-and-shovel man seeking an outlet to express what he can say besides work, or the Negro working man who claims that he is not singing but just "hollering" to help him with his work, or the primitive tribe in the mass unison of emotion and action, the folk song goes deep into the wellsprings of the people. Not only does the natural man sing, but he sings much and sings long, with such richness and variety as may be understood only by those who hear often and listen well to an enviable range that calls forth the verdict —

Well, he sets my soul on high,
Makes me laugh and makes me cry.

A further assumption is that the organic role of music in culture applies powerfully both to the individual and to the mass. Thus the individual

expressing his maximum output either for suffering or growth of sheer joy finds himself and his music the whole world of existence. So, too, he can lose himself in totalitarian mass expression, and thus save his respect for his individuality. The Nazi party folk song and mass-music methods helped to make of a group of individuals a literally irresistible power; they were a group oblivious of anything in the world except themselves and their cause. Accordingly, if folk music has been and is so powerful in all of its historical backgrounds and psychological uses, the educator will be losing a valuable aid if he does not search out those aspects of folk music which can help him in his program. We have often used the analogy that just as medicine and biology use lower forms of animal life in discovering how to make human life healthier and longer, so the educator and sociologist should seek from the folk those universal constant qualities which guarantee survival and normal evolutionary development. In folk song and folk music we find rich source materials. A somewhat similar appraisal could be made of folk dances, drama, and ceremonials and the earlier forms of weaving, pottery, painting, and poetry. All of these, both in their creative aspects and in their social usages, have the same general basic influence. So great are their survival powers that the nature of each culture may well be characterized by the quality and range of these folk arts.

FOLK ART IN RURAL AMERICA

In the rural America that came to be the United States, the stages of art development reflect the "perfect" series of cultural levels. We shall center our attention on the folk songs and the old hymns, powerful above most other influences in molding character and behavior of a people. William Allen White in his *The Changing West* gives religious song an important place in the development of American culture. The children sing Gospel hymns in the public schools. The elders sing them in the churches. "The whole compassionate social program that rose in the states that were hewed out of the Western Empire — the social program from free schools to workingmen's compensation, from the universal ballot to the initiative and referendum — was implied in the mercy-loving democracy of these 'Gospel hymns,' that often lifted the roof of the little red schoolhouse and every Sunday waked the echoes around the little white church. The lesson of that mercy song was the dignity of the human spirit. It was the gospel of a fraternal equality — the subconscious footing stones beneath the political foundation of democracy.

Work, for the night is coming,
Work through the morning hours;
Work, while the dew is sparkling,
Work 'mid springing flowers.

"Here the children, closing their eyes in musical ecstasy and opening their spirits to propaganda, learned diligence." Yet in later urban society, which has long substituted formal worship and professional church music, there is little understanding of this type of folk song. Both are part and parcel of the contrasting cultures.

Songs of the rural South. A similar example, perhaps even more powerful, may be found in the folk songs and music of the southern people. For the fiddler was an institution and "the cheerful scrape of his bow sets the feet involuntarily moving." This music drew its power from many sources — its technique, its associations, the personalities of fiddler and singer. It seemed irresistible. It was as if some magic would "strike the auric nerve, run down to your feet and put motion into your toes in spite of the strongest resolution against it." Fiddling and dancing just naturally seemed to go together. The spirit of the old folk dance and the old folk songs was abundant in thousands of country places. There was about the fiddle and dance "a love of the open, of the vigor and joy of activity for its own sake, of co-operation with others in exercises of rhythmical beauty. There is that sense of balance and proportion that is related to all real art." The fiddle, the banjo, and the hand organ were the accompaniments of ballads old and new, and comic supplements to and parodies of modern tunes. Here were stories told in rhyme, pathos and humor, the magnifying of simple virtues, moralizing against vice and evil, sung to the accompaniment of simple motions and folk music. There were ballads of sorrow and ballads of joy and of all manner of life and experience. They sang of the family — of the husband, the wife, the mother, the children, of the widows and orphans. They sang of love and courtship — maternal, paternal, conjugal, sweetheart, filial, fraternal, and sexual, of elopement, marriage, separation, and reunion. They sang of morality — virtue, temperance, courage, loyalty, love and hate, the beautiful, the true, the good, the bad. They sang of God and judgment, of heaven and hell, of life and death and suicide. They sang of men and of animals, of mountains and the sea, of work and play, of homesickness, wanderlust, and memories, of patriotism and cowardice, of wealth and poverty, of style and show, of robbers and bad men, and of justice and cruelty. From Kentucky to Florida, from Florida to Texas, in

all the hills and woods and farms between, the old ballads were sung and are still sung in many places today.

So, too, much of the religion of the South was expressed through song. Hymnals and song books by the millions, all-day singings, and songs in the home and on the farm gave abundant expression to much of the religious feeling. The South of the new century continued particularly susceptible to music and song, and its influence was deeply imbedded in the folk life. The power of song was constantly being accentuated through religious and emotional patterns, through the sweeping hymnological modes. Music and song not only brought forth the social heritage and individual memories but touched deep the chords of old moralities and loyalties, mingling actual association with whatever poetic aspiration might be found in the suppressed, hard life of the workaday individual or the carefree life of the roamer. An even better illustration of the influence of music and its organic nature is found in the songs of the Negro. From the old New England and southern hymns, he created for himself a body of "spirituals," which for a long time were recorded as remnants of his African folk songs. These songs attuned to slavery and its burdens gave the Negro a folk character and motivation rarely excelled in the annals of cultural development.

Lessons for the future. These fundamental forces cannot be ignored by those who would see only modern civilization and characterize the outpourings of the folk as crude and illiterate. By the same token, when we seek elemental factors that need to be woven into the fabric of modern civilization in order that it will survive, these folk-art expressions are of the greatest value. From these hymns and folk songs American music has made distinguished progress toward advanced forms of music.

The story of the evolution of art is, of course, a special study in itself and needs to be mentioned here only in illustration of the premises of the chapter. So, too, the inquiry into the nature and prospects of art following a world conflagration is a long and special study. Here may be studied the various forms of proletarian art and the influence of war and depression on art forms. Here may be studied the purging of art by Hitler and the destruction of art treasures by the new blitzkrieg. And here may be raised the question of what declining or enhancing values will be placed by future generations upon the great art forms of Europe's past and its American heritage.

CULTURE AND RURAL LIFE

Just as the fine arts with their multiple modes of techniques are of the urban society in contrast to the folk art of the rural, so country life itself

as the natural culture stands in contrast to the more artificial culture of the city. We must, therefore, not only understand the elemental folk art of rural life as it evolved from primitive and frontier cultures, but we must understand the culture itself.

The essential claim of rural life as an elementary factor in cultural development has a threefold basis. First, rural life is the well-nigh universal matrix of all societies. Second, it reflects the universal natural environment upon which all societies rest. And, third, it represents the bottoming of society in the primary occupations from which man started his long occupational adventure. We cannot, therefore, understand society, either of the past or of the present, without interpreting the role of rural life in the whole societal process and history of the human race. Sometimes the understanding is important because of the contrast between the earlier rural and natural and the later urban and technical. Sometimes it is important to understand the basic elements of rural life in order to note the absence of these elements in later societies. And, by the same token, the problems of societal adjustment in the transition from rural to urban constitute important fields of inquiry. If, in the modern world, the dominant societal process often seems to be one of urbanization, what is the relation of the rural society to the total culture? The trend seems to be toward the megalopolitan culture of supercities, a world of concentration of people and behavior. On the other hand, if the beginnings of all cultures were rural, is this rural element, since it was probably a natural stage in the evolution of society, an essential element or is it merely a stage of development? Or, again, if urbanization is synonymous with decay in societies and if urbanization is not prolific in population, is the rural, therefore, an elemental, basic, and natural prerequisite for survival?

In some ways we may think of rural life as the synonym of the natural human society in that the physical basis of rural life — the earth and plant and animal life — constitutes the geographic environment of all societies. Even the great cities are enmeshed within their vast rural hinterlands. And, in the evolutionary process, being close to nature, working with nature, and mastering the physical environment have always gone hand in hand with the development of cultures. This all-pervading influence of rural life has been epitomized in a thousand ways, but perhaps in none more than in the recognition of the land as the chief reality of life. This basic role of the land in all human society ranges from love of land and native country to the fundamental factors of nature that determine the kind of resources, and hence a people's economy and culture. Whether in mountain coves or river valleys, in marshes and meadows, in deserts and plains — in any of the

far corners of the world where societies have evolved — the land and the people are inseparably interrelated. Some folk even are characterized according to their feeling or lack of feeling for the land, while all cultures and civilizations reflect the influence of the land and of geographic situation.

The primary occupations. The primary occupations are basic to all economic processes. The rural life-pattern of early natural society as it develops into more complex technical, industrial, and urban societies can be traced in each of these first occupations. Thus, agriculture, the most important of the primary occupations, in specialized places in the modern world, often becomes a large-scale industry utilizing machines and factory methods and making of the farmer a farm-factory worker — altogether something quite different from the earlier occupation. The shifting from the work done by the animate power of men and animals to the inanimate power of machines is symbolic of the transition from the natural society to the artificial. So, too, fishing develops from a natural, primary occupation, in which lakes and streams are used by the individual for food resources into an industry requiring the grouping together of people and many secondary occupations. The individual's hunting and trapping has become the wealthy fur industry, a changeover from another basic relationship between man and nature in frontier life. It is in these processes of change and invention that much of the explanation of modern society may be found.

When we come to consider the role of rural life in technological civilization the problem is one of planning how to meet the imbalance between modern urban society and the "islands" of backward rural culture. The assumption occasionally has been that, if urban life is good, rural life cannot be so good, and, therefore, we must urbanize the whole cultural pattern and standard of living. On the contrary, the problem is again one of balance. What is needed is to ruralize urban society also by retaining and enriching the rural institutions through the processes of technology.

Effect of country life on the individual. The relation of rural life and agrarian culture to the individual is a fundamental one. For instance, Stuart Chase has said that, in general, the city develops "yes" men, while the rugged, rural life of New England tends to develop stubborn "no" men. It is commonly assumed that there is more of the old American individualism in rural society than in urban society. The character traits and the general culture morality of the individual and his code in the rural community are commonly assumed to be different from those in the urban; leadership in the country communities requires another personality from that in city communities. In many states, such as Illinois or Georgia, a conflict between

the city and country, such as Chicago and lower rural Illinois, and Atlanta and south Georgia can be said to develop through the conflicting characters of the individuals composing the two groups.

Problems of rural life. Among the special problems of rural life are those of rural government, of land taxation, of state and regional balance, of equalization of opportunity between country and city, and of land use, including the conservation of land and the trend toward large-scale farming. There are problems of the social institutions, which must meet alike the needs of the people in all areas. There must be ways and means of rehabilitating and of directing the movements of the disinherited in land. In these problems (discussed also in Chapter 36) the sociologist will seek a solution which will guarantee the continuity of fine stocks of people, of growing institutions, and of better balance between men and resources.

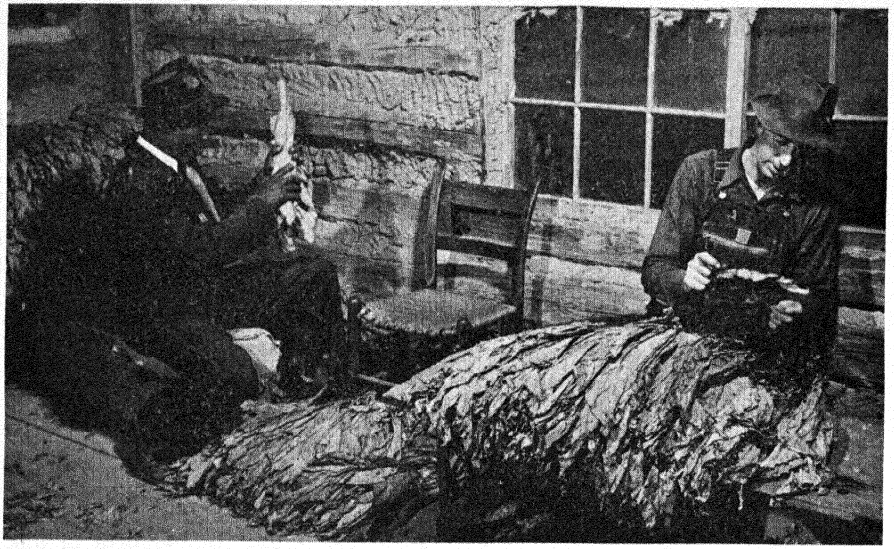
In few fields of sociological study and research has there been more rapid progress in recent years than in rural sociology and agricultural economics. Partly this is based upon the new recognition of the need for conservation of resources, but also of the need for decentralization of population, wealth, and culture. Farm journals, endowments by the Federal government and by private foundations for large-scale agricultural research, the existence of numerous governmental organizations for the solution of these problems, together with the course of events, all contribute to a new awareness of the importance of rural life. Rural life and agriculture is generally considered one of the nation's chief problems. We have stated it to be the need for reintegrating agrarian culture into American life. This does not mean turning back to country life, but planning for better balanced farm population — better distribution of all resources and more equal educational opportunity and a higher standard of health — together with what we have called the ruralizing of the city.

What of the future? What rural life of the future will be in the world at large as a result of the general cultural upheaval will constitute one of the most important inquiries which the sociologist can make. The outcomes may be imagined, with about equal opportunity to find support for their premises. One outcome would be that the modern technicways, especially of communication and transportation, will tend gradually to mechanize and to urbanize all of civilization, including rural life. This, of course, would assume that food as well as many other products can be produced through synthetic processes. The other outcome might be that, because of some ensuing breakdown of technology, because of the destruction wrought by the latest world war, and because of the likelihood of depression and the failure of money economy, society will need to fall back upon a more real-

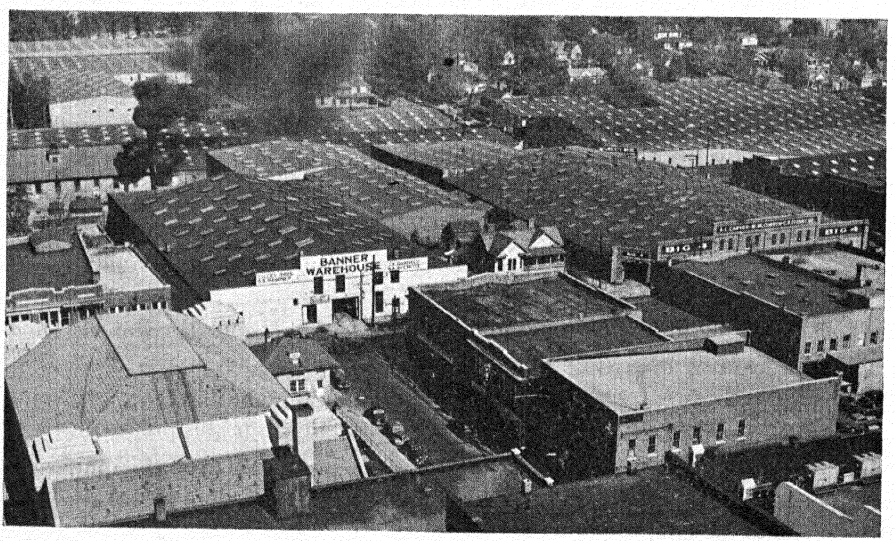
istic and dependable system based in substance upon land and resources. This outcome assumes the continuation of the present trend toward decentralization of urban people and wealth. It assumes, as has already been indicated, a scientific social planning, in which a new balance between men and resources can be attained. Somewhere in between these two, the sociologist will find a productive field for research, and he may look forward to a promising reconstruction of contemporary society.

Assignments and Questions

1. To what extent does a knowledge of folk art help to understand human society? What did Frederick P. Keppel mean when he said modern advertising is contemporary folk art?
2. We have been accustomed to speak of folk art as natural art. A mountain fiddler or singer appears spontaneous in his art and appears to be having a grand time. Would that be "natural"?
3. Would there be any relation between Hitler's banning of certain aspects of modern art, appealing to the people for their own art, and the unity of the German folk prior to World War II?
4. What is meant by the universality of art in the development of folk cultures?
5. What is usually meant by the term "folk art" when such exhibits are held in cities or college towns?
6. In what sense have we assumed that folk art, especially folk music and still more especially religious songs, is synonymous with rural culture?
7. What are the assumptions of country life as contrasted with city life as stated by Harry Estill Moore and Bernice Milburn Moore in *Social Forces* for March, 1937, pages 384–390? When did civilization begin in terms of rural life?
8. It has often been said in recent years that the rural sociologists have made more concrete contributions to the total field of sociology than any other group. What is the basis of this claim?
9. Distinguish between rural sociology and the study of rural problems in so far as they can be distinguished.
10. To what extent do studies of society and nature contribute to the understanding of rural life and society?
11. Discuss differences between the phrases "urbanizing the country" and "ruralizing the city."
12. It has been asserted that the decline of Rome, for instance, had some definite relation to the decline of rural life. Illustrate this premise.
13. If rural life, as it is often claimed, is so much superior in its possibilities for man in nature, why do so many country people have a strong desire to go to the city?



Farming has often been defined as a way of life and was so considered in early America. In 1940, however, less than a fifth of the people at work were so employed: 18.57% of the labor force was so classified. ABOVE: tobacco farmers sorting leaves. BELOW: tobacco warehouses.



14. To what extent could you demonstrate the rural life as the natural society, as opposed to urban life as artificial society? Illustrate in work; play; art.
15. To what extent can you catalogue elements of societal survival in country life that might not appear in the metropolitan city?
16. In a recent report of the National Resources Committee the general conclusion was that the United States had at last come to maturity because the United States was urban. Comment on this idea.
17. Two schools of economic discussion propose respectively that in the United States there be (a) fifteen million people on the farms, and (b) forty million. Discuss the relative merits of each proposition.
18. Show how modern technology contributes to: (a) the depletion of rural life; (b) the enrichment of rural life.
19. J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner make the point that rural people are characterized by a love of space. Discuss this further.
20. Carl Taylor makes isolation and solitude the characteristics of rural life. Discuss this as applying to rural life in the United States today.
21. Paul H. Landis says, "In the Nation's recent history there has been a clash between patterns of the old folk cultures of rural society and those of a highly dynamic urban-industrial society." What does this mean now?

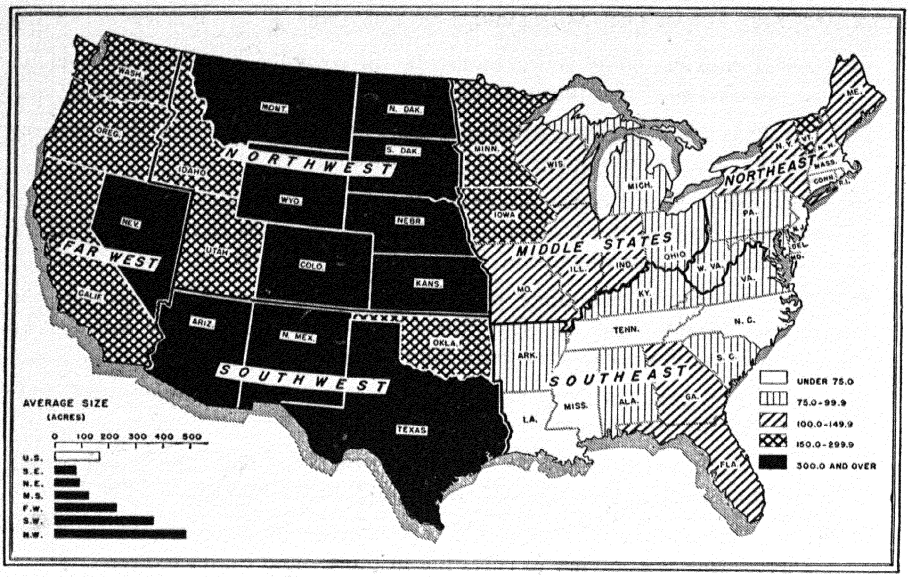
Special Readings from the Library

Brunner, Edmund de S., and Kolb, J. H.: *Rural Social Trends*, especially chapters I and V. Rural population in the United States; the demographic and social characteristics of the people of the various regions. A differentiation between and contrast of rural and urban areas. (Attention should be paid to the detailed treatment of the growing interdependence of these two types of group-life environment.)

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapters VII and XX. Art as the means of creating a community of feeling or emotion. Dancing, painting, dramatics, literature, and sculpture described as a record of man's response to his physical and social environment. The social functions of art and an evaluation of modern commercialized art and its functions in American life. The rural-urban population pattern as it has been shaped by various geographic, economic, and cultural factors. Social significance of migration from country to city.

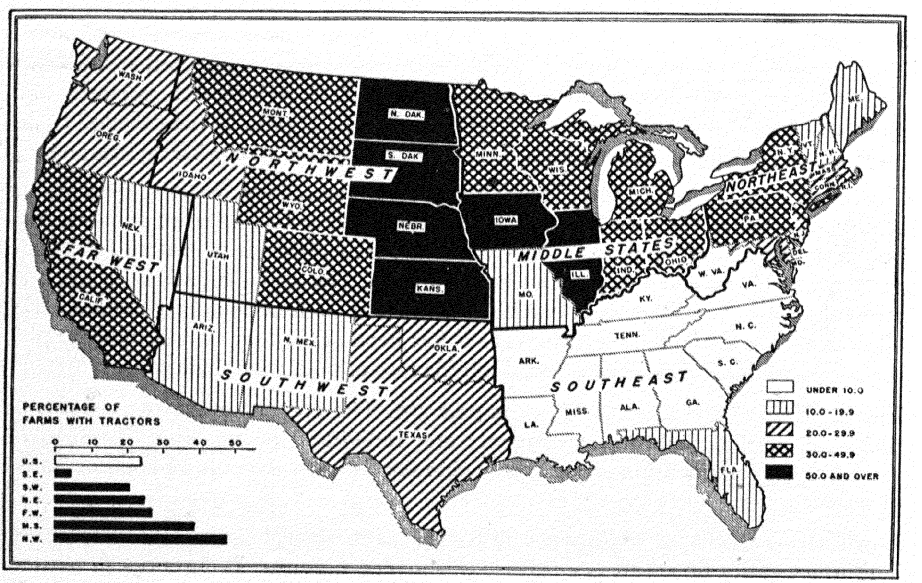
Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XVI. The content of culture consists of universal, special, alternative elements and individual peculiarities. Patterns of art and their classification according to characteristics of the culture content frame of reference.

Lowie, Robert H.: *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, especially chapter XI. The universality of art in primitive and modern cultures. Differences in artistic



Increasing the Size and Mechanization of Farms

In the United States the structure of rural society is not only changing through migration to cities but through the increasing size of farm units and the mechanization of agriculture. The regional picture shows variations in American culture. ABOVE: Map picture of the size of farms. BELOW: Percentage of farms with tractors. 1940 figures from Vance's *All These People*



expression among the tribal folk, and the cultural importance of peculiarities of arts and crafts. The mediums of the arts, the distinctive techniques and methods in the literature, and the ornamentations of the simple cultures.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, pages 382–383, 410, 461–462. The artist studies the subtle human emotions and reveals them as an aspect of immaterial culture. Intangible social phenomena as described by the novelist and painter and as dealt with by the sociologist seeking to understand the folk and their habits and customs. The confusion of art and science in present-day social studies.

Mangus, A. R.: *Rural Regions of the United States*. Various types of work are carried on in the effort to delineate rural regions and subregions for research and planning purposes: one phase of the work of the regional scientist who would seek economic and cultural balance of national group life.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, pages 201–204, 299, 330–335, 409. The contributions of science and technics to the arts; the intellectual assimilation of the machine by the artist today. The arts of a culture as they record the changes in values and attitudes of a people over a period of societal change in institutions.

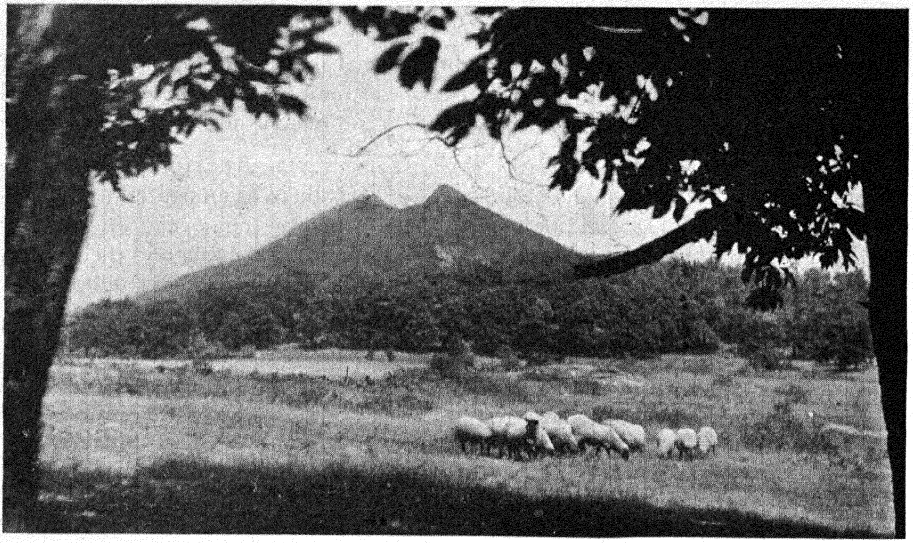
Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, pages 252–255, 264, 336–342, 502, 506–508. The art museum, a valuable type of cultural enterprise, has a definite place in the social economy. The effects of urbanization on the artist. The defacement of nature and the blight of rural regions. The influences of the urban way of life upon the people of the village and towns.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters v and xxiv. The transition of rural culture into urban civilization and the nature of the changing social problems. Rural and urban communities contrasted as to institutional and personal interrelationships and services.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, chapter vii. Literary and aesthetic regionalism as it depicts the folk, provincialism, and local color. The region as the scene for novels, pictures, and plays, and as the stimulus for dances and music. Art as an index of cultural variation in American society.

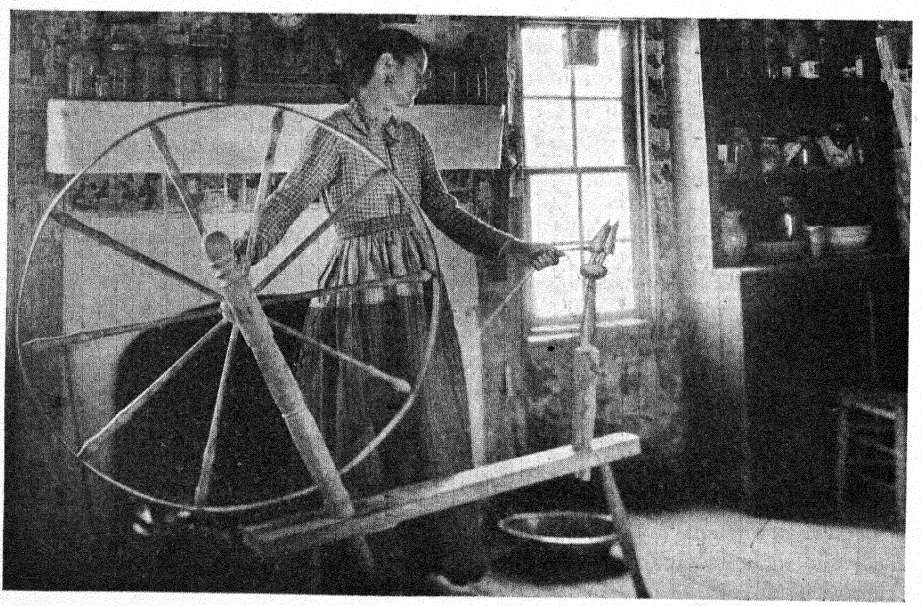
Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, part v. The evolution of communities from hunting and foodgathering groups to the American village and metropolis. The ecological plan of communities of various sizes and the problems peculiar to each. The latest trends in community growth and the changing characteristics of community folk.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, pages 135, 159–169, 268–270, 276–278, 406–408, 438–439. Art and philosophy as a heritage of Western civilization. Music, literature, drama, painting, and sculpture as recreational expressions of primitive, ancient, and modern man. Various institutional differences found in rural and urban societies. An interesting concept of rural life as the truly democratic life.



Country Life and the Folk Arts and Crafts

In spite of the revival of interest in the arts and crafts and of the perennial emphasis upon the ideal-type of rural culture, the trends in modern society are rapidly toward urbanized communities and mechanized agriculture. ABOVE: a rural landscape. BELOW: The Old Spinning Wheel



Sims, Newell: *Elements of Rural Sociology*, chapters I, IV, VII, XII, XV, and XXVIII. An excellent treatment of the rural side of the dual American civilization. Rural life as a field of modern sociological study. An insight into the institutions and the values of the rural folk both in the past few decades and in modern development. The cultural interpretation of the process of urbanization.

Smith, T. Lynn: *The Sociology of Rural Life*, chapter II; also examine part IV. The characteristics of the rural world as described by some of the theorists and students of rural sociology. A detailed consideration of the social processes in rural life as compared to the interacting processes of urban life.

Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, pages 45, 47, 93–97, 101–104, 119–126, 133, 135, 184–193, 201–206, 232, 450–452, 474–475, 565, 586–604, 609. Art as a means of introducing new elements of culture into society. The folkways of art as they arise out of man's instinctive satisfaction of his needs. Elements of humanism and individualism as found in modern literature, drama, and other creative arts. Fads and fashions in the artistic world during the Greco-Roman civilization and in European and American societies today.

Recent Social Trends, chapter XIX, pages 788–792. Also pages xxxix–xli, 8–11, 31–36, 93–113, 119–121, 294, 944, 1033, and chapter X. Art. Art and business. Regional and social aspects of art. Art as a balancing factor in mechanical civilization. Emerging forms resulting from the economic union of country, village, and city largely based on the automobile and new kinds of communication. Rural population smaller than urban. Over-representation of rural areas in state legislatures. Depletion of soil resources; the advance in agricultural techniques. The trend in land utilization; the outlook for land utilization. Decrease in the number of farm laborers per farmer one of the effects of the mechanization of agriculture. Other changes in agriculture. Open country areas seen to be losing their isolation and gaining by interdependence. Villages acquiring greater stability and attempting to specialize. Larger emerging rural communities, consisting of the village or town as a center and the open country as the tributary territory; their trade services, community school and church services, and social life and organizations. Rural-urban relations becoming more important. Local and national policies concerning rural life. Rural recreational habits.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Achieving a Balanced Agriculture* (rev. ed., 1940) and *Farmers in a Changing World; The Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1940; Barger, Harold, and Landsberg, Hans H., *American Agriculture, 1899–1939;* Brunner, Edmund de S., and Kolb, J. H., *Rural Social Trends;* Brunner, Edmund de S., and Lorge, Irving,

Rural Trends in Depression Years; Buck, Solon J., *The Agrarian Crusade;* Clark, Thomas D., *Pills, Petticoats and Plows; The Southern Country Store;* Clay, Cassius M., *The Mainstay of American Individualism;* Cuthbert, Marion, *We Sing America;* Eaton, Joseph W., *Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture;* Fritts, Frank, and Gwinn, Ralph W., *Fifth Avenue to Farm;* Gillette, John M., *Rural Sociology;* Jenkins, David R., *Growth and Decline of Agricultural Villages;* Kellog, Charles E., *Development and Significance of the Great Soil Groups of the United States* and *The Soils That Support Us;* Keppel, F. P., *The Arts in American Life;* Kolb, J. H., and Brunner, Edmund de S., *A Study of Rural Society;* Lambert, Clara, *I Sing America;* Landis, Paul H., *Rural Life in Process;* National Resources Committee, *Farm Tenancy;* Odum, Howard W., *Southern Regions of the United States* (especially part II, chapter VI); Odum, Howard W., and Johnson, Guy B., *Negro Workaday Songs;* Raper, Arthur F., *Tenants of the Almighty;* Sanderson, Dwight, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization;* Steinbeck, John, *The Grapes of Wrath.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. "Arts and Crafts" are catalogued in the *Social Work Year Book* in the field of recreation. To what extent has the arts and crafts movement been (a) recreational; (b) artistic; (c) commercial? During the depression years of the 1930's, there appeared a concerted movement back to the folk arts and crafts. How much of this was "sound" and enduring, and how much was a "fad" and passing?
2. Describe recent state and national folk festivals, agencies, and conferences for the promotion or revival of folk songs and folk music.
3. What is the American Folk Dance Society? See the *Social Work Year Book.*
4. What was the Folk Arts Center? See the *Social Work Year Book.*
5. Describe the National Recreation Association. What was its earlier title?
6. Describe the National Park Service.
7. What is the Motion Picture Research Council?
8. What was The Commission on Country Life, appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908? See their report, first published in 1911, then long out of print, and republished by the University of North Carolina Press in 1944.
9. What was the "back-to-the-country" movement? Discuss its limitations.
10. What was the American Country Life Association?
11. What is the Rural Sociological Society of America? When did it branch off from the American Sociological Society?
12. What was the Federal Farm Security Association?
13. What was the Sharecroppers' Union?
14. What local action groups are effective?

12

The Folkways, the Mores, the Technicways

The folkways and mores are symbols of culture. In our inquiries into culture and race, primitive society, religion, sex, war, work, play, rural life, and folk art, and their relation to the backgrounds of nature and resources, we have gone a long way toward exploring the whole range of elemental factors and socializing forces which have conditioned early society. These are elements in which all cultures have deep roots, and they are more or less universal to all societies. Processes within these elemental areas and their societal products make up what is called culture. Culture, growing naturally and inevitably out of the relation of individuals to their environments, results in another product, William Graham Sumner's classical concept of the folkways. The folkways are still important in any attempt to understand society, both because they are inherent in all cultures and because they are powerfully dynamic in their influence; but in the modern world of technology, the folkways are supplanted largely by the technicways. The folkways and the mores are essential elements in all early cultures, and their power must be understood if the technicways are to be utilized successfully in directing social change.

The folkways are, in general, the habits of the individual and the customs of the group, arising naturally and spontaneously and growing up slowly around the different phases of life. The folkways, not identifiable in terms of the specific time and occasion in which they grow up, are, however, necessary for survival. Thus, there will be as many folkways as there are major activities, and the wisdom of the race, a combination of trial and error and experience, tends to crystallize in the folkways. When these folkways have continued over a period of time and have received the sanction of the group, they become the mores, which have a greater binding and coercive

effect upon the group than the folkways. We shall see presently how from the folkways to the mores, through what later became morals, the social institutions developed, and still later expanded into the stateways or folkways of control. We shall also need to study the contrast between the folkways of earlier slow-moving societies and the technicways of later quick-changing civilization.

The Sumner science of folkways and its sequel. Sumner's pioneering volume, *Folkways*, has for its subtitle: "A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals." His study was based upon the assumption that the first function of life is to live, and that in the struggle for existence the ability to adapt and change is vital. Through trial and error and experimentation, through pain and struggle, through the constant meeting of new needs, society itself has not only survived, but has developed its cultures. In order to understand how powerful these folkways are, we need only to check back and catalogue the folkways within each of the areas of general culture — race, religion, sex, war, work, play, art, and the later institutions and stateways. In some ways we may recapitulate our earlier chapters and note that the sum total of folkways, mores, institutions, stateways, and technicways constitute the culture of a given society. Our chief point here, however, is to establish that the folkways and the mores are elemental, organic, natural, and functional in the development of society, and, therefore, must be studied adequately in order to understand society. Our emphasis upon the folkways does not assume a doctrine of laissez faire; that because the folkways are powerful no change can be expected. On the contrary, if change can be brought about, it can best be done by understanding the folkways and substituting the technicways for them.

Sumner grouped folkways around four societal forces: hunger, love, vanity, and fear. Hunger and love, he maintained, are the natural impulses which are the stimuli for self-maintenance and self-perpetuation. They are universal in all animal life. Vanity and ghost fear, in Sumner's opinion, are specifically products of society.

Giddings' classification of the folkways. Franklin H. Giddings, building upon Sumner's foundation, developed a different classification of folkways. First of all come the folkways of reaction to the external world, of which there are two aspects: one is magic, corresponding to earlier religions, superstitious reactions, and the other is techniques, corresponding to later scientific attitudes. These are the natural folkways. Later on, Giddings elaborated these natural reactions by defining the *sustentation area* and the

consequent *circumstantial pressure* developed by natural influences, and the consequent *social pressure* developed by social influences. All of these also are fundamental to the elemental, societal forces enumerated in this book. Giddings' next general class of folkways is that of reaction to strangers, including sympathy and enmity. Following these there are the group's folkways of reaction, including avoidance, warning, violence, praise, and approval. Professor Giddings thought that there are special folkways of reaction to the young, such as admonition, restraint, and punishment. The next classification included the folkways of occasion and routine, for instance, domicile, eating, camping, and entertaining. Also, there were folkways of birth and death, and the folkways of organization, from which two great planes of social organization developed — the tribal or ethnic, and the civil or political. Folk culture evolved from the first of these, civilization from the second.

The folkways start early with nature. That the folkways and mores grew up first around all the natural aspects of life may be seen by a review of the origin and development of religion, science, work, play, sex, race, or any part of the struggle for survival. To catalogue this limitless number of folkways and mores would be to review almost the entire early stages of the development of society, and to record the continuing powerful influence in modern societies of race, religion, and sex, as well as many of the folkways of economic institutions. An understanding of the development of the folkways and mores is fundamental to the understanding of how societies grow from earlier natural folk cultures into later political, technological, and urban civilizations. To understand why society is as it is and why men behave as they do, it is necessary to understand these fundamental backgrounds; but also it is necessary to understand them in order to project the further planning and development of human society.

A hierarchy of folkways and their evolution. In general, the order of development runs somewhat as follows: First are the *folkways*, which grow up gradually without known specific origins. Next, the folkways, mellowed and tested by time, experience, and sanction, develop into the *mores*. The mores, taking form and integration, develop into the equivalent of *morals* and *morality*, which exert general coercive or societal pressure upon behavior. The resultant development of morals and morality, custom, right, wrong, values, and the like, provide the bases for the *institutions*, for the family, religion, education, and government. From informal institutions to formal institutions, it is an easy step to the *stateways*, in which coercion and control become definite and legislative. When the stateways become oppressive

they are followed by protesting folkways. The protesting folkways are, in turn, followed by nullifying folkways, which in turn overthrow the stateways. The cycle of folkways then begins over again, at least in the earlier slow-moving cultures.

We may illustrate this process in as many ways as we choose. A good example would be that of sex and marriage and the family. To take a specific development, monogamous marriage; first there were the folkways and folk wisdom which held that the relationship of man and woman as husband and wife was the most effective way to reproduce the race and nurture its young, as well as to serve the economic needs and develop the finer sensibilities of society. This became a practice, or, in Sumner's terms, the habit of the individual and the custom of the group. As societies grew more numerous and complex, the power of taboo and coercion and convention developed through the working of the folkways. Thus, failure to accept the folkways, or behavior apart from custom, resulted in the pressure of the mores on the individual. Ostracism or exclusion from the group was usually effective. Thus, the morality of the family and the sex relationship in marriage were established, and, in turn, the institution of the monogamous marriage.

Nevertheless, this was not an adequate system. As society developed, people became more varied and complex, and the mores were not effective enough. There was needed some form of sovereignty or law whereby the folk wisdom and the institutions of the group might be enforced. Thus arose the stateways which legislated the sex relationship and the family into a compulsory pattern. If and when, however, the stateways work hardships upon individuals, groups, and institutions, and a need for a more flexible arrangement arises, the protest of the folk leads to the nullification of the stateways, as, for instance, in a democratic culture, the divorce laws make marriage under certain conditions less of an iron-bound institution.

The power of the folkways. The power of the folkways is indicated by Giddings' remark that after twenty-five years of careful study of the history of human society, he had failed to find a single case in which, when folkways and stateways conflicted, the folkways had not won out. This is fundamental to the understanding of how societies grow, how revolutions arise, and why conflicts in the modern world — through race, religion, war, economic competition, and a hundred other avenues of human association — result in upheaval and change. But when the folkways and the stateways coincide there is practically no way of resisting the power of a people within the framework of their resources and capacities. In Hitler's Ger-

many, the stateways and the folkways coincided and were reinforced by technology and the technicways; the result was the power to carry on six years of world war.

THE TECHNICWAYS OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

In the modern civilized world, at least in the supertechnological area, the old, slow-growing order of folkways, mores, and stateways no longer operates; in reality, there are no longer any mores or matured folkways, since by definition these can grow up only over long periods of time. Instead, because of such technological achievements in atomic energy, transportation and communication, and many chemical inventions, there are the new *technicways*, which are habits of the individual and the customs of the group arising specifically as to time and occasion to meet the survival needs of a modern technological world. Thorstein Veblen anticipated this trend when he reversed the old proverb which held that "Necessity is the mother of invention." What he said was that, on the contrary, invention has become the mother of necessity.

In general, the order is now likely to become: first, the *folkways;* then *exploratory technicways* of trial and error; then *enduring technicways;* then the stateways followed again by the *protesting technicways* and *nullifying technicways;* from the earlier slow-moving tempo the cycle is shifted into high. In demonstration, we must once again characterize the nature of the technicways and illustrate them in sufficient cases to enable us to understand modern society in terms of this new process of social change. In this particular chapter, we shall reiterate merely the simple characterization of the technicways; in later chapters, there will be further elaboration of the role of technicways in modern civilization and an attempt to define the balance and the margin of survival between the folk society and the state society, between culture and civilization, between machines and men.

The technicways make a new world. The assumption is that in the technicways we have phenomenon even more significant than the old folkways and as subversive of them as some of the later developments of science and history are to some of the Malthusian population theories. The principal assumption is, however, that, in contemporary civilization, the technicways, transcending the folkways and supplanting the mores, tend so to modify human behavior and institutions as to outmode the earlier, natural rate of societal evolution. In particular, the tendency is toward acceleration of the rate of change in behavior patterns as well as in technological processes, and therefore of the rate of cultural evolution also. In contradistinction to the folkways, which arise no one knows where and

how, the technicways emerge demonstrably through the incidence of new technics and inventions and their use in social life. Folkways are customs and habits which grow up naturally to meet needs, and they ripen through sanction and time into mores. Not so the technicways, which arise from the pressure of technological procedures and force individual and group to conform to their patterns, regardless of empirical considerations or of mass sanction. Accordingly, the technicways can be set over against Sumner's folkways and mores.

Illustrations of the technicways are plentiful. Thus, "fashions" superimposed through the technique of advertising do not represent the tastes of individuals or groups, nor do they reflect a gradual evolution from one style to another. Such fashions are not folkways to meet needs but technicways to fall in line with gadgets of the market place. Technicways, it should be re-emphasized, are not the ways of technology; they are not techniques. Technicways are the *ways of adjustment to technology* and the resulting behavior. Thus, technicways are not airways and their reduction of time and space, but the behavior of people — a business man vacationing in South America, or visiting his plant in Europe; not the atomic bomb but the decentralization of industry or cities for protection. Moving pictures and all that goes into the cinema industry do not constitute the technicways through which are reflected new behavior in contrast with the earlier folkways and mores. This is reflected in the weekly attendance of eleven million children keeping long and unhealthy hours at moving pictures, 80 per cent of which the theme is crime, sex, or "love." This is contrary to both folkways and mores, yet the attendance increases.

Again, the older folkways assumed that when young people married they would have not only children but many. Indeed, children were the normal expectation, and as they grew up in an agrarian culture, they were wealth-producing units of the family. In a world of technology, the technicways, in order to meet needs of present society, assume that children must come later and be fewer. Other powerful technicways that negate the old folkways are those of a warfare that destroys civilians, cathedrals, and hospitals; and the justification of the use of the atomic bomb and other terror aspects of war.

Technicways affect the individual, too. It is almost needless to say that, in the modern world the technicways affect the individual even as the folkways and the mores affected the individual in earlier cultures, for the habits of the individual are still fundamental to the development of his personality and to group relationships and behavior. The technicways that relate to birth control have a close bearing upon the individual behavior of youth

and of men and women in general, just as many other modern technicways have changed the individual's attitudes and values in religion, industry, education, and morality. The technicways of the family in which wife and daughters as well as husband and sons work have a great deal to do with the conditioning of the children who grow up. The technicways have had a tremendous influence upon the nature and range of patriotism and loyalties. When modern technicways become the social technicways of authoritarian society, the role of the individual and his motivation are reflected in entirely different behavior. We shall inquire into these more in detail in later chapters.

Technicways give rise to problems. It is but natural that a large number of societal and social problems must arise in the wake of such a fundamental and an organic change in the cultural process. We have pointed out how invention and social change in the past have affected society and its institutions. We have pointed out how modern communications and the automobile, the moving picture, and other inventions have changed the profile of a great deal of our institutional landscape. The nature of government has been greatly changed by good roads and the automobile; the nature of church worship by the radio. Through the technicways it is possible to understand something more of the process of change and, therefore, to appraise the social problems involved. These are so numerous that they must be treated in subsequent chapters, in which we undertake to focus upon certain tentative conclusions in our total effort to understand society. So, too, we shall discuss more of the technicways and the folkways in the final chapters dealing with research and theory.

Folkways and technicways in American society. The history of the culture of the United States recapitulates the story of this evolution from the earlier folkways and mores to the technicways of civilization. American culture has been rich in the folkways and mores of patriotism, religion, Sabbath observance, morality, family, youth, work, industry, and the capitalist system — a long catalogue of peculiarly American virtues and values. A review of America's "only yesterdays" would help to understand the kaleidoscopic picture of our folkways. There would be the folkways of dress, illuminated by changing fashions in the dress of both men and women and college styles; or the folkways of dress in travel, by automobile or airplane. The folkways of sex and courtship, divorce and remarriage, and of "woman's place is in the home," are other examples. On the other hand, American technology has transformed not only the material world but the world of behavior as well. Here, again, we need only point to the range and richness of the evidence of the technicways.

So, too, in the cataclysm of global conflict the technicways of war and totalitarian philosophy have so accelerated the tempo of civilization as to pass over morality in the sense of the mores and of folk wisdom. Hitler's Germany is a good example both difficult and easy to explain. It is difficult to explain because of the complexity of factors but it is also easy because the societal factors are clearly demonstrable. Germany is the monumental example of the potentialities of the technicways to destroy society. Now, how do the folkways help explain what happened in Germany, and how could they have helped to predict what would happen and what will happen in similar cases, if they ever arise again? The assumptions here are several.

First, Hitler's Germany represented the complete coincidence of stateways and folkways in synchronization with the technicways. Under the circumstances, within the range of Germany's resources, nothing could stop that combination. In the next place, Hitler's Germany was the perfect example of artificial society and supertechnology exceeding the capacity of the people, their institutions and resources, so that in time failure was inevitable. One of the penalties of the Nazi program was that the Greater Reich came to incorporate so many heterogeneous folk within its borders that ultimately there was no unified folk society to coincide with the state society, and therefore the beginnings of weakness were under way. And, finally, there were the folkways of the rest of the world, combined with the powerful technicways of a war for survival, which soon came to be more powerful than all the folkways and technicways of German society. Before the blitzkrieg, many of Europe's folk societies had been weakened through endless struggles, through conflict between state societies and folk societies, and through the excessive demands of modern civilization. Then they were "softened up" by propaganda and fifth-column activities, thus making for disunity among the folk of Austria or France, for instance, whereas the German folk were unified. In the period of waning German strength, the various resistance movements had reached a point of cohesion and toughness sufficient to lend considerable help to the armed forces of the Allies.

A powerful dynamics of nationalism and war. We need to understand how, in Germany, Hitler had made the folkways of the German people coincide with the stateways and then subsequently had utilized technology, through the technicways of warfare, science, communication, and propaganda to implement the folkways and stateways. These folkways, which had a cumulative influence, may be grouped together into seven categories.

A *first* group were the folkways of a *Blut* ethnic determinism of German nationalism and the German superstate, and of a superior German "race." A *second* group were the folkways of power, of war and blitzkrieg, might as right. A *third* group were the folkways of frustration-aggression, self-righteousness, self-defense — "Germany surrounded by her enemies." A *fourth* group were the folkways of science, technology, efficiency, and ruthlessness. A *fifth* group were the folkways of occasion, order, and obedience, symbolized by the goose step. A *sixth* group were the folkways of subservience to the state — of work, of woman's place in the home and in compulsory labor, and of the training of youth. And a *seventh* group were the folkways of loyalty, patriotism, morality, the attack upon wickedness in high places, and other common appeals to righteousness.

When Hitler had synchronized all of these seven folkway groups into a powerful unity, supported by military strategy and by innumerable resources within the geographical and regional settings of Germany and the conquered nations, there was no way — for a long time — to resist the power and speed of this combination. Observers have characterized the period of the blitzkrieg as the first "perfect" machine age in the sense that it embodied an exact synchronization of men and machines, backed up by a powerful folk.

German folkways in conflict with world folkways. What are the realities of the situation in the crisis of Hitler's Germany from the viewpoint of sociology? The reasons are clear why Hitler succeeded for so long and came so near to attaining his dreams of a Nazi world, just as are the reasons why he failed. For, in the earlier days of successes, not only were many of the folk cultures weak, but the German people all over the world were driving toward a support for their folkways of world conquest. In the South American republics, these folkways were gaining power, and in the United States, there were many people who were beginning to say that perhaps after all, on "the wave of the future" Germany would ride the crest. Then, however, two things happened.

The first was the inevitable expansion of the artificial Nazi society and German technology beyond any reasonable capacity of the folk, as indicated by the seven groups of folkways..

The second was the massing of the folkways and stateways of the rest of the world, supplemented by their powerful technology, to defeat the stateways of Nazi civilization. First there was Britain and then Soviet Russia, both capable of holding out for a period, and then the United States and all the other United Nations massed in this great folk protest against Nazi Germany.

This protest, backed by the combined strength of an aroused world and

its resources, is an example of the power of the folk society in conflict with a single state society.

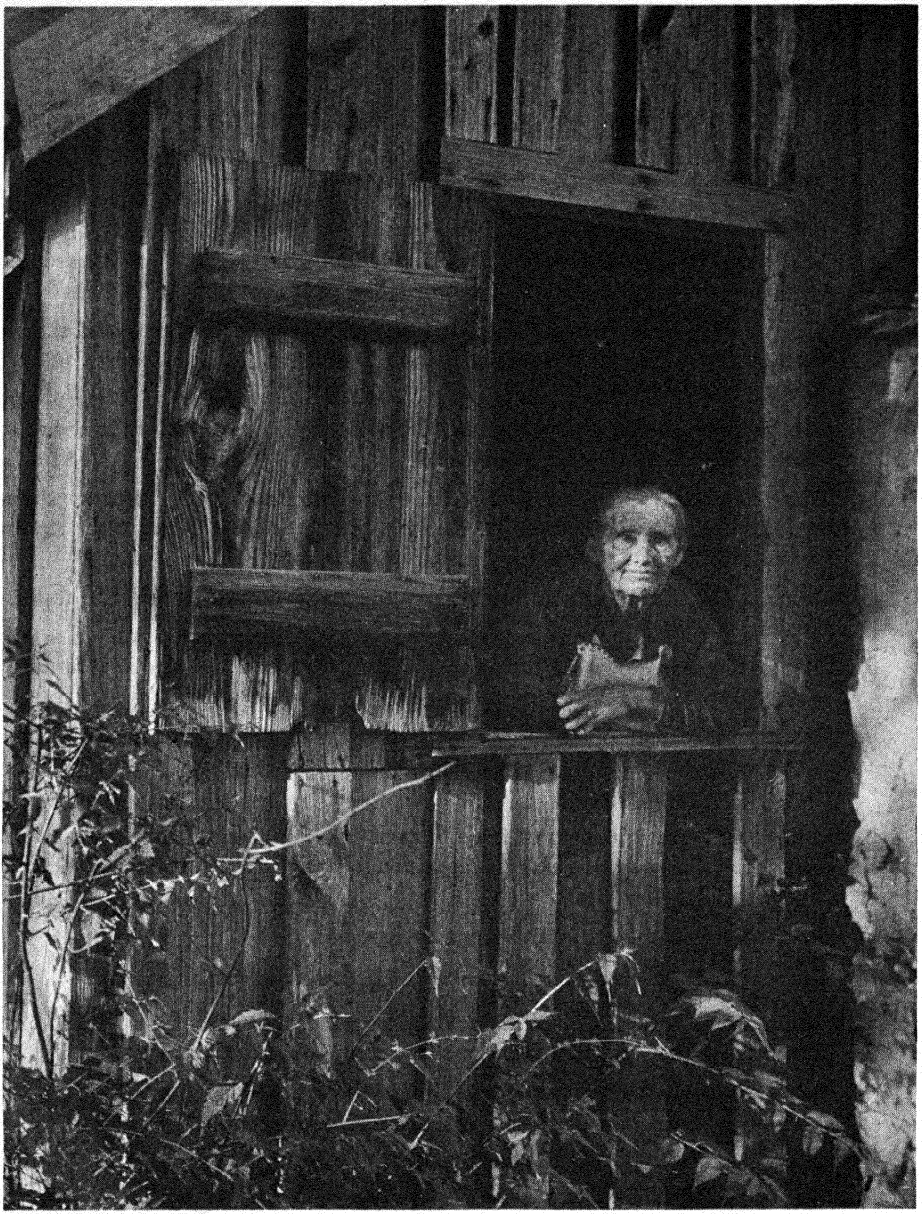
History will record the unbelievable length and breadth of civilization's destruction of European culture and of the rise of a new folk society through which a new world would be born. All of this can be measured in the statistical count of the dead and the wounded, the strain of living in the conquered countries, the tragedies of civilians, and family breakups, the destruction of wealth, the lowered standards of living, the complexity and "mistakes" of the military campaign, and in innumerable other ways.

The folkways ultimately defeat the stateways. It is clear also how the widening range of the superstate's territory, peoples, and power increased the complexity and heterogeneity of the folk society, ensuring two things, namely, increasingly conflicting folkways against the superstate and making the quantitative task of keeping the folk in line practically impossible. This strain was measurable in terms of the population of conquered peoples, the little democracies, and the unconquerable folk groups to the east, and finally in the extraordinary spectacle of part of the United States Navy operating in Germany's Rhine River to defeat the whole Nazi people buttressed within what they assumed to be an impregnable fortress. Increasingly, therefore, in so far as the demands of this superstate exceeded the capacity both of its own power and its constituency, and of the needed resources, it was only a matter of time before collapse was inevitable.

In the meantime, on the other hand, there were, as implementing this process, first in Britain and in the United States, and then in the other allied Nations, powerful trends toward the unity and harmony of stateways and folkways which were to be supplemented by the most powerful technology and, therefore, possibly technicways in the history of society. Indeed, if the sociologist is to look for societal gains from such world cataclysm, it would be found in this extraordinary spectacle of a great society, seeking to defend its civilization from destruction or to defend its culture from civilization's destroying power, and reconstructing itself in the ways of the enduring equilibrium and strength of the folk and of universal culture strengthened through democratic institutions.

Assignments and Questions

1. The term *folkways* has been so well popularized that it is often used in advertising. How has such a usage developed?
2. Trace the development of folkways, mores, morals, institutions, and stateways as illustrated in the use of natural resources, such as forests, water power, or oil deposits.
3. Can you justify the statement that in the stage of civilization known as World War II, there were no *mores?*
4. What does José Ortega y Gasset mean in *The Revolt of the Masses*, when he characterizes the people of Europe, just prior to World War II, as "immoral"?
5. What is the role of education in relation to the folkways and the mores and social change?
6. Define the *technicways* in terms of William Graham Sumner's definition of the folkways.
7. Discuss the fallacy often repeated by sociologists to the effect that recognition of the power of the folkways assumes a "nothing-can-be-done-about-it" philosophy.
8. What were the folkways of the German people which Hitler utilized to popularize his program and to make the folkways and stateways coincide?
9. Compare the periods of American history according to the folkways of diet and foods, everyday manners, or worship.
10. Compare the folkways of the lawyer with those of the clergyman.
11. What did Hitler mean in *Mein Kampf*, page 197, when he wrote: "But the state is a folk organism and not an economic organization"?
12. In terms of the folkways of behavior, discuss the statement that the Middle States — the Middle West — is the most American of all the regions.
13. See pages 3, 15, 18, 20, 21, 31–32, 91, 92, 108, 117, 122, 123, 132, 153–154, 160, and 168 in Hitler's *Mein Kampf* for a view of his adherence to the folkways of Germany.
14. Compare the folkways of eating and of "woman's place" in society in the great civilizations. See, for instance, James Henry Breasted's *Ancient Times* or George W. Botsford's *History of the Ancient World.*



Frontier Personality and Folk Culture

The Grandmother, sometimes called the Forgotten Woman, was the symbol of both faith and work in the "American Dream." Photograph of a Mountain woman, of four score years and ten. No less was the immigrant grandmother also the progenitor of the Nation.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, pages 13, 132–136, 345–346, 351–352, 626–629. Socially approved behavior patterns arise within the group or are important from outside the group. The origin of morals and the institution in the transition of folkways into mores and later into stateways.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, pages 258–264, 275–287. The wide variance in the folkways and the mores of different folk groups in meeting similar situations. Culture made up of universal, special, alternative folkways and individual peculiarities of habit and custom. The elements of the folk society.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, pages 165–166, 179–182, 192. Folkways and customs as group behavior patterns of varying stability. Public opinion influenced by the cultural conditioning of the folk.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, pages 280–286. The mores of the group in conflict in a changing modern world. The dilemmas in choosing a road to progress for American culture. The nation is set in traditional concepts and institutional forms that are bearing the impact of science and technology ill-used.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, pages 8–12, 149–154, 185–193, 214–220, 247–252, 277–279, 331–333, 351–355, 420–421, 459, 543, 550. Folkways and mores a subsystem of usages and rules that underlie and govern societal behavior. Habits and customs of the institutions of the family, marriage, economics, education, religion, recreation, and government. Rate and general nature of change in the mores of a social institution.

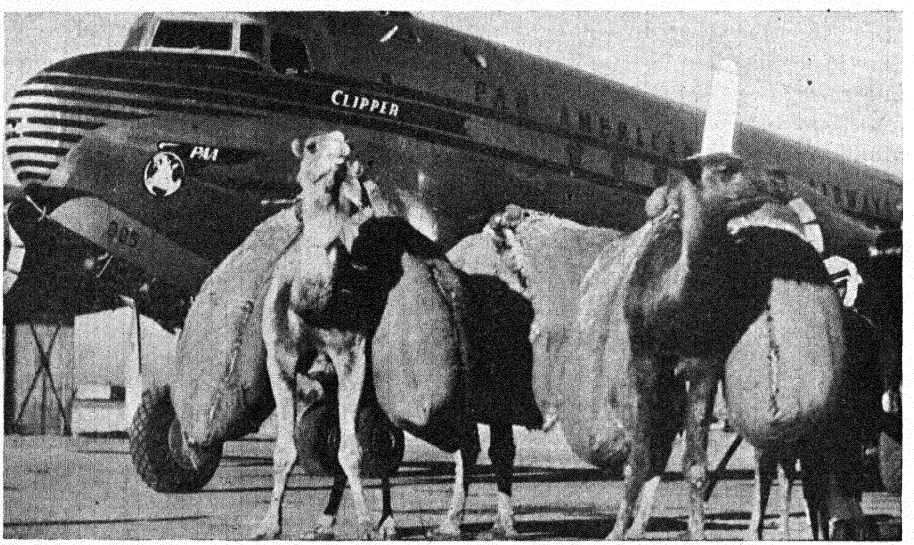
Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, chapters I and II and pages 157–159, 224, 245, 261, 309, 312–313, 328, 343–350, 393, 400, 417–418, 421, 440, 445, 463–474, 480–482, 493–494, 499, 653. The definition and the origin of folkways and mores and the characteristics of each as they arise and are modified and nullified by associative living. Conflicts that result from the efforts of the individual or minority groups to oppose the mores. A discussion of many types of mores and group practices, such as those of the clergy, of celibacy, persecution, slavery, abortion, infanticide, sex, marriage, incest, and war and the unique customs of the early closed kinship groups. Social codes the expression of the values of the folk relative to place and time.

General Readings from the Library

Adams, Brooks, *The Law of Civilization and Decay;* Alexander, Franz, *Our Age of Unreason;* Appel, Benjamin, *The People Talk;* Arnold, Thurman W., *The Folklore of Capitalism;* Baker, Elizabeth Faulkner, *Displacement of Men by Machines;* Barzun, Jacques, *Darwin, Marx, Wagner;* Benedict, Ruth, *The Patterns of Culture;* Davis, Alice, "Time and the Technicways" (*Social forces*, Dec. 1940, pp. 175–189) and "Technicways in American Civilization" (*Social forces*, March 1940, pp. 317–330);

The Impact of Technology Upon the Folk Cultures of the World Constitutes a Standard Area of Study

Ortega, in his *Revolt of the Masses*, points to the danger of a too quick acceptance by the folk of both the demands and services of science and technology. ABOVE: Social change and railway transportation. BELOW: Social change and airways transportation.



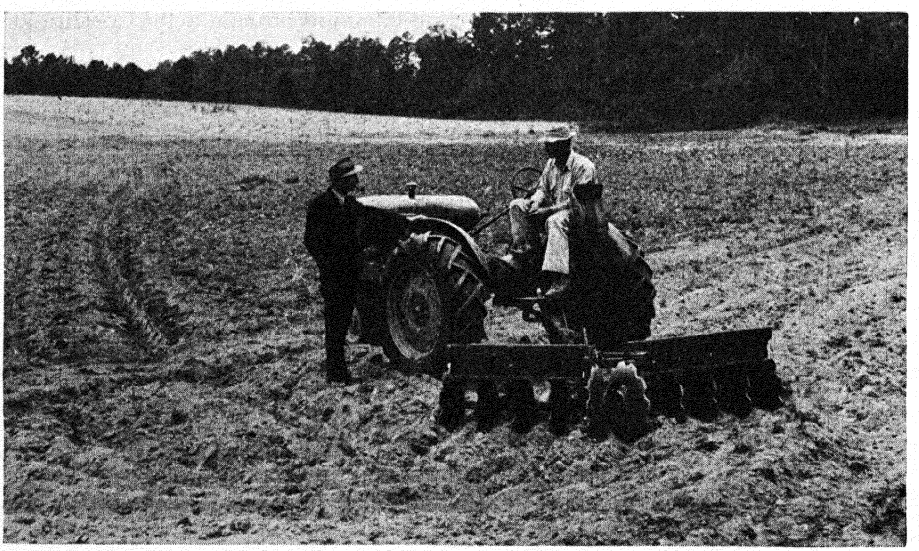
De Koven, Anna, *Women in Cycles of Culture;* Hausleiter, Leo, *Machine Unchained;* Hitler, Adolf, *Mein Kampf;* Lombroso, Gina, *The Tragedies of Progress;* McDougall, William, *World Chaos;* Mumford, Lewis, *Technics and Civilization* and *The Condition of Man;* Odum, Howard W., "Notes on the Technicways in Contemporary Society" (reprint from the *American Sociological Review*, June, 1937, pages 336–346); Odum, Howard W., *Race and Rumors of Race;* Ogburn, William F., *Social Change* and *Society and Technology;* Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Man and Society in Calamity;* Sumner, William Graham, *Folkways;* Sumner, William Graham, and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society*, vol. 1; Wundt, Wilhelm, *Elements of Folk Psychology* (tr. by E. L. Schaub).

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Attack upon folkways by pressure groups is one of the methods used to bring about social change. Or, by the same token, it is pressure to make the ways of part of the folk effective. For instance, you might catalogue the organizations working on behalf of Negro participation in American life. What part of this pressure was in support of "northern" folkways? What part was against "southern" folkways?
2. What was the "March on Washington" movement? Led by whom? What *technicways* in the Committee on Fair Employment Practice changed the immediate direction of strategy?
3. Indicate how the Sharecroppers Union, organized to change conditions in the South, financed largely in the North, is an attack upon one of the largest areas of *folkways.*
4. Indicate how the movement for child-labor amendment to the Constitution ran up against powerful folkways.
5. What were the folkways of capitalism as described by Thurman W. Arnold in *The Folklore of Capitalism?*
6. Through a re-examination of the folkways and the history of the United States since the death of William Graham Sumner, indicate why, rightly or wrongly, Sumner has been cited as an advocate of laissez faire.
7. Describe the folkways of American reform organizations. Upon what bases do they appeal for funds?
8. From a study of a score of post-war agencies, enumerate some of the folkways of propaganda.
9. Illustrate how many of the New Deal agencies of the 1930's assumed the proportion of technicways transcending the old folkways: e.g., the much discussed procedures of destroying little pigs or plowing under crops.
10. To what extent does "world government" go contrary to the traditional folkways of loyalty and patriotism? Illustrate possible technicways that may arise.

The Old and the New in Agriculture

From 1935 to 1945 tractors on American farms have increased from one million to two million. Mechanization has increased productivity per acre by about one fifth and per man about one third, as reported by the 1946 Census of Agriculture. Also farmers are producing a third more with ten percent less labor. What will this mean to rural culture?



13

Culture and Institutions

The institutions a measure of culture. We have referred to culture as the sum total of the social processes and products of human society. Among these products are the institutions which reflect maturing ways of culture. We have discussed also some of the "elements" of culture such as sex, work, play, singing, dancing, ways of living which through the folkways and mores go into the making of institutions. Now we come to examine the institutions as more composite societal products which grow up through the folkways and mores. For, if we seek a single system or cluster of group organizations in human society that include more of these products than any other, most students will immediately agree that what we call human institutions will come nearer approximating such a measure than anything else. So, too, if we search for a set of societal arrangements which more nearly reflect the sum total of cultural order in advanced society, we shall probably agree upon these same institutions.

In the previous chapter we interpreted the folkways and mores, themselves a sort of cross section of cultural measurement, and pointed up something of their basic relation to the institutions. We pointed out how all the major elemental activities and forces of society naturally accumulate a body of folkways, often to be developed later into mores which in turn pave the way for sanction, coercion, rights, wrongs, "musts," and "must nots." In the abstract, this leads to the basic concepts of social morality. In the concrete it leads to institutions and stateways. Since the major institutions, more nearly than anything else, represent the universal societal arrangements for order and control and are more nearly than anything else the buffer between the folk culture of the people and civilization, on the one hand, and between the individual and technology and change, on the other,

the understanding of these institutions is basic to any final appraisal of culture and any understanding of society. For the time being, then, and for purposes of study, the institutions become synonymous with culture and, as orders of associational group activities, they become synonymous with society at any given cross section on the time or evolutionary level.

A sixfold institutional arrangement. Once again we begin with the elementary forces of society and seek to view first those major institutions whose origin and function have to do with man and society in closer relation to nature and the natural environment than the others. These would have to do with land and resources, work and places to live, culture and economy close to nature. Here, too, we recapitulate much of the story of the folkways and mores as a basic elementary step to the maturing of society's institutional arrangements, and we recapture much of the origins of religion, of science, of law and control in sex and marital relationships, in economic process and in work and play. If we set up a sixfold basis for our main composite institutional arrangements, we have institutions whose functions seem to focus upon the following areas. One is sex and family relationships. This develops into the institution we call the home and family. Another is labor and the economic processes. This becomes the institution which we call industry and work. A third is worship and the supernatural. This becomes in advanced society the church and religion. A fourth is the search for truth and adaptation.This comes to be what we call the school and education. A fifth has to do with law and control which evolves into the state and government. The sixth focuses upon mutual interests, recreation, organization, and develops into the composite institution of community. Each of these institutional arrangements may be thought of as having a twofold basis, namely, a generic value and content which is very, very old, and a *form* or *order*, which is often new. That is, religion is as old as culture, while the church is quite modern; work is as old as Adam, while industry is a recent development. So, too, we must examine all these institutions in the light of their later developments as well as their earlier beginnings.

Now if we review the elemental factors or forces which we have studied in this Part II of our volume, we shall quickly sense the relationships, on the one hand, of our institutions to each of these forces and, on the other, to the mores that have crystallized around each cluster of activities or forces. Thus, in general our sixfold arrangement of institutions tends to comprehend all factors, but in an organic and mutually interdependent way. This organic and interrelational aspect helps us to understand the complexity and the time quality of society and its development.

Thus, each of the elemental factors, such as religion, sex, art, work, is related to more than one institution and each institution is made up of other component elements of many sorts growing up over long periods of time. They reflect the factors of change and of balance and equilibrium which are constantly being sought between the past and the present, between conflicting factors, between man and nature, and all the combinations and permutations of associational phenomena. These interrelationships are eloquent testimony to the unity of all society and to the inseparable relationships between the individual and society and society and the individual. That is why, of course, the folkways and mores are not all of culture. That is why culture is not all of society. That is why organizations are not all of society. That is why institutions are not all of society. That is one reason why culture and civilization are not the same. We may look briefly at some of the evidence supporting these premises.

The institutions are related to each other as well as to the total culture. Of our folk elements studied in Part II on Society and Culture, sex is not only closely related to the family and the reproductive institutions of marriage, but is also involved in the division of labor, in industry and work, in community and recreation and in the functioning of education, religion and government. So, too, religion is not only primarily concerned with the institution of the church and worship, but permeates much of the motivation of society in its philosophy, in its labor relationships, in its control of sex and marriage and in many other ways, varying greatly from time to time, from place to place, and in institutional interrelationships. So, too, the elemental factors of work, of art, of rural life, of war are all interrelated to other factors, so that it takes more than one institutional mode of control to cope with the needs of growth and development.

Panunzio's five traits of the mores. Now all of this interrelationship and multiple development and control may be again well illustrated by recalling the nature and function of the mores which become the dominant power of the folk society. Constantine Panunzio in his *Major Social Institutions* helps us to understand the institutions by pointing up clearly the role of the mores in their development. The mores, he says, have at least five characteristics in the following general order: The first of these tend to regulate all activity which involves the giving, maintaining, or taking of life, including relations between the sexes. They go further and effect child-bearing and child-rearing; the whole area of infusing or destroying of life; the acquisition, ownership, and transmission of wealth; and fair play in games. They go still further, in the second place, and bear the meaning of "right" and "wrong," including the ways people must or must not act in

their social relationships and they set the seal of ethical approval on observance and of strong disapproval on nonobservance. The third trait is one in which the mores become highly authoritative and are enforced by the pressure of social approval or disapproval, taking on religious sanction or condemnation. It follows, therefore, in the fourth place that for all these reasons, the mores "take the form of taboos, proverbs, aphorisms, epigrams, philosophies, and sacred writings and evince tenacity; they are automatic, often irrational; they are transmitted by imitation, indoctrination, and intimidation." And finally, "the mores are no respecters of persons. They reach the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, the mighty and the powerless. Whatever the age, wealth, or position of a person, the mores stretch out their arms and hold him in their grip at all times and in all places."

Nature and the institutions. Now let us look again at the organic relations between the institutions and nature. This is not only essential to understand the long-time growth and nature of the institutions, but it is fundamental to the understanding of modern institutional development which no longer rests upon this natural basis. It is fundamental to the understanding of the folk-culture and the folk society as opposed to later technological civilization and state society. Again, Panunzio states the case of nature and the institutions well. Following the order of our previous interpretations, we note two major "natural" influences: One is physical nature which includes the physical features of "the earth, such as contour, surface configuration, isolated areas, bodies of water; climate, including rainfall, humidity, and temperature; substances such as soils, minerals, and metals; and forces such as those of the sun's heat, the tides, winds, electricity, and flowing waters." The other is biological nature which includes all living organisms which "create or condition associated living." Of the character of physical nature's conditioning, Professor Panunzio sees nature as the source and sustainer of life, as a determinant of the cycle of activity, as the continuity of human activity, as an influence upon the unchangeableness of institutions, as a determinant of spatial limits, as influencing human migrations. Likewise, nature's influence is great upon the concentration of population, upon race and cultures, and hence basic to the character and levels of institutional activities. So, too, the fact that biological nature is the basis of life gives the role of micro-organisms a powerful one in life and institutional processes.

The institutions are buffer between the individual and his total environment. In harmony with the cumulative power of the folkways and mores and the later developing institutions, it seems possible that the institutions have a

very important organic function to perform for the individual and his continuing adjustment to a changing environment. The premise is that a chief function of the major institutions is to act as buffer between the individual and his complex environment and later as buffer between the individual and social change. In the case of the child and youth this function of the family would appear perhaps more readily than, let us say, the function of organized labor in industry and its service to the individual in a technological age or in a super-corporate society. Such a function of the school and education, or of the church and religion, or of the community will be apparent from the study of the people and of these institutions. A similar function of government in the role of servant to the people appears more and more essential in the modern complex civilization.

When the institution fails the individual. One way to illustrate these functions in the service of the individual is by analogy to set up the assumption that whenever the individual has failed in society some one or more of these institutions have probably failed the individual. This failure might be in the organic relationship of the family or in weakened biological stock. Or it might be in childhood culture and training or in the period of adolescence, where the institution of the family was not adequate, or, assuming the family had been adequate, in the later years the community itself or education in its various aspects might have failed the youth in the further development of personality and adjustment. So, too, with reference to his spiritual or inner aspirations or his community associations or his opportunity to work, the institution in question may have been inadequate. And, finally, in the case of the major institution of government there may have been inadequacy in the over-all services to the citizen and the other institutions.

THE INSTITUTIONS AND DEMOCRACY

This multiple nature of the human individual and of the institutions indicates also the basis upon which democracy seeks to sanction all of the institutions. Of, for, and by all the institutions, as well as of, for, and by all the people represents a sound framework for a societal order. Herein lies one of the basic weaknesses of totalitarian government or those forms of sovereignty which assume the state as a supreme institution or the sum total or flowering of all society. In other words, the political man is not all; there is the religious man, the working man, the playing and fellowship man, the man in search of truth and education, so that for the well integrated individual and the balanced society there is need for the services of all the major institutions.

The institutional approach to democracy, then, is one which not only takes into consideration democracy as a philosophy of opportunity and a tool of government, but also as a societal arrangement and as a key to progress. Thus, we would define progress in terms of the mastery by man of all of his environment—physical, technological, cultural and the resulting social arrangement through which the individual has opportunity for the continuity of his growth and evolution. This means, therefore, that he must live in a society where there is opportunity for all phases of the personality to develop. Democracy, therefore, becomes that specific societal arrangement which provides for this continuity of human evolution, which seeks what Professor Giddings used to call the superior mankind and the more adequate society. Manifestly, this is an all-inclusive comprehensive objective to be attained.

Now, in terms of the institutions we may indicate just how important this organic and natural relationship of the people and the institution is to democracy. To illustrate, we may point out that each one of the major institutions represents a form and function of the democratic process. This relationship may be made clearer by setting up a sort of logical arrangement of organic and functional relationships between the institutions and democracy, thus interpreting democracy in a sociological sense, as well as in the usual philosophical and political.

The family basic to organic democracy. To begin with, it is very clear that the home and family are basic to what we may call organic democracy. That is, unless the individual has been born or lives in a society into which he has been born well and has opportunity to grow up from childhood without physical handicap or disease or mental hazard, other measures of equal opportunity in the later years of life would amount to very little. Science and social science, working through ameliorative disciplines of social work and parenthood education, may contribute to this type of organic equality of opportunity. Subsequently, it will appear clear that each of the other institutions, and particularly government, will find a part of their functional service in such co-operation with the family as will contribute to its capacity to meet these organic needs. We anticipate, therefore, the general premise that if our arrangement of major institutions is sound and adequate, each will be closely interrelated and interdependent to each other and to all, and that the true democracy, therefore, is a democracy of opportunity for all institutions, as well as for all individuals.

Institutional democracy a key to the adequate society. Now continuing the functional relationship between institutions and democracy, it is easy to note, at least in the modern world, the key function of the school and edu-

cation is to give every individual an equal opportunity to receive the wisdom of the race and training, nurture and development, to the end that equal opportunity and the competitive struggle may obtain. This was true in primitive society in a different way, namely, that through the hard road of initiation and education it was assumed that every individual must go through the fundamental processes of nurture and training. In the modern world, particularly in American society, public education has been the keynote to later years of democratic ideals and legislation. Educational democracy, therefore, cannot be neglected without endangering all other aspects. In our chapter on culture and religion, the organic nature of religion and its universal application were pointed out.

In the long road of human evolution toward democracy, it has commonly been assumed that the ideal has been for a society which would respect the sanctity of the inner spirit and give freedom to spiritual expression and to worship. Here, again, in the American democracy, religious freedom was one of the first basic planks of the new world platform of liberty and opportunity. During the recent years of conflict of philosophies in the world more and more it has come to be assumed among leaders that the right for religious freedom is a synonym for the right for all freedom and, therefore, religious democracy is a continuing essential for all democracy. So, too, we need only to review our chapter on the relation of work to culture to note its organic relationship to the individual and society, and especially in the modern world to note the increasing balance of power which industrial democracy has acquired. The right to work under circumstances and conditions approximating equality of opportunity has cumulatively become an index of democracy in the modern world of machines and technology. Industrial democracy means now not what it did a few years ago, namely, just representation of the workers, but a broader organic relationship to all the processes of production and consumption. Industrial democracy, therefore, is an essential element.

Social democracy. In the organic background of personality and the individual and in the fundamental opportunities for association with equals, the community has an important function in guaranteeing, so far as possible, what we may call social democracy. In the earlier development of society, before priorities and aristocracies grew up, equality of association by might or power or strength or survival were assumed. In the later development of societies caste and class became a key societal force, such that discrimination became an index of lack of democracy. In such later societies as the United States, the same cycle of equality and special privilege has developed, but in any case the American principle was that in

the good society there would be no classes. Social democracy in the modern world, therefore, is still a key to all democracy, and the institution of community and our great associational, recreational processes are fundamental.

Political democracy. Finally, political democracy must be created as the chiefest of all functional aspects of democracy. This is true both because democracy itself, in addition to being a societal arrangement, must become a form of government with certain sovereignty inherent. It is true also because the state or government represents the original, voluntary covenanting together of the people, with this covenanting resulting subsequently in sovereignty or the enforcement of covenants. Hence, the right of the individual to a part in the covenant and in the governing becomes a supreme elemental factor in an organic democracy. So much is this true that the focus of the modern world crisis has commonly been assumed to be the right of the people versus the dominance of a totalitarian institution in which the individual does not have rights or freedom. It must be clear, therefore, that the institutions reflect the supreme organic relationship of men to their environment and cultural conditioning as cultures have developed. It must be clear also that the role of institutions in a world threatening the balance and equilibrium among individuals and between society and environment is increasingly important. If these organic bases of development and evolution are to be continued, it must be clear that society must continue to strengthen and adapt and adjust its great institutions as a more effective buffer between the individual and change. Thus, the institutions appear doubly important; namely, in the backward look as we undertake to explain how societies grow, and in the forward look as we seek to project a continuing society, maintaining survival values.

The institutions in contemporary civilization. When we turn to the relation of the institutions to civilization as opposed to earlier cultures, it becomes clear that we must examine them with a view to the later developments of society, although keeping in mind those elemental values which appear to be necessary for the survival of society. Immediately, the student may examine the institutions of modern society on a twofold basis. One is that they are increasingly important on the premise which we have stated. The other premise, however, would be that the standard, major institutions which we have catalogued, under the premises and actions of a totalitarian super-institution of the state and government, would have a decreasing role in the total conditioning and control of society. Here, again, we should need only to recapitulate the origin, nature, and functions of the several institutions and to have a single institution, such as the state, incor-

porate the larger number of functions of all institutions. In this case, we should need to apply considerable research and study and to develop a new science of institutional arrangements which can adequately meet the apparent advantages of totalitarian society.

Thus, the functions of the family and the home in the modern complex world, with new divisions of labor and new inventions, already have been greatly reduced in terms of the earlier primary functions of the family which are relegated to governmental power. In some experimental societies of late and in many earlier primitive societies, as well as in such civilized groups as the Spartans, the family, its women, its children, its work have been part and parcel of the governmental procedure and property. The school and education become primarily tools to carry out the major functions of a totalitarian state, and to a great extent science becomes a science of special ends and purposes of the particular state. Even more in the totalitarian order, religion and religious freedom are under the control of the super-institution, while industry, work, and the economic order are synonymous with the governmental order. Manifestly, therefore, the community and its associations are all susceptible, within the larger framework of totalitarianism, to manipulation and control, such as would negate any genuine liberty and freedom.

The institutions of democracy contrasted with those of totalitarian society. Thus it is possible to make measuring scales of the development of the institutions and their functions for the purpose of preparing a societal arrangement known as democracy with other societal arrangements known as fascism or communism or socialism or special capitalism. So, too, in the historical order of political arrangement the institutions and their services might well be made measuring scales for earlier forms of government, such as the aristocracy, the oligarchy, the monarchy, the theocracy, the plutocracy, and the other long list of voluntary forms of experiment in the art of government. In substance, democracy features all the institutions while totalitarian society features only one, government. Democracy reflects balance and equilibrium between all values and interests while totalitarianism features control and standardization.

Sociology studies institutions anew. Enough has been said to indicate the sociological approach to the study of institutions and to point out their organic relationships to the on-goings of society. In so far as they are appraised one way or another, the appraisal is one of values placed by society on the long road of its folkways, mores, of trial and error. The appraisal may go further in challenging the new society with its modern technicways to focus upon rearrangements of the institutional order or else the strength-

ening of those orders to meet social change. In any case, the institutions are a powerful documentary source for the understanding of society, and they represent the framework upon which new starting points for social planning may be made. It must be clear, therefore, that in all of this the fortunes of the individual are still at stake, and that the role of the institutions as a buffer between the individual and change is still important. The sociologist gathering his cases and his statistics and in particular studying the struggles of the modern institutions for effectiveness and survival may well conclude that every crisis of the institutions becomes really the crisis of the individual. This is true for several reasons, but in particular in the struggle of each institution for its own survival, sometimes as ends instead of means. The individual is more and more lost in the great conflict, so that the primary functions of the institutions are being neglected. Consequently, there is an abundance of pathology and maladjustment.

Institutions in the contemporary world often struggle over their own existence, rather than to serve the individual. We may examine this general premise by noting the struggle for survival and effectiveness in most of the institutions of the modern world. Frankly and openly, many of the students of society, many of the publicists, many of the professional folk in the several fields of each of the institutions are raising grave questions about the survival of their own institutions. Thus many have questioned the stability of the family and have sought to find satisfactory adjustments in the changing mores of marriage and sex. So, too, the church in its struggle for maintenance and power has commonly been appraised as failing in its survival as an ecclesiastical organization. In totalitarian governments, religion and the church have been questioned with such profound action as to give grave doubts of their survival. Capitalism, industry, labor, organization, agriculture, and the whole range of the institution of industry have been going through such crises as once again to leave the individual in the lurch. In the modern world the whole public opinion has questioned the success of education and finally and most important the very foundations of government itself, in particular democracy, are being questioned with the alternative assumption of a new order of compulsion among men. These aspects of institutions in relation to the modern world situation are of the utmost basic importance in our subsequent inquiry in the next division as to the nature of modern civilization and its contrast with societal culture in its rich and survival sense. From this viewpoint, the sociologist will seek an explanation of future society also somewhat in terms of the new balance between and among these institutions and the people.

Perhaps there is no society in the world today and perhaps none recorded in history in which the common-sense realistic application of the institutional order to culture would be better illustrated than in the society of the United States in its democratic order. For here the story of American life is the story of all the institutions and their development in a frontier society. Basic, first of all, was the institution of religion and allegiance to divine power, which in the earlier days assumed the fundamental institutions of the monogamic family and the institution of law-abiding citizenship and obedience to the sovereignty of the democratic state. These were fundamental in the organic structure and function of early American society. Close to these and basic along with them were the institutions of work and industry and the social democracy of the community, in which aristocracy of work was to be the measure of the individual and of opportunity, and over and above it all was the covenanting together for the better ordering of the society which culminated in the democratic state with its great preamble of freedom, liberty, and equality of opportunity, and its subsequent constitution for the guaranteeing of these functions.

"Americanism" as symbol of institutional order. It was through the balance and equilibrium and the comprehensive functioning of these institutions that the early American character with its individualism and its ambition to master a new world grew up. Basic to all the earlier American culture were the institutions: not one, not two, not three, but all of them. Basic to the opportunity for growth and development and freedom of the individual was the philosophy of government, which held that government itself was only one of the great institutions and must, if it was good government, aid and abet and make possible the living reality of the other institutions.

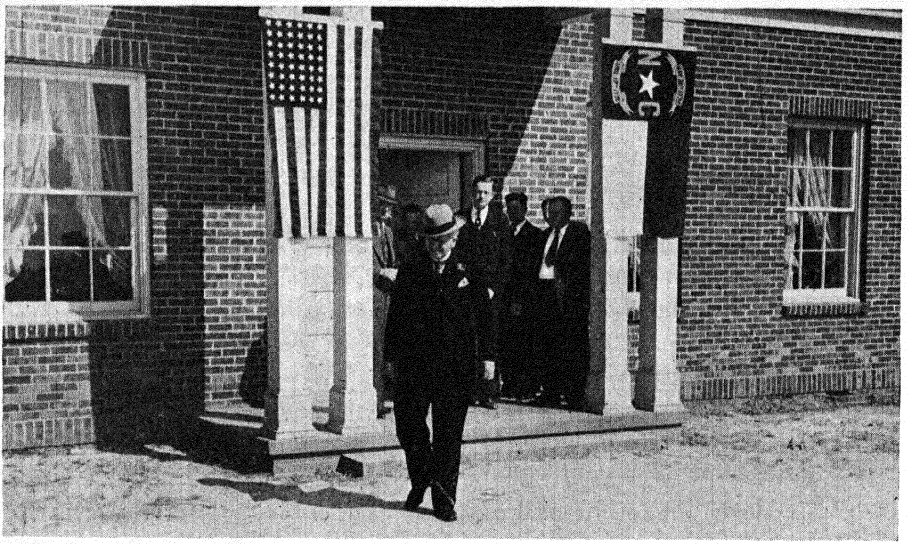
Now the story of America, then, is the story of the family, of the development of wealth and of increasing education, of the little red schoolhouse and its miraculous development into the great public school system and the universities; of the simple work of agriculture and the storekeeper and artisan; and the multiple activities of the thousand types of work and billions of dollars in wealth. The story of America is the story of the capitalistic system, in which economic opportunity was considered one of the basic principles of freedom, and the later increasing services of government to guarantee that the economic institution of capitalism or industry did not deprive individuals of other institutional services.

Again, the story of America has been the story of the church and religion. The schoolhouse and the church and the farm and the home were the basic institutions around which centered the major force of earlier cultural development. Thousands of volumes have been written. Literature is rich in reality and fiction in portraiture of what these institutions have meant in the conditioning of American life.

The story of America has been the story of the little community and of the big community. Now, too, comes the story of modern urban America with its megalopolitan culture and its super-technological civilization, in which each of the institutions is not only changed, but is gradually being reconditioned and readapted through science and social science and through modern technicways of maladjustment to some sort of new societal order. Society in America is at present in the stage to challenge the sociologist to study the institutional arrangement of America with a view to next steps in the new order after the world cataclysm. We shall, however, study these questions more specifically in relation to our Part VI dealing with societal problems in the modern world.

Assignments and Questions

1. What situations in the modern world appear to contribute new factors to the discussion of institutions?
2. Give a half dozen general definitions of institutions in so far as these definitions will help to understand society in general.
3. We have listed six major institutions. William F. Ogburn omits the institution of the school and education leaving the other five, religion, the family, government, industry, and the community. What would be the justification of his omitting education?
4. Catalogue sub-institutional aspects of each of the six institutions, that is, such as money and exchange under industry and work; or language and research under education.
5. Discuss aspects in each of the six institutions which tend to make the institution an end in itself; or where over-specialization tends to defeat the main purpose of the institution.
6. What are some other categories of institutional classification? Some authors call language an institution; others specify money as an institution. Discuss.
7. Can you give illustrations where a too large ratio of energy is expended in the defense of the institution rather than in its services to the people?
8. Catalogue the principal changes in the family during the last half century. Would you venture prediction for the future?
9. Discuss changes and trends in industry and labor. Discuss the statement: Organized labor is the only institutional phase of American life where government does not have directive control.
10. From the viewpoint of social development, what was the significance of the increase in marriage rate among young people within the decade 1930–1940? What for the war period after 1940?
11. Contrast the American family with the Chinese family as a basic social institution.
12. Discuss changes in the folkways and stateways of the Russian family from the 1920's to the 1930's and subsequently from the 1930's to the 1940's. Were these changes the result of trial and error?
13 Discuss the phrase: "The institutions of a democratic society" and contrast with "The institutions of a totalitarian society."



The Institutional Side of Social Problems: Public Education and Public Health in Process

ABOVE: A governor has participated in the dedication of a Consolidated School in North Carolina. BELOW: A doctor helps the family in a program of public health work seeking to give all children an equal opportunity to grow up "well."

14. Discuss the assertion that government and education are the two most influential of all the institutions in the modern world.

15. From the viewpoint of sociology, does the school and education condition economic and social culture, or is education the creature of the culture of the people?

16. Is there a contradiction involved in the two points of view in this book? (1) That even in the most complex society, even in the most mechanized war in history, the individual is more important than ever; (2) That the more complex the society the more the institutions are needed. Explain and illustrate.

17. For special earlier American sociological discussions of institutions see: (1) Charles Horton Cooley: *Social Organization*, pages 313, 314, 319, 320, 322, 324, 325; *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pages 166; *Social Process*, pages 285–288, 355; *Sociological Theory and Social Research*, pages 318, 319; *Social Organization*, pages 140, 186. (2) William Graham Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, pages 5–6, 89–90, 267–268, 522, 1108, 1430, 2059, 2184.

18. For American sociological viewpoints on special institutions see: on the *Family*, William Graham Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, pages 419, 422, 425; Charles Horton Cooley, R. C. Angell, and L. J. Carr, *Introductory Sociology*, pages 416, 418, 419; Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*, pages 86, 88, 89, 96; Frank W. Blackmar and John L. Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, page 116; F. E. Lumley, *Principles of Sociology*, pages 242, 243; *Religion*, see Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pages 314, 315, 399, 400; *Social Organization*, pages 374, 376, 377, 380; Franklin H. Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, pages 10, 11; *Inductive Sociology*, page 122; *Civilization and Society*, page 90.

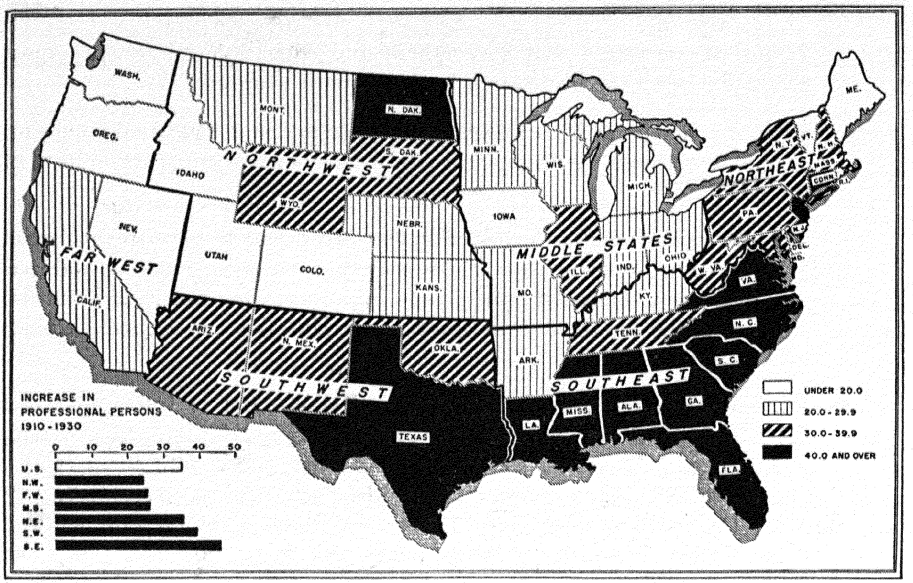
19. For other references on special institutions, see chapters in this book, treating problems of economic adjustment, industry and work, sex, art and recreation, education and the individual.

20. Discuss the changing functions of the several institutions: the family, the church, the school.

21. What is meant by the "stability" of an institution?

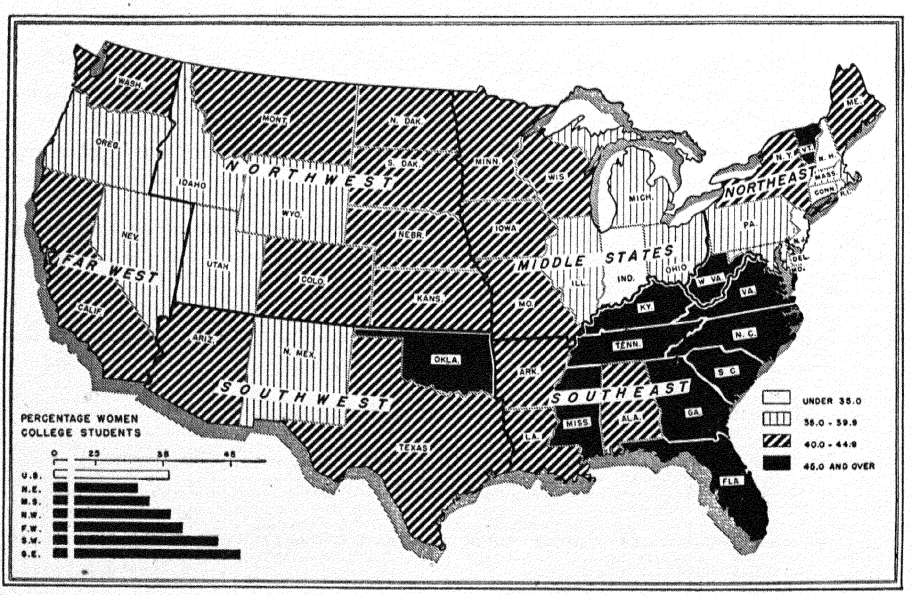
22. What do people mean when they say "the family is breaking up"? "Religion breaking down"? Or "the breakdown" of morals?

23. What institutions change most in the transition from rural culture to urban civilization?



Regional Changes in the Folk Society in the United States: Institutional Variations

How social change affects the regional cultures of the United States may be seen from ABOVE: Increase of professional persons in the South. BELOW: increase in the education of women



Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter XXII. An enumeration and discussion of the basic social institutions. Social organizations as they offer a structure for planning and integrating specific interest and action patterns of man. Institutions as they differ from and are related to the folkways and mores. A natural history of institutions.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XV. Social systems as they are an organization of ideas and represent many types of statuses and roles in society. Constant and variable elements in the make-up of all social institutions. The individual as he has to fit his activities into the systematic pattern behavior of his cultural group.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, pages 337, 375–387, 389–390, 400–415. The social institution as a relatively stable, uniform, and formal mechanism of societal behavior that can be used as an indicator of the fundamental characteristics of the folk. The specific social sciences as they use the social institution as a frame of reference for studying familial, sexual, kinship, religious, economic, and recreational associations of the individual and group.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, pages 268–273, 280–284, 433–435. The widespread effect of technology on the structure and functions of the social institution in modern society. The changed institutional concepts that have come about since the introduction of a mechanized economic system and urbanized social order.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, pages 3–12 and chapter VII. The city and an urbanized civilization as they represent the result of great cultural change. Urban family, educational, religious, recreational, and governmental activities as they differ from the institutional activities of the rural community. The social bases of the new metropolitan order.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter XVIII and pages 405–410. The institutions of the people in a changing American society. The social institution characterized as the buffer between the individual and his environment. The expansion of the institutional processes in an attempt to maintain the status of the institution rather than serve the people.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapters XIX, XXIII and pages 46–47. Institutions defined and described in relation to fundamental human functions, their persistency and interrelationship. Transfer of old functions and development of new characteristic of modern age. The effects of war and possibilities for the future, especially in governmental institutions.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, pages 7–9, 22–27, 143–145 and chapters XXIII and XXIV. A definition of the social institution and a study of the origin, development, and general characteristics of each of the basic institutions in

society. The institutional order as distinguished from the culture and society of a people. The role of institutional development in the processes of cultural evolution.

Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, pages 15, 34–36, 67–70, 76–77, 87–97, 107–111, 117, 171–172, 395–396, 628–629, 634–635. The mores as they give rise to the conceptual and structural formation of the social institution. The effect of the changing mores on the institutional and group life and the resultant conflicts within the cultural pattern.

Recent Social Trends, chapters VII, XIII, XVI, XX–XXV, XXVIII–XXIX. Institutions, developments of the mores into sanctioned forms of organization and control, can be studied as they exist in America, throughout these volumes. Education, the family, labor groups, religious organizations, health and medical care, crime and punishment, governmental functions, law and legal institutions, and government and society are treated.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Ballard, L. V., *Social Institutions;* Benedict, Ruth, *Patterns of Culture;* Chapin, F. Stuart, *Contemporary American Institutions;* Davies, G. R., *Social Environment;* De Koven, Anna, *Women in Cycles of Culture;* Dewey, John, *Freedom and Culture;* Dixon, Roland B., *The Building of Cultures;* Gesell, Arnold, and Ilg, Frances L., *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today;* Groves, Ernest R., *The American Woman;* Hobhouse, L. T., *Social Development;* Judd, Charles H., *The Psychology of Social Institutions;* Kirkpatrick, Clifford, *Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life;* Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man;* Panunzio, Constantine, *Major Social Institutions;* Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Social and Cultural Dynamics;* Sprague, William F., *Women and the West;* Turner, Frederick Jackson, *The Frontier in American History.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Point out how there have grown up around each of the major institutions special organizations for service or defense or promotion. Can you illustrate with organizations which might seem to illustrate the saying of William James that most institutions, by the nature of their specialized functions and organizations, ultimately defeat the purpose for which they were established?
2. Catalogue agencies and organizations in America devoted to minor divisions of institutional concern: relating to money — relating to language — relating to conservation — and many others.
3. Describe the program of the Family Welfare Association of America.

4. Compare the work of the Child Welfare League of America and the National Child Welfare Association.
5. What was the National Youth Administration?
6. Describe the work of the American Home Economics Association.
7. Catalogue the national associations dealing with Housing. See pages 742–743, *Social Work Year Book*, 1943.
8. Describe the work of the National Education Association.
9. Describe the program of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
10. What is the Public Administration Clearing House?
11. Describe the work of the National Association of Manufacturers.
12. Describe the work of the Civil Liberties Defense League.
13. Catalogue other national action agencies dealing with freedom of the individual or minority groups.
14. What are international organizations for institutional action?
15. What is the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?
16. What is the American Russian Institute?

14

Folk Culture and Folk Society

The folk society is the definitive human society. In previous chapters we have pointed out that the folkways and the mores go a long way toward comprehending the whole range of elemental factors and socializing forces which make up early culture, exclusive of what is often called "material culture." Subsequently, we have pointed out how the social institutions, which are products of folk-socializing forces, represent perhaps more than anything else the universal societal arrangement for order and control. We anticipate the further explanation of these assumptions by pointing out that the sum total of all the elemental processes and products of culture, which have been studied in Part III, constitute the folk culture which is the definitive, basic culture from which all advanced cultures and civilizations grow. This folk culture, as the supreme product of the folk society, re-emphasizes the folk society as the basis from which all societies develop.

We must recall here the distinction between "society" and "culture." The terms are used coordinately but not synonymously. Society is the over-all frame-work within which culture grows. The people *plus* the natural environment are the physical basis of a society which comprehends, *then*, the total of associational processes, organizations, and relations. Culture is the cumulative processes and products of the societal achievement and denotes the quality of a society. Thus, finally: the folk culture is the achievement of the folk society, just as the state civilization is the cultural achievement of the Technological State Society. And the *folk* is the constant element for bridging the distance between the two. And we recall that the folk quality coexists in all societies with the cultures of cities and Technology. Sometimes it is the folk society within the state society; sometimes it is the folk quality in the heritage of the people.

So elemental and organic, and at the same time so comprehensive, is folk culture that we have suggested a more liberal use of the term *folk* as a substitute for *race* wherever the word is so generally misused, and so variable and indefinite in specific applications. Many traits ascribed to race are attributes of the folk. Some societies labeled as races are more nearly folk societies, naturally and logically so conditioned by their setting in geography and time. A notable example of the folk society commonly confused with race is the culture of the Jews. Another notorious example of a powerful folk society is the German people who, especially under Nazism, claimed to be a superrace.

The nature of the folk. We have characterized the folk as a universal constant in a world of variables. This means that the folk survive as basic elements of new cultures; remnants of old. There is no record anywhere of human society perishing from the earth. When old civilizations, such as that of Greece and Rome, pass away new cultures arise from the folk. This means that the folk reflect a natural product of the interaction of people and environment and of the interaction of people with people. The folk represent not just the people, not just population, but the people who, integrated through various units within a regional culture are inseparable from the regional environment which has produced them. In complex modern society, the folk represent the dominating pattern of the behavior and culture of any particular society in question. The folk may be said to approximate the homogeneity of traits and the unity of behavior which would result in strong attitudes and loyalties, pronounced opinions, or mass action, in the setting of the primary institutions and natural ideologies.

The folk society as natural in contrast to civilization as technical. In order to give contrast of meaning, we again re-emphasize the basic distinction between the folk society and the state society, between the folkways and the stateways, between the folk society and culture, on the one hand, and the state society and civilization, on the other. This means that the differences between culture and civilization are fundamental. Culture and civilization are not synonymous, although civilization is always a part of culture, approximating the most advanced stage of culture, representing the maximum achievements of industry, the state, centralization and power; the city, technology and intellectualism. To continue our procedure of pointing up the relation of each of our subjects to nature, we may point out that culture is essentially natural in contradistinction to civilization, which is artificial in terms of definite meanings which we shall use. Culture as a product and a part of the folk is as natural as the physical environment and the regional habitat in which each folk-regional society evolves. Cul-

ture is natural in the sense that no society has ever developed without its distinctive folk culture, as a product of the relationship between the folk and the physical environment. Culture is again natural in the sense that it is a distinctive and universal trait of all human society. Once again, the folk culture is natural in the sense that race is natural and in the sense that "human nature" is natural.

The folk are natural. We say that the people in isolated areas are natural and free. We speak of them as behaving naturally. We think of them as close to nature. We think of them as learning from nature and communing with nature. We follow their religion, magic, and superstitions, fabricated out of nature and the search for truth. We think of the folk as one integrated, relatively homogeneous society as contrasted to the heterogeneity of people in the cities or under superorganization of totalitarian civilization. We think of the folk as having a quality of inner consistency and unity, of spiritual and religious motivation, in contrast to the more individualistic behavior of individuals in the larger cities, on the one hand, or of their regimented behavior in the case of the most advanced totalitarian countries. The contrasts between folk culture and civilization, between the natural and the technical, are further illustrated in the several institutions, such as family life, religion, education, industry, and the community, in contrast to a single dominating institution, the state.

Civilization and state society. If we seek to understand the culture of the folk in contrast to the civilization of the states as synonymous with the most advanced culture, there are a number of distinguishing traits. In the first place, civilization is the essence of the state. As Giddings pointed out long ago, civilization begins where political organization transcends the ethnic of folk integration. *Civis*, the civic, became the cornerstone of what was later to be civilization. Indeed, if we seek to characterize civilization in a single term comparable to the folk society, it is the state society. How organically true this is may be sensed from the spectacle of a world in which civilization is threatening to destroy society itself. This was civilization. This is civilization. This is the essence of the superstate, a totalitarian machine transcending the folk culture and enslaving the folk. We shall see later that this concept of civilization applies more or less to the final stages of the seven great cultures or civilizations of the ancient world.

Civilization is urban. In the next place, as contrasted with folk culture civilization is synonymous with urbanism and with the universal trend toward megalopolitan culture. The city represents the constituent society seeking specific ends not related to the natural functions of the folk and their institutions or to the reproduction of the race. The city represents the

specialized, technological, artificial functions of economic co-operation, of defense, of art, of leisure, of science, of concentration of wealth, of people. The city represents the secondary occupations as opposed to the primary occupations dealing with nature and making a living directly from nature's resources. The people in the cities are "civilized" and the ones in the rural districts are not "civilized." Comfort, convenience, the art of eating, drinking, and playing; commerce and industry, transportation and rapid communication, all distinguish civilization from the earlier natural folk cultures. No implication of evaluating the inferior or superior attributes of civilization or culture is intended here, but merely their characterizations in terms of societal development.

Civilization is technological. In the third place, civilization may be interpreted as synonymous with technology. Technology is all-comprehensive in the modern day. It comprehends science and invention, which, through the use of invested capital, has brought such comfort, convenience, leisure, and happiness to people of the modern world as to characterize them as enjoying the advantages of civilization. Technology includes not only science and invention but centralized power and the accelerated tempo of the modern world. Technology includes organization, management, propaganda, communications, and as part of the technological world modern industry with its scientific research and its machines, including mechanized agriculture, it assumes a leading role in civilization. Symbol of technology in terms of behavior and societal processes are the technicways of modern civilization in contrast to the folkways and mores of folk society.

Civilization is intellectual. In the fourth place, the folk society may be characterized as being nearly the opposite of formal intellectualism which seeks progress through overspecialized technical means. Civilization is essentially scientific and intellectual in that science tends to be the chief means of attaining specialized ends in a framework set up by intellectual leaders. This often results in the intellectual, which is only a part of the human, tending to become the whole. It ignores the total Gestalt, or all-sided, culture of nature, the emotions, and the intellect, which alone can develop the realistic individually-socially equipped personality necessary to the enduring society. That is, man neither lives nor survives by intellect or mind alone but by the full exercise of the whole man. The state society as synonymous with civilization is essentially specialized and stems from the intellectual. That is, the state society in contradistinction to the folk society is that society which is primarily organizational and, in the modern world, technological in the sense in which we have characterized technology.

Civilization is concentration and power. In the fifth place, a chief trait of all civilizations has been concentration and power. How this was true of earlier civilizations will be illustrated presently. In the modern world one of the most powerful of all trends has been toward centralization and the resulting political, economic and social phenomena of power. The two main aspects of this trend are clearly in the fields of government and economics. On the one hand there is the trend toward totalitarianism which we have already described and on the other, the trend toward large scale economic production and organization and the consequent corporation products. Even in such socialistic economies as that of Russia, there is the admitted sanction of the use of technology and large scale production under the dictation of the state. These trends inevitably point toward a major dilemma of civilization which will be reflected in the struggle between government and business. All of this is in contrast to the folk society.

Civilization is artificial. Finally, in order to make the meaning of the folk society a little clearer, we may continue to contrast it with the state society by elaborating on the distinction between the folk society as the natural society and the state society as the artificial society. Here again we must boldly assume our postulates in the face of the oft-repeated assertions that it is difficult to identify the marginal lines between the natural and the artificial. It is possible, however, to give quite satisfactory preliminary definitions which are sufficient for further examination of the postulates. Thus, the primary occupations — agriculture, hunting, fishing, lumbering, mining — are "natural" occupations in contrast to the fields of commerce, industry, transportation, communications, and the professions, which have given rise to several hundred new ways of earning a living. Or in the development of agriculture and mining, the animate power of man and beast represents the "natural" primary occupation as opposed to the machine mass processes of later development. The subsistence farm stands in contrast to commercial farming. So, too, the rural is primary and natural as compared to the urban, which is secondary and technical, if the latter is measured in terms of societal evolution from the first stages of the metal and industrial ages.

What is natural? It is possible to posit as natural certain elemental factors that are everywhere constant in early societies. Some of these processes center around sex, food, struggle, conflict, work, children, women; or the list might be limited to such completely elemental classifications as Wissler's nine culture traits; or the Sumner-Keller fundamentals of food, sex, magic, ornamentation; or to such analogies as the Sumner-

Keller postulate that the study of custom is for a science of society what the study of a cell is to biology, in which case custom is the natural as opposed to the formal institutions and stateways. Conception is a natural process. When technical methods of fertilization are used, as in artifical insemination in livestock-breeding, or if and when science should discover ways of creating life in the test tube, then this would be the artificial as opposed to the natural, and would modify the whole realm of human behavior and human values. Or, again, a society in which the women of child-bearing age regularly have children, such that it reproduces itself, is a natural society; those groups which do not reproduce are not "natural." There are already many trends growing up in the field of sex relations which illustrate this distinction and which already are influencing the processes and rate of cultural change.

The "natural" sciences, the "technical" sciences. As indicative of the methodology which will be needed to explore these premises further, we may find another illustration in the sciences. What are called the basic sciences — astronomy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology — may readily be termed *natural*, while the thirty or more derivative and applied sciences may be termed the *technical*, as may many applications of technology and the social sciences. That is to say simply that there is a distinction between the basic and the applied sciences. The applied sciences constitute the basis for the artificial and technological. So, too, the social sciences can be contrasted to the natural sciences.

Theoretical analogies. If we seek illustrative definitions from the social theorists, we need go no further than Herbert Spencer's formula "from the homogeneity and indefiniteness of non-organization to the heterogeneity and definiteness of organization," which is the perfect analogy for contrasting early ethnic society with current technological society. So, too, Franklin H. Giddings' "consciousness of kind" as natural, is opposed to "mutual aid" of co-operation as derivative development. So, too, his postulate was that democracy, or the integrated orderly rule of the people, must vary directly as the natural homogeneity of the people, whereas strong organizational and authoritarian society is necessary for the very heterogeneous society which must have state technicways superimposed from above if order is to be achieved. If we seek further support from Giddings' postulates, there are his "component societies" over against his "constituent societies," a very fine and clear distinction; his "genetic" societies over against his "special" societies; his kinship groups over and against his civil societies; his regional sustentation area and circumstantial pressure over and against his social pressure.

Informal culture in contrast to organizational society. There are the earlier kinship, tribe, clan, and political groupings as contrasted with the many forms of the modern state — democracy, fascism, communism, socialism. There are the folkways of freedom and the later stateways of civil liberty, religious liberty, political liberty, individual liberty. There are magic and nature worship and there are the later "churches" and formal religion — natural worship transcended by ecclesiastical ritual, church laws, and disciplinary regulations. There is the early communal education and the later formal educational system. There are the frontier cultures and the later developed civilizations. There is, of course, the original burden of Comte's major objective "to discover the natural causes and natural laws of society," still an important aim of social study. There is Ludwig Gumplowicz's postulate, that conflict, amalgamation, and assimilation among heterogeneous ethnic groups constitute the elemental natural forces. There is Gabriel Tarde's concept of imitation as the natural transmission of impulse, feeling, and the idea from individual to individual, from group to group, from generation to generation, in distinction to the great mass technicways of radio communication.

There is much of politico-philosophical theory. Jeremy Bentham's natural society over and against his political society is an example. The finely wrought theories of the state by such scholars as M. J. A. de Condorcet are capable of answering such questions as "When is society the state and when is it not?", which are basic to the distinction between the folkways and the stateways.

Natural rights and natural law have a distinguished heritage. Then there is the great body of speculation concerning natural law, natural rights, naturalism, in which alone can be found an excellent rationalization of the concepts of natural *versus* artificial, folk *versus* state. Thus the doctrine of natural rights, so solidly rooted in human experience, posited the natural as the universal, the "golden mean" as opposed to the particular, the accidental, the excessive. Natural law was grounded "in the innermost nature of man or of society, independent of convention, legislation or other institutional devices." Again, as used in the sciences, "natural" is the normal contrasted with the pathological, or "the spontaneous and unconscious flow of life as opposed to that which is artificial." So, too, Rousseau's natural man is set over against the artificial man of civilization. There is, finally, the folk psychology of Wilhelm Wundt, a social psychology capable of forming a complete framework for the study of folk sociology. Wundt's folk psychology comprehends a long catalogue of backgrounds and composite "community" mental and social products not demonstrable in the labora-

tory or accessible to quick experimental methods. And there is, of course, the great body of data from cultural anthropology such as the folk societies contrasted with civilization by A. L. Kroeber, Clark Wissler, Ruth Benedict, and others; or the primitive societies described by Bronislaw Malinowski, Margaret Mead, Robert Redfield, Richard Thurnwald, and other anthropologists.

Folk society and folk sociology. These illustrations are sufficient both to indicate the meaning of the terms *folk society* and *natural society* and to emphasize the importance of folk sociology as a major field in which new inquiries must be made. They are enough to emphasize the fact that the unit of study is not the *socius*, or the socially behaving individual, but the folk group, the folk mass, the folk-regional society, which also involves a new science of the region as an illustration of cultural determinism. These, of course, are always posited in contradistinction to the organizational, technological stages of societal development.

Folk sociology also is the study of transitional society as the natural definitive society, whether this transition is of the older, slow-moving sort or whether it is being accelerated by technology. Thus, folk societies may abound in any stage of culture or civilization whenever the major conditioning factors are extraorganizational or when a synergy of conflicting forces and processes results in an integrated transitional society; the transition is marked by change from one state of culture to another, from individual and primary group development to social organization, or from the "paths of individual development" to "the process of cultural evolution." How practical such theory is in its application to modern society can be seen in the current dilemma of the masses paradoxically struggling against the forces of modern technology and the apparently equally critical forces of bigness and speed. Society has apparently been able neither to explain the powerful mass revolt of people with their nonrational and nonlogical actions nor to cope with it through government, in local and world crises.

FOLK CULTURES AND PAST CIVILIZATIONS

Whatever great diversities were found in the great cultures and civilizations of the past, there was almost universal uniformity in the final stages of these civilizations. That is, they were characterized by some form of the state society exercising its dominance through political and military power. This power, even as in the modern world, was approximately synonymous with each civilization at its most advanced stage. In exploring these civilizations, in addition to substantiating the general premise of the meaning of

civilization versus folk culture, we note an even more impressive evidence — the vitality of the people in the earlier days of a culture.

The cultures commonly designated as the great civilizations of the past include the Egyptian, the Babylonian-Assyrian, the Persian, the classical Greek and the Hellenistic, the Roman, and the less well-known but brilliant Minoan, Aegean, and Sumerian, together with still other minor civilizations, commonly designated as the Hittite, the Philistine, and the Lydian. A study of all these reveals an extraordinarily consistent similarity in the rise, climax, and decline of each nation from its folk culture to its civilization. The pattern of the rise and fall of these civilizations may be characterized in three ways in order to point up the contrast between the folk society and the state society. The first of these characterizations is that of Oswald Spengler, a part of the thesis of his prophetic *Decline of the West*, yet in nowise satisfactory as a scientific explanation of the rise or the decay of cultures or civilizations. The second characterization is found through general historical inquiry into the cultures of these civilizations to see what elements are constant in all. The third characterization may be stated in terms of certain sociological axioms, having to do with the capacity of the folk and their institutions and of the conflict of folkways and stateways.

The Spengler natural cycle of culture. Spengler's prophetic diagnosis of modern civilization is first of all one of the distinguished cycle theories of culture and civilization. All cultures, he wrote, go through analogical stages of nature's seasons. There is a springtime culture, a summer of development, an autumn of reaping, and a winter of decline. Moreover, cultures conform to another organic analogy of nature. First, there is childhood and youth, then middle age, then maturity, then old age and decline. Again symbolic of this cyclical rise and fall, each great civilization progresses through the rural and agricultural, through village and industrial, to urban and technological. In all of these stages, the contrast between the earlier stages of culture and the later stages of civilization is consistent: machines take the place of men, the state takes the place of the folk, the city takes the place of the country, money takes the place of value, and power takes the place of popular sovereignty. The comparisons between the older civilizations and modern civilization, Spengler points out, are all too clear, since the modern world has already reached the advanced stages of civilization — urbanism, technology, power. Spengler's use of the word *contemporary* made the comparison striking. To Spengler, New York as the most advanced stage of American civilization is contemporary with Rome at its height, or with Athens in the heyday of its glory. Paris is contemporary with Babylon; Vienna with Nineveh. On these premises the decay of mod-

ern civilization is already well under way. Since Spengler published *The Decline of the West* in the early twenties, the movement of events in Europe has accelerated the rate of his prediction until much of it now appears as fulfilled prophecy.

A uniform trend from the folk culture to civilization. The sociologist does not need to accept Spengler's analogies as accurate, comprehensive, or scientific, in order to sense the realistic nature of his analogy and the historical accuracy of his analysis. An examination of the great civilizations, based upon secondary sources of the authentic historians, indicates certain uniform and constant elements or characteristics which were present in each. In the first place, each great civilization had its beginning in a strong virile folk society, closely integrated and loosely organized in relation to the geographic regions from which it sprang. From this folk society each civilization expanded its dominion, widened its horizon, flourished, reached its zenith, and then passed from the scene. The fact that the length of the period of decay and disintegration varied gives a broader basis upon which to test the hypotheses.

Passing over the gradual evolution of the folk society and the folk culture into a widening civilization, always culminating in the dominance of power accelerated by the state through political and economic extremes, two universal sources of decay are uniform, one internal and the other pressure and conquest from external forces. Perhaps there were a half-dozen character traits of internal weakness — overexpansion; the incorporation of too many subject peoples; internal dissension and civil war; the widening of the chasm between the rich and the poor; superorganization, crystallization, and the loss of purpose and motivation; and finally, the exhaustion of both spiritual and physical vitality. External conquest was relatively easy when attacking people, whether barbaric hordes or more civilized peoples, had the superior strength to overcome a weakened civilization. Let us examine some of these sources of decline because of their basic significance to an understanding of society. These explanations are assumptions of historians and must be considered as partial explanations only and as premises for study of the theory of marginal survival from folk culture to state civilization.

CAUSES OF DECLINE OF FOLK SOCIETIES

Overexpansion. Imperialism offers many attractions to a growing civilization, but an outstanding cause of decline is overexpansion. We find this true of ancient Egypt; it was true of imperial Rome. There are historians who feel that the sending of the Athenian fleet to Sicily so crippled

the Athenian Empire that she could not regain her former strength; in this can be found the explanation that no Greek city-state was sufficiently strong to withstand the advances of Philip and Alexander. In other words, the desire for new lands, new adventures, and new power so weakens the resources of a civilization that, when external danger threatens, she is often helpless to defend herself.

Heterogeneity of cultures. So closely allied with overexpansion as to be almost a corollary is the matter of subject peoples. For one thing, in overexpansion there is danger that the quality of the culture will be diluted. People of different, widely varying cultures are brought within the circle too rapidly to assimilate the civilization of the conquerors. Politically, subject peoples are always liable to revolt at the most critical time. Even when they are prosperous, subject peoples cannot be trusted, and they have proved a menace to the security of their conquerors. Subject peoples particularly brought about the downfall of Assyrian supremacy, and, in a different way, that of Rome, for undoubtedly at the time of the fall, Roman civilization had already been barbarized from within. The fantastic sweep of Hitler's world empire early drowned the German folk society that might have surprised the world by its strength had it been kept within bounds.

Civil war. But, even more than subject peoples, civil wars tend to undermine civilizations. The best example in ancient history of the harm that internal dissensions can do is, of course, the Greek city-states. Continual wars among themselves eventually proved their doom. To a lesser extent, civil wars played their part in the decadence of Egyptian, Persian, and Roman civilizations. Civil war also is an index of the lack of homogeneity and unity which sometimes come from the integration of diverse elements.

Exploitation and civilization. Somehow, too, as the past nations and empires extended their boundaries and developed industrially and commercially, the chasm between the rich and the poor widened. And this appears to have been a tendency in every civilization whose history has been traced. As early as 2700 B.C. we read of Urukinga endeavoring to introduce reforms in order to rescue the various classes and thus save the state — but the reforms came too late. The same cry is heard in third-century Rome. Unquestionably a state is more healthy and a culture more creative when too wide a gulf does not exist between the rich and the poor. Inevitably, such separation leads to the dominance of one class or group. In Egypt it was the priestly class, in Rome the aristocratic. The result was the same: the upper class became arrogant and the lower subservient;

and neither attitude is conducive to cultural development, or the building of a great empire.

What happens when there is no new folk blood? The word crystallization is used to denote that period in the history of a people when, for some reason — nobody seems to know just why — all creative ability is exhausted. This creative ability applies to the birth rate of the upper brackets of society as well as to stereotyped hedonism. Art then becomes stereotyped. Conventionalism takes the place of new ideas. There is a tendency for each man to follow in the footsteps of his progenitors. Opportunity to rise is lacking. Perhaps a caste system rises, or a highly complicated bureaucracy, or perhaps a sterile formalism of the intelligentsia. It is apparent that Egypt passed through this stage before her eventual downfall; but it is not quite so obvious that the same state of affairs existed during the later period of the Roman Empire. And perhaps it is even less known that signs of crystallization can be found in the art of that earlier Greek civilization, the Aegean. Yet Greek culture at its best was based upon the assumptions of folk slavery. For a civilization to remain alive and grow there must be some way for new blood and new ideas to be infused into it.

Another cause which is sometimes listed as exhaustion of vigor and virility, at others as decline of morale, is rather difficult to explain. But perhaps an example will clarify its meaning. In third-century Rome, there is no evidence to show that the people had deteriorated physically or morally. And, strangely enough, there is not even evidence that material prosperity had declined. It is true that her wealth was very unevenly divided and some of her population were dependent upon charity for a livelihood, but her resources had not even been tapped. Yet a feeling of futility had grasped the people, and the old spirit which had caused the ancient Romans to hold back the attack of Hannibal, and for twelve years to endure the presence of a foreign foe on their soil, and had given them the courage to turn defeat into victory again and again was gone. Somewhere, somehow, Rome had lost her nerve. Call it artificiality, if you will, but it is undoubtedly true that when a people have lost confidence in themselves and their future, their days are numbered. Egypt, it has been said, became a body without a soul ere the end of her civilization came. Fustel de Coulanges in *The Ancient City* calls it spiritual decline and says that is the explanation of the fall of Rome. Certainly, he is partly right. And the same could be said for the rest of the civilizations which have passed.

External conquest and internal weakness. Turning from internal causes of the decline of nations and civilizations, we discover that there is not a civilization which has passed from history but that can produce an external

explanation for her extinction. Barbarian hordes from the north brought an end to the Aegean civilization; the same was true for the Sumerian. Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Philistines, and Hittites all had their share in the downfall of Egypt. Babylonian-Assyrian culture fell before the advance of Persia; and Persia could not withstand the advance of the Macedonian phalanx, and neither could the Greek city-states; the rise of Rome brought an end to the Hellenistic period and the advance of the Teutonic hordes spelled the doom of Rome. In spite of all this, historians agree that internal decadence, in every great civilization, has preceded external aggressions. And, they point out, each of the civilizations in the days of its greatness and glory could have withstood the foe who brought about the end.

Axioms of survival value. It seems probable that the sociologist may find a much better explanation of this cyclical rise and fall of cultures and civilizations than Spengler's theories in an axiom which may be stated as a sound premise upon which continued evidence may be sought to prove or disprove. If in the disintegration of these great civilizations there is a single constant law or axiom, it might be stated somewhat as follows: whenever the demands of an artificial society or of supertechnology exceed the capacity of the folk and their institutions or of an organism of any sort to adapt, adjust, or absorb, there is tension, strain, weakness, disintegration, and, if reinforcements are not brought into the societal devclopment, decay and disintegration. In the advanced cultures, the comprehensive demands of civilization inevitably exceeded the capacity of the folk, so that, as in the story of the goose and the golden egg, civilization itself used up the basic reserves of its own powers to survive. The notable modern example is that of Hitler's Germany and its overweening demands.

FOLK SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES

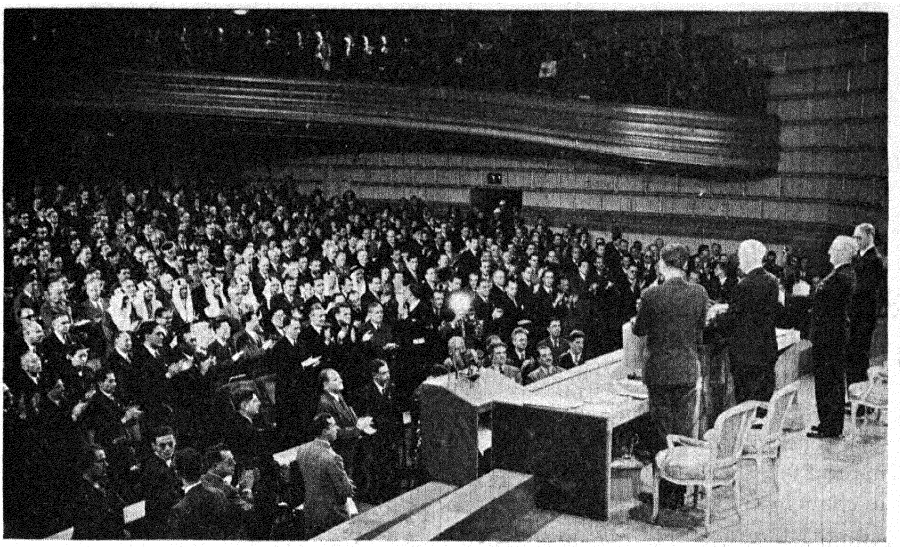
When we turn to the culture and civilization of the United States, there is little need to recapitulate or to do more than to point out the nature of the folk society of earlier America and the rapidly advancing civilization of America today. Since the contemporary scene will be appraised in our discussion of problems and trends, it is necessary here only to anticipate. We may do this simply in two ways, first, with reference to the American Indian. His folk society was symbolic of the evolution of primitive culture in many ways and recapitulated those early societal forces which contributed to the development of earlier human societies. In the second place, with reference to the Indian society, we need only recall the popular and

universal explanation that the Indian culture could not stand up under the test of modern civilization. This was true for two reasons. One was that the too rapid acceleration of the evolution of primitive society into what was commonly called the civilization of the white man was too great a strain on the Indian folk culture and the folk society, and it perished more quickly than the older cultures and without going through the complete cycle of maturity, urbanism, and civilization. In still another way the American Indian's culture could not survive civilization because of the ruthless exploitation and destruction by the civilization of the white man, in the ever quickening tempo and powerful drive of American civilization to reach special ends of achievement in the development of wealth, science, technology, comfort, conquest. Here is an instance in which civilization wiped out most of a primitive culture before it could develop into a more mature stage as has been the case with many primitive peoples and with the American Negro. In the later American policy there is increasing survival and acculturation in the attainment of a better balance between "Indian" culture and "American" civilization.

We may also characterize the early American folk society by repeating what Americans themselves have sometimes asserted, that Europe was civilized and frontier America was not. That is, in one sense of the word, according to the interpretation of civilization as European culture, America was still a frontier folk culture composed of a young, virile, struggling people working through a rapidly growing folk society in the frontier regions. This characterization of early American culture has already been used and will be again in relation to the search for balance between culture and civilization in the new era. The sociologist points out that the survival power of American folk society lies in utilizing wisely its still enormous resources and keeping open the streams of new blood and the avenues of freedom, in balance between the folk and the state, and between culture and civilization.

Assignments and Questions

1. This chapter anticipates the definition of civilization as contrasted with culture. In the fourth volume of Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard's "Rise of American Civilization" series entitled *The American Spirit*, the American spirit is made synonymous with civilization. Does this contradict one of the theses of this volume, that — as sometimes presented for vividness — civilization destroys society?
2. Describe the notable cultures of the Jew in America and the Negro in America as folk societies having great survival values, within the state society, because of the strength of their folk culture.
3. Contrast the folk society with the state society. What are the stateways?
4. Describe some underground societies or movements in the modern world as they symbolize survival processes.
5. Comment on the statement that World War II was a war for the folk.
6. Comment on the statement that a great many references to *race* are in reality references to *folk*.
7. To what extent is *folk*, therefore, synonymous with *race?*
8. The epochal work of Wilhelm Wundt on folk psychology was never completed. What would be the nature of a modern study of folk psychology? To what extent would it be synonymous with social psychology?
9. Contrast the functional effect of mountain folk music of the fiddle and folk song and dance with the urban technics of the artistry of piano music. Is one more natural and enjoyable and the other more technical and compelling?
10. Name some examples of folk societies in the United States: In the city? In the country? Native whites? Negroes? Immigrant groups? The intelligentsia?
11. What factors need to be presented besides those given in this chapter in order to make the concept of the folk society clear?
12. What is usually meant when it is said that certain Indian tribes show traits of civilization?
13. Illustrate in the case of individual authors and artists who have failed when they have moved into urban civilization that demanded more of their time in eating, drinking, and loving than they had capacity for and hence the decline in creative work.



New Definitions for a New World of Old Cultures

ABOVE: Fifty-one Nations of the world at San Francisco in 1945, began the long processes of defining peace; in 1946 four more nations were added. BELOW: There were earlier efforts to give new definitions at Teheran in 1945 where the first "Big Three" were pictured with Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill as symbols of Power.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, pages 626–635. The cultural region or folk society is an index of regionalism. Characteristics of the folk of the six regions of the United States make up the cultural picture of the American people. Interconnection and interdependence of the folk regions. The need for a correlated national and regional approach.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, pages 283–287. Difference between folk cultures and modern civilization. Characteristics of the folk society in regard to culture, content, and style. Discovery, invention, and the process of cultural assimilation in the simple folk society. The folk culture is the core of urban civilization.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, pages 41–52, 107–112, 268–273, 283–299. The machine and technology were instrumental in the change from the natural folk society into a superorganic and artificial state. Conflict of folk values in changing modern society.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, pages 3–12, 335–336, 350–358, 392–401, 440–446, 458–465, 475–485. The rural community a simple form of American folk culture. The modern urban centers are outgrowths and expressions of mechanized civilization. The folk of the city differ in interests, attitudes, and values as well as in material cultural elements from the folk of the small community and country areas.

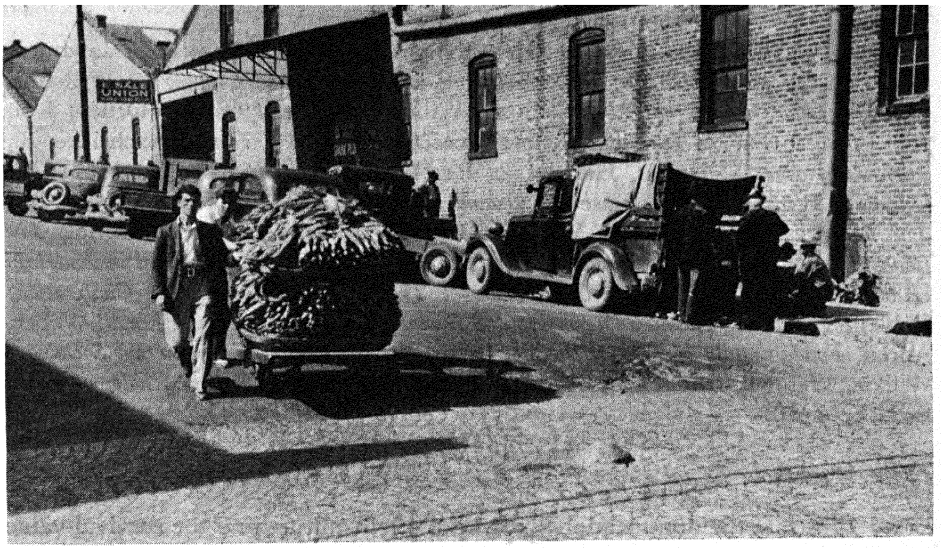
Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter 1 and pages 79–80, 87, 105–109, 131, 139–141, 146, 261–262, 406–410. The American people today playing a powerful and determinative role in the nation's cultural drama. The human wealth of the United States a national resource demanding conservation, development, and utilization. A variety of folk behavior patterns found in the different regions; the promise of national strength and achievement through the integrated efforts of diversified folk elements.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, pages 416–419, 627–630. The phenomena of mass power of the folk; capacities of the folk to assimilate social changes. The folk-region society a laboratory area for studying the significance of folkways and mores in the development of the culture pattern. Theories and practical aspects of the science of the region based on the concept of the folk.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, pages 794–799. Comparison of various concepts of the growth of culture; illustrations from nonindustrialized societies.

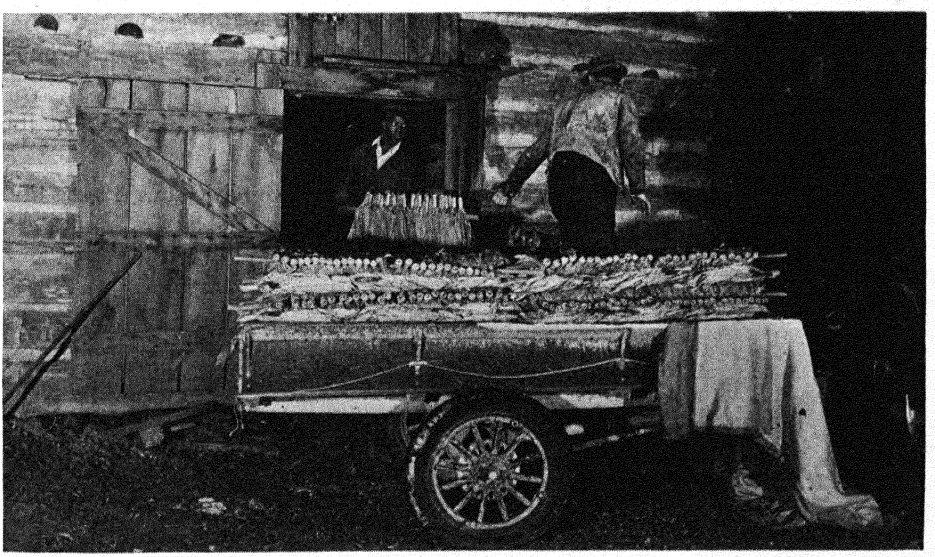
General Readings from the Library

Boas, Franz, *The Mind of Primitive Man;* Dollard, John, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town;* Freud, Sigmund, *Civilization and Its Discontents;* Kohler, Wolfgang,



The Folkways of Tobacco and Cigarettes

The annual number of cigarettes per capita in the United States increased from 11.16 in 1800–1882 to 967.42 from 1931–1935, with greater increases to be measured following World War II. ABOVE: Taking tobacco to the warehouse for the auction sale. BELOW: Night work packing tobacco in trailers from the strip house.



The Place of Value in a World of Facts; Kropotkin, Peter, *Mutual Aid;* Leyburn, James G., *Frontier Folkways;* Mannheim, Karl, *Ideology and Utopia;* McWilliams, Carey, *Brothers under the Skin;* Ogburn, William F., *Social Change;* Ottley, Roi, *New World A-Coming;* Redfield, Robert, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan;* Schrieke, B., *Alien Americans;* Seligman, Herbert J., *Race Against Man;* Steinbeck, John, *The Grapes of Wrath;* Steiner, Jesse F., *Behind the Japanese Mask;* Stonequist, E. V., *The Marginal Man;* Sumner, William Graham, *Folkways;* Tarde, Gabriel, *The Laws of Imitation;* Turner, Frederick Jackson, *The Significance of Sections in American History;* Turner, Ralph, *The Great Cultural Traditions* and *America in Civilization;* Veblen, Thorstein, *Absentee Ownership and Business Enterprise in Recent Times;* Weber, Alfred, *Fundamentals of Culture-Sociology;* von Wiese, Leopold, *Systematic Sociology;* Willkie, Wendell, *One World;* Wundt, Wilhelm, *Elements of Folk Psychology* (tr. by E. L. Schaub).

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Illustrate the organizational power of a folk culture and the survival value of such organizations. One illustration would be the agencies of the Jewish folk culture.
2. Illustrate the power of organization in the Negro folk culture in the United States.
3. Illustrate the role of organization among American immigrant folk groups.
4. Describe the work of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare.
5. Discuss the lack of folk organizations initiated by the American Indian.
6. Describe the United Daughters of the Confederacy and its activities. What effect has this organization had upon the preservation of the southern ante-bellum folk culture?
7. Describe some of the special activities of the "Friends Service" in the United States.
8. Describe the work of the NISEI in the western United States during and after World War II.

IV

Society and Civilization

15

The Nature of Civilization

What is the relation of civilization to culture? We come now to inquire into the nature of civilization as an advanced stage and a specialized technical level of culture. As society grows more complex, evolving from the earlier culture grounded in the natural folk-regional environment, into the more advanced stages of civilization, its understanding becomes more difficult. But the study of contemporary society must be primarily the study of such civilization. In so far as the study of civilization is a continuation and extension of the study of culture as the essence of human society, it becomes a study of the most advanced and most technical level of culture. To that extent, civilization is a specialized development of society distinctive from either the earlier folk cultures or the totality of all cultures. Civilization is culture, but not all culture is civilization. Nor is civilization, as the supreme technical societal product of cultural evolution, comprehensive enough to provide for all the elements necessary for culture to reproduce itself. Culture, therefore, is the supreme generic value, perennial, growing, and maturing, in contrast to the flowering and decay of the technical aspects of civilized society. From these premises and on the basis of the assumption that modern society has too much civilization and not enough culture, or that civilization as an end in itself destroys society, one of the chief objectives of the sociologist's efforts to understand society may well be the attainment of a better balance between culture and civilization. In terms of the previous assumptions concerning culture and the folk society, the most enduring of all societies would be that in which the folkways coincide or are in balance with the stateways, and in which both are reinforced by the technicways of modern civilization. In modern society we seek balance between the co-existing elements of folk culture and state civilization.

Civilization needs new analysis. In order to explore these assumptions further, two tasks must be accomplished. One is to define civilization as definitely as possible, and the other is to contrast civilization with culture in such general ways as will contribute to our understanding of both. In the preceding chapter some of the meanings of civilization have been anticipated in order to emphasize certain meanings of culture. Yet it is important to recall that civilization and culture are generally utilized as interchangeable terms, and civilization has been visualized as not only in contrast with barbarism and primitive society, but as the highest goal to which mankind aspires. European civilization was long idealized as the richest flowering of Western culture. Then, in the thirties, Hitler's Germany was characterized as barbarism in an age of civilized man. Beginning in 1939, a good part of the civilized world swept into such combat that Germany not only was destroyed but also other European and Asiatic peoples wherever they came into the paths of civilized war. Manifestly, therefore, there are new needs and new opportunities for defining civilization as it comes to grips with the society of the future which seeks peace, survival, and continued progress in the place of war, destruction, and regression.

The folk society in contrast with the state society. In the preceding chapter, the last in Part III, we found that the folk society as distinctive from the state society or civilization, is, in a world of variables, the natural societal constant through which the survival, development, and growth of all societies have been attained. The folk society, then, is the norm, the mode, the point, on the one hand, from which we can search back into the origins and development of societal factors, forces, and processes, and, on the other, from which we may be able to find a meeting place between modern technological civilization and the surviving folk society. In this meeting place the marginal values or measures of societal survival would be found.

The distinction between folk culture and civilization is especially conducive to continuing the usual procedure of this volume of presenting some of the natural aspects of the theme. In the present case, the folk culture is posited as the natural culture, growing inevitably out of the struggle for harmony between men and land, and between conflicting forces of nature or of other human aggregates. We have called culture as "natural" as are the laws of nature since it always grows up and out of the natural environment. Thus, every unit of cultural development, every stage in the widening range of folk culture, every societal problem, has what may be called a natural history which must be understood in order to comprehend the meaning of the problem. This is the basis upon which the *folk culture* has been characterized as natural, as opposed to *civilization*, which has been

characterized as technical, scientific, or mechanical, and, to that extent, artificial. The folk culture is natural, too, in another sense: it is capable of reproducing itself in contrast to the technological civilization which is a composite of artificial achievements functioning as ends in themselves. That these ends are often in fundamental conflict with many of society's natural needs could be illustrated, for instance, by the megalopolitan civilization in which the specifications for technical excellence in art and architecture, and the concentration of population, business, and transportation, sometimes preclude meeting the requirements for population reproduction, or enjoying the experiences of primary groups or the realistic rapport with nature.

Dictionary definitions. As with most words, the meanings of the term *civilization* have been largely derived from popular usage, although scholars also follow such usage in loosely applied analogies. Thus, if we fall back upon the conventional definitions, as given in Webster's New International Dictionary, one meaning of civilization is "advancement in social culture." Or, it is "a state of social culture characterized by relative progress in the arts, science, and statecraft."

Again, civilization has been defined "as the culture characteristics of modern Europe." Or still again, it has been "the relative advancement of a primitive people." A common summary of these concepts is that "civilization applies to human society and designates an advanced state of material and social welfare." Now in each of these meanings, civilization always represents, from the functional viewpoint, a specialized type of society seeking special ends in themselves rather than the over-all, comprehensive function of society to reproduce, enrich, and strengthen itself through a normal process of action and interaction. So, too, in everyday life, civilization has been synonymous with refinements, comfort, convenience, luxuries, leisure, with the development of organization and institutions as ends in themselves. So much has this been true that the great mass of common men everywhere have been characterized as uncivilized, whereas the cosmopolitan, urban intellectuals have represented civilization. Thus, for instance, many of the literati and intelligentsia of the last generation were accustomed to speak of people as being civilized in proportion as they had refinement in the drinking of liquors, of the cooking and eating of food, in the avoiding of the dung heaps of work close to nature, and in their capacity to attain personalized ends through exploitation of nature and the folk. This was well illustrated by the sayings of the notoriously popular Count Keyserling in his visits to America and his extraordinary selection of Virginia and New Orleans as the two types of civilized living, the one for its

artistry in drinking and the other for its foods. Then, too, the brilliant H. L. Mencken contrasted the civilized manners of the "Old South" with the crudeness of the "New South." Oscar Cargill, in his *Intellectual America: Ideas on the March*, referred to "that supercilious attitude toward the struggling masses of mankind which denies to their efforts any importance."

These concepts were accurate reflections. Now, it must be clear both from the reading of literature and from an understanding of the aims and ideals of education and the humanities that these characterizations have been accurate. Europe *was* civilized and America was *not*. The urban society *was* civilized and the rural *not*. The educated *were* civilized and the uneducated were *not*. New York and Washington of the 1940's were civilized, but America in the early days of the founding fathers and of frontier development was not civilized. Paris was civilized, but William Allen White's Emporia, Kansas, was not. Or, in terms of American personages, the Astors, the Vanderbilts, the Goulds were civilized, but Walt Whitman was not. Or again, in Europe a Rousseau or Froebel or Pestalozzi was not. Vienna represented the romance and magnificence of an old civilization, but the villages of Denmark and Holland only the folk culture. The blitzkrieg was a product of modern civilization, fabricated of science, invention, technology, power, totalitarianism. The co-operatives of the small democracies were only cultures of the folk.

A five-fold characterization of civilization. The elements and attributes of modern civilization may well be studied through a five-fold classification which reflects both the time levels and the achievements of contemporary society. First, there is *urbanism* and *urbanization* in the societal sense of a great process of specialization, concentration, and achievement. Next there is *technology*, including industrialism, that approaches technological determinism, in which science, machines, organization, set the pace and the quality of modern life. There is, then, *intellectualism* in the sense of cultural specialization and scientific humanism as supreme measures of value. Powerful alongside these are the trends toward *centralization* and *power*. And finally, this centralization and power, reinforced by technology and specialization, flowers into the *totalitarian state*. Then we have characterized civilization in a general way as being *artificial* in the sense in which technology and machines transcend the primary ways of living.

Now manifestly, the achievements of such civilization have been phenomenal. In these ends men have attained what they have sought. They have sought civilization and they have found it. In the light of powerful premises being supported more and more by scientific research, by conclusions of scholars and publicists and pointing more and more to the next steps for

societal reconstruction, this civilization without the balance and leavening processes of folk culture destroys society. On the basis of such premises we must explore more and more the question as to whether the civilization which mankind has been seeking is the goal which, with a wider knowledge and a more mature understanding of society, mankind wants after all.

Contrasts between civilization and culture. In order that we may inquire more critically into these assumptions, it is important to continue a little further with the contrast between civilization and culture in terms of a functional sociology, which seeks not only an understanding of how societies grow, but also the way of survival for advanced culture in human society. We have already emphasized that folk culture is natural in the sense that it represents a capacity for optimum or successful achievement for each organism within the framework of its physical environment and its inherent endowment. On this assumption, the folk culture as compared to civilization is always self-perpetuating and enduring, having within its own power the capacity not only to reproduce, but to evolve into different stages of development. Culture, then, is of the folk, while civilization is of the state. Culture is what Giddings called the composite society, capable of reproducing itself, while civilization is the constituent society, seeking arbitrary, specialized ends of a limited nature. Culture is the supreme means for the development of society, while civilization represents an end in itself rather than a means to an end.

Culture a cumulative heritage; civilization a cross section of societal achievement. Culture represents a fundamental social process and societal means, whereas civilization connotes social products and material technical ends. Again following the analogy of nature, culture represents growth, development, evolution, survival, whereas civilization represents material progress, achievement, revolution, and decline. Culture represents the people, democracy, human striving and personal and individual opportunity, whereas civilization connotes more of the machine, the mass, and the class. Culture is youthful, ideological, informal, realistic, and is of the essence of the spirit and soul of mankind, whereas civilization tends toward the intellectual, the organized, the technological, and utopian, the mechanical. Culture grows from the bottom up, whereas civilization is superimposed. Culture represents the broader, societal determinism, whereas civilization reflects the technical determinism. In terms of the areal society and of the time levels, culture represents the community, the rural and agrarian basic background, the primary groups, as opposed to civilization, which focuses upon urban attainments, the industrial order, secondary groups and megalopolitan patterns of the nation and of the empire. In still

other comparative terms, culture is organic, reproductive, reinforcing as compared to civilization, which is functional, stressing production and exhaustion. Culture represents the optimum quality value as compared to civilization, which reflects the maximum in quantity and money and in power. Culture if measured in the time levels and culture stages, tends to be moral, purposive, highly motivated, whereas civilization is scientifically technical, specialized, highly stimulated. Finally, in general, culture is a cumulative heritage, applicable to all stages of societal evolution, whereas civilization represents a cross section of advanced progress.

Sociologists and writers characterize civilization. How most of these characterizations of civilization may be found in the work of earlier sociologists and later writers may be seen from an examination of *Special and General Readings in The Library and Workshop.* However, we shall illustrate some of the characterizations of civilization by a few samplings. We begin with the last, first, namely, the artificial character of civilization. Lester F. Ward, for instance, observes that what we call civilization "is due almost exclusively to the increased proportion of the artificial over the natural objects in contact with man." Indeed, he makes this proportion of the artificial over the natural a measure of civilization, which he defines as "the artificial adjustment of natural objects in such a manner that the natural forces will thereby produce results advantageous to man." Ward went so far as to imply that the artificial is superior to the natural. William Graham Sumner points out that the adjustment of society, which we call civilization, is a much more complex aggregation than the culture that went before. With reference to the influence of civilization upon earlier cultures, he calls attention to the fact that the virtues and arts of civilization are almost as disastrous to the uncivilized as are the vices of civilization. He thinks it is really a great tragedy of civilization that the contact of the lower with the higher is disastrous to the lower. We have already pointed out how this was true in the case of the American Indian, and the record of civilization in its impact upon primitive peoples has been consistently so. There are other characterizations of civilization as artificial. Clive Bell says: "Civilization is artificial. Civilized man is made, not born: he is artificial; he is unnatural." In much the same way, George A. Dorsey in *Man's Own Show: Civilization* speaks of civilization as "an extranatural super-organic, artificial burden."

Civilization is urban. Perhaps the most common characterization of civilization is that of maturity in urbanism. In Chapter 1 on the rise of the city, the urban character of modern civilization is discussed in more detail. At this point only a few contributions to the vast body of opinion on urban

living are necessary. Howard B. Woolston in *Metropolis* calls attention to the fact that cities are the focal points of our civilization, in which are concentrated the forces that control modern life. Carol Aronovici, who has specialized in the study of the modern city, points out that "Civilization is inseparable from urban living. Without cities civilization is inconceivable." So much is this true that he goes so far as to insist that only when the whole of this country becomes entirely urban shall we have achieved full civilization. Earl E. Muntz, in *Urban Sociology*, senses the trend of modern civilization when he points out that the crowding of human beings into a limited space calls for new mores and customs in response "to the need of this more highly artificialized environment of which the modern city is the extreme type," which is similar to Spengler's noted dictum that in the place of a world there is a city which is enriched while the rest dries up. Muntz remarks that "in the civilized world of today culture is constantly becoming more and more city-dominated." Adna Ferrin Weber, in his monumental study of *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, points out that all the social forces which go to make up civilization are the phenomena of the great cities like Memphis, Thebes, Nineveh, and Babylon: "Indeed, in classic antiquity, the identification of city and civilization becomes complete." He calls attention to the fact that both *civilization* and *city* originate from the Latin word *civis*. Frederic C. Howe, in *The Modern City and Its Problems*, concludes that the city has always been the center of civilization. "Civilization does not exist among a nomad people," he writes.

Civilization is state society. An interesting appraisal of civilization centering around the state is that of John Storck in *Man and Civilization:* "Civilization is a form of culture characterized by a sedentary population grouped around the state as the central institution." At the present time, he thinks Western civilization could be designated by seven main chacteristics, namely, natural science, mechanical invention, the national state, the historical attitude, mass education, democracy, and individualism. Another similar viewpoint is that of Carl J. Warden, who says, in *The Emergence of Human Culture*, that a civilization supposes the existence of a centralized political state. Franklin H. Giddings, as mentioned in Chapter 14, pointed out how the first stages of civilization are reflected in the term *civis*, and said that the rise of civilization began with the transition from the ethnic to the civil at the point where the functions of sovereignty, commerce, labor, defense, and organization transcend those of folk society. The distinctions between civilization and culture are vividly emphasized by Spengler, who held that every culture has its own civilization, the civilization being the inevitable destiny of the culture; this conception is in line with

the previous appraisal of culture as reproductive, growing, living, and dynamic as opposed to civilization as artificial. Spengler points out that when once the aim of culture, whether a specific culture or a general culture, has been attained, the culture suddenly hardens; it mortifies, dies, and becomes civilization.

Civilization is technological. We have already called attention to the fact that the technicways characterize modern civilization more than the folkways and the mores, which is another way of saying that civilization is technological. This technology comprises not only machines, science, invention, but also organization, administration, management. This technology, therefore, includes social technology as involved in the products and organizations which have grown up through the Industrial Revolution. The new reach of science and technology as measured in their application to modern society through the use of invested capital is practically synonymous with civilization itself. In Section VI, we test this further by examining the impact of such technology upon the individual and his institutions and by an analysis of the social problems which arise from technological progress.

The individual and civilization. In Chapter 23, the relation of the individual to all of society is discussed. It is sufficient to say here that the role of the individual is distinctively different in the modern urban, technological civilization from what it is in early evolving cultures. Contrary to what is sometimes assumed, the role of the individual in the modern world is more important, not less important, than formerly, and in many ways an individual, through means of minority control, communication, and technology, may exert a greater influence on total society than ever before. Perhaps sociology has not given enough study to this important phase of understanding society.

Civilization is intellectual. In Chapters 16 and 34 some of the ways by which special groups separate themselves from the rest of society are discussed. Perhaps the most dynamic of all the aristocracies is that of the intellectuals, who sometimes become so specialized in their own limited fields and so far removed from reality and the people that intellectualism in this sense may well be said to be the most potent of all the attributes of civilization. This appears to be an amazing conclusion and it calls for definite evidence. Another way of stating the case is, by way of analogy, to say that some of the most active of all the elements of civilization are specialization and intensification of interests and of the scientific and humanistic culture that tend toward what may be called, in an exaggerated sense, intellectual totalitarianism. The quality of the mind that pushes toward

perfection, toward higher standards of living, when overconcentrated on a single objective or isolated ways and means of attaining an end, contributes toward intellectualism.

In the case of individual intellectualism or perhaps scientific humanism the situation is similar to that described by William James concerning the institutions. Most institutions, he thought, by the nature of their technical and professional administration, end by becoming obstacles to the purposes for which they were founded. An individual may use his wealth to endow institutions of public welfare but, when profits become an end, through ruthless exploitation of resources and men, the situation develops into the opposite of service to humanity. So, an individual may seek election because he feels he has something to contribute to democratic government, but, when elected, if his lust for power becomes supreme, his usefulness to society is ended. So also, when an exclusive cult of scientific humanism or of technocracy tends to impose upon society an artificial measure of science or mechanized standard of living or the "rule of the gadgets" of the supertechnological society, civilization is again symbolized in terms of artificial demands that become superficial as well.

AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

The sociologist is not interested here in the question of which type of artificial demand may be more modern, aesthetic, comfortable, "civilized" — or even which is "better" or "worse" as a mode of advanced personal living. He is interested primarily in the societal values which are measured in terms of the surviving, growing society. There are innumerable illustrations of what is meant by these attributes of civilization. Samplings may well be selected from American culture, from the culture of pre-Hitler and Hitler Germany, or from the culture of Paris or Vienna, or the way places of specialized culture. There was, for instance, a notable company of American literati who, so tired of the life of the United States and so impatient of its crude folk culture as not only to sell it down the river but to discard it for their own society on the banks of a beautiful river in Europe. Now in terms of culture and civilization, the main question is one which asks what they contributed to society, either to the French culture or as a disillusioned company slipping back to an American culture whose new meaning was already being foreshadowed long before World War II, as something much more dynamic and vital than a decayed European culture. Franz Alexander in *Our Age of Unreason* diagnoses much of American society's maladjustment as resulting from the conflict between early frontier society and the new

rationalizations. Oliver L. Reiser in *The Promise of Scientific Humanism* discusses the credo of a faith in the exclusive potentiality of man's intelligence. This is in contrast to the assumptions that man cannot live by intellect alone, as reflected in the earlier American classical writers — Whitman, Whittier, Emerson.

So, too, a society whose leaders at the Capital of the nation frankly and openly ridicule the institutions and ways of the people under the guise of liberalism reflects a new individualism as marked as the early American rugged individualism. So long as the great mass of people swear allegiance to their institutions of the family and church and work, such leaders typify a leadership destructive of that society. These illustrations are not examples of moral issues as to the right or wrong of individual behavior or what for the individual may be most aesthetic, advanced, or "emancipated," but they are measures of what happens to society when certain things are done. They are preview questions concerning what civilization does to human society.

Intellectualism and scientific humanism characterized. The premises of what may be called intellectual determinism are well documented in the United States. There are two main viewpoints: one in which humanism or pure intellectualism is seen as the best way on in modern society, and the other in which the limitations of pure intellectualism are appraised as one of the chief hazards of civilization. Representative of the first is the verdict of John U. Nef in *The United States and Civilization* who features "trained authority" as a key value. This "can be obtained only by giving the wisest, the best endowed, the best trained, and the most disinterested philosophers, theologians, writers and artists a prestige and power of leadership that our American civilization would now make it difficult for such persons to obtain even if they existed." In the same vein was the urgent appeal of one of America's foremost humanists in the 1920's to the president of a great university. What this humanist begged was that this particular university stand as the bulwark against the encroachment upon its curriculum of the social sciences and of coeducation which was so detrimental to the higher cultures and education as reflected in that university. Representative of the critical school of thought is the verdict of Oscar Coghill that the intelligentsia have been "contemptuous of the struggling, troubled democracy." His verdict was that "the intelligentsia — all types and kinds — lived too much out of the world to instruct the world in much of anything. Just as German scholarship did nothing to save Germany, so our intelligentsia have done nothing for us." So, too, Ralph Turner in *America in Civilization* gives a challenging warning against the "intellectual aristocracy" who hold

that only the "intelligent" should be allowed to vote. Others point out the fallacy of these premises as demonstrated in Greece, in Rome, in Spain, in Germany, and in France.

Hitler's Germany was reaping the whirlwind of science and intellectualism. Destruction of European culture can not be attributed entirely to softness and corruption, as is often argued, but also to a high peak of artificial, technological civilization. For consider the German science and intellectual philosophy which increasingly concentrated on the ruthlessness of science and nature and the moral quality of Hitler's translation of all this into a new civilization which was clearly the product of science, technology, and superrace humanism. The intellectuals who paved the way for the Hitlers and Himmlers, the scholars who dried up the classics, the industrial leaders and financiers who threw in their vast resources, the scientists who prostituted science for specialized political ends, the philosophers who destroyed the folk spirit, the geopoliticians whose planning would have exploited world resources, and the Junkers who made use of all of these — all were the forerunners of the Nazi civilization that destroyed German society.

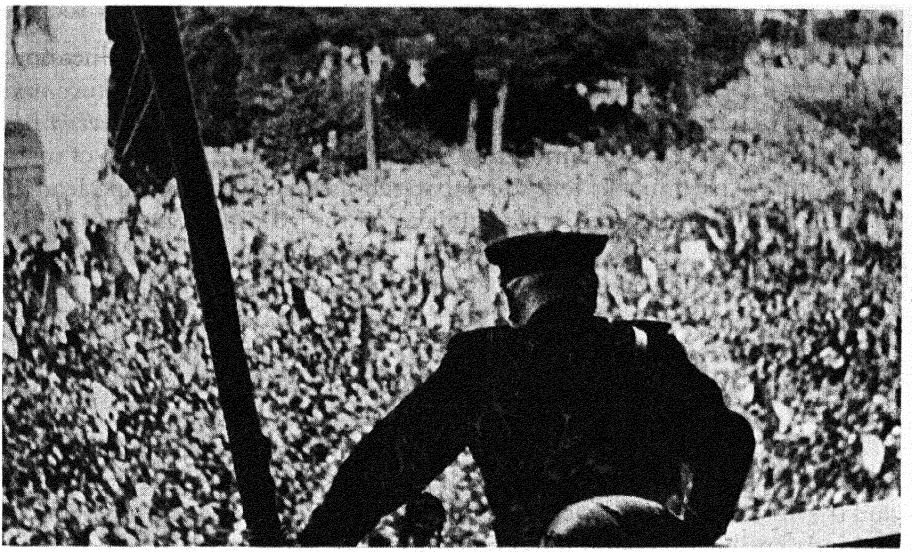
American and European civilization again. Once again, when we undertake to test the premises of the rise of a folk culture and its expansion into civilization, the American society as found in the history of the United States provides an excellent laboratory. For, as we have pointed out many times, the frontier culture from its beginnings in the seaboard states through its ramifications into the Northwest, the Southwest, and the Far West, affords case study for the transition from culture to civilization. In this society, which began with the culture of the American Indian and continued through the extension of the frontier, and, in the last part of the nineteenth century, the development of cities and industries and great individual fortunes, together with a phenomenal increase in science, education, and art, may well be found an excellent field for the understanding of human society.

Definitions and Examples

Our assumption that civilization is different from culture makes it important to define and illustrate certain of the characteristics of civilization. We have already defined science and technology. We may define *urbanization* primarily as the process of the concentration of population in areas of residence and work. *Centralization* connotes the concentration of people and wealth. *Power* is defined in terms of the trend toward control and the capacity through politics and economics to dominate. *Totalitarianism* implies the control of all major institutions and activities by one political group. The *totalitarian state* is defined as the superstate, or a single institution assuming the proportions of total society. The three forms of the state commonly utilized to illustrate totalitarianism have been fascism, nazism, and communism, although communism and fascism have also become bitterly antagonistic and disparate concepts and practices.

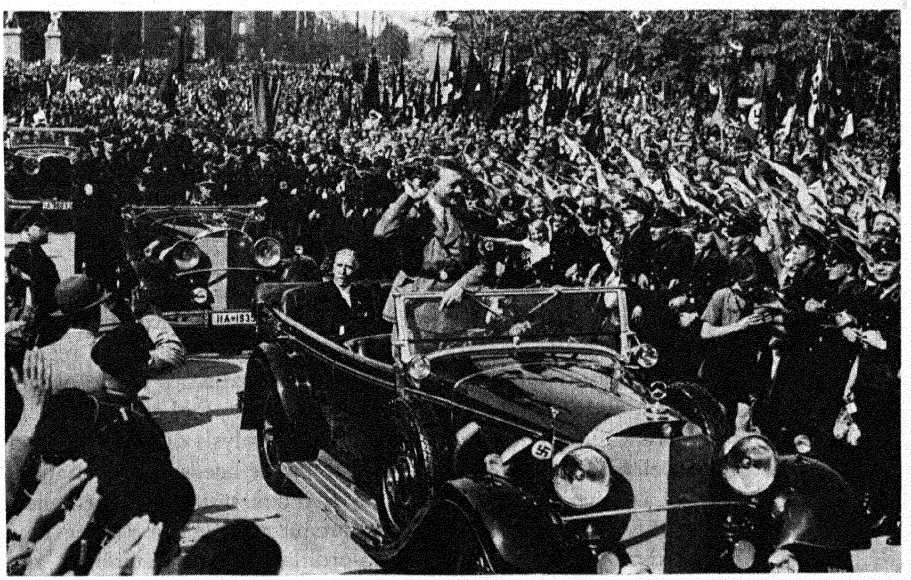
Industrialization and *mechanization* are concepts associated with the Industrial Revolution, which has transformed the face of nature and the life of the whole world; which was in many ways the beginning of modern civilization; and of which the genesis was contemporary with Marx, Darwin, and Wagner. *Intellectualism* and *scientific humanism* are used co-ordinately as indicating a society dominated by ideologies and the play of minds together with the resulting tendency toward the dictatorship of the intellectuals. *Scientific humanism* is defined by Oliver L. Reiser on page 21 of *The Promise of Scientific Humanism* as "the doctrine that men, through the use of intelligence, directing the institutions of democratic government, can create for themselves, without aid from supernatural powers, a rational civilization in which each person enjoys economic security, and finds cultural outlets for whatever normal human capacities and creative energies he possesses." Scientific humanism is manifestly a trait of civilization in an advanced stage of culture. Manifestly, also, social control is not possible through intellectual processes and ideologies because the essence of intellectual quality is in individual variations, while ideologies are too numerous and conflicting to attain unity. And even if this were not true, there is no *mass* or *social intellect* which could rationalize action for whole groups, even though men are highly motivated by ideologies.

Other forms of humanism are literary humanism, and classical or scho-



The Folk Culture and the State Civilization in Imbalance and Travail

ABOVE: Only yesterday in Rome. Mussolini on the balcony. Then . . . Death indescribable . . . horrors unforgettable. . . . BELOW: Only yesterday in Berlin. Hitler in the Lustgarden. . . . Then . . . A destroying state civilization . . . a culture to be rebuilt.

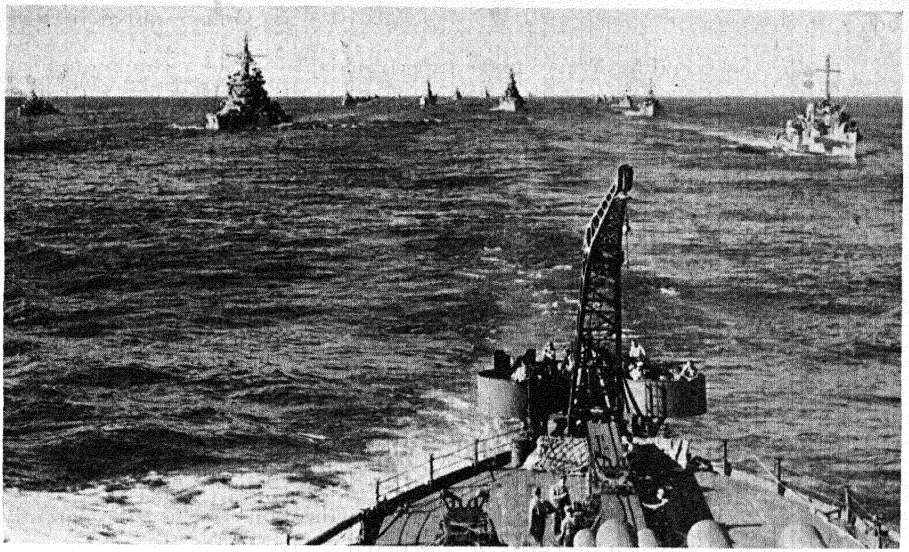


lastic humanism, which makes classical learning the basis of education. These have been expressed in the "school" of humanism in literature and in the curriculum of the humanities in liberal education. *Intellectualism* has been manifest in the assumption that intelligence is all or nearly all of man. *Intelligentsia* is used in this text to refer to self-assumed teachers and leaders of society who posit pure intellectualism as the guiding force in society. They are characterized as "intellectual isolationists" and their order as "intellectual totalitarianism." They are represented as being supercilious of the common man and the folk and as fomenting pessimism and cynicism.

We have defined the *technicways* as behavior traits of technological civilization. One of the most realistic illustrations of the technicways was the utilization of the atomic bomb in the final days of World War II in Japan. There were nowhere any folkways and mores among the people that did not feel that the ruthless slaughter of innocent children, women, and elders, and the unspeakable destruction of life and property was wrong, unchristian and indefensible except on the basis of necessity to end the war and to have as many as possible of the allied fighting forces survive. Yet, practically everywhere men justified the use and threatened use of atomic bombs. Everywhere men know the atomic bomb is capable of the destruction of civilization but men have not covenanted together to stop its production. Another illustration of the power of the technicways might be illustrated from the fact that men everywhere know that the sale at low costs of simply projected automobiles that have a capacity of a hundred to two hundred miles per hour will result in deaths greater than in earlier ordinary wars; men everywhere know that such vehicles are not necessary or to the best advantage of a rich culture, yet nowhere is the quantity production of such cars forbidden. The answer here is, of course, the development of the *social technicways* of arrangement and control to protect society from the natural technicways of science, technology, and power.

Assignments and Questions

1. In the light of what has happened to Europe's culture, criticize this verdict of Lewis Mumford's: "Concentrated upon war, the metropolitan regime opposes these domestic and civic functions: it subordinates life to organized destruction, and it must therefore regiment, limit, and constrict every exhibition of real life and culture. Result: the paralysis of all the higher activities of society: truth shorn or defaced to fit the needs of propaganda: the organs of co-operation stiffened into a reflex system of obedience: the order of the drill sergeant and the bureaucrat. Such a regime may reach unheard-of heights in external co-ordination and discipline, and

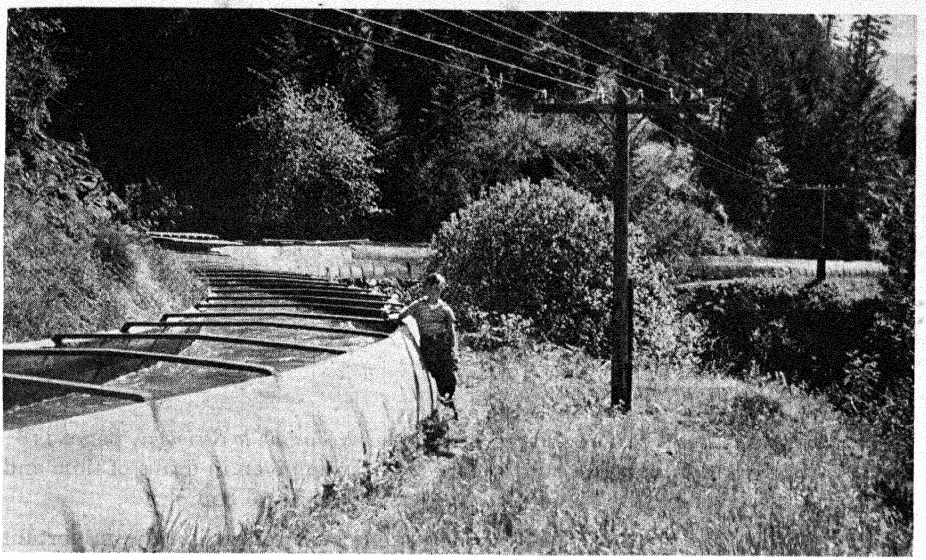


Another Phase of "Civilization at the Crossroads"

Scientists and service men study the effects of the atomic bomb on the functions of the navy of the future, even as social scientists study plans for its control. ABOVE: a mighty task force, symbolic of the Navy's highest level of achievement in World War II, reflected also in: BELOW: waves of landing craft at Iwo Jima in February, 1945.

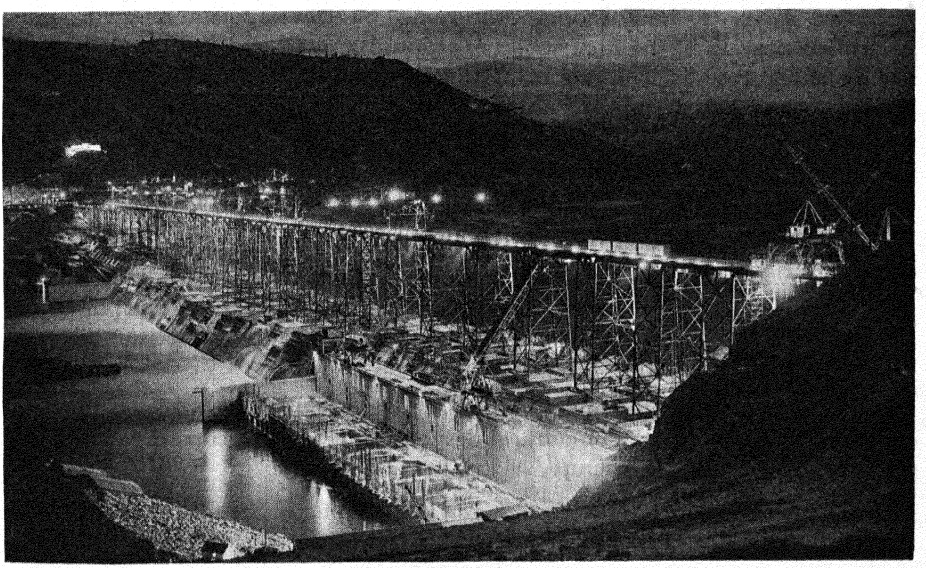
those who endure it may make superb soldiers and juicy cannon fodder; but it is for the same reason deeply antagonistic to every valuable manifestation of life." (See *The Culture of Cities*, pages 278, 250–256.)

2. Criticize Clive Bell's discussion as given on pages 191 and 209–211 of his *Civilization:* "Civilization is artificial. Civilized man is made, not born: he is artificial; he is unnatural. So long as man remains natural and follows instinct he will not go far towards civilization. Civilization requires existence of a leisured class; and a leisured class requires existence of lower classes."
3. Chapter II of the Beards' *The American Spirit* is entitled "Civilization — Center of Interest." What are the *four* broad uses of the word civilization "when they [the uses] carried any discernible meaning at all"?
4. Make a more detailed list of definitions of civilization than is given in this and the previous chapter.
5. Criticize Spengler's characterization of civilization. If it is so apparently accurate, why is his theory not considered "scientific"?
6. What do the authors mean in such titles as *Civilization and Its Discontents, The Law of Civilization and Decay, The Tragedies of Progress, Man and Society in Calamity?*
7. Discuss "the belief in inevitably impending disaster to civilization" in the theory of "civilization cycles" or "rhythmic pulsations in culture, which are assumed to be beyond human control." See Hornell Hart's *Technique of Social Progress*, pages 89, and 438–448.
8. What situations in modern society appear similar to that of the "seven great civilizations" at their crest? What situations and circumstances seem different?
9. F. H. Giddings' last book on sociology was entitled *Civilization and Society.* What justification is there for the title?
10. Criticize the five attributes of civilization as given in this and the previous chapter.
11. Two of the greatest changes in the wake of civilization are the *status of woman* and *urbanism.* Both of these reflect measurable social progress. Why, then, could civilization be said to be dangerous to society?
12. What would be the differences between "the urbanization of rural life" and "the ruralization of city life"?
13. What is meant by "the reintegration of rural culture in American civilization?"
14. If it is agreed that the present civilization of science and technology is often destructive of human culture and society, why is it that nearly all of the intellectuals believe that society should be still more civilized?



Civilization and Its Works

ABOVE: Tieton main canal of the Yakima Reclamation Project in central Washington which has transformed the area into one of the most highly productive farming sections in the arid West. BELOW: Grand Coulee Dam, in Eastern Washington on the Upper Columbia River, transforming arid lands for more than a million new inhabitants. A brilliant night view.



15. Reconcile the use of *culture* and *civilization* as synonymous — as in the writings of the Beards or of Giddings or Ward.

16. Examine the viewpoints of some of the earlier American sociologists on civilization. William Graham Sumner in *Folkways*, pages 48, 111, 327, 498–499, and in *The Science of Society*, pages 46, 47, 48, 218–219. Lester F. Ward in *Pure Sociology*, pages 16, 18, 20, 40, 260, 346, 443, 532. Franklin H. Giddings in *The Elements of Sociology*, page 288, and in *The Responsible State*, pages 95, 96, 98. Albion W. Small in *General Sociology*, pages 248, 331, 333, 344, 345, 358, 374.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, pages 118–124. A differentiation between culture and civilization given in terms of time and the structural development of material and psychic cultural complexes.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XX. Social integration the important cultural process in evaluating the wealth and the tragedies of civilization. How great a degree of cultural integration is necessary for survival and progress.

Lowie, Robert H.: *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, chapter XVIII. Primitive knowledge and science as the basis for the development of modern civilization. A comparison of primitive and modern-day science and something of the earlier group cultures that achieved a high degree of civilization.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, pages 283–299, 369–371. Theories of Spengler, Toynbee, and Geddes concerning the development of civilization. A characterization of the final stages of cultural growth and the possibilities for strengthening the social organism. The great task of modern civilization is in finding a basis for mutual co-operation in the erection of a social order that will have survival value.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, chapter II. The agents of mechanization also the agents used in the building of Western civilization. The machine civilization traced from birth to blossom to decay.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters IV, V, and XXVIII. Science and technology in the growth of American culture into civilization. The power and the problems of the artificial way of life in urban civilization. American dilemma and promise to be found in present-day cultural growth.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, pages 6–7, 42–45, 117–129. Civilization the late stages of cultural development, and the superorganic phases of social organizational structure.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapter 9. See also pages 527–528. Civilization the city-concentration of culture, that stage of cultural growth which

is highly organized and artificialized. The origin of civilization in terms of ancient and modern civilization centers. The rise and the decay of civilizations but the perpetuity of all culture.

Spengler, Oswald: *The Decline of the West*, pages 21, 31–32, 104–107, 353–354, 358. Civilization the organic-logical sequel or finale in the growth of each and every culture. It is the inevitable destiny of a culture to reach a stage of civilization which will be the final expression of its own particular excellencies and weaknesses.

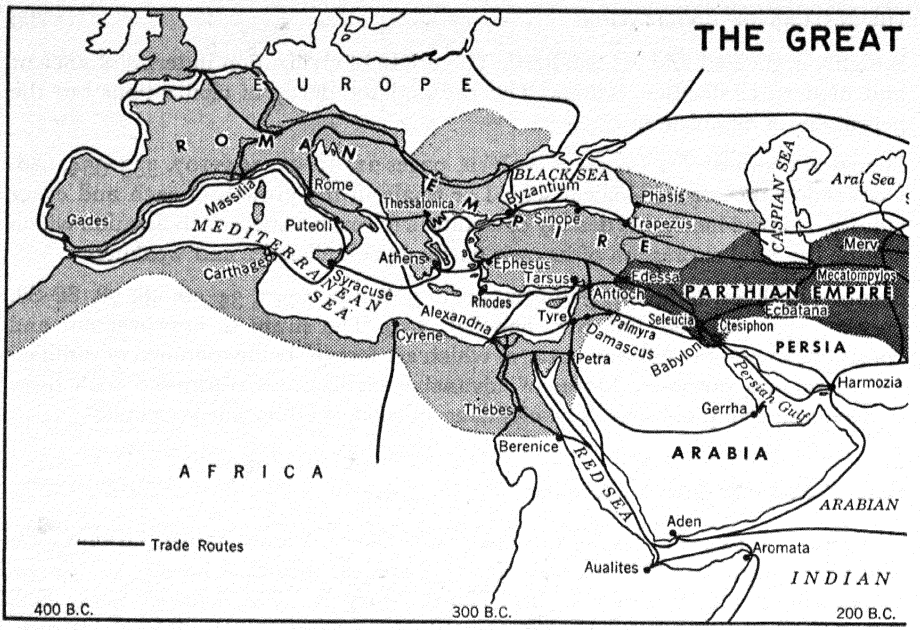
Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, pages 5–6, 14, 26–27, 34–36, 48, 78, 86–88, 99–110, 192, 205–208, 609–611, 630–635, 639. The strain of improvement and consistency upon the folkway patterns which are forever being modified or nullified for adaptation purposes. Mores of advancing civilizations contrasted with those of declining group cultures. The civilizing mission of ethnocentric peoples.

General Readings from the Library

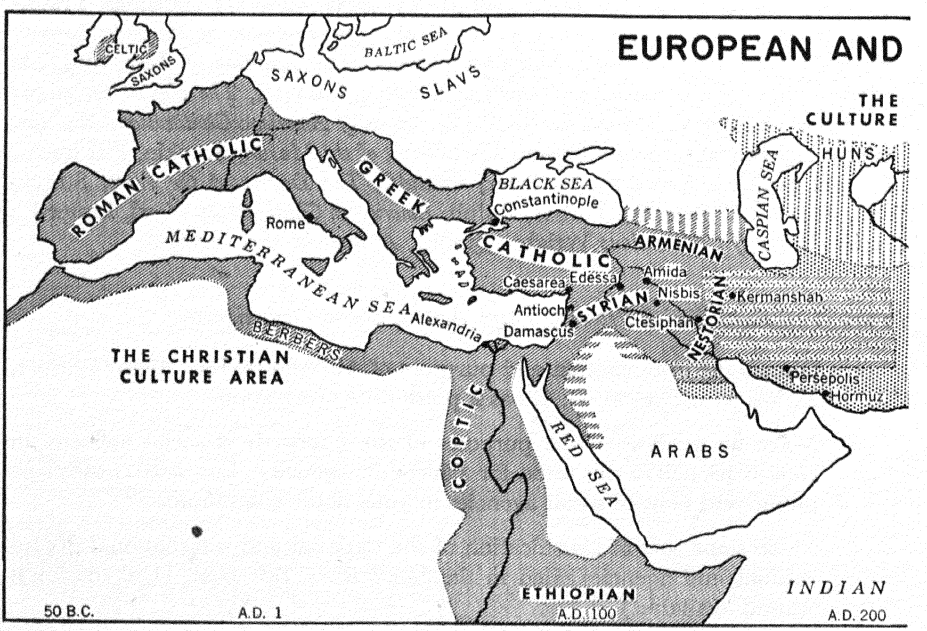
Adams, Brooks, *The Law of Civilization and Decay;* Adams, James Truslow, *The American;* Alexander, Franz, *Our Age of Unreason;* Beard, Charles A., *Toward Civilization;* Beard, Charles A., and Beard, Mary R., *The American Spirit;* Bell, Clive, *Civilization;* Brooks, Collin, *Our Present Discontents;* Burlingame, Roger, *The March of the Iron Men;* Coghill, Oscar, *Intellectual America;* Dorsey, George A., *Man's Own Show: Civilization;* Drinkwater, John, *This Troubled World;* Freud, Sigmund, *Civilization and Its Discontents* (tr. by Joan Riviere); Giddings, Franklin H., *Civilization and Society;* Lombroso, Gina, *The Tragedies of Progress;* Lowie, Robert H., *Are We Civilized?;* Mumford, Lewis, *The Condition of Man*, also *The Culture of Cities* and *Technics and Civilization;* Nef, John U., *The United States and Civilization*, chapter v; Nettels, Curtis P., *The Roots of American Civilization;* Nichols, Beverly, *Cry Havoc;* Ortega y Gasset, Jose, *Revolt of the Masses;* Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Man and Society in Calamity;* Spengler, Oswald, *The Decline of the West;* Storck, John, *Man and Civilization;* Turner, Ralph, *America in Civilization;* Ward, Lester F., *Psychic Factors of Civilization;* Wright, Quincy, *A Study of War*, 2 vols.

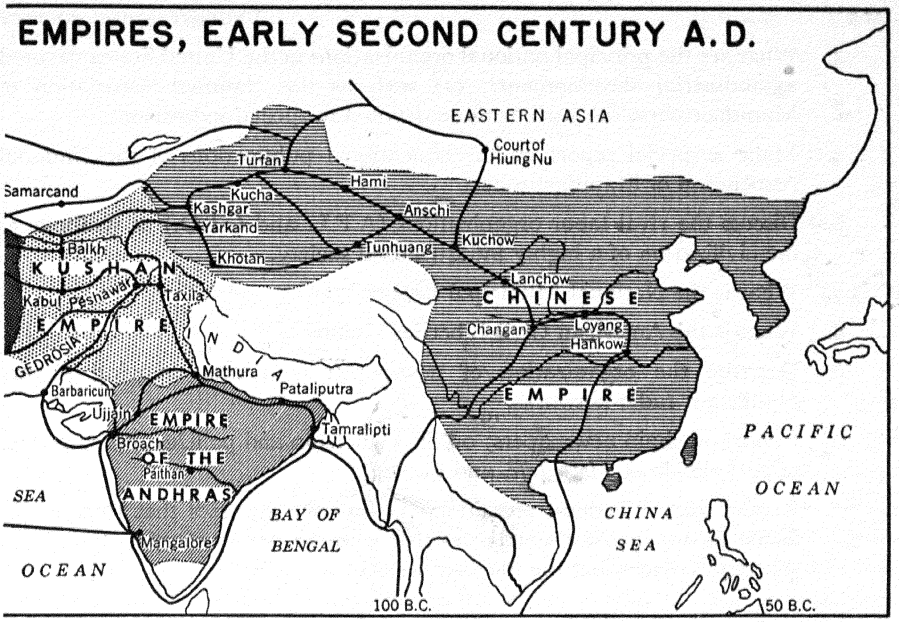
In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Discuss the organization and purposes of Air Affairs, Inc., 1829 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., as a product of civilization.
2. Make an analysis of the purposes of the hundreds of social agencies in New York City; the same for Chicago's agencies. List and classify the public and private social agencies in your home community.
3. Make some sort of classification of the national and international organizations and agencies cited in the *Social Work Year Book*. (Use the latest edition available.)

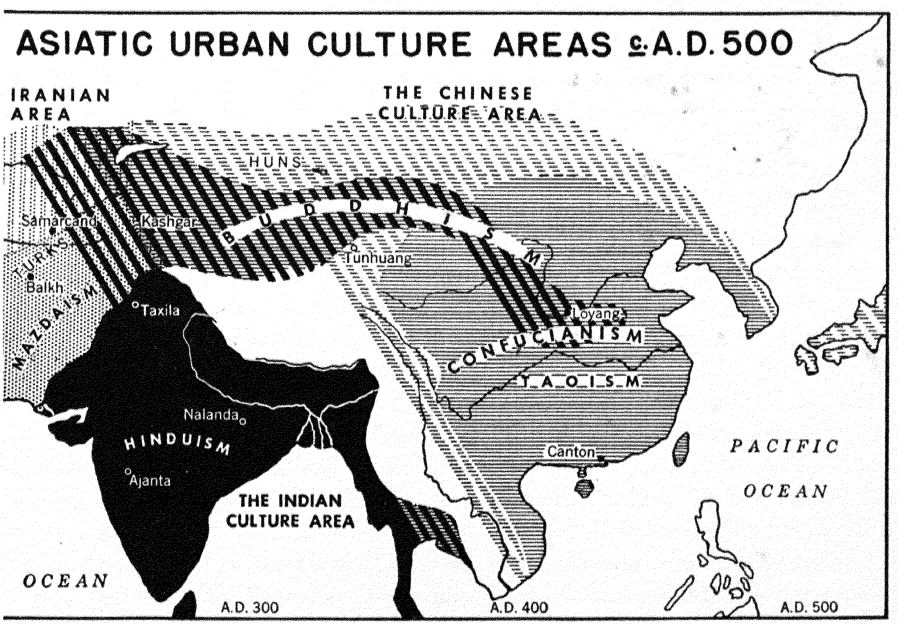


In Volume II of his *The Great Cultural Traditions: The Foundations of Civilization*, Ralph Turner presents the story of "The Classical Empires," the ancient Asiatic and European urban cultures in their imperial phase and decline. Here are described powerfully the inter-





actions and orientation of their cultural traditions under the influence of the displacement of the carrying population. ABOVE AND BELOW: Maps redrawn in black and white and adapted by permission of the author.



4. What are the principal national organizations in the United States devoted to industrial development? (a) such as the National Association of Manufacturers; (b) such as those devoted to special industries.
5. Make a special report on the educational publications of the National Association of Manufacturers.
6. Discuss the rival labor organizations (A.F.L. and C.I.O.) as symbolic of the civilization of a highly industrialized society.
7. What is the National Municipal League?
8. What is the American Civil Liberties Union?
9. Describe the organization of newspaper syndicates; moving picture syndicates; radio networks.
10. Report on chain newspapers; on the ownership and policies of such groups of periodicals as *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*.
11. Report on the Federal regulatory and service agencies that were established in the 1930's; the agencies that were formed to carry on the war in the 1940's, excepting the military service.

16

The Rise and Development of the State

In the beginning of civilization was the state. We continue our study of the framework of civilization by re-emphasizing the fact that the origin and nature of civilization are deeply rooted in the rise and development of the state. In earlier chapters, it was pointed out that in the ancient cultures which came to be designated as great civilizations, the climax of achievement and the definitive measure of their civilization were always contemporary with, on the one hand, the rise and the development of urban life and, on the other, the dominance of political power. As indicated before, the very origin of the term *civilization* can be found in the designation of "civil" society as opposed to the ethnic or kinship community group. *Civis*, the citizen, *civitas*, the state, were the functional as well as the etymological roots of civilization.

In our attempt to understand society through the medium of a single book, it is often necessary to repeat certain elemental statements, even as in mathematics or chemistry certain formulas are constantly repeated. Among these elements are culture, civilization, the folk, the folk-regional society. At this point, it is important to repeat the general procedure in our study, which is to seek the beginnings of generic human society in the natural folk-regional society and to trace its gradual extension through the levels of time, culture, and geography into the later civilization of the state. The state resulted from the real needs of the folk society; later the state was often to supplement the folk society, and in some social theories the state approximates society itself. So far as is known, there have been no great civilizations which have not followed this general evolutionary procedure. Since the highest achievements of man have been characterized as civilization, or a civilized world, the sociologist in undertaking the scientific

study of society must explore modern civilization as well as review the historical and cultural backgrounds of earlier society. The sociologist either uses the present as a starting point and checks backward, or starts with the earlier primitive society and approaches modern civilization, in order that he may find the elemental factors and the definitive margins of survival for human society.

The role of the state in early culture and late civilization. We have, therefore, two special objectives in this chapter: One objective is to point out something of the origin and nature of the state as the first level of civilized society in contrast to the previous ethnic-folk culture level of society. The other objective is to point out again that through expansion and dominance of the modern state (and the totalitarian state), civilization has been carried to its maximum urban and technological development. The folk culture and the folk society of earlier stages can be contrasted with the state society of later periods; the total culture can be contrasted with the advanced cross section of culture known as civilization. On the assumption that civilization does represent the highest achievement of human culture and is the end product of total cultural development, civilization becomes a substitute for the process of human culture. It represents the end of the long cultural road upward. Another premise is that civilization as the final product of culture not only automatically takes the place of the dynamic natural culture of peoples, but as it seeks primarily its own ends of material, technical, artistic, and scientific attainment, tends to destroy the natural society from which these qualities of culture may be continuously produced. These are not problems of what is good or bad, better or worse, but appraisals of "what happens or is likely to happen" under the dominance of civilization, and a challenge to society to ascertain what it is that it wants for future realization.

The state as total society destroys the other institutions. A similar question might be raised concerning the state as the sole institution which has developed into the supertype of modern civilization under the dominance of science, technology, intellectualism, and power. That is, in so far as the state becomes the supreme end of all societal effort and organization, as opposed to the state as an institution for serving human society, it automatically transcends the other institutions. The democratic society is of, for, and by *all* the institutions rather than one institution, the state. That is, the very nature of democracy is reflected in the many-sided service which the institutions perform. The home and family are necessary for that *organic* democracy which gives the child and the woman freedom in the

growing-up processes and in representative living together. Religious freedom, educational freedom, industrial freedom, social freedom are typified by the church, the school, the community. So, too, these institutions of democracy reflect the many-sided nature of the individual — the need for affection and companionship, for religion and education, for work and play. The state became the strong institution of modern times to serve all these and not to destroy them.

Four ways of isolation from and dominance over the people. In the cultural evolution from the folk to civilization, there are several means whereby leaders and rulers have separated themselves too far from the realism of the people. All of these ways are the processes which contribute to the commonly accepted definitions of civilization. Each process moves toward and focuses upon specialized ends which often become detrimental to the development of the folk or society. Each of the processes may be characterized by a sovereign group which is specialized and artificial, and so, far distant from the people. Since each of these patterns of rulership may absorb the state or government, they need to be clearly understood. (See also Chapter 34.)

Rule by birth. One is the *aristocracy of blood* and special privilege, which as a pattern offers an extraordinarily rich field of study. The concepts of the divine right of kings and the power and privilege of blood aristocracy form a continuing line in the long road of history. In later societies, the influence of blood aristocracy with its concomitant search for leisure, luxury, and dominance is almost universally one of decadence. The rule of royal families or the special influence which first families exercise upon government illustrate the power of this group on the state.

Rule by wealth. A similar process, closely allied to the first, is the *aristocracy of wealth*, in which a small number of individuals acquire control over much of a country's wealth. So powerful does wealth become that the term corpocracy is sometimes used to denote the nature of this ruling class; many students feel that the chief issue of present society is whether "business" or government shall rule. This is the realm of what is often called invisible government, of the influence of pressure groups through lobbying and propaganda. This process, however, goes further. In its artificiality and distance from the reality of the people is found not only the basis for decay in individuals, families, and nations, but the inherent basis of many of the problems of modern society.

Rule by government. There is also a third way in which leaders and rulers lose contact with the people and reality. This is through that special-

ized, governmental control sometimes described as *bureaucracy.* That is, when government assumes a form of control by which the few are able to perpetuate their own political party in service.

Rule by "intellectuals." The fourth level of "aristocracy" in this organic evolutional sense is that of a group of intellectuals. In many ways this level comprehends the other three in the sense that as each class becomes isolated and self-united, whether in the aristocracy of blood or wealth or politics, the modes of intellectual thought and action assume the same general exclusive attitude. It seems quite likely that Darwin, Marx, and Wagner were three great forerunners of the intellectuals who had such profound influence upon society. This fourth class is, therefore, perhaps the most dynamic and influential in modern society. It is this group that assumes the direction of the culture of the people. They know better than the people what is "good for them." In all cultures, it is this group which has set the goal of civilization as the highest achievement.

The important question is, what happens to society? Here again, the problem is not one of evaluating which form of rule is more desirable. It is the persistent problem of what happens to society and to the culture of the people under the dominance of any class. It must be repeated again and again that sociology is not primarily interested in estimating what is good or bad in the moralistic sense, since nearly always the founders of all aristocracies are "good" people, seeking mastery over environment in order to promote human progress. It is what results ultimately from their actions that counts. And it is the evolutionary process and the end products of civilization that are being studied in order to understand society.

Natural rights. The general premises concerning the rise of the state which we have just discussed are consistent with the procedures through which we trace the development of all societies. That is, even though the state represents the beginning of civilization in the sense that it is organizational and civil as opposed to informal and ethnic, the foundations of the state were all based upon the natural folkways which were basic to survival. That is, there were certain needs of the individual and the group which had to be met. These were natural needs, and the form of organization, the state, was evolved to meet these needs. As Giddings pointed out, these claims and liberties of the individual were not merely right, but they were "rights." "In a word, they were natural rights, not instituted, not invented, but produced of an unconscious growth and inheritance. Collectively, they were the stuff or content of natural justice." They were the things that held men together long before political organization came into

being and were the moral foundations of the state which must adapt itself to them if it is to survive.

Sociology studies the origin of the state. All of this is important to the sociologist, who attempts to understand society through the study of the rise of the state. Since many students have considered the state and society synonymous and since in the totalitarian philosophy the state is the final flowering of a society and is in reality society itself, the development of the state provides an excellent approach to the understanding of modern society. This means that the sociologist will examine the theories of the origin of the state, utilizing them as materials for the study of society without necessarily accepting any of them as the supreme or one-way pattern of societal evolution. These theories of the state are important not only in understanding the history of society, but as examples of political and social theory, since some of the great social theorists, Plato and Aristotle, for instance, have made political organization and the state the focus of social theory. Plato and Aristotle are cited here as illustrations of a long line of political philosophers who have influenced sociology.

Plato and Aristotle on the rise of the state. Plato's philosophy conformed to the premise that the first stage of man's development was the natural folk society. He even went so far as to say that the most perfect period of human existence was that which existed just before the emergence of civil society. This was, in substance, the patriarchal, ethnic group, the congregation of shepherds and farmers. Since each of these groups had its own folkways and customs, it was necessary for a selected body of leaders to choose the best of them to recommend them to the chiefs for the guidance of the several tribes. From this point on, these groups or tribes settled and remained in one place, such places became villages, and developed a system of organization, which became government. When several of these villages agreed to become a confederation, the evolution of the state was complete. So law and order, organization and obedience, commerce and industry, transcend the folkways of tribe and kinship.

Aristotle in his theory of the rise of the state also throws considerable light on some of the premises of cultural evolution. In previous chapters, it has been reiterated that the state grew up from natural needs, from a basis of natural human society. Aristotle believed that the first essential for the perpetuation of society was a union of the sexes; the primary purpose of the state was to maintain society through the happy union of the sexes (which also is necessary, he pointed out, for a similar harmonious union between master and slave). From these harmonious unions there grew the family and the household, and then groups of these became

villages, which became the basis of the state. That is, first the family, second the village, and then the state — the highest form of society to develop from a natural origin in meeting physical necessities, into an organization which contributes to man's total development. Thus, Aristotle makes the state the supreme institution of society, the end result of the development of social man, man's social nature being his distinctive trait.

The state arose from needs. From the viewpoint of the sociologist, there are a number of ideas of the elemental needs or forces on which the state is based. One is the natural need to conserve and integrate the wisdom of the folk under new and complicated circumstances, and to continue societal development. Another is that all individuals and societies are endowed with certain natural rights. Still another is that the supreme objective of the state is human welfare or the wise development of society. The state was the outcome of natural cultural evolution, in which various institutional forms and organizations were brought to the service of human society. Early contracts and compacts became laws and stateways. This, however, was the nature of the state, which transcended through its sovereignty other forms of control: it was the first institution which could direct and control all institutions and society itself.

The purpose of the state is to serve the individual citizen. The relation of the state to the individual has still a most important role. In the sense in which crisis and conflict are embodied in the terms of two conflicting philosophies, the role of the individual in the modern state may be said to be the supreme problem. That is, in the one philosophy the individual or the citizen is assumed to be the servant of the state, to be bred, utilized, and worked for the benefit of the state, in contradistinction to the other philosophy, which assumes that the state exists for the service of the individual. The student of sociology will inquire into each political system with a view to ascertaining under which type of government the individual will fare best, under which type those institutions will be maintained which will protect his rights, and under which type the continuity of human evolution through individual variation and opportunity will be guaranteed. It is in this sense that democracy as a philosophy, as a form of government, and as a societal arrangement assumes increasing sociological importance in that it is that type of government which places the people first and organization second.

The problems of the state in the modern world of civilization become multiplied in that there is inevitably a conflict between individuation and socialization. In so far as the power of the state becomes a superpower of defense and aggression, of the coercion of citizens beyond their natural

capacities in order to guarantee to them the fruits of conquest, the bigger share of world resources, the state becomes an end in itself.

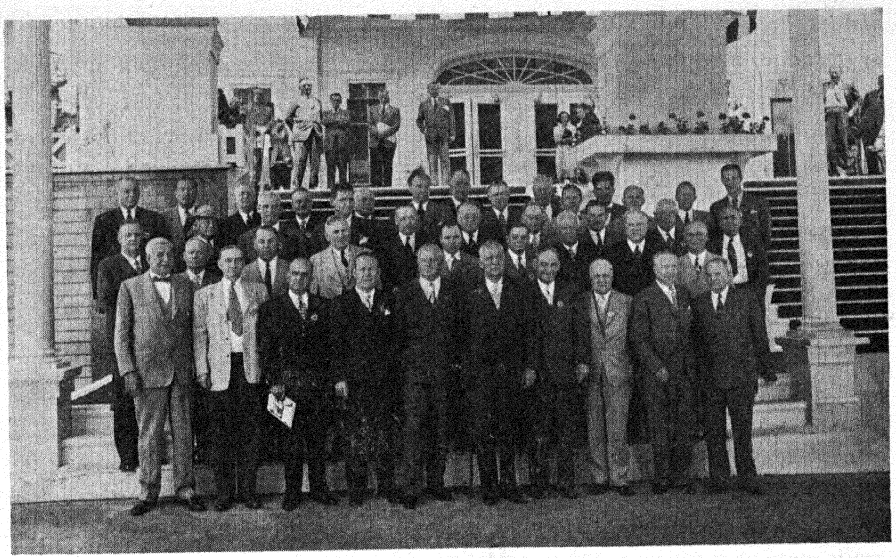
The state and American society. Throughout the development of American politics, the election issues of towns and counties and states and nation have been focused upon these fundamental principles: the natural rights for freedom and opportunity, the rights of the individual, special privilege to none — these are the principles that have been found necessary for American society to survive. Vox populi, vox dei — "the voice of the people [is] the voice of God" — is more than a demagogic appeal, since it is grounded in the facts of American welfare and cultural development. In so far as democracy conforms to the ideals of, by, and for all the people; all the states and regions; and all the institutions, American society is conforming to the societal formula which tends to ensure cultural progress and survival.

Assignments and Questions

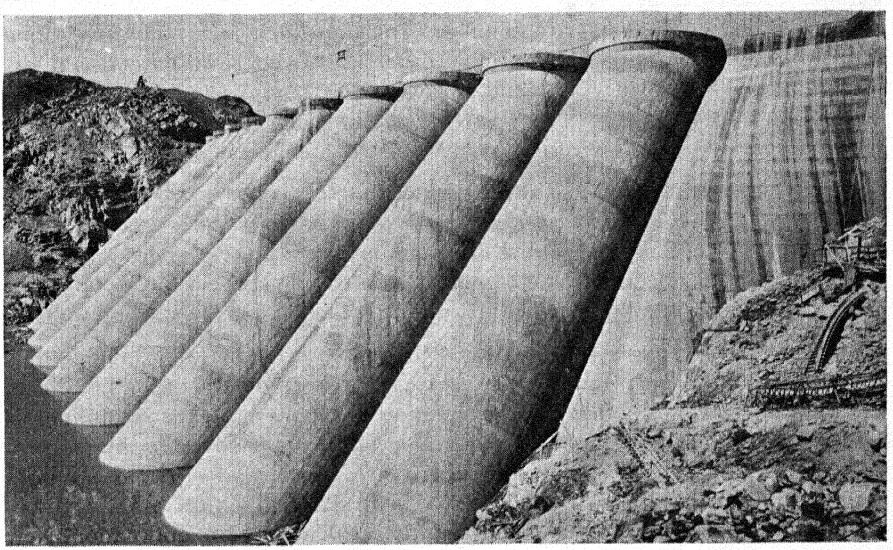
1. Define the state in terms of the forms of state, such as monarchy, oligarchy, theocracy, democracy. Distinguish between such historical forms as socialism and communism, fascism and nazism.
2. Define nationalism, internationalism, regionalism, geopolitics.
3. What are distinctions between *the state* and *government?*
4. Why have the political scientists tended to reject the earlier concept that "sovereignty" was the essential feature of government?
5. To what extent would the designation "United States of Europe" throw light on the historical meaning of "the state?"
6. Was the term "allied powers" in World War II more accurate than "allied nations" or "United Nations"?
7. What was Charles A. Beard's premise in *The Republic* by which he characterizes America's fundamental principles?
8. What is the meaning of "states' rights" in terms of the sovereignty of "the state"?
9. What is patriotism?
10. What are some of the most recent trends in government in the modern world?
11. Examine the viewpoints of certain of the earlier sociologists regarding the state. For example, Franklin H. Giddings in *Inductive Sociology*, pages 119, 210, in *The Responsible State*, pages 11, 13, 14, in *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, page 276; William G. Sumner in *The Science of Society*, pages 5–22, 593, 696, 699, 700, 703, 708, 709; Albion W. Small in *General Sociology*, pages 228, 239, 240, 244, 249, 250, 280, 347; Lester F. Ward in *Dynamic Sociology*, pages 14, 213, 214, 217, 223, 229, 242.
12. For certain theories about the rise of the state, see W. W. Willoughby, *The Nature of the State*, pages 26, 27, 33, 39, 40, 80, 81; Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, pages 383, 385, 398–400, 652–653, 712–713.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, page 134. See also chapter XXVII. The beginnings of political experience. Lowie's theory



Questions and answers: what is the best ratio of centralized governmental participation in public works as between the Federal and State Governments? ABOVE: 37th annual meeting of the Governors' Conference, July 1–4, 1945 at Mackinac Island. BELOW: Barlett Dam, symbol of the new regional planning for resource development and use.



of the state. Five forms of political organization. Meaning, evolution, and functions of the state and government in group culture.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XIV. Main characteristics of the federations of early tribal groups organized for defense or offense. The mental attitudes most suitable for building a strong state.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, pages 170, 194–196, 361, 376, 381, 400–406. A denial that the idea of the state is valid either as a concept of the super-individual personality or as a frame of reference for studying individual or particular group behavior. A mechanistic interpretation which holds the state to be little more than a symbol for behavior complexes or a mechanism for determining public policy.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, pages 364–366. Dual function of the modern state is power and service. Trends toward expansion of the service state and the critical problem of a spreading power state.

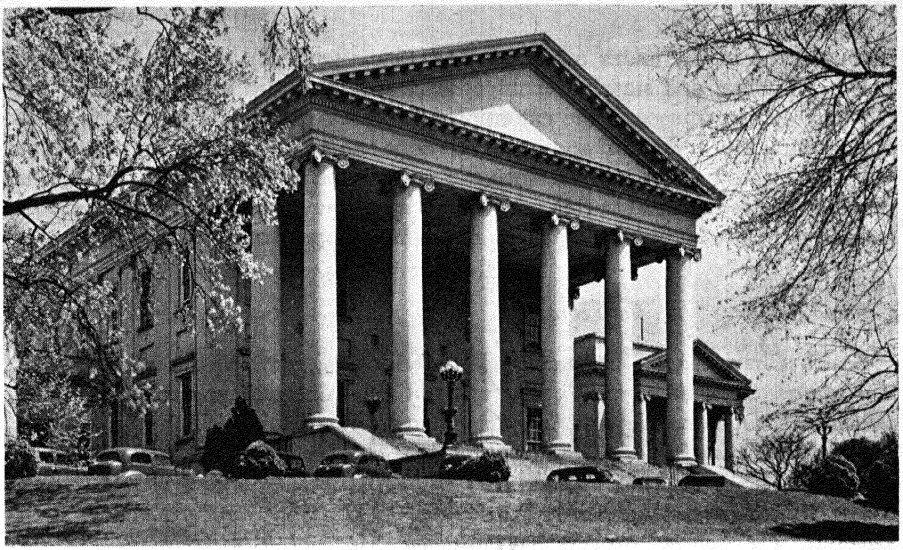
Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter XIX. The American democratic state as a concept and as a reality with many shortcomings and yet great promise. The people of the United States in quest of the American cultural dream in an era of war, totalitarianism, and the suppression of minorities.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapters XVIII and XX. Government as the expression of the simplest material cultures and of the ancient and modern state. The problems of representative government. Recent trends in the development of governmental functions in the United States.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapters 21 and 22. The state defined as the associational aspect of government which as a social institution seeks to systematize, regulate, and give coherence to interinstitutional activity. Salient aspects of the development of government and its multiple functions. The various types of human association found within the governmental structure. Persistent problems of all government, particularly of democracy.

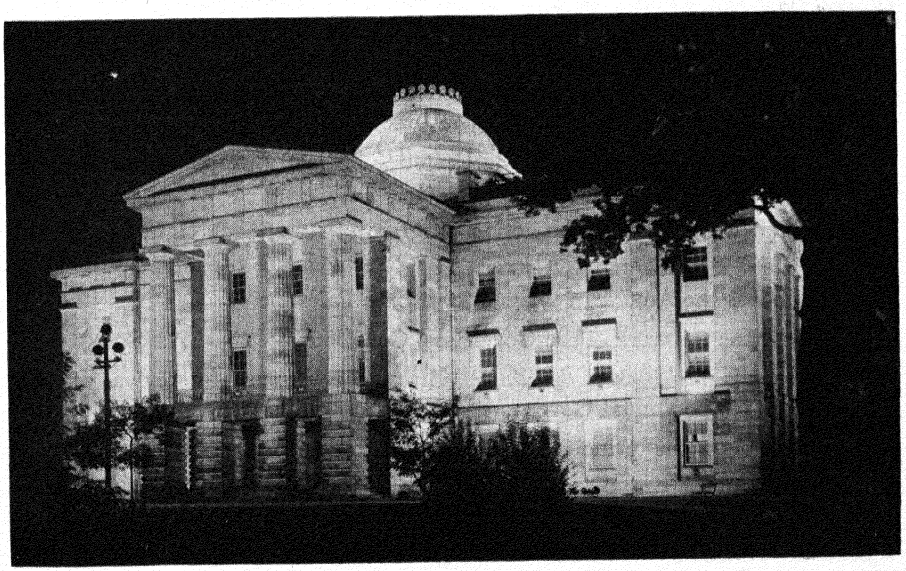
Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, pages 8, 15, 36, 48–58, 63–74, 75–88, 97–98, 115–118, 144, 151–154, 162–169, 208, 230–246, 278–284, 382, 403, 470–478, 503–508, 549–552. Custom the first form of human guidance and group control. Government as it integrates the mores of the group and expresses the group ethos. The basic function of all government is administering the mores for group welfare.

Recent Social Trends, pages 365–371, 847–850, 1230–1233, 1292–1307, 1264, 1317, 1319, 1375–1385, 1397–1402, 1405–1411, 1419, 1473–1478, 1494. Education controlled by the states. The state in relation to labor. State systems of public welfare. Development of functions of state governments; study of trends toward state control. Study of state income, inheritance, estate, and sales taxes, and of state and local fiscal relations. Analysis of centralization within the states with the conclusion of a trend toward centralization upward in state and nation. New



The Romance of Government in the United States Symbolized in their State Capitols

ABOVE: Virginia's State House at Richmond. BELOW: North Carolina's Capitol at Raleigh. There are many other notable state capitols, as for example Utah's capitol with its murals reflecting the winning of the West. See especially, *The Book of the States*, published by The Council of State Governments.



management in the states analyzed. Increasing tendency toward co-operation between Federal and state government administration and improvement of procedures seen to transcend the extension of administrative powers to new fields. Recognition that industrial and social relations extend beyond the limits of states.

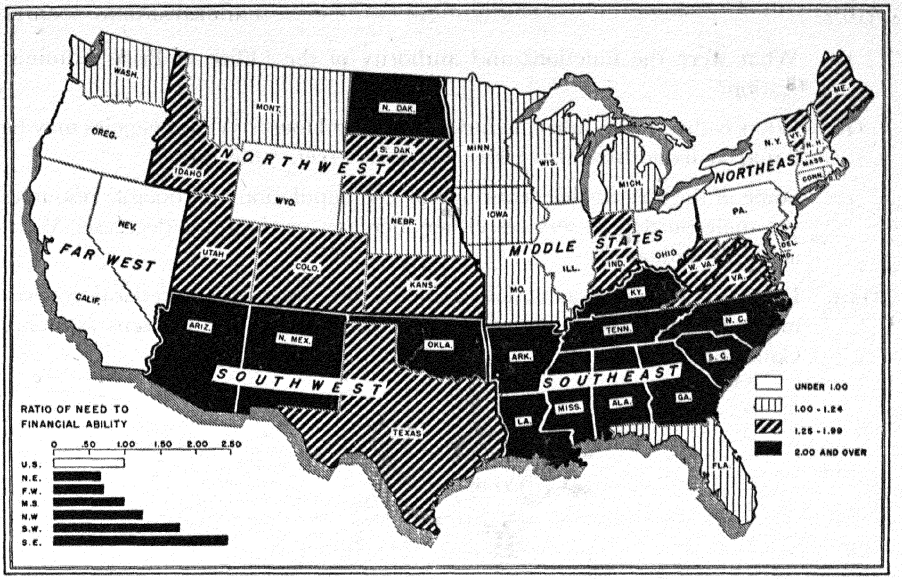
In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Beard, Charles A., *The Republic;* Berle, Adolf A., and Means, Gardiner C., *The Modern Corporation and Private Property;* Carr, Albert, *Juggernaut: The Path of Dictatorship;* Doman, Nicholas, *The Coming Age of World Control;* Fairgrieve, James, *Geography and World Power;* Giddings, Franklin H., *The Responsible State;* Galloway, George B., and associates, *Planning for America;* Keeton, George Williams, *National Sovereignty and International Order;* Lowie, Robert H., *The Origin of the State;* Lyon, Leverett, *The National Recovery Administration;* MacIver, Robert M., *The Modern State;* Pound, Roscoe, McIlwain, Charles H., and Nichols, Roy F., *Federalism as a Democratic Process;* Spykman, Nicholas J., *America's Strategy in World Politics;* Strausz-Hupé, Robert, *Geopolitics: The Struggle for Space and Power;* Strong, Sydney, *The Rise of American Democracy;* Vollmer, August, *The Police and Modern Society;* Wallas, Graham, *Human Nature in Politics;* Weigert, Hans W., *Generals and Geographers.*

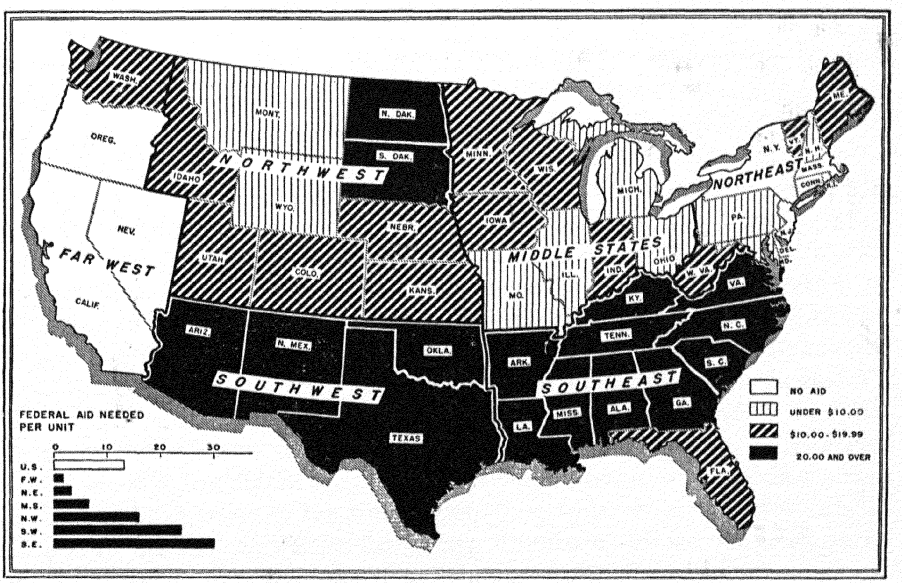
In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Describe the Council of State Governments.
2. Describe the work of the Conference on International Organization held at San Francisco from April 25 to June 26, 1945.
3. What are the premises of a United States of Europe? or a federated Europe?
4. What is involved in the action program of Americans United for World Organization?
5. What is the American League for a Free Palestine?
6. Describe the work of the Governors' Conference.
7. What is *The Book of the States?* What are evidences of a revival of *states' rights* in the annual Governors' Conference?
8. Catalogue the principal Federal government organizations devoted to "social action."
9. Give a general analysis of the departments and agencies of the Federal government as listed and described in the *United States Government Manual.*



The Widening Range of Governmental Services

A key problem in modern civilization is always that of balance and equilibrium between individuation and socialization, between the folk and the state. This is illustrated in the United States as elsewhere. ABOVE: Variations in the states' needs for Federal aid. BELOW: By units compared with (above) ability to match.



10. What were the functions and authority of the Office of Price Administration?

11. What is the Public Administration Clearing House? What agencies may be found at its address: 1313 East Sixtieth Street, Chicago 37?

12. Some of the largest cities continue to lose population and taxable resources yet their burden of services either increases or does not decrease? What action is indicated?

13. Discuss and group, as action agencies, the units of the Federal government as described in the tabulation provided by the Citizens National Committee, Inc., in their publication No. 333.

17

The Rise and Development of the City

The city as civilization. Civilization is a specialized, advanced level of culture; and associated with this conception is the idea that cities and civilization are the same. The earliest civilizations, developed around the cities of Thebes, Memphis, Babylon, and Nineveh, and the later great achievements of civilization in Athens and Rome are mentioned in Chapter 14. Athens was the civilization of Greece. Rome was the civilization of the Roman Empire. That "Paris is France" has been a popular verdict. What Paris saw, thought, and felt, all France saw, thought, and felt. And, to the European, New York is often America; more particularly New York is the East; Chicago the Midwest; San Francisco or Los Angeles the Far West. These cities have been focal points of American civilization, both in the sense that they have been regarded as great American achievements and in the sense that Europeans have interpreted them as symbols of American civilization. Yet, in later years discriminating European and American students have protested that the cities are not America; they may be civilization, but they are not all of America in the wide range of its folk regions. The American cities do, however, represent civilization in the sense that, in general, they can be said to influence American thinking, and in the sense that Spengler's type of the world city represents the essence and immensity of the modern problems of civilization. In Spengler's opinion, the inhabitants of the supercity are a new type of nomad, unstable in masses, parasitical in dwelling, mechanical, traditionless, religionless, clever in their intelligentsia, unfruitful, contemptuous of the countryman, in contrast to people in the folk region. The fruits of civilization can be reaped in the city only in so far as art, literature, leisure, industry, technology, luxury, and convenience are the measures of attainment.

Let us summarize, from a number of treatises on urban sociology, something of the evolution, structure, and characteristics of the city. The present summary is based largely on books by Oswald Spengler, Howard Woolston, Nels Anderson, E. C. Lindeman, Earl E. Muntz, Noel P. Gist, L. A. Halbert, Ernest W. Burgess, Niles Carpenter, R. D. McKenzie, and Lewis Mumford.

What the city does to man and his society. We must repeat again and again that it is not the function of sociology to undertake to say which is better, urban or rural life, in the sense of ultimate values or specialized achievements. The sociologist knows that in urban society alone will mankind find certain things and that if those things are desired, urban society will be the end. He knows that there will be a certain price to pay in terms of what may be had in rural life. So, too, the sociologist does not have to endorse Spengler's concept of civilization in order to utilize it as a premise for study. Spengler's belief that civilizations are the most external and artificial states of which a species of developed humanity is capable, was intended to apply especially to the intellectual age and the stone-built petrifying world city. The student seeks both to understand and to evaluate the theories of Spengler and other doctrinaires.

He will want to check upon Lewis Mumford, who, in his notable *The Culture of Cities*, describes the urban inhabitant as one who lives "not in the real world, but in a shadow world projected around him at every moment by means of paper and celluloid: a world in which he is insulated by glass, rubber, cellophane, from the mortifications of living." Here again, it is important for the sociologist to keep in mind that he is not evaluating the superiority or inferiority of the accomplishments of the city, but he is cataloguing those traits and influences which have such an effect upon the individual and upon the group.

The civilized products of the city. It is important to note that the ultimate character of city civilization is found not in its beginnings, its original intentions for effective organization for human welfare, but in its supertechnical and artificial development. In this development are to be found all the perversions and maladjustments which come inevitably from too much and too artificial organization. The very bigness of the metropolis and the massing of its millions of people reflect profoundly the fact that complexity of organization does not always contribute to effectiveness of co-operation and association. Here are some of the artificial and supertechnical products of urban civilization: congestion of population, nondescript planning, hospitals and schools and churches on noisy and dusty streets, multiple problems of health and sanitation, multiple problems of

mental health and hygiene, emotional tensions and physical strain, and imbalance of finance. No wonder Lewis Mumford proclaims:

Behold the present moment in Western civilization. Examine the economic state of the metropolis during the last century and note how its infirmities have piled up. . . . For the metropolis is by its very nature in a state of permanent imbalance: its proletariat lacks good housing and an adequate diet, to say nothing of other opportunities, even during the most flatulent periods of prosperity.

How the megalopolitan culture, which is modern civilization, also is synonymous with the modern world of power and totalitarianism and war has been pointed out by Mumford in his interpretation of the cities in relation to war. The city and the state became the supreme symbols of the particular level of civilization of the European world which preceded its destruction in World War II. In such a city as Berlin, in such a society as Hitler's Germany, civilization was powerful, it was ruthless, it achieved the heights of physical and quantitative fabrication and was destroyed by civilized warfare. Mumford points out that, concentrated upon war,

The metropolitan regime opposes domestic and civic functions: it subordinates life to organized destruction, and it must, therefore, regiment, limit, and constrict every exhibition of real life and culture. Result: the paralysis of all the higher activities of society: the organs of co-operation stiffened into a reflex system of obedience: the order of the drill sergeant and the bureaucrat. Such a regime may reach unheard-of heights in external co-ordination and discipline, and those who endure it may make superb soldiers and juicy cannon fodder; but it is for the same reason deeply antagonistic to every valuable manifestation of life. Plainly a civilization that terminates in a cult of barbarism has disintegrated as civilization; and the war-metropolis, as an expression of these institutions, is an anti-civilizing agent; . . .

The sociologist here seeks a more realistic meaning for the term *civilization* and finds it in the kaleidoscopic panorama of world society of the twentieth century. There are many characteristics of the city which the student may explore in terms of synonyms for civilization — bigness, power, artificiality. Some of these have already been pointed out and others will be noted in discussion of the hazards of artificial society and supertechnology.

Evolution of cities. It is unnecessary to remind the student that the ultimate ends of the city were never visualized in the first expansions of villages into towns. The present megalopolitan civilization in both struc-

ture and function is quite different from the earlier cities which grew up to meet certain natural needs. Here again we must review the cultural evolution of societies from the nomad and rural communities and village to the town and city, to the end that we may understand clearly how society has grown up and come of age. All cities have developed very much after the fashion of the state, from tribes, clans, and villages into larger associations. A consistent transition from the isolated folk society to the more urban community is shown by such studies as Robert Redfield's *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*. From the rural culture the village community developed, of which the features were a kinship of members, a common form of worship, sometimes a community of property, and some sort of patriarchal leadership. The combination of these communities in ancient Greece to form the city-state usually arose from the need for defense, about some center of worship or some natural stronghold where people and industry later concentrated. Ernest W. Burgess has simplified the differences between earlier and later cities by saying that the ancient city grew up around a fortress, while the modern city grew up around a market. There were many factors influencing the location of cities, such as defense, accessibility, natural beauty, a surrounding food-producing area, mines, water power, climatic and health conditions, and, of course, any previous incidental congregation of people. The city has often been studied in relation to three broad periods of history: the classical era, of which ancient Rome or Athens is a symbol; the Middle Ages around the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and the modern era or the machine age, which began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Urbanism. Students of the city distinguish between the city itself, the earlier urban society, and the modern phenomenon of urbanism, which by a number of authorities is considered practically synonymous with civilization. In many of the definitions of the modern city these distinctions are implied. Thus, Niles Carpenter speaks of urbanism as the type of society dominated by city life and as being almost synonymous with civilization. Gist and Halbert characterize urbanism as the destroyer substitute and supplement of primary group association, thus making the modern city different from early cultural communities.

Centralization and Concentration. Essentially the city is the first step in the trend towards the centralization which may almost be said to be the keynote to modern civilization — centralization of power, defense, trade and industry, arts, literature, the recreation, and so on. Another distinction between the large American city and "normally" distributed society is that the growth of the city has resulted from a concentration of population

which has come first, from migration from rural places, and second, from migration from foreign places. Thus eight American cities — Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco — have a foreign-born population of 100,000 or more. From this point of view the large city becomes an artificial congregation of many types of people.

Industry and Government. The economics of modern cities is also primarily different from that of earlier cultures. Howard Woolston distinguishes the modern from the ancient city by the turning point of the Industrial Revolution, which brought about the remarkable urban concentration of the present day. In the first place, occupations are secondary, and there is opportunity for many kinds of work in the professions. The structure of the city is such as to emphasize its constituent functions. Thus, the city may be a railroad center, an industrial center, a business center, or an educational center, and so on, or a combination of these; it has certain arrangements for transportation and communication; it has certain residential districts of various levels, and it has areas of slums; it has an outer realm of suburbs and then of metropolitan communities. The functions of the city, however, are always secondary and artificial in relation to human society.

As one index of the distinctive character of urban society, we may note, at times, a peculiar dominance of politics in the city, and that it sometimes seems well-nigh impossible to achieve a structure and form of government completely adequate for the modern megalopolitan culture. In the United States, there is little uniformity of city government. American city governments can be classified generally under three types — (1) mayor-and-council type; (2) commission plan; and (3) city-manager plan.

Social problems of the city. This brings us to the important subject of social problems in the city. Here, again, in addition to the common survival problems of all people, of food, safety, housing, and health, each of the large cities has its distinctively urban problems. There are, for instance, all the "problems" involved in the administrative, legislative, and judicial functions of city government, including the fiscal policy and taxation, engineering, planning, and zoning. Outstanding in this complex of special problems of city government is the almost insolvable problem of transportation. There are special problems of safety (crime, fire, street accidents, traffic), of health (disease, sanitation, water supply, housing), of public welfare, education, and recreation. All of these, already intensified in the rapid growth of cities, are accentuated in the light of modern air and flying bomb warfare — the focal hazards of urban centralization, of which

London and Warsaw, Rotterdam and Berlin, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, are prominent examples. There are other special problems, such as those relating to home life and children, the isolation of individuals, the cultural conditioning of urban inhabitants, and the over-stimulation and the tensions of city life. The corollary of many of these problems is decentralization, a trend away from urbanism.

Is the individual lost in the city? Another way of exploring the phenomenon of urbanism is to follow our usual procedure and inquire into the impact of urbanization upon the individual. A recapitulation of the catalogue of social problems of the city will give us a catalogue of some of the effects and personality problems involved. In general, urban life encourages, or forces, individualism, isolation, and self-interest. Some of these aspects will be studied further in Part v, which deals with population and especially with the role of the individual in society.

City planning. Modern megalopolitan culture or urban society as the acme of civilization is one of the essential fields of social planning. Metropolitan planning in its earlier states was both symbol and reality of that which might be called antisocial from the viewpoint of culture and the survival of society in general, for city planning, which was for many years synonymous with social planning, emphasized almost entirely the physical and engineering problems and ignored the human problems, and focused primarily upon the interest and welfare of the city as opposed to the interest and welfare of the surrounding rural regions. In later years society and government has found it necessary to revise and enlarge the whole concept of social planning to include a broad philosophy of opportunity and development, and a new science of regionalism, through which a better balance between the city and the country, industry and agriculture, and machines and men, may some day be attained. The search for a balance between all these factors is a part of the objective of social planning (Chapter 36). Peter Van Dresser, writing on "Machines and Individuals" in *Harper's* for December, 1936, has focused the problem with vividness and severity:

Big cities mean bigger corruption; big organizations of any type crush and obliterate, distort and frustrate a large proportion of the men-cells which compose them or which come in contact with them. . . . Where is the super-engineer who will for one moment pretend that he is equipped to meet such problems as these, to design on a rational basis even a small machine involving men? And if the ambitious blueprints of world-remodelers are to be put into execution, problems enormously exceeding the abilities of whatever rudimentary social engineering we have today must be solved.

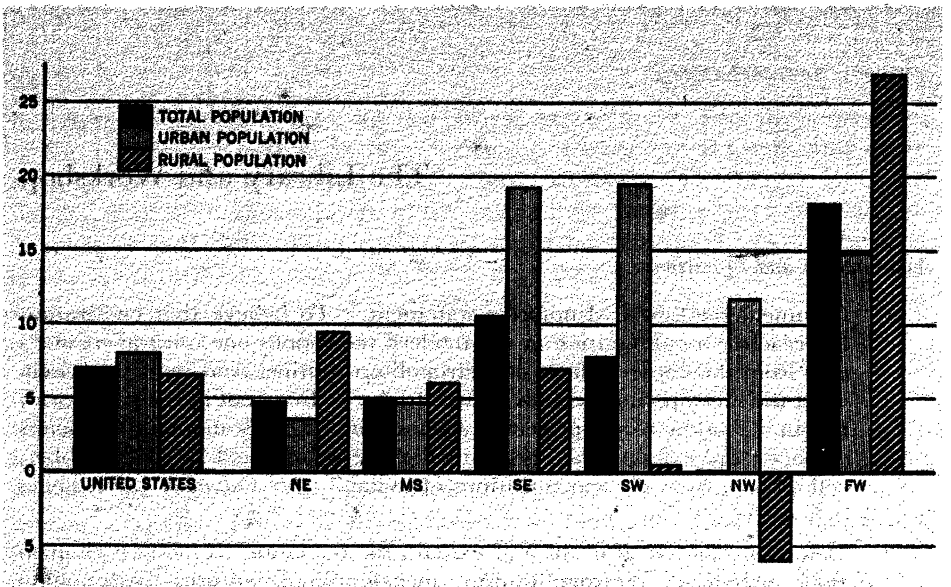
American cities. The large cities of the United States represent a concentration of people, finance, industry, power, and the arts, and reflect the process of urbanization as a way of life symbolic of what has been sought under the name of civilization. The development of the city and of urbanism in American life parallels the general historical development of the United States. In 1790, when the first national census was taken, 94.9 per cent of the people lived in rural places; 1940, 43.5 per cent. At some point in the decade 1910-1920 the population became more urban than rural. In 1790 there were only twenty-four "urban places"; in 1940 there were 3,464. (An "urban place" has 2,500 or more inhabitants.) The largest number of urban places, 965, is in the population group 5,000 to 10,000. Sixty-seven per cent of the people of the North live in urban places, 58.5 per cent of the West, and 36.7 per cent of the South. A metropolitan district or region was set up for use in the 1940 census of population in connection with each city of 50,000 inhabitants or more, two or more such cities sometimes being in one district. The general plan was to include in the district, in addition to the central city or cities, all adjacent and contiguous minor civil divisions or incorporated places having a population of 150 or more per square mile. On this basis, the 1940 census revealed a total of 140 metropolitan districts. The first American cities were located along the Atlantic seaboard. The development of railroads beginning in the 1820's, of the telephone beginning about 1876, and of the automobile in the early 1900's alongside the westward migration contributed to population concentration in cities. R. D. McKenzie divides the development of the American city into three periods: water, rail, and motor vehicle. Geography, economics, metropolitan regionalism, and the concentration of industries are some of the other fundamental forces in city development. The rise of American urbanism may be seen from the statistical illustrations at the end of this chapter and in earlier chapters which give a general picture of the nation's population. In general, the challenge of civilization and its megalopolitan patterns in America is similar to the same challenge throughout the civilized world. The students of American culture and those who acclaim American progress have sometimes said the nation is mature because the population has become predominantly urban. This is true if our national objective is the culture of cities, and if urbanization, in its maximum attainments, is synonymous with civilization — a cross section of societal achievement at its most mature level.

Today's cities. For the sociologist, finally, the study of cities becomes a major area of the study of all modern society. This is true not only because of the fundamental traits of urbanism but because of the sweeping increase

in urbanism the world over. In the United States more than three quarters of the people are within an hour's driving distance of the city and more than 90 per cent within an hour's flying distance. The study of urban society, therefore, becomes the study of the marginal values to mankind of city life as it is developing and as it might be changed. One of the best examples of utilizing laboratory work and theory in social science in this field was the educational experiment of Vassar College as reported in "Today's Cities." *Vassar College Bulletin*, April, 1946. This report of their laboratory study, points out that "The city is the cultural dominant. Mass production industry makes it a form essential to understand the world over, whether it be Tientsin, Magnitogorsk, Tel Aviv, Manchester, Berlin, Paris, Milan, Buenos Aires, New York, or Poughkeepsie. It is in cities that the terrible gap between our power over nature and our use of this power for human ends is especially threatening; it is here that much of the finest imagination of today is taking shape. Thomas Jefferson believed that democracy was impossible in great cities. Many people believe that today it is even more impossible, for cities are now greater aggregations of people than Thomas Jefferson was thinking of. If they are right, what shall we do about the alternatives of tyranny or the break-up of mass production industry? Or, may it be that there are newly promising factors present so that democratic principles can be extended further than has been thought, and people may be able to make their cities homes for free men? Is such a factor the scientific method as we are now learning to extend it to explaining and controlling ourselves as well as atoms? Can we extend scientific scrutiny to luxury and power at the top as well as to poverty and frustration in the slums? Can we clarify our values so that we are sure we mean democracy? Are the new media of communication another promising factor? Can we so use them that masses of people can understand democracy?"

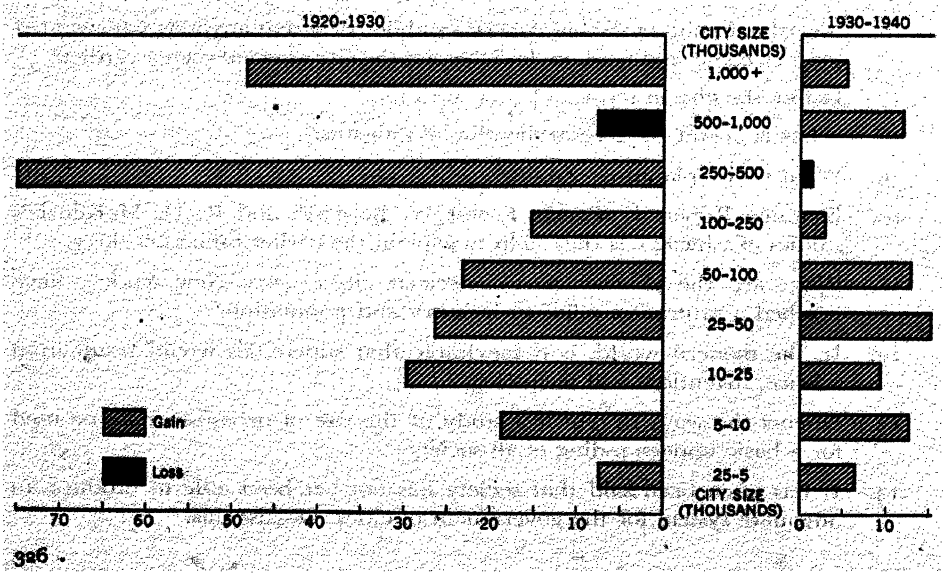
Assignments and Questions

1. Comment on Lewis Mumford's statement: "To believe that civilization has reached a culmination in the modern metropolis one must avert one's eyes from the concrete facts of metropolitan routine. And that is precisely what the metropolitan schools himself to do: he lives, not in the real world, but in a shadow world projected around him at every moment by means of paper and celluloid: a world in which he is insulated by glass, rubber, cellophane, from the mortifications of living." (*The Culture of Cities*, pages 255–256)
2. Define the following terms and explain their relation to modern civilization: urbanism, metropolitanism, megalopolitan culture, metropolitan regionalism.
3. Is America mature because it is more urban than rural?
4. To what extent is the city synonymous with the most advanced state of civilizations?
5. What did Oswald Spengler mean when he referred, let us say, to New York as contemporary with Babylon, or Paris as contemporary with ancient Rome?
6. A cardinal point of the old American philosophy that anybody who wanted to work could find work to do. How has the city affected such a verdict?
7. Define the city in terms of "concentration."
8. What is meant by decentralization of industry?
9. What is city planning? Zoning?
10. Examine Robert E. Park's, Ernest W. Burgess', and R. D. McKenzie's studies of Chicago as they help to explain the earlier human ecology.
11. What are the chances that American cities — say New York — have reached a saturation point in industry and population?
12. In the modern world, is it inevitable that supercities would result from science, invention, and technology?
13. Discuss the ways in which a study of the rise of urbanism may be used for a basic understanding of all society.
14. It has often been said that society has not yet been able to produce an adequate system for the government of cities. Discuss this.



Urban Trends in the United States, 1930–1940

The National Resources Planning Board in the 1930's characterized the Nation as maturing on the basis of its universal trend toward urbanism. ABOVE: Percentage change in total, urban, and rural population by regions. BELOW: Percentage change in urban population by size of city.



15. List superior characteristics which may be attributed to the modern city.
16. Discuss the following statement: The natural habitat of the "intellectual" is the city.
17. What are the limitations of the hundreds of national ameliorative agencies, with headquarters in New York, Chicago, and so on, whose functions are those of reform? Discuss these agencies as societal forces.
18. What are possible errors in the assumption that cities and civilization are synonymous?
19. What are the arguments against the movement away from the country toward village, town, and city?
20. Discuss the countermovement of decentralization, and name some of the aspects of this movement which are the strongest.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, pages 40–43 and 622. The city from the ecological point of view. Shows the city as a focus of social change and its relation to the region.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, pages 217–218 and 230. The place of the neighborhood in the development of the city. When it vanishes, unless a substitute is developed, life in the city is inadequate.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapters I–IV. Development of the city from the medieval town through the rise and fall of megalopolis. The modern urban center carries the seeds of its own destruction but shows the possibilities of salvage and renewal.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, chapters III–IV. In a mechanized civilization the city is faced with the cycle of growth and dissolution.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter V. The development of America from a nation with a rural culture to one with an urban civilization. Differences and conflicts between the rural and urban ways of life; attempts being made to solve the problems created by the conflict between rural and urban cultures.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*. See especially the chapters dealing with metropolitan regionalism and planning, economic regionalism, and political regionalism.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, pages 501–503 and 585–587. Differentials in rural and urban growth. The commercial city develops as a result of the division of labor and the growth of economic organization.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, pages 502–504. The growth of cities the result of industrial and transportation system. Major differences between modern rural and urban cultures.

The Great Change: From Rural to Urban — Agriculture to Industry — Animate to Machine Power

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES LIVING IN URBAN PLACES OF OVER 2500 POPULATION

By states and regions from 1880 to 1940

AREA	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
UNITED STATES	28.2	35.1	39.7	45.7	51.2	56.2	56.5
NORTHEAST	48.4	56.3	62.9	68.4	72.5	74.4	73.4
Maine	22.6	28.1	33.5	35.3	39.0	40.3	40.5
New Hampshire	30.0	39.3	46.7	51.8	56.5	58.7	57.6
Vermont	10.0	15.2	22.1	27.8	31.2	33.0	34.3
Massachusetts	74.7	82.0	86.0	89.0	90.0	90.2	89.4
Rhode Island	82.0	85.3	88.3	91.0	91.9	92.4	91.6
Connecticut	41.9	50.9	59.9	65.6	67.8	70.4	67.8
New York	56.4	65.1	72.9	78.9	82.7	83.6	82.8
New Jersey	54.4	62.6	70.6	76.4	79.9	82.6	81.6
Delaware	33.4	42.2	46.4	48.0	54.2	67.8	66.5
Pennsylvania	41.6	48.6	54.7	60.4	65.1	51.7	52.3
Maryland	40.2	47.6	49.8	50.8	60.0	59.8	59.3
West Virginia	8.7	10.7	13.1	18.7	25.2	28.4	28.1
SOUTHEAST	9.4	13.2	15.3	19.5	23.9	29.8	32.1
Virginia	12.5	17.1	18.3	23.1	29.2	32.4	35.3
North Carolina	3.9	7.2	9.9	14.4	19.2	25.5	27.3
South Carolina	7.5	10.1	12.8	14.8	17.5	21.3	24.5
Georgia	9.4	14.0	15.6	20.6	25.1	30.8	34.4
Florida	10.0	19.8	20.3	29.1	36.5	51.7	55.1
Kentucky	15.2	19.2	21.8	24.3	26.2	30.6	29.8
Tennessee	7.5	13.5	16.2	20.2	26.1	34.3	35.1
Alabama	5.4	10.1	11.9	17.3	21.7	28.1	30.2
Mississippi	3.1	5.4	7.7	11.5	13.4	16.9	19.8
Arkansas	4.0	6.5	8.5	12.9	16.6	20.6	22.2
Louisiana	25.5	25.4	26.5	30.0	34.9	39.7	41.5
SOUTHWEST	9.2	13.8	15.1	22.5	30.3	38.2	42.3
Oklahoma	——	3.7	7.4	19.2	26.5	34.3	37.6
Texas	9.2	15.6	17.1	24.1	32.4	41.0	45.4
New Mexico	5.5	6.2	14.0	14.2	18.0	25.2	33.2
Arizona	17.3	9.4	15.9	31.0	36.1	34.4	34.8

The Great Change: From Rural to Urban — Agriculture to Industry — Animate to Machine Power

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES LIVING IN URBAN PLACES OF OVER 2500 POPULATION

By states and regions from 1880 to 1940

AREA	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
UNITED STATES	28.2	35.1	30.7	45.7	51.2	56.2	56.5
MIDDLE STATES	25.5	35.2	41.2	48.5	55.8	61.5	61.2
Ohio	32.2	41.1	48.1	55.9	63.8	67.8	66.8
Indiana	19.5	26.9	34.3	42.4	50.6	55.5	55.1
Illinois	30.6	44.9	54.3	61.7	67.9	73.9	73.6
Michigan	24.8	34.9	39.3	47.2	61.1	68.2	65.7
Wisconsin	24.1	33.2	38.2	43.0	47.3	52.9	53.5
Minnesota	19.1	33.8	34.1	41.0	44.1	49.0	49.8
Iowa	15.2	21.2	25.6	30.6	36.4	39.6	42.7
Missouri	25.2	32.0	36.3	42.3	46.6	51.2	51.8
NORTHWEST	14.1	23.3	24.8	29.1	32.2	35.6	39.6
North Dakota	7.3	5.6	7.3	11.0	13.6	16.6	20.6
South Dakota	7.3	8.2	10.2	13.1	16.0	18.9	24.6
Nebraska	13.6	27.4	23.7	26.1	31.3	35.3	39.1
Kansas	10.5	18.9	22.4	29.1	34.8	38.8	41.9
Montana	17.8	27.1	34.7	35.5	31.3	33.7	37.8
Idaho	.0	.0	6.2	21.5	27.6	29.1	33.7
Wyoming	29.6	34.3	28.8	29.6	29.4	31.1	37.3
Colorado	31.4	45.0	48.3	50.3	48.2	50.2	52.6
Utah	23.4	35.7	38.1	46.3	48.0	52.4	55.5
FAR WEST	35.9	42.4	45.9	56.0	61.6	67.2	65.0
Nevada	31.1	33.8	17.0	16.3	19.7	37.8	39.3
Washington	9.5	35.6	40.8	53.0	54.8	56.6	53.1
Oregon	14.8	27.9	32.2	45.5	49.8	51.3	48.8
California	42.9	48.6	52.3	61.8	67.9	73.3	71.0
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	90.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, "Urban Population in the United States from the First Census (1790) to the Fifteenth Census (1930)," Release of October 31, 1939; *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Series P–2, Nos. 1–49, Table 1.

Recent Social Trends, chapter IX, pages 11–17, 681, 683, 969, 987, 991, 997, 1019, 1250–1254, 1307–1315, 1316, 1361–1363, 1408–1410, 1412, 1419–1421, 1499, 1516. Urban populational growth. The trend toward metropolitanism; metropolitan regionalism; the process of metropolitan growth; structural change; city and regional planning and zoning; trends in metropolitan government. Need for a plan of co-ordination of governmental functions before the political unity of the actual functional metropolitan community can be achieved. Cities as deterrents to marriage and large families. Relation of arts to government seen mainly in zoning and city and regional planning, war memorials, museums. Other artistic offerings and influences of municipalities. Migration from farms to cities led to redistribution of church members into fewer churches with larger memberships. Public welfare in the cities. Changes in municipal functions and activities. Per capita tax burden tends to increase as cities increase in size. Management trends in municipal government. Unionization in cities. Urban centers without equal representation in the state legislatures. Innovations in municipal function, particularly in legislative organization and powers.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Burgess, Ernest W. (ed.), *The Urban Community;* Carpenter, Niles, *The Sociology of City Life;* Ford, James, Morrow, Katherine, and Thompson, George N., *Slums and Housing* (2 vols.); Gist, Noel P., and Halbert, L. A., *Urban Society;* Kiser, Clyde Vernon, *Group Differences in Urban Fertility;* Lewis, Harold M., *City Planning: Why and How;* Lynd, Robert S., and Lynd, Helen Merrell, *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition;* McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community;* Moore, Jane, *Cityward Migration;* Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities* and *Technics and Civilization;* Muntz, Earl E., *Urban Sociology;* National Resources Committee, *Our Cities* (September, 1937); Park, Robert E., Burgess, Ernest W., and McKenzie, R. D., *The City;* Queen, Stuart A., and Thomas, L. F., *The City; A Study of Urbanism in the United States;* Sarrinen, Eliel, *The City; Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future;* Spengler, Oswald, *The Decline of the West* (tr. by Charles Francis Atkinson); Thorndike, Edward L., *Your City;* Vassar College Bulletin, *Today's Cities*, April 1946; Woofter, T. J., Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities;* Wright, Frank Lloyd, *The Disappearing City.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Trace the origin of the city-manager plan. See *City Manager Government in the United States*, prepared by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council.

2. Describe the general nature of the work of the committee on the *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs*. See the first ten volumes of their report.
3. Describe the general organization of the city chamber of commerce and the work which it does.
4. Compare the number of people employed by the city of New York with those employed by the state of New York; Chicago with Illinois. Compare the number of people employed by the largest city of your home state with the number employed by the state.
5. What, as a rule, are the most important urban organizations?
6. Describe the work of professional societies relating to cities, such as city planning groups, the International City Managers' Association, the United States Conference of Mayors, and so on.
7. Classify the many voluntary civic agencies in New York or Chicago, or in any selected city.
8. What is the National Urban League, and how did its work come to focus upon the problems of Negroes in cities?

18

The Rise and Development of Industry

Industry and technology go hand in hand in civilization. We have placed the rise and development of industry and technology high up on the list of the factors contributing to civilization. If we are to name a single attribute and contributing force of the modern city second only to concentration of population, industry and industrial organization will be found to approximate this measure more nearly than anything else. Industrial development and urban life in essential aspects seem to be at opposite poles from farming and rural life. To the extent that this is true, dilemmas arise. Yet industry and industrial organization, labor and labor organization, both as they exist today or at any stage of their evolution represent the principal achievement of the machine age and the advanced level of cultural development or civilization. The viewpoint of the sociologist and the framework of his study is that of the scientific investigator who holds no brief for any special ideology or interest groups and whose facts must be basic to both understanding and guidance.

Like concentration of population, urbanism, and other specialized developments of civilization, industry arises in the natural needs of society. In Chapter 10 on culture and work, the role of work in the development of the individual and of society has been pointed out, and also the relation of work and industry to the development of resources, to competition, and to the struggle for existence; thus the first stages of industrial development, even as in most other areas of societal development, were grounded in nature. Among others, William Graham Sumner has pointed out that in the presence of competition and survival, ways of association grew up which developed into production and then distribution, out of which spread the all-inclusive institution of industry. The rise of the city and the state, of

industry and associated technology, all contributed to the system of private ownership of property and the development of capital. At the same time the enlargement of capital gave birth to the employee class and accelerated the division of labor. Capital and labor were thus early fixed as the two factors necessary to industrial development.

The complexity of modern industry symbolic of civilization. There were other ways which led the simple beginnings of industry into modern industrial development. In the early functioning of society, for example, the first institutions were the family, religion, and government. As cities and industrial organization expanded, however, the family tended to become more or less subservient to the economic institutions. From this point on, wealth and industry often became tools for special ends and, when combined with government, they contributed the largest number of factors to modern civilized society. From the early function of meeting simple needs, the processes of production, distribution, and consumption developed a wider use of wealth, the production of more wealth, the factory and large-scale enterprise, a thousand-fold division of labor, and extraordinary systems of centralized control and unlimited free competition — a complex industrial organization that goes far beyond any premises of early cultural history. As a result of this manifold development, there are unequal distribution of wealth, centralized control, cycles of prosperity and depression, labor organization and professional codes, and disputes between labor and management. And, also as a result, society has become more and more interdependent, individual with individual and community with community.

Money and credit elements in civilization. Another way of tracing the gradual rise of industrial organization to meet the needs of expanding society is to explore, through the study of economics, the vast system of credit and money. At first there were the giving of presents and then barter — the mutual exchange of work and commodities or the exchange of commodities. Elaborate systems of money and exchange have grown from these early systems. So elaborate have they become in modern civilization that some authorities have made money itself, gold or silver or any other technical index of value, the key to all societal adjustment. Still others have focused upon "social credit" as the key to reconstruction. In the depression years, the price system was attacked and, in a short-lived craze called "technocracy," a measure of electric power was proposed as the unit of exchange. In such instances the processes become very complex and sometimes tend to become specialized ends in themselves rather than means toward solving the serious and complicated problems of credit and trade.

Organized labor an element in civilization. The labor organization is one of the later, specialized aspects of the institution of industry. The appearance of the labor organization in the industrial scene developed inevitably from the basic changes which have come about from the great expansion in manufacturing, the multiplication of occupations, occupational mobility, the insecurity of those who work for wages, and other results of rapid industrial development. Thus, the "labor problem," as it is known now, was nonexistent "at the start of man's long climb to civilization," and for a thousand years it represented no difficulties at all. The first trade unions in the modern sense appeared in England about 1825, and their American counterpart began to be a force in national life after the Civil War. At present, there are few more difficult societal problems than the reconcilement of labor and management. A part of the difficulty stems from the fact that labor has been the only institution over which the government could not exercise control or direction. Another part stems from the dangers of it becoming a class movement. Still another difficulty has been found in the trend toward monopolistic control and dictatorship.

Leaders of industry an influential group. There are still other ways in which the rise and development of industry may be said to parallel the general cultural development of society. One of these may be found in the fact that in modern civilization the foremost leaders are the leaders of industry, commerce, and banking who have taken the place of the warriors of military periods, the priests of religious times, or the patriarchs of earlier cultural stages. The complaint is sometimes heard that the boards of trustees or the directors of American universities, churches, and benevolent institutions are largely recruited from among the wealthy and the captains of industry. Since most institutions are the creatures of large cities, since the men who direct their policies are naturally the outstanding leaders of the society in question, and since in the modern economic world these leaders are predominantly in the higher income brackets, this is only a way of saying that it is inevitable that they would constitute the majority of those who control the institutions. Or, this is a measure of the type of culture and institutional traditions which go into the making of modern industrial civilization.

The Industrial Revolution. Perhaps enough has been said by now to make clear that the rise and development of industry parallels the general development of society from the early folk culture to the later special culture level called civilization. Numerous references interpreting the nature of these developments are given in The Library and Workshop at the end of this and other chapters.

Our next step will be to explore the Industrial Revolution a little more in detail and to study the character of the society which has developed from it. For our purposes, the Industrial Revolution has been synchronous with the accelerated tempo of Western culture, which has resulted in this machine and technological civilization. We may review this story according to two main divisions: one the factory system and technology, the other the labor movement.

The factory system and technology. The factory system, in which manufacturing is carried on by many individuals under one roof and the production of a single commodity requires the specialized labor of these many individuals, grew up in contrast to the earlier home labor and individual production of a single commodity. The factory system is of fundamental importance in the contrast between earlier cultures and later civilizations, since it has so much bearing upon the relation of the individual to his occupation, shown in the effects of machine operation on the worker. Hand labor is part of the folk culture; machine operation a part of the quantity production methods of the technological civilization. In the earlier folk work the craftsman or the handworker personified pride of work; to what extent the modern machine operator has lost this pride of work is one of the many questions of interest to sociology. The increase of inventions and the resulting machine methods in manufacturing, transportation, and communication were the beginning of the factory system. Thus, as we have pointed out in earlier chapters, the rise of technology, to the extent that it has necessitated the substitution of technicways for the old folkways and mores, was literally the beginning of the period of civilization. Technology was also responsible for a great many of the radical changes in the economic, social, political, and general cultural life of modern society. So dominant has technology become that it has given rise to the phrase *technological determinism;* and it is now possible for the sociologist to begin to understand what is happening and how it is happening through the study of modern technicways.

One way of making clear the distinctive character of modern industrial civilization as compared to the earlier culture is to note the extraordinary differences between modern civilization and the earlier culture. Here are some of the changes which came about through the Industrial Revolution:

Entirely new techniques in manufacturing, transportation, communication from a multiplication of inventions in these fields. New types of industrial organization, especially the factory. An extraordinary increase in the volume of commodities. A new range and quantity of commerce and trade.

The birth of a laboring class. Extraordinary development of capital wealth — many wealthy individuals and great "fortunes." Formation of corporations, mergers, trusts, and holding companies; business combinations, monopolies, and cartels. A transition from a predominantly rural culture to an urban civilization. The modern industrial city. Great migrations in the United States, great immigrations from Europe. Education for the people. The ideal of democratic government took hold, first in the United States and France, then in England. Fading of the contrast between urban and rural culture with the advent of the telephone and the automobile, which brought "the country into the city, the city into the country." A more impersonal relationship between the worker and the product. Machines competed with men, and hand production vanished except in a few "quality" fields. Standardization of work and culture. Critical problems of the distribution of wealth. Problems of insecurity. Through organization industrial workers have reached more or less of a position of parity with their employers. Therefore, the modern conflict between labor and management.

Of the effect of the Industrial Revolution on modern civilization, James T. Shotwell wrote,

[The Industrial Revolution] has brought into existence a vast working population, embodied in iron and steel, drawn from mines and forests, from steam, gas, and electricity by the mysterious genius of the human brain. It has transformed the face of nature and the life of the whole world. These are not mere economic facts. They form the largest and most wonderful chapter in the history of mankind.

An historian writing in the 1940s could add that this chapter in the history of mankind seems to fade in comparison with the course that world events have taken. By way of making vivid the achievements of the era, the historian asks further how the Renaissance or the Reformation, or the empire of Charlemagne or of Caesar, would compare with the Industrial Revolution's empire of mind and industry which has penetrated the whole world. Planting cities as it goes, binding the whole together by spectacular means of communication and transportation, "the thing we call civilization has drawn the isolated communities of the old regime into a great world organism. . . ."

American labor organization. The social and economic life of the United States has reflected all of these changes, and has initiated many of them. The framework of American society has been the capitalistic system, of

relatively free competition, and of government aiding rather than controlling production and distribution. We have pointed out the differences between the small Jeffersonian republic of rural states, of one or two regions, of simple motivation, of homogeneity of population, of few occupations, with small fortunes centered chiefly in farm land and forest, in mines and shipping, contrasted with the present nation of urban and industrial majorities, of greatly differing regions with complex motivation, of heterogeneity of population, of hundreds of varied occupations, large individual fortunes, high per capita income, and corporate holdings and wealth in manufacturing, transportation, communication, public utilities, wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance, real estate, business and repair services, and amusements. As a result of all this, trade unionism has grown from small beginnings to the point where with its millions of members it has not only become an accepted institution, but has reached a position of power. As early as 1778 the printers of New York went on strike, and in 1794 organized for their mutual benefit. In 1792 the Philadelphia shoemakers joined together in an organization that still exists today. During the years 1790 to 1820, the shoemakers and the printers of Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Boston, Washington, and New Orleans followed their example. The emergence of trade unions was accompanied by the formation of employers' associations which sought to procure nonunion labor and utilized the courts in their fight against their workers. In 1806, in charging the jury during the trial of shoemakers, a court observed that "a combination of workmen to raise their wages, may be considered in a two-fold point of view: one is to benefit themselves . . . the other is to injure those who do not join their society. The rule of law condemns both."

The story of American labor can partly be told in the chronology of its evaluation:

1820–25	Appearance of number of small unions. Many strikes, especially in 1824 and 1825, when prices rose rapidly.
1825	Strike among Boston carpenters for a ten-hour day.
1827	Founding of Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations at Philadelphia, the first city-wide organization of trade unions in the United States.
1828	Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations entered politics as the Working Men's Party.
1828–30	Formation of state-wide political organizations of laboring men in New York and Massachusetts.
1833–37	Ten-hour day fairly well established in certain industries. A strong move by the unions to have it put into effect in all Federal jobs.

1837–50	Period of reform and utopianism in which the workers were attracted by humanitarian endeavors calculated less to bring about an immediate improvement in their status than to change the nature of society so as to achieve social justice.
1847	Improvement in business conditions brought revival of union activities.
1850	Formation of National Typographical Union, first permanent national trade union.
1850–72	About thirty-five new national unions formed. In the later part of this period, union membership was predominantly foreign born.
1864	Eight-hour-day movement began. Ira Steward organized a Grand Eight-hour League in Boston.
1864	International Workingmen's Association, known as the First International, organized in London.
1866	National Labor Union formed by trade assemblies, eight-hour leagues, and officers of some of the national unions.
1869	Formation of the first powerful national labor organization, the Knights of Labor. By 1886, at its height, the membership numbered 700,000.
1872	National Labor Union entered politics as National Labor and Reform Party with a "Greenback" platform.
1881	Formation of the American Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada.
1886	Over 1,500 strikes involving more than 600,000 workers.
1886	Federation of Trades and Labor Unions renamed the American Federation of Labor.
1905	Industrial Workers of the World founded in Chicago, June, 1905, under the leadership of "Big Bill" Haygood, Daniel De Leon, Eugene V. Debs, and Mother Mary Jones.
1908	Split in the I.W.W. between the politically minded socialists and the syndicalists.
1913	Federal Department of Labor created.
1915	Attempt to organize the agricultural workers of the Middle West by the I.W.W.
1916	Establishment of personnel administration in industry.
1916	Attempt by the I.W.W. to organize the workers in lumber camps and metal mines of the West.
1916	Passage of the Adamson Act established the eight-hour day for train service workers, and provided for a commission appointed by the President to investigate the working of the eight-hour day.
1917	Appointment of the Secretary of Labor as Labor Administrator by President Woodrow Wilson.
1920	American unions claimed 5,000,000 members, a 96 per cent increase over 1915.

1920	Beginning of the antiunion campaign known as the "American Plan."
1920–30	Decline in union membership, in part the result of lower prices during the boom years which brought a rise in real wages for industrial workers.
1920–41	Infiltration of American Communist Party into labor organizations.
1920–25	Beginnings of "welfare capitalism." Growth of "labor capitalism," a development similar to "welfare capitalism" but under the unions rather than the employers.
1929–33	Total national income of labor declined 41 per cent.
1932	March of the Bonus Army on Washington.
1933	National Recovery Administration Act passed — beginning of the New Deal.
1933–40	Increase in union membership from 2,800,000 to about 8,000,000 under the stimulation of favorable New Deal policies and the emergence of the Committee for, later the Congress of, Industrial Organization(s).
1935	Breaking off of the C.I.O. from the A.F.L. The C.I.O. has been predominantly the organization of unions in the mass-production industries by industry; the A.F.L. plan predominantly the organization of unions by craft.
1935	N.R.A. declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.
1935	Passage of the National Labor Relations Act. National Labor Relations Board set up.
1935	Passage of the Social Security Act — an attempt by Congress to provide some security for workers during periods of unemployment and during old age.
1936–38	Period of sitdown strikes.
1937–41	Continued conflict between the C.I.O. and the A.F.L.
1940	Philip Murray succeeds John L. Lewis as president of the C.I.O.
1941–45	Continued efforts at governmental mediation between labor and management and, in extreme cases, Army or Navy operation of struck war-production plants. Application of National War Labor Board's rulings.
1945–46	A period of serious labor-management conflicts. Strikes in key steel, automobile, electrical, meat-packing, and communications industries. Injection of wage-price formula into labor disputes.
1946	C.I.O. claims 6,500,000 members; A.F.L. claims 7,407,000 members.
1946	Crisis of railroad and coal strike paralyzing American economy.
1946	"Showdown" crisis between John L. Lewis and the Government's fine.

The rise of co-operatives. The rise of co-operatives has been an important development in industry. Co-operation implies a process of association for the mutual benefit of producer and consumer, and for the better ordering of production and distribution. Co-operative societies place the emphasis upon voluntary individual participation within a framework of

workable and binding agreements. As it operates today in industry, the principle of co-operation is synonymous with *co-operatives* or *co-operative societies.* A co-operative society is a corporate body seeking through mutual agreements to obtain a more equal division of profits, improved living conditions for its members, and better community relations. The mutual benefits of a co-operative society's members come through "elimination of the middle man." After operating costs are deducted, profits are equally distributed among the co-operative's membership; in privately owned business, profits are distributed among the owners.

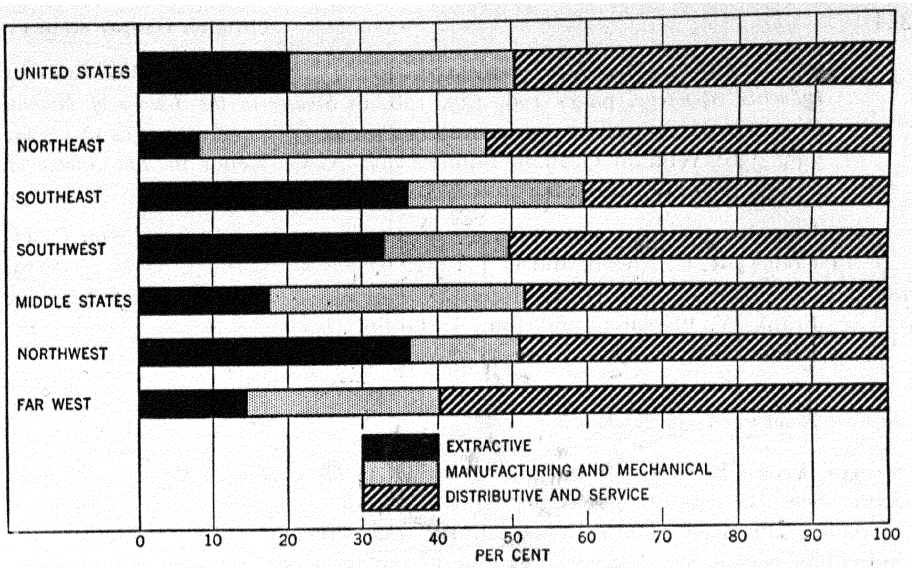
In general, there are four main types of co-operative enterprise: the producer co-operatives, the marketing co-operatives, the consumer co-operatives, and the credit co-operatives. Within these, functions vary and interlap, as, for instance, to develop agriculture or industry with the aid of tools and credit, or to serve consumers by providing them with their needs, or to provide mutual insurance or accident or security guarantees.

The teachings of Robert Owen and François Fourier contributed to the expansion of co-operative philosophy, but the actual co-operative movement began in Rochdale, England, in 1844, when a group of weavers each subscribed £1 and started a grocery store that sold goods at the market price and then returned the profits to the members in proportion to their purchases. Before World War II, forty countries, with an estimated 120,000,000 members, were represented in an International Alliance that had been founded in 1895. At the turn of the twentieth century co-operatives are found in nearly all economic areas and in all the major nations. Consumers' co-operatives now distribute a considerable amount of goods in Europe, particularly in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. So efficiently have they been operated that, in 1936, President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent an American commission abroad to study their methods. Still on a small scale in the United States, consumers' co-operatives are relatively unimportant. Although in a recent year transactions amounted to some $500,000,000, this amount represented less than 2 per cent of the country's retail sales. More successful have been farmers' marketing and credit co-operatives. Among many other co-operative enterprises are groceries, filling stations, restaurants, shoe factories, and bakeries. The most widespread use of co-operatives is among farmers in marketing their products or in buying supplies. The United States has some 10,450 farmers' co-operatives: marketing associations number about 7,708 with a membership of about 2,580,000 and an annual business of about $3,180,000,000; purchasing associations number about 2,742 with a membership of about 1,270,000 and an annual business of about $600,000,000. The California

Fruit Growers Association is an example of a large co-operative marketing organization. The co-operative movement has encountered the handicaps of any young industry — and of course has been faced with strong competition from the chain stores and privately operated corporations in the same fields. Co-operatives are still in the infant stage and are being fostered by religious and educational agencies and by communities and groups of individuals interested in social ends.

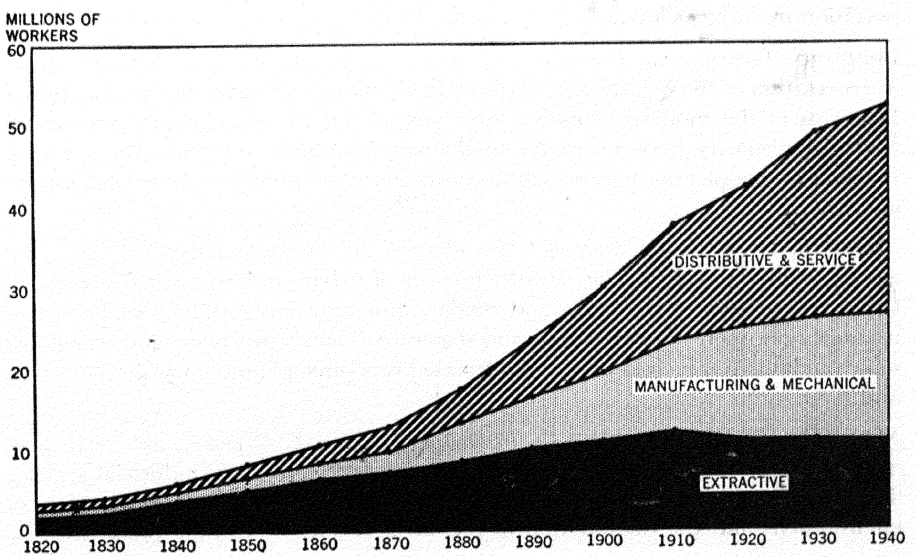
Assignments and Questions

1. Compare the culture of the United States in the early nineteenth century with present-day civilization. (a) About how many occupations were the people engaged in in 1840? How many in 1940? (b) What constituted the chief wealth of people in 1790? What in 1940?
2. Compare the ratio of agricultural workers with industrial workers in 1840 and in 1940.
3. How would Thomas Jefferson's America stand up against the modern world if it had heeded his advice to let Europe retain industry and America remain agricultural?
4. What is the sociological significance of labor organization?
5. About how many workers were members of American labor unions at the crest of the war-production period in the 1940s?
6. Discuss the assertion that in the United States organized labor is the only institution over which government has no control and exerts little guidance. Is it true?
7. What are the essential problems of the Negro in industry — (a) from the viewpoint of industry? (b) from the viewpoint of society?
8. What are the essential problems of women in industry — (a) from the viewpoint of industry? (b) from the viewpoint of society?
9. What are the sociological implications of the strike?
10. James Myers published in 1943 a little volume entitled *Do You Know Labor?* What questions does his book answer?
11. Why do the interests of the farmer and the industrial worker seem far removed? Isn't the farmer a laborer, too?
12. Distinguish between collective bargaining and arbitration.
13. Where does the co-operative movement classify in the total economy of producer and consumer?
14. What was the chief significance of the fact that during the 1943 peak production year of World War II 3,752 strikes were reported with nearly two million workers involved?
15. Examine the viewpoints of some of the other American sociologists with reference to industry. See: Lester F. Ward in *Pure Sociology*, page 277,



Graphical Representation of the People at Work in the United States in 1940

ABOVE: Percentage distribution of gainful workers by three major work groups by regions in 1940. BELOW: Trends in the number of gainful workers showing cumulative totals from 1820 to 1940. See subsequent chapters for map pictures and other distributions.



and in *Dynamic Sociology*, pages 492, 493, 575; Franklin H. Giddings in *Inductive Sociology*, pages 126, 127, 128, in *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, pages 23, 30, 31, 55, 56, and in *Principles of Sociology*, pages 143, 334, 335, 336; William Graham Sumner and A. G. Keller in *The Science of Society*, pages 99, 160, 183.

16. Examine the viewpoints of some of the current sociological texts: C. H. Cooley, R. C. Angell, and L. J. Carr, *Introductory Sociology*, pages 238–239; C. A. Dawson and W. E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*, pages 99–102; Frank W. Blackmar and John L. Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, page 214; Frederick E. Lumley, *Principles of Sociology*, page 226.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter XXVI. See also pages 624 and 704. The economic experience of the individual in society. Property-holding as a cultural trait which definitely influences the individual personality. Industrial expansion and the latest trends in the organization of labor and capital for the protection of their interests.

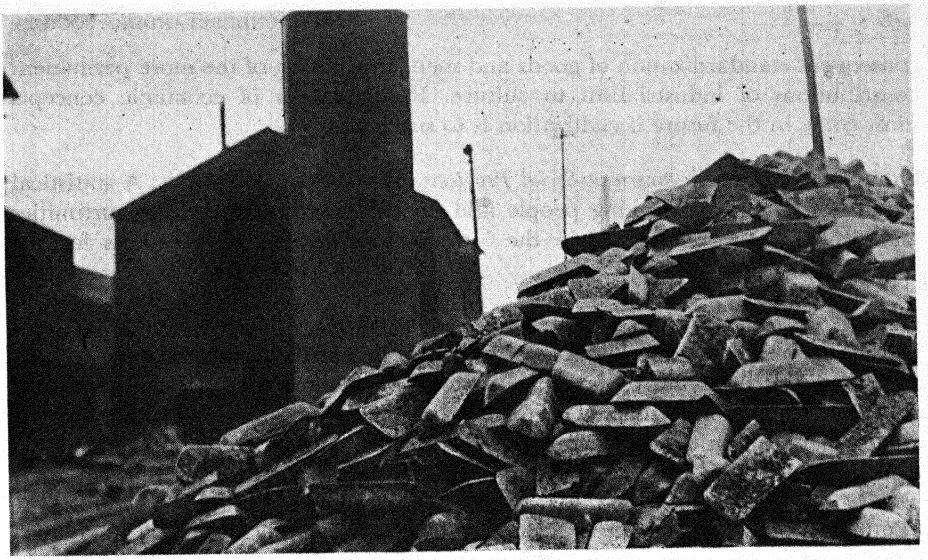
Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter VIII. A man's status in the economic world is determined in part by age, sex, and the type of economy of the cultural group.

Lowie, Robert H.: *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, chapters II, III, and IX. See also pages 64–67, 68–74, 86–87. The stages of man's economic progress in primitive society. Influences of the economic organization upon the diet, clothing, and housing habits of certain tribal folk. Mode and means of trade and transportation in early society.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, pages 386–400. A mechanistic interpretation of the behavior patterns of production, exchange, and consumption. Problems of the modern economic order explained in terms of tensions arising from the disparity between man's wants and his ability to satisfy those wants. Preconceptions of man concerning a constantly expanding economy and money and prices.

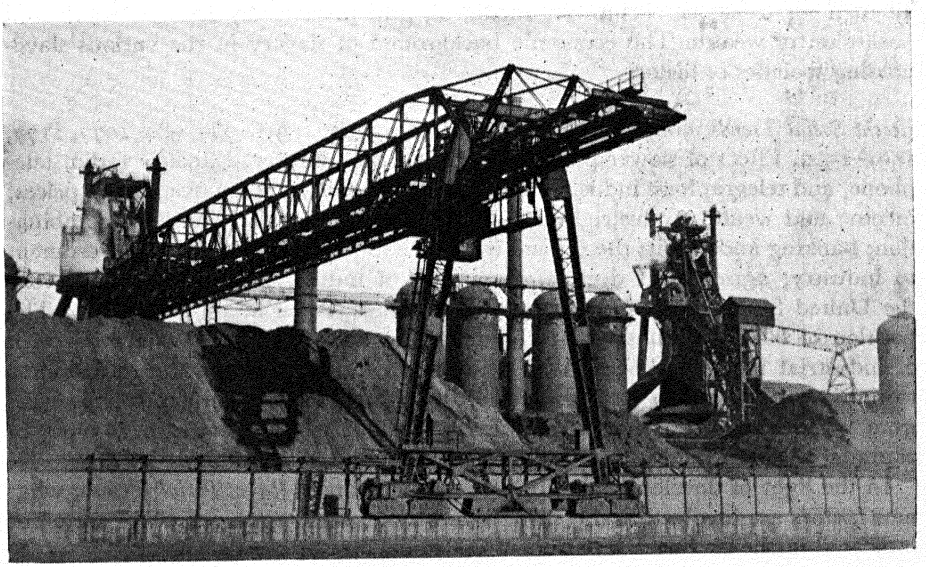
Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapter III. See also pages 70, 320, 336–347, 379–381, 402–403. The parallel growth of urbanism and industrialism and the characteristics of the early and modern insensate industrial town. Effects of urbanization upon economic aims and structure. Three types of economic regions; some fundamental factors to be considered in economic planning within the region and the nation.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, pages 52–55, 167–205, 222–234, 324–326, 377–435. Evolution and growth of science and technics in industrial society. The paleotechnic phase of industrial development marked the destruction of environment and the degradation of the worker. The neotechnic phase with its



From Primary to Secondary Occupation: Pigs to Razor Blades

Like oil, steel is an index of modern production and power. ABOVE: Iron in pigs, basic steel making and reserve materials for foundries. BELOW: The blast furnace plant is one of the most complex of our industrial technology.



consequent standardization of goods and men. Evaluation of the more permanent contributions of industrialism to culture. Reorientation of economic concepts must come in the future if civilization is to survive.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters IX, X and XX. A statistical picture of American working people and an examination of their opportunities and problems. Major trends in the industrial world; future prospects for the workers.

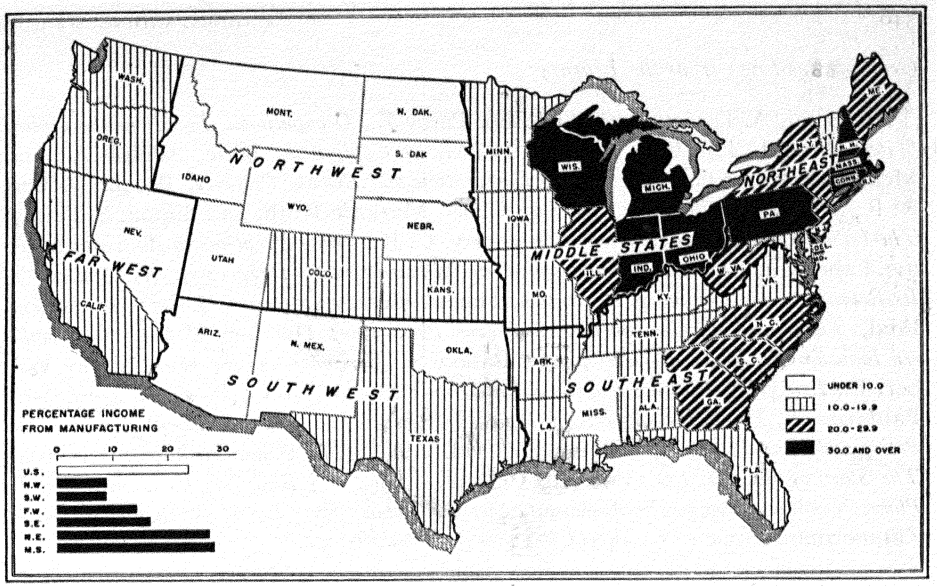
Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapter 19. A comprehensive survey of the development of the economic institutions. Property-holding and the division of labor two cultural patterns of significance in the study of early and modern economic man. The distribution of wealth, the business cycle, unemployment, and monopoly are singled out as the primary problems of the industrial order. Social control of the economic institutions for the welfare of the masses.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapters 14 and 15. The compulsive nature of the economic institutions and their interrelations with the other social institutions — the family, education, and religion. Folkways and mores of the business world. The profit-making pattern, division of labor, the machine, capitalism, and economic interdependence present the picture of the present industrial world.

Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, chapters III and IV. See also pages 261–264, 270–281, 285–287. Tools, language, art, and money developed in the struggle of all men for existence. Primitive, medieval, and present-day ideas of work and possession of wealth. The economic background of slavery in the various slave-holding societies of history.

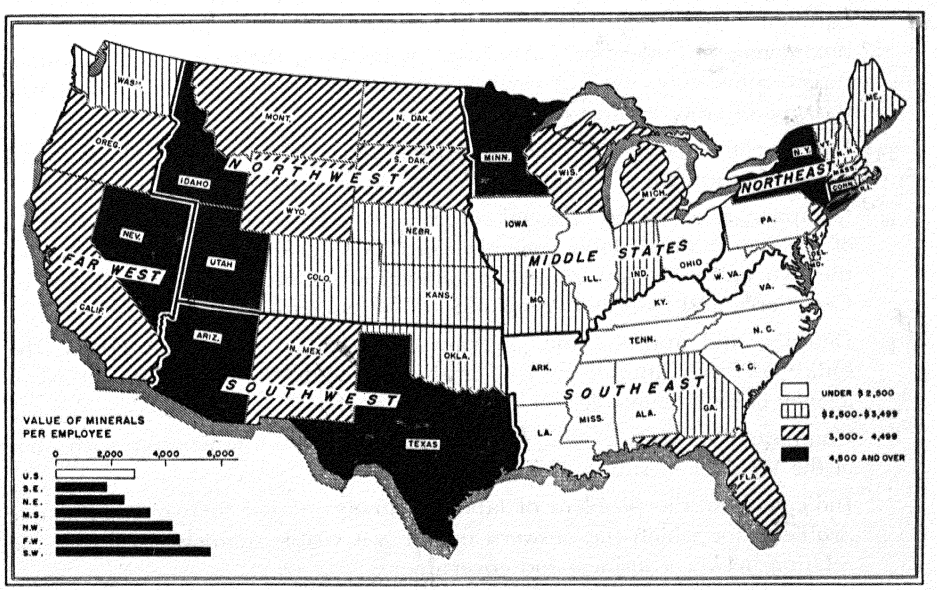
Recent Social Trends, chapters V, XVI; pages 50, 155, 574, 976–980, 982, 1077, 1177, 1501–1502. Effect of slower population growth on industry. Effect of radio, telephone, and telegraph on industry. World War I economy; the movement of prices; income and wealth; industrial output; business organization; business combination; banking and credit; the radical transformation in the relation of government to industry; agricultural decline; expansion of industry, trade, transportation; the United States as a producer of raw materials. Alien labor in industry. The position of labor in industry. Art becoming an active industrial factor. Growth of industrial medical service. Welfare work in industry. Governmental services to industry observed to have aroused little opposition. Central control resulting from rapid rise of large-scale combinations of industrial power, new types of commercial fraud, and unfair trade practices seen to be inevitable.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?



From Primary to Secondary Occupations in the United States

Even in the mines, machines and science take the place of much of the old primary work, with tremendous total values: Iron ore, more than 150 millions annually; Bituminous coal more than 730 millions; oil and gas wells, more than one and a half billion dollars. . . . ABOVE: Regional variations in manufacturing in percentage of total productive income; 1935. BELOW: Value of mineral products per worker, 1929.

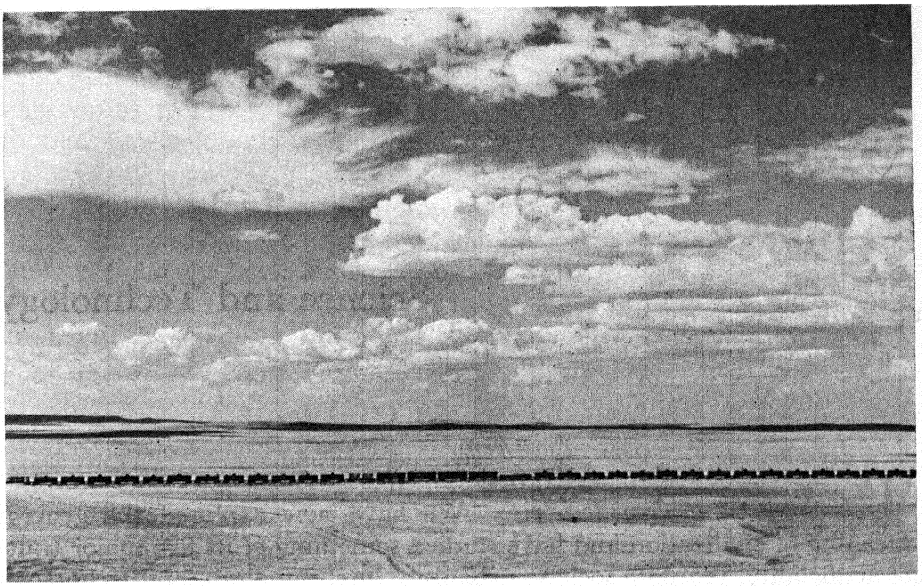


General Readings from the Library

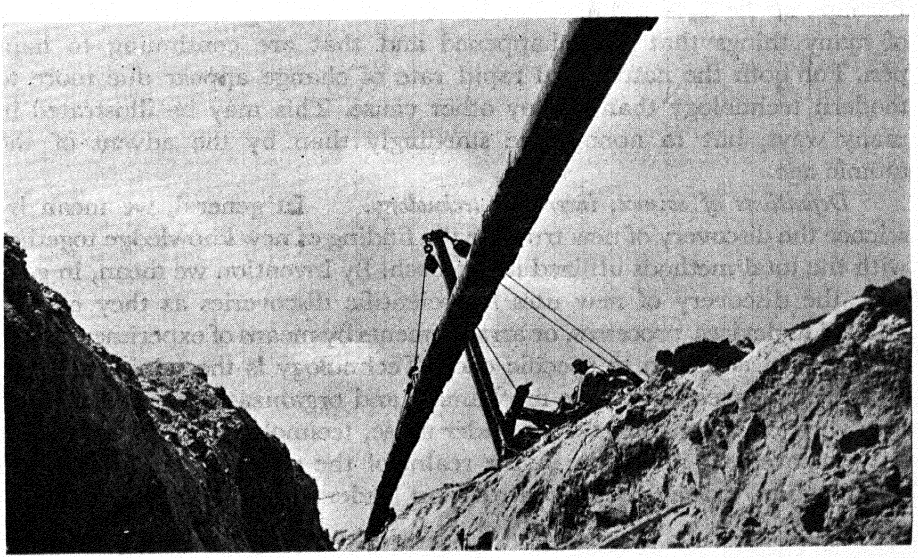
Anderson, A. Dewey, and Davidson, Percy E., *Occupational Trends in the United States;* Arnold, Thurman W., *The Folklore of Capitalism;* Berle, Adolph A., and Means, Gardiner C., *The Modern Corporation and Private Property;* Brooks, Robert R. R., *Unions of Their Own Choosing;* Clark, Marjorie Ruth, and Simon, S. Fanny, *The Labor Movement in America;* Daugherty, C. R., *Labor Problems in American Industry;* Fabricant, Solomon, *Employment in Manufacturing, 1899–1939: An Analysis of Its Relation to the Volume of Production;* Harris, Herbert, *American Labor;* Henderson, Fred, *The Economic Consequences of Power Production;* Herring, Harriet L., *Southern Industry and Regional Development;* Labor, S. H., *Labor and the War;* Moore Wilbert E., *Industrial Relations and the Social Order;* Myers, James, *Do You Know Labor?;* Patterson, S. H., *Social Aspects of Industry;* Rosenfarb, Joseph, *The National Labor Policy and How It Works;* Sterner, Richard, *The Negro's Share;* Stolberg, Benjamin, *The Story of the C.I.O.;* Twentieth Century Fund, *Big Business: Its Growth and Its Place;* Veblen, Thorstein, *Absentee Ownership and Business Enterprise in Recent Times;* Zimmermann, Erich W., *World Resources and Industries.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Discuss organized labor in America as the best possible illustration of social process, social action, and social organization. Catalogue the several levels of organization from community to international organizations.
2. In terms of action agencies, what are the issues involved in the conflicts between "capital and labor" or, in the terminology of the 1940s, between "management and labor?" Analyze, for instance, the case of the manufacturers, some now, most in earlier, days against the open shop. What was the case of labor against the closed shop?
3. Describe in some detail the organization and work of the P.A.C. (Political Action Committee of the C.I.O.) as an organization for social control.
4. Compare, as examples of social control, the promotion and/or propaganda of the two national labor organizations (A.F.L. and C.I.O.) with that of the two national management organizations (United States Chamber of Commerce and National Association of Manufacturers).
5. Describe and appraise the program of the War Production Board, the Office of Price Administration, or the National War Labor Board as an agency of social control.
6. Compare the work of the International Labor Organization with that of the World Federation of Trade Unions.
7. Indicate how the problem of labor is closely related to two other major problems for which the answers are not yet visible, namely, race and the relation between business and government.



In December 1939 there were in the United States no less than 347,645 producing oil and gas wells, with 69,617 companies. A powerful industry at home and abroad, in war and in peace. ABOVE: An oil train on the prairie, one way of transportation; BELOW: Laying a pipe line for cross-country transportation from the wells. The total value of such products amounted to $1,676,135,256.00 according to U. S. 1940 Census, and with 199,631 persons engaged.



19

Science and Technology

Technology in modern society. We have now explored the general meaning of civilization and have studied something of its five major traits of artificiality, the state society, urbanism, intellectualism, and technology and of the over-all trends toward industrialism, centralization, and power. These inquiries have been based upon the assumption that to understand our society it is necessary to understand our present civilization. When, then, we seek to understand civilization, we must understand the forces which have made it. This leads us to inquire more in detail into the heart of the fundamental characteristics of civilization, namely, technology. Perhaps no field of inquiry can be more rewarding in the explanation of many things that have happened and that are continuing to happen. For both the nature and rapid rate of change appear due more to modern technology than to any other cause. This may be illustrated in many ways, but in none more startlingly than by the advent of the atomic age.

Definitions of science, invention, technology. In general, we mean by science the discovery of new truth or the finding of new knowledge together with the total methods utilized in research. By invention we mean, in general, the discovery of new uses for scientific discoveries as they can be applied to devices, processes, or arrangements by means of experimentation, testing, and adaption to specific ends. Technology is the joining of both science and invention in the mechanical and organizational utilization of new ways of doing things. In a wider sense, technology comprehends not only science and invention in the realm of the physical world, but also organization, management, control, and leadership in the social and economic worlds.

Sweeping implications of technology. We are accustomed to think of science and invention as being modern, and, in our analysis of the elements that go into making of civilization as the most advanced stage of culture, we have given an important emphasis to them as definitive characteristics of civilization. But the Egyptians and the Babylonians as early as 3500 B.C. were beginning the science of astronomy. A number of the basic ideas of geometry and mathematics were glimpsed by the early Greeks, and Hippocrates (c. 460–377 B.C.) founded the first medical school, where men, instead of speculating, practiced careful clinical observation. Aristotle several hundred years before Christ studied meteorology, and founded zoology. Euclid's *Elements* is the basis of all later geometry. A large number of the fundamentals of natural science were known and utilized by earlier civilizations.

Modern science is characterized by an almost universal range of inquiry, by an extraordinary quantitative effort, and by the mutiplication of its applications. During the years of World War II, it might very well be said that science and invention dominated the whole scene of human society and every aspect of human activity. But even before this death-dealing tempo, technology had transformed most of the modern world to the point where the resulting social change had become practically an elemental force in itself. The range of invention can be measured by the 50,000 inventions which annually receive patents in the United States and by the total of some two million patents which have been given since the original Patent Commission was established in 1790.

Now the study of the meaning of technology will explain a great deal of what has happened in the world, and, more important, what technology will do to and for society in the future. If we study technology in relation to each of the major aspects of society, we may obtain a better idea of its power. That is, what has been the effect of science and invention upon man's environment or geographic situation? Then, following Part III, an inquiry into Society and Culture, what transformation has science and invention wrought in the universal culture processes? What has been the influence of science upon race, religion, sex, war, art, urban and rural life, and the institutions of society? Is it true that technology, in transforming these elements of culture and accelerating the rate of societal change, has been the chief conditioning force of modern civilization? Is it true that the technicways have transcended the folkways and supplanted the mores of earlier cultures? What has been the effect of technology upon the growth, distribution, employment, and age distribution of the population, and what on population policies? What has been the impact of technology on the

individual, how has it affected his social adjustment? What has been the influence of technology on the disciplines of knowledge, on medicine, psychiatry, education, and social work, for instance? What larger problems have arisen because of science and invention and the changes which they have brought about? What are the dilemmas of artificial society and super-technology? What are the problems of economic adjustment and social security? What are the issues between totalitarian governments and the rest of the world? What are the problems of democracy? What are the special problems of social planning and social progress? What are the general over-all problems of survival and readjustment in the total global society? Assuming that the student has some general information about the power of technology, and what it is doing and can do in the modern world, summarize a few of its effects upon each of these major aspects of society.

Science has changed the face of nature. Beginning, then, with nature, how have science and invention affected geographic environment and natural resources? The total catalogue is, of course, too long to list and is in no sense needed to prove the point. A few consequences of invention are the elimination of distance, or the practical reducing of the size of the world, and the mutiplication of ways for utilizing natural resources. The mastery of distance, of climate, and of resources — the conquering of physical environment — advances at the same rate as science and invention. Mastery of vast oceans is symbolized in the production of the great airliners such as the Mars, which can carry 125 people, or of the transport planes designed to carry tons of mail. So, too, commodities of all regions of the world can be transported rapidly by air.

Science has changed attitudes toward race. Science, invention, and technology have also had direct influences on the world's racial situation. New knowledge presented by ethnology, anthropology, sociology, and other natural and social sciences has transformed many of the attitudes toward races and relations between the races in much the same way that studies of evolution have influenced religious belief. Likewise, the availability of science and technology for all the peoples of the earth has made possible not only more knowledge and, occasionally, more enlightened attitudes, but tools for economic competition or for war and defense. Particularly in the United States, the whole racial problem is being transformed in almost all of its aspects by wider means of communication. These changes can be measured in the study of many racial groups: The Japanese and their plans for Asiatic domination on a basis of color; the Chinese and their vigorous survival and hopes for the future; the multiple cultural and religious groups of India; the Negro in America and in Africa; the American Indian; and

the Indian and the colored elements in Latin America. What science has done in these instances and what the future prospects are and what new scientific inquiries are needed are related to the whole study of society.

Science and religion. So, also, the influence of science upon religion has been as marked as upon any other institution, and the effect of technology upon the modern church and worship has made a definite change in the whole body of attitudes toward religion. First, of course, biological research into man's evolution has penetrated into all levels of modern society. And second, the invention and use of the automobile, the radio, and the motion picture have had a definite influence on church attendance. In the apparently decreasing role of, and in any projection of, the church's activities of the future, there is a large field of inquiry which the sociologist may cultivate to practical effect. Church attendance, the education and duties of the clergyman, the extension of church social services — all these have been conditioned and will continue to be conditioned by science.

Science and sex and the family. Perhaps equally far reaching have been the effects of science upon the whole problem of culture and sex, whether this relates to the institution of the family, to the relations between men and women in economic or social life, or to the field of sex behavior in general. The new division of labor, new opportunities for women outside the home, new philosophies of equal opportunity for women, new opportunities for employment, and changing attitudes toward divorce, large families, and the like have transformed the world of sex relationships. So, too, all the inventions and the gadgets which reduce the amount of work required to run a home, make possible more leisure time, and create new ideas for pleasure are owing to technology. Finally, to mention only one other effect, attitudes toward birth control together with contraceptive inventions, and various biological, psychological, and social studies of children and parents, have greatly changed the whole picture of sex relationship inside and outside the family.

Science and war. So powerful have been these influences of science that the whole profile of war itself and of the folkways of war have been transformed. To a certain extent, the old tactics and strategy of warfare have been made obsolete, and the techniques of warfare have undergone radical changes. Mastery of the profession of war, a superabundance of materials, and superior developments in electronics, airplanes, bombs, guns, and other technical instruments of warfare have completely transformed not only war itself, but trade, financial, and international relations as well. And, as pointed out in the next chapter, the technicways of war have transcended the old folkways and rules of "civilized" warfare.

Science and industry. That the Industrial Revolution resulted from technology need not be recapitulated (Chapter 18), but it is of the utmost importance that it be kept in mind. In all of agriculture and industry, in all the fields of work, the transformations made by science and invention are so well known and accepted that the idea needs little discussion. However, it is not only that mechanized agriculture and inanimate power can be substituted for numerous farming activities which at one time were performed by human beings; it is not only that machines have displaced men, and that through the utilization of inventions one or two persons may do the work of dozens, of hundreds, of thousands; it is not only, therefore, the resulting problem of what has been called technological unemployment, for new inventions have also given rise to new needs and to new jobs. The point is that from the machine technology of the factory assembly line to the social technology of the labor union, the whole fabric of the institution of work and industry has been changed.

Science and urbanism. In Chapter 17 on the rise and development of the city, some of the tremendous changes which have taken place in the transformation from rural life to urban life have been indicated. The modern city has not only been made by the inventions of transportation, communication, and manufacturing, but is in itself a creation of invention and the true home of the modern technological age. It is possible for the student of sociology to inquire into the utilization of inventions in certain decentralizing processes of society, where it may be possible to "ruralize the city" as opposed to "urbanizing" the country as has commonly been assumed (Chapter 11).

Science and education. When we come to study the school, the transformations accomplished by technology have been so marked as to give the appearance of a new world of education in contrast to the old. There are profound changes in the entire school system in its modern buildings, new methods of teaching and changing curricula, in hygiene and health facilities, in the development of great universities, and in the growth of intercollegiate sports to a nation-wide "big business." But, also, the technological, urbanized, industrial character of the world has changed the needs and demands of the public for a type of education different from the earlier, humanistic type. Consolidated schools, transportation of pupils, decentralization of schools from urban centers, university and research laboratories, the teaching of science — all of these are profoundly influenced by technology.

Science and government. Once, again, when we come to study the effects of science and invention upon government, the catalogue is so great as to appear almost conterminous with it. County government has been

greatly affected because of transportation. There have been increasing trends toward centralized government supervision and regulation, both state and Federal, because of various new developments not only in inventions of transportation, communication, and the like, but also in the fields of taxation, administrative techniques, public welfare and education and the increasing need for their multiplied services. Public health, public education, and public welfare, social security, and services to agriculture, industry, and business, are all the manifest products of technology. In the United States, the most monumental evidence of the relations between technology and government have been seen in the picture of the nation at total war.

The Rosens' catalogue of technological effects. Many of these effects have been surveyed in *Technology and Society* published by S. McKee Rosen and Laura Rosen in 1941; in this volume William F. Ogburn has written the Introduction on "National Policy and Technology." The authors have discussed their findings under four parts. In Part I, The Technologic Base, they illustrate with chapters on manufacture, transportation and communication, agriculture, construction, and science in the professions. In Part II, Economic Effects, there are chapters on the industrialist, labor, the farmer, economic motives for resistance, and machines and the worker (this latter a case study of the cigar industry). In Part III, Social Effects, they include chapters on the development of urban communities and social disorganization, the family, the comforts of life, public resistance, and technology and human welfare (a case study of the doctor and the hospital). In Part IV, Political Effects, there are chapters on the growing services of municipal government, the changing Federal system — the states; the changing Federal system — the national government, resistance through government, and news, knowledge, and social control (a case study of government, education, and the radio). The Conclusion is a chapter on "Technology and the New Society."

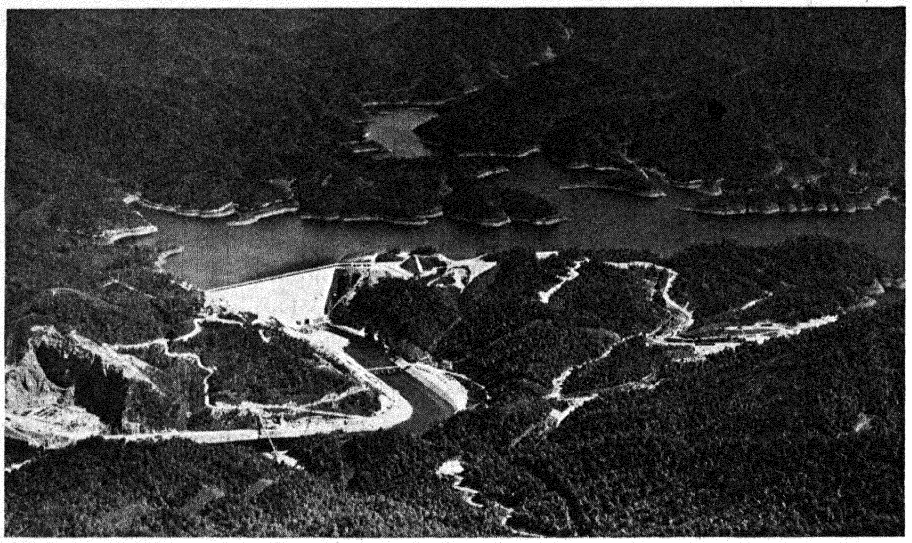
Fields of study. Instead of inquiring into the multifold effects of science and invention on the elemental fields of culture and the institutions according to the system followed in this chapter, the student may wish to inquire into the total effect of each of the major inventions or areas of technology. For instance, he may wish to make a case study of power in the modern world to help him understand its many influences on modern society. He could begin by making a systematic analysis of the implications of power in terms of the inventions which have made possible the utilization of power as well as the technology or engineering which have put them to use. The power for light, transportation, irrigation, manufacture, and

the thousands of mechanical devices through which all of these forms of power are transmitted to the people, would constitute separate aspects of the subject. A case study of an electric power plant, as a single unit of such an organization as the Tennessee Valley Authority, would provide one approach to the understanding of the many technological aspects of electric power generated through water power. Case studies of the Grand Coulee Dam or Hoover Dam would furnish accurate information on the possibilities of science and invention as well as their ramifications into many regions far removed from the site of the dams.

Other studies might be made of the radio industry somewhat after the method of William F. Ogburn in *Recent Social Trends* and in his reports for the National Resources Planning Board. Ogburn's latest work is *The Special Effects of Aviation*, appearing late in 1946. Still other studies could be made of the techniques required for the production and distribution of motion pictures and their influence upon the public. Inquiries into the status and prospect of television and of other new or prospective inventions would provide excellent fields. Still other approaches might be through the study of a particular community or a particular building, or what goes into the making of a linotype machine or cylinder press, an ocean liner or seaplane, or dive-bomber or passenger plane. That is, it is possible to picture the reach of technology in almost any aspect of society. What the sociologist will want to understand about technology is what has happened, what is happening, and what is likely to happen. This analysis also requires researches into what we have called technicways.

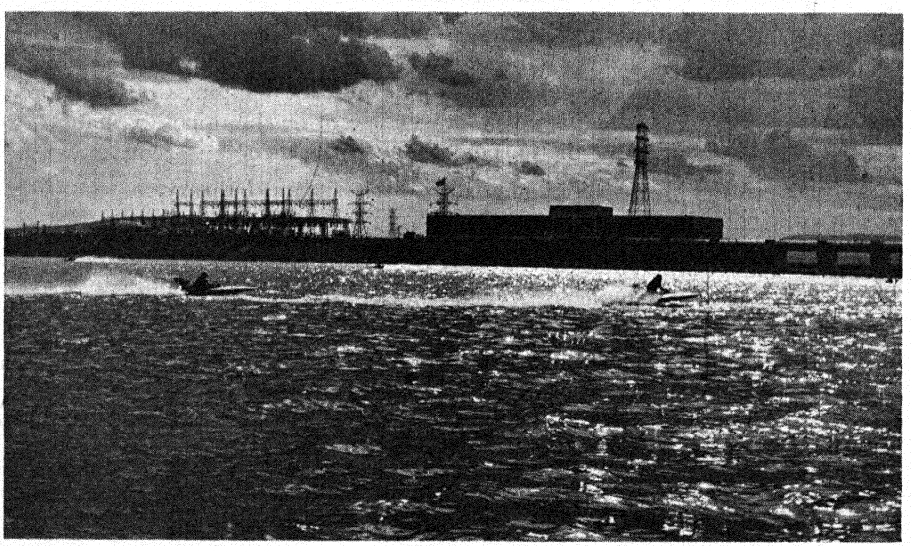
Assignments and Questions

1. What appears to be the newest scientific discoveries which affect society at large?
2. In what general areas have recent inventions been most notable?
3. Define *science, scientific research, invention, technology.*
4. Define and illustrate the term *social invention.*
5. Illustrate the meaning in the modern world of Thorstein Veblen's reversed proverb: "Invention is the mother of necessity."
6. Illustrate how philosophy was originally closely allied to science.
7. If under those early conditions science represented learning, what does the bulk of modern scientific invention represent?
8. Discuss the assertion that, in the light of its possible use and misuse, all science is social.
9. What is "scientific humanism"?
10. At the beginning of the twentieth century Germany was conceded to lead the world in scientific research. Could Germany's subsequent development be attributed to the failure of science?
11. In the 1930s there appeared to be a well-nigh universal intent on the part of the English-speaking nations to conserve and develop wisely all natural resources for the enrichment of culture and the happiness of the people. How then could the actual practice come to be the opposite, namely, to deplete resources for the purpose of destroying men?
12. Discuss the increasing emphasis upon science and industry.
13. What was the farm chemurgic movement and why did it "slow down"? (Reference: Christy Borth's *Pioneers of Plenty; The Story of Chemurgy*)
14. What is the American Association for the Advancement of Science (A.A.A.S.)?
15. What is the National Defense Research Committee and what was its origin?
16. In its twentieth-anniversary issue of August 5, 1944, the *Saturday Review of Literature* pointed out that the last quarter of a century has been notable for a unique intimacy between literature and science. "The new science and the new literature need each other." Illustrate.



Multiplying Resources Through Science and Technology

What science and technology can do in multiplying resources and increasing wealth through flood control, irrigation and power appears almost unlimited. ABOVE: The Fontana dam on the Little Tennessee River. BELOW: Still more multiplication in terms of recreation, lakes, parks, playgrounds.



17. Discuss critically the following statement by William McDougall: "The top-heaviness of our civilization is due to the rapid development of Science; its lop-sidedness is due to the lop-sidedness of our Science. . . . *The physical science which has produced this new complexity can give us no guidance whatsoever in our difficult task of coping with it.* . . . We live, then, in an age of grave social disorder and threatening chaos, and it is in the main due to Science." (*World Chaos*, pages 15, 36, 49)

18. Is Hornell Hart an extremist when, on page 287 of his *The Technique of Social Progress*, he says: "Science is an intellectual instrument which has accelerated technological progress. It has given power, but as yet it has done little to shed light upon how that power may be guided so as to promote instead of destroy human values. If it should appear that science is inherently destructive of the ethical dynamic which has been created by religion, then it might well be concluded that intellectual development in the past 300 years is a tremendous disaster rather than a great progressive achievement."

19. What is the remedy for Samuel D. Schmalhausen's complaint? — "Who could have dreamed that science would so rapturously prostitute its integrity and sober sanity to the drunken insanity of the war enterprise? . . . To me it appears that this degradation of science in the great war has had more to do with making a mockery of mind, sanely and rationally conceived, than any other untoward factor one can mention of that catastrophic period." (*The New Road to Progress*, pages 5–6)

Special Readings from the Library

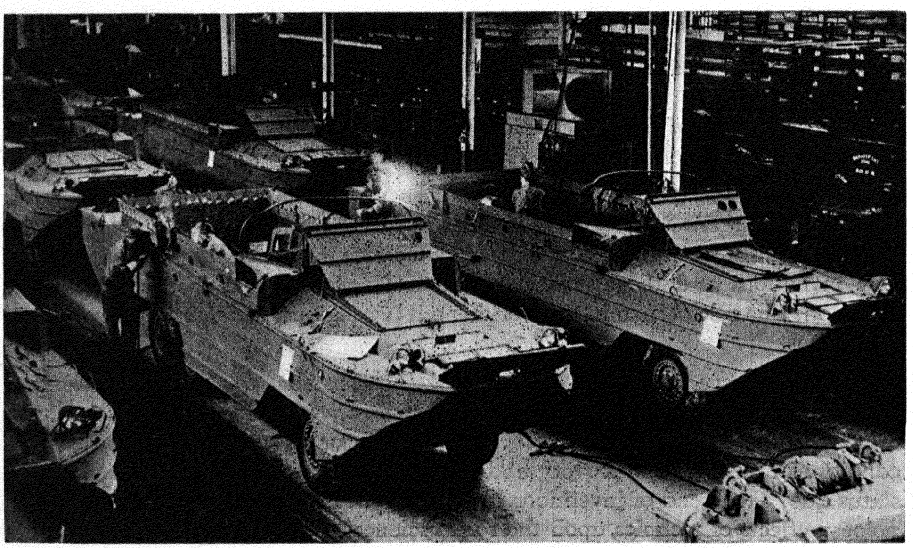
Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter XXI; see also page 131. The meaning and origin of science and an examination of the true scientific attitude. Technology defined according to stages of basic development. The social function of science and technology and the significance of both for society.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XVIII. The role of discovery and invention in cultural evolution. The societal situations favorable to the discovery of new inventions and those favorable and unfavorable to their acceptance and adoption. The role of man in the working out of religious, social, and technological inventions.

Lundberg, George A.: *Foundations of Sociology*, pages 102, 234, 471–477, 504–521, 526–529. Invention interpreted as a type of energy transformation, rather than organic evolution of a new societal phenomenon or process. Social and societal conditions resulting in discovery and invention and the effects of both upon the status quo. The trend of inventions in modern society. Ecological aspects of technology; effects of technics upon the social sciences.

War and Its Influence upon Science and Invention

The most frequently asked question for sociologists is something like this: What sort of Society, fabricated of the folk and the state, could we have if the incredible processes and products of science, invention and production, so demonstrable in war, could be applied to the ends of peace? ABOVE: The "Duck," surprise weapon of Normandy. BELOW: Making those Amphibians.



Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, pages 381–401. Science as a moralizing force in society. The utilization of science for the rebuilding of urban civilization and the reabsorption of scientific knowledge.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, pages 43–59, 131–142, 215–221, 232–233, 364–368. The long cultural preparation for the age of technology. The story of the displacement of the organic by primary and secondary inventions of tool and process. Development of a neutral valueless world of science and the social dangers of such an order. The world-wide basis of technology and the threat of national suicide unless the peoples of the world can co-ordinate their powers and resources for discovery and social invention.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter IV. An inventory of American technological wealth as it has been created from the natural and human resources of the nation. Trends in the development of science and technology in present-day society.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapters XXIV, XXV, and XXVI. The growth of culture by accumulation and addition; the various obstacles that threaten cultural progress in any age. Theories concerning the nature and the rate of social change. Influence of science, invention, and technology in modern society.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapter 25. Invention defined as the creation of new cultural forms out of old cultural elements. Various concepts concerning the sources and the morphology of social change. Spatial and temporal variations in mechanical and social inventions.

Sumner, William Graham: *Folkways*, pages 102–107, 201–203. The rate and number of discoveries and inventions within a cultural group an index for measuring progress toward civilization. The far-reaching and ever-present influence of unscientific ideals and values upon folkways and mores.

Recent Social Trends, chapter III; pages XXV–XXVIII, 234–236, 378–381, 385–397, 408, 410, 421, 427, 431–435, 801, 807, 885, 1010, 1061, 1496–1501. Inventions and economic organizations. Invention and social change. Recent influence of inventions. Interaction between invention and society. Problems for policy. Unusual increase in productivity of labor observed to result from research and invention, mechanization, refinement of methods of standardization, and scientific methods of management. Growing tendency for scientific studies of education to guide educational policies seen as the most hopeful aspect of the administration of schools and colleges. Rise of science in American thinking. Antagonism between science and religion. Relationship of technological development and change to problems of and attitudes toward sex and Prohibition. Trend of the discussion in magazines, books, and newspapers of the period toward repudiation of the policy of forcing a more equal division of the social income, and the adoption of a policy of trying to increase the total national income by applying scientific methods under

the leadership of industry. Technological unemployment. Technical agencies and consumer habits. Scientific knowledge and health. Trends of science and education in relation to government. Relation of science to legal procedures.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Baker, Elizabeth Foulkner, *The Displacement of Men by Machines;* Benedict, Ruth, *Race: Science and Politics;* Berdyaev, Nicholas, *The End of Our Time;* Burlingame, Roger, *March of the Iron Men;* Chase, Stuart, *Men and Machines;* Cousins, Norman, *Modern Man Is Obsolete;* Ely, Richard T., and Bohn, Frank, *The Great Change;* Furnas, C. C., *The Next Hundred Years; The Unfinished Business of Science;* Gilfillan, S. C., *The Sociology of Invention;* Hall, Daniel, Crowther, J. G., and others, *The Frustration of Science;* Hausleiter, Leo, *The Machine Unchained;* Haynes, Williams, *This Chemical Age;* McDougall, William, *World Chaos;* Mumford, Lewis, *Technics and Civilization;* National Resources Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy, Including the Social Implications of New Inventions (June, 1937);* Ogburn, William F., *Machines and Tomorrow's World;* Overstreet, H. A., *We Move in New Directions;* Perry, Clarence A., *Housing for the Machine Age;* Rosen, S. McKee, and Rosen, Laura, *Technology and Society;* Shepherd, Walter, *Science Marches On;* Sullivan, J. W. N., *The Limitations of Science;* Usher, Abbott P., *A History of Mechanical Inventions.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Review briefly the work of the United States Patent Office. In general, about how many patents have been granted to date?
2. What are relatively new issues regarding the control of patents in the United States? What relation do patents have to cartels?
3. List the chief industrial research organizations in the United States.
4. How was the origin of the National Research Council related to World War I?
5. What scientific committees and councils functioned in World War II?
6. Describe the work of the A.A.A.S.
7. What is the Social Science Research Council? When was it set up?
8. Describe the Federal legislation looking toward a national research agency.
9. What proposals for the international control of the atomic bomb were most representative of the need for world organization?

20

The Technicways in Modern Society

Sociologists have studied the processes of early society. We have now studied the evolution of society from the folk society to the most advanced state of culture, which is called civilization. We have discussed some of the main traits of civilization as contrasted with earlier cultures, and we have characterized modern world society as having the prevailing traits of civilization rather than of culture, with always the clear understanding that folk cultures abound in the way places of the world and within the great state societies themselves. In the approach to this assumption we described the mode of development of earlier societies as reflecting their growth through the folkways and the mores, which in turn developed and conditioned the various institutions of the folk, which later came to be stabilized in social institutions and the stateways. These folkways and institutions have grown up around the elementary, natural processes of religion, sex, family, occupations, struggle for survival, kinship, race, art, recreation, association, government and others. So far as known, there have been no exceptions to this general rule and no societies which have not conformed to this evolutionary procedure. Sociologists for the most part have based their theories of the processes of interaction and the products of social dynamics upon studies of the earlier stages of societal development. It follows, therefore, that we have emphasized the folkways and the mores especially because they are symbols and measures of historical culture, because they are comprehensive enough to take in most of the standard ideas of the "processes" studied by sociologists who have sought to catalogue the elements of society, and because their meaning has become both popular and classical.

The need for new ways of studying modern society. Now we come to study the modern world whose civilization reflects a tempo so extraordi-

narily different and a speed and power of social change so sweeping that we are challenged to find traits of this civilization which will serve as definitive and distinctive characterizations that differentiate it from earlier cultures. In this search, sociology seeks something more than abstract generalizations, historical analogies, or deterministic philosophy, presented in such works as Spengler's *Decline of the West*, Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Lombroso's *Tragedies of Progress*, or Sorokin's *The Crisis of Our Age*. Sociology is faced with the dilemma of studying modern civilization within the framework set by earlier sociology. This may be illustrated by contrasting Sumner's concept of the science of society with the needs of contemporary sociology. Sumner's implication was that the science of society consisted of the study of the folkways and the mores as the elemental traits and social forces. But if the folkways are no longer powerful and if there are no mores, what will constitute the study of society?

Civilization is characterized by technicways, not folkways and mores. We approach the answer to this question through the assumptions of the dynamic sociology of this text that the prevailing behavior of present day civilization as we have defined it is characterized primarily by the *technicways* in contrast to the folkways and the mores of earlier societies. In contrasting the technicways with the folkways and mores in our chapter on culture we have laid the foundation for an adequate framework for the search for the realistic understanding of the modern world. If the technicways make a new world, they afford practical ways of measuring the society of that world as well as providing the framework for social direction of the future. In the technicways, too, will be found a new challenge to concepts of values and progress. If the study of the folkways and mores constituted, in large measure, the science of early society; the study of the technicways becomes a mode for the science of that part of contemporary world society which is civilization.

This new world has been characterized by trends toward urbanism; toward technology and industrialization, including the mechanization of agriculture; toward a phenomenal sweep of science and invention, and toward centralization of wealth and power tending toward totalitarian governments. As both creator and creature of these trends scientific humanism and intellectual totalitarianism have transcended much of the religious folkways and primary ideals of earlier culture, but they have not bridged the distance between frontier culture and technological civilization. All these have resulted in changed patterns of human behavior, climaxed by the blitzkrieg of global war and the sweeping trends of an atomic age, the mechanisms of which have set the stage and pace for powerful technicways

of the state. In so far as the technicways are the mode of totalitarian states, and, therefore, coercive, they tend to control or negate the influence and services of the other major institutions which are the cumulative products of the cultural processes through the folkways, mores, and stateways.

The technicways reflected on the screen of the folkways and mores. The simplest way to define the technicways is in terms of the folkways; this approach affords a good basis for comparison with earlier cultures and also an effective framework upon which to study our rapidly changing society. The folkways, we recall, are the habits of the individual and the customs of the group which arise over long periods of time to meet the needs of human beings for continuing adjustment and survival. They are the folk wisdom of the race. Before formal education, the folkways embodied the cumulative efforts of each generation to transmit to the succeeding generation what it considered the essential learning for adjustment and survival. The folkways were the growing, flexible processes of living and learning. In order to set the stage for the technicways, we emphasize again how, as time went on, the folkways were tested through increasingly more effective trial and error, and those which matured to receive the continuing sanction of the group became mores. The mores took on the nature of societal pressure. They represented the coercion of the public opinion and became the basis for more formal judgments. This body of judgments then tended to crystallize into what later became "morals" and constituted the bases for "morality," "ethics," "good," and "bad." The two chief traits of the mores were the time element necessary to their growth and the binding effect of their total influence. We shall see presently that neither of these traits is valid in the world at large today.

The mores were stabilized in the institutions. Whenever a body of values, form of behavior, or the mores of one or more definite areas of life became formalized, stabilized, and sanctioned, the organization or the symbol of the institution arose. The institution was thus a sanctioned organization providing practical arrangement to conserve and enforce the judgments of the mores as to what was "best," "right," "good," "true," or "wise." Those structures that grew up and were formalized and sanctioned in the major institutions reflected modes of group behavior relative to sex, education, religion, government, work, and association within the community. That is, we have in every society the major institutions of the family, education, religion, government, work, association. In the modern world, these generic values were institutionalized around standards and forms of the *home*, the *school*, the *church*, the *state*, *industry*, and the *community*. These special *forms* of the institutional values were flexible and represent ways

and means of the successful functioning of each institution. Later more specific minor forms of institutional sanctions followed. These were detailed ways of working through the major institutions which paved the way for an increasingly larger influence of the state and of the stateways, or legislated order and procedure. Thus, money and banking are part of the economic institution; or institution of industry and work, as we have called it here; so, also, labor unions are another subinstitutional category. Hospitals, courts, and clinics; agencies and organization for ameliorating the lot of the deficient are called institutions for the blind, the crippled, the insane, the sick. They have usually been termed the eleemosynary institutions or the institutions of philanthropy. Universities and colleges as a subdivision of education are called institutions of higher learning.

The rise of the stateways. These more specialized institutions are the increasingly formal and legalized agencies for serving particular needs. They are, therefore, planned, reasoned, and practical and generally represent what are called the stateways — those ways which are enforced by laws and legislation. The laws of the states, laws relating to marriage, taxation, labor, education, banking, voting, welfare, and health represent one large branch of the stateways. These are reflected in the states' authority to charter business organizations, to license marriage or building permits, to legislate against trusts. So, also, the encyclicals of the Catholic Church, the "Discipline" of the Methodist Church, the rules of labor unions — these are stateways in that they carry with them the necessary compulsion of enforcement or penalty.

The stateways also reflected the community sovereignty. It is important at this time to re-emphasize the role of the stateways because of their intermediary status between the folkways and the mores, on the one hand, and the later technicways, on the other. For there is consistent trend toward the widening range of governmental services and therefore increasing control. Yet, the institution of the state and government, like all the institutions, grew out of the community first. These communities, of one and another kinship and natural association, sooner or later came to have needs of economic co-operation or division of labor, or defense, or expansion, or exploration, or better order. Hence, the state — following one or another form of sovereignty or organization — arose to meet these needs for greater order and conformity. The state was a community government or agreement with rules and penalties. It became a principal institution of society in later stages of development whenever the growth of population and the increasing complexities of community life demanded its services and jurisdiction. Thus, laws — stateways — were produced that related to all the

other major institutions and their activities, to the end that better order would obtain. Stateways multiplied until they became the definite later stage of development in this order: folkways — mores — stateways. The synchronous and intermediary processes — morality, ethics, institutions — continue their development in the order listed.

Now in so far as the extreme developments of modern world society tend to conform to the totalitarian civilization of the state, then a single institution of the state negates the form and primary services of the other institutions, and thus in these instances the state has become synonymous with society. We recall that Sumner was wont to say that since "the life of society consists in the making of folkways and applying them," the science of society might very well become the study of the folkways. If we oversimplify the analogy, the study of society in totalitarian nations would consist largely of the study of the stateways as they conflict with the folkways and the other institutions.

Stateways, like folkways and mores and institutions, have always developed gradually through trial and error, exploration and survey, and by the gradual but sure increase in the functions of the state society. They have usually represented the will of the people and have been planned to meet the essential needs for better order and services to society. And the stateways often, but not always, have incorporated the "best" of the folkways and mores and tend to reflect the tradition and authority of the elders in both range and judicial enforcement.

The technicways have no tradition. Now comes our civilization of the middle 1900s, moving too fast for the formation of mores and folkways and setting up a rate of social change which negates both the folkways, the mores, and the orderly stateways. In the light of actualities and trends of science, technology, with the corresponding speed of change, it seems very doubtful if mores are possible. This is made clear if we contrast the meaning and power of the technicways with the folkways. To do this we need only repeat again some of the traits of the folkways and the mores. According to the Sumner concept, the young always learned the folkways by tradition, imitation, and authority. The technicways which predominate in present-day society are by their very definition so new that they have no tradition or authority and cannot be learned by imitation. They arise quickly from specific, definite, observable pressures and needs, and their survival or success depends upon their quick adoption and usage. So, again, if the folkways and the mores arose through ritual, it seems clear that no such introduction to the new technicways could be possible. If the folkways were powerful because "our ancestors have always done so," the technicways

are powerful primarily because our ancestors *never did so.* Manifestly this has powerful meaning in so far as the whole process of child training and home conditioning affect the character and behavior of the new generation.

The technicways make a new world. This new world which the technicways make, therefore, is one that manifestly is developing quite differently from the earlier cultures. In general, the newness of this world can be defined from two points of view: First, it is literally new in the sense that science, invention, technology, speed, and change have wrought so effectively that the world today is essentially different from the world of yesterday. Technology has not only changed the face of nature, but of the ways of living. Second, this world of ours is new in the sense in which it is characterized as a uniform, universal, advanced stage of civilization similar to the advanced stages of other civilizations as they have become top-heavy, artificial, and as they tend toward decay. Now if we understand most common explanations of how modern society has come to such a position, and if it is possible to account for our present dilemmas in concrete and measurable terms, it will be possible to study society concretely and objectively. The assumption should be repeated, therefore, that *in the technicways, which transcend the folkways and supplant the mores,* and accelerate the tempo of societal evolution, what is happening is visible and can be understood.

Explanation of our troubled civilization. We have already summarized, in the previous chapter, the powerful effects of science and technology on the present world, and we have emphasized the fact that they have concentrated their most powerful influence in the two still further disturbing forces of global war and totalitarian government. Now, turning to the second phase of the new world, namely, the predominance of dilemma, confusion, and chaos, there are many verdicts on civilization and its tragedies and costs.

Pitirim Sorokin in a series of encyclopedic volumes which have been followed by popular interpretations, predicts that the present sensate culture, the product of civilization, together with man himself, will drift to self-destruction. In his plaintive prophecy of doom, he says, "Not only have we begun the disintegration of a great super-system of sensate culture but values, including man himself, will be made still more debased, sensual and material, stripped of anything divine, sacred, and absolute." The elements of destructive forces constitute a long catalogue. The House of Western Man will collapse. Everything will contribute to destruction. Here are items: rude force — cynical fraud — might — brutality rampant — bombs instead of bread — death instead of freedom — the family a tool of cohabitation — the home a parking place — atomistic and hedonistic

devices — egotistic expedience — bigotry — fraud — atrocious concoctions of fragments of science, shreds of philosophy, stewed in the inchoate mass of magical beliefs — liberties gone — security and happiness turned into a myth — man's dignity, his value, trampled pitilessly — the previously built magnificent sensate house crumbling — destruction rampant everywhere — cities and kingdoms erased — human blood saturating the good earth — all sensate values blown to pieces and all sensate dreams vanished.

Sorokin's implication is that there is nothing that can be done about it, and that, having thrown off the sensate culture, some bright morning humanity will wake up blossomed into perfect ideational culture led by some new prophets — which would mean, of cource, an era of dictatorship. Surely this is not the way human society grows nor is this the goal of human effort.

There are many other explanations of the crisis of civilization. There is Spengler's verdict that all human culture passes through the normal cycles of nature: seasonal as of springtime, summer, autumn, winter; or human as of childhood, youth, middle age, old age; or societal, as rural-agrarian, urban technological culture-civilization. There is Freud's application of the psychology of the social organism with resulting conclusions pointing towards disaster. An oversimplification of his formula would be: since all progress is made through the order of natural processes, and since the processes of modern civilization are unnatural, therefore no progress is possible; on the contrary, decay and deterioration must result until such time as mankind restores natural order.

There are also the explanations of the modern crisis in terms of morality. Hitler used this motif in molding the German folk to his superstate, by appealing for moral support for his fight against corruption in high places and for the rights of the folk and of youth. In America, corruption in high places has been ascribed as the cause of the breakdown of society. The "wages of sin is death" applies to society as well as to individuals. Those who undertake to explain the present chaos on the religious or moral basis point out that it is a punishment brought upon the world because of the sins of the nations. Many scriptural explanations are offered: . . . for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword; the wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God; the wicked rule, the people perish — and a thousand prophecies of the Isaiahs and Jeremiahs, old and new. Then there are those who, attempting to answer the question why God would permit so much suffering, go further and say that it is a part of the divine order which gives man, created in the image of God,

the eternal right of choice and of self-determination. Man has chosen, they say, and must still choose between great conflicting philosophies, and it is only through this constant struggle and choice that mankind can evolve into its fullest possibilities.

Finally, there are the more moderate and scientific explanations of what has happened and is happening in civilization. In general, the various theories of social change and of cultural lag are set forth to show how maladjustment and confusion arise with their resulting problems. There are far too many of these even to list them, but samplings will illustrate. For instance, there are the multiple theories of determinism — economic determinism, racial determinism, geographic determinism, technological determinism, and the others — along with the distinguished heritage of philosophical, educational, humanistic, and aesthetic explanations of human values. There are many theories of progress and catalogues of the stages and ages of mankind and his culture.

Now the sociologist in looking at modern civilization finds himself obligated not only to know about all of these explanations, to estimate the relative merits of their multiple assumptions, and to recognize the very existence of so many attempts to understand society, but he must also go further and in so far as is possible check up on as many of the premises as is possible. And, in so far as possible, he must undertake to give a more realistic understanding of what has happened.

How the technicways explain the changed world. It seems clear that what we have called the technicways clearly explain much that has changed the world we live in and also indicate how the changes came about. In the field of sex and the family, or religion and morality, of rural life and urban, for instance, the technicways offer the clearest explanation of what has happened and why. Our task here is relatively simple, namely, to point up differences between the old and the new and to indicate how the technicways have made the new world. We may begin with one of the most universal of illustrations.

The technicways of parenthood. In earlier days and even as late as the first part of the twentieth century, whenever a young couple married it was generally assumed by them and by others that they would not only have children in the early, regular order of married life, but that they would have several children. This was not only an acceptance of the way of nature, but the churches had placed motherhood and parenthood high in the order of values; some religious bodies have only sanctioned the sex relation for reproduction purposes. In the folkways and the mores of the people, extending all the way up from early times, values were fixed to the point where

marriage and large families represented "the way" for rich living and for the development of the race. However, it may be said that now young people who marry do not anticipate large families, nor do they expect to have children until their income reaches a point where a child can be born, brought up, and educated in accordance with the prevailing ideas. This is especially true of youth on the level of higher education and industrial competition. From a rule of procedure in which every married couple was expected to have children, and many of them, we come to a rule where married couples do not expect to have children immediately or large families even when children are planned.

Now the technicways are defined as habits of the individual and customs of the group for meeting needs and survival values in the modern technological world. The development of industry has furnished opportunities for women to work, and large numbers of young women, in order to support themselves or assist in supporting their families, must work a while before starting a family. Many young men out of college with a feeling of lack of security and with various types of opportunities express the conclusion that they cannot support a family, and, with an uncertain economic future, they feel they would be doing an injustice to the wife and children. For a young man of today to set up a home in expectation of rearing four, six, or eight children would be cause for great joking, so unrealistic does it appear.

There are other elements that have entered the question of parenthood. Science has developed ways of contraception, movements are on foot for the orderly planning of parenthood, and birth control has become a major consideration in population policies. Although birth control has been opposed by a number of the churches, and is contrary to the folkways and the mores of many people, the movement has very clearly developed as a technicway because it is opposed to the folkways and the mores. There is no inclination here to pass on the merits or morality of large families or small families; of having children or not having children; of birth control or no birth control. The point is that our behavior is that of the technicways which have been developed to meet needs or adjustment in a new world in which technology has made the conditions which have set up new standards of need and survival for the individual.

Technicways of the man-woman relationship. Concerning man and woman, there are contrasting folkways and technicways. In the folkways, marriage was the joining together of two lives in a permanent union, sacred and indestructible; and the relation of husband to wife was often more that of patriarch or master to servant. In the modern technicways, marriage is more of a mutual relationship of emotional and sexual appease-

ment, social and economic sharing, and sometimes separate careers; with divorce as the way out in a world where women are no longer "dependent" economically, and where divorce is not a disgrace. In the older days, woman's place was in the home, love and marriage were woman's career, and her associations were her family, the church, and with other women. In the modern world, the woman is assumed to be an individual: she can marry or not as she prefers; she may have a career with or without marriage; and she has increasingly broader associations with men and with women.

The old mores and taboos of sex were strongly fixed, with courtship under close supervision, with women in seclusion, with women's fashions, both in the home and in such public activities as gymnastics or mild athletic fames such as to obscure the body. In the modern world, courtship is much less formal and is carried on with relative freedom, and there is an increasingly larger freedom of sex relationships.

In earlier days, "nice" women did not smoke and drink, since both habits were taboo, while today it is estimated that women smoke more than men and the number of women alcoholics is increasing. Books on etiquette treat such subjects as good form in drinking and how to handle a drunk date. Popular magazine articles present subjects such as "How to smoke with abandon and kiss with restraint." Superficially, the sophisticated woman of urban civilization bears little resemblance to the frontier woman. Again, in the earlier time there were many false ideas concerning menstruation, with the result that women's activities were limited, whereas in the modern world, owing to increased medical knowledge of gynecology and personal hygiene, menstruation is considered a normal function which does not isolate a healthy woman from normal activity. Where once it was considered "immoral" for a girl or a woman to work in an office with a man, now there are several million such women and many more millions working in other fields than the home and the school. We are not at this time interested in which is the better world, the new or the old. What we do know is that the society today, in regard to women, is different — and we know why.

Technicways of rural and of urban life. The new world made by the technicways can be illustrated by contrasting the earlier rural agricultural economy with the modern urban industrial economy. For whatever else may be true, an urban world is a different world from the rural. Some of the differences may be mentioned to indicate the radical nature of changing needs. Thus, in the early republic, there were relatively few people, of great homogeneity and similar interests, sparsely settled in rural areas, a mutually self-reliant and neighborly people, who worked in the simple, primary occupations and who had little money, the wealth being primarily

in private fortunes and land, and in stores and other small enterprises. Over against this is the concentration of millions of people in dense areas, of great heterogeneity and diverse interests, engaged in hundreds of secondary occupations; and wealth is in large individual fortunes and corporate investments.

Whatever else may have been true, the people originally lived close to nature and the land, moved through primary institutions and simple self-sufficing living, worked with animate labor of men and animals, whereas in the new world they know little about nature, have fewer children and fewer community associations, become impersonal "yes men" in the urban-industrial world, move on artificial levels of life, change standards and values. It is a new world which affects all the main ways of behaving and the technicways of urban-industrial society arise to meet its needs.

Folk drama as an illustration. To illustrate a contrast in behavior between the old rural and the new urban society, we may take the case of what may be called the folk drama. In the old days, amusement was either home- or community-produced; and there was participation by a part of the community in the give and take of co-operative effort, the devising of ways and means of staging, and the final community enjoyment of the presentation. This is in contrast with, let us say, the folk dramas of Walt Disney, as they have been called, which involve hundreds of production devices and mechanical details; twenty-four pictures are produced for each second of the audience's watching time; 8,000 instruments, musical and otherwise, are required, and 1,100 colors can be used. There is a representation of nature and animals presented as no nature and no animals ever were on land or sea; and, translated into many languages, millions of people all over the world find them a happy release from workaday lives. What has happened is that all this has been attained through the artistry of the intellectuals, involving high salaries for many people and the gadgets of technology. What has happened further is that the new folk drama is more for the spectator than the participator and it has been transferred to the moving picture rather than to the little theater, which, while still important, is largely the work of small groups of intellectual folk.

The technicways of war. Again, whatever else may be true, there is a new world of war and war fear on a scale never approached in the history of the human race. New inventions have changed the nature of the problem of survival. The technicways have made a new world of blitzkrieg. Bombing of cities, with their concentrations of industry and people, their hospitals, schools and churches, makes war more terrifying and speeds its tempo. The killing in mass slaughter of women and children becomes the new technic-

ways of survival. And the nations, in order to survive, but against all the folkways and the mores of society's best values, not only devise, but use whatever new weapons of destruction, may be available. In the atomic bomb may be symbolized the whole range of terror technicways which have literally made a new world, not only of work, but of organization and government.

How the technicways grow. Perhaps the simplest and most effective way to study the rise of the technicways would be to catalogue the folkways of the several institutions, then to note what science and technology have done, and then to catalogue the resulting technicways. Thus, in the home and family, what were the folkways and mores of women's place in the home, of children and their nurture, of marriage and divorce? Then what happened in the way of new economic opportunity, of science and discovery in biology and medicine, of new inventions and new educations and new education for women? Then what were the new ways of women outside the home and in?

In religion, what were the beliefs, the ways of worship, the ways of Sabbath observance and the general "morals" that are associated with religion? Then what new knowledge of biology and anthropology changed the profile of faith? What necessities changed the Sunday laws and what did the automobile do to church going?

In the everyday world of modern civilization the résumé of the new technicways requires a continuous cataloguing. In industry, for instance, what were the folkways of the primary occupations of personal relations between employer and employee? Then, what happened in the way of big business, corporations, and what were the technicways of absentee ownership, corporations, labor organizations, strikes and picket lines?

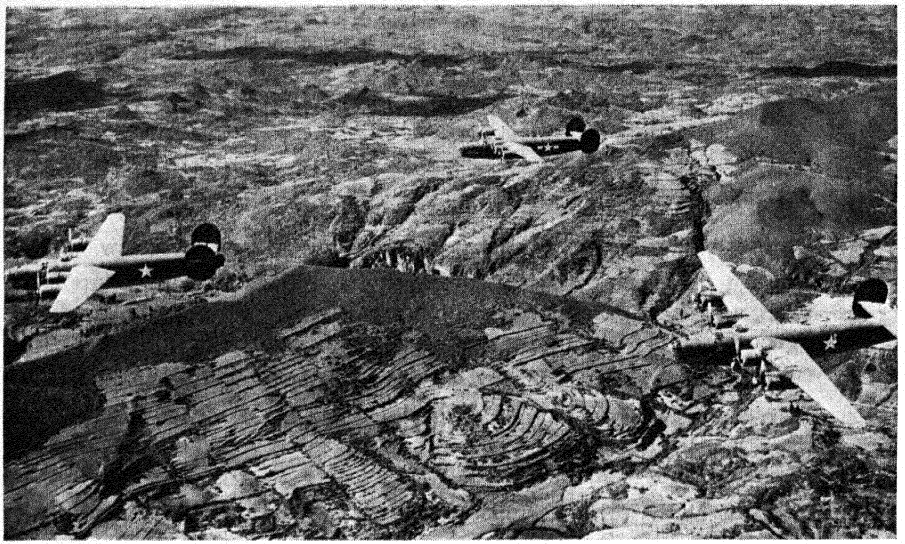
And so for the great body of technicways that have transcended the folkways in the prevailing modes of life; there are folkways and technicways of advertising and propaganda; of urban life and customs; of children and old people; of the old private philanthropy and the new public welfare; of old moral exhortations and the new expediences. In Chapter 36 on Problems of Progress and Planning, we shall discuss further the role of the technicways in planning and in Chapter 37 the implications of technicways in research.

Assignments and Questions

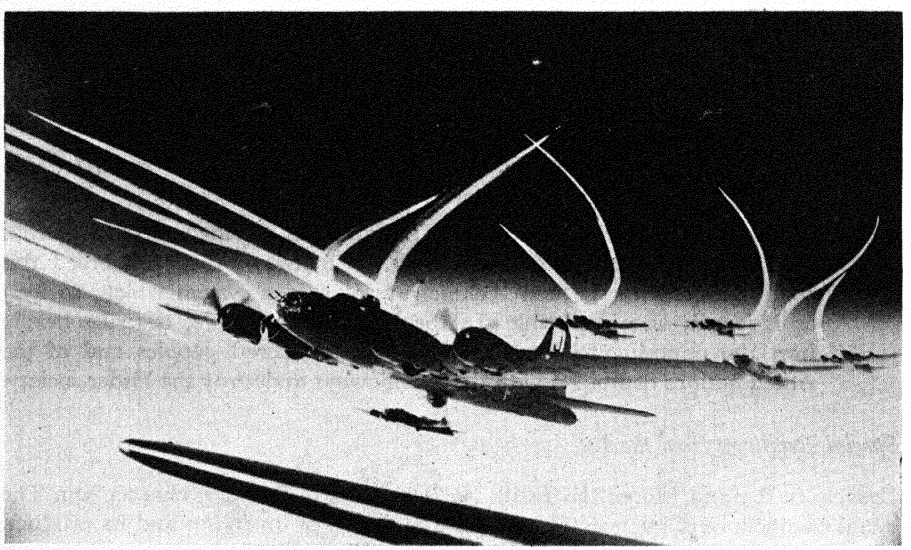
1. What is meant by the assertion: "The technicways make a new world"?
2. Illustrate the technicways in the behavior and dress of the automobile tourists as they patronize the dining rooms of leading hotels for dinner as compared to formal dress often specified in earlier days.
3. What technicways are reflected in women's smoking and drinking?
4. In comparison with Sumner's assertion that the study of folkways and mores constituted sociology, or the study of society, would modern sociology be the study of technicways?
5. How might the social technicways accelerate the rate of change in race relations or attitudes?
6. Illustrate how it might be possible to say that in a quick-moving world — such as civilization at war in the 1940s — there could be no *mores.*
7. Why did the term *morals* come to connote primarily behavior with reference to sex?
8. List some of the technicways of war.
9. Catalogue prevailing technicways which change the status of women and modify sex behavior.
10. Show how the technicways that arose because of the invention of the automobile actually modified American life.
11. Indicate how the technicways may be utilized to contribute substantially to social planning.
12. Indicate how an understanding of the technicways may contribute to the negation of the cyclical theories of the course of society.
13. In Chapter 12, Hitler's success for so long was ascribed to the fact that he made the stateways coincide with the folkways, then reinforced this combination with the new technicways of war, a system which, so long as it lasted, was irresistible. In the light of his failure, describe briefly how the opposing folkways of both the conquered peoples and of the Allied nations combined with the technicways to destroy the Hitler society.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, E. R., and Moore, H. Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology,* chapter XXI. The social significance of science. The extreme antiquity of invention and its product,



The Stratocruiser as early as 1940 weighed 135,000 lbs. and by 1946 orders were placed for planes weighing up to 320,000 lbs. with the limit steadily increasing still. ABOVE: Wings over China. BELOW: U. S. Army photograph, showing white vapor trails in the sub-stratosphere. What the wider use of the plane may be in exploring new frontiers is still conjecture.



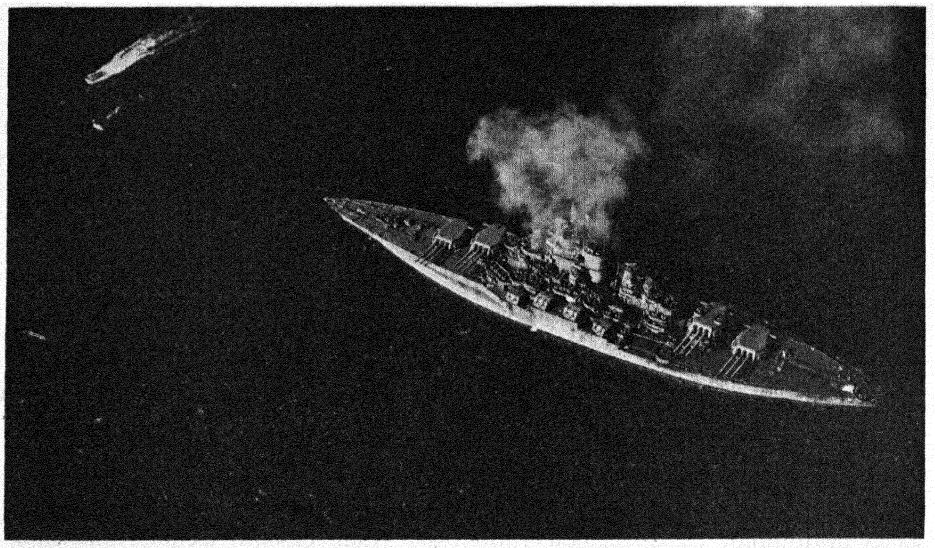
technology, and their function of channelizing social behavior. Basic technology has given us means of production and consumption that have enormously increased the things available to man. Needs bringing forth inventions and their effects on society intertwined in a process; social and mechanical factors often derived from each other. Ethics and morals affected by social changes growing out of inventions.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XVIII. Discovery and invention are the obvious starting points for any study of cultural growth and change, since only by these processes can new elements be added to the total content of man's culture. Distinction between discoveries and inventions. Simple division of religious, social, and technological inventions. Basic inventions and improving inventions. Selection an influence which culture exerts upon inventions. All cultures have grown chiefly by borrowing.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, especially chapter III, sections 2, 4, 9; chapters IV and VII. The growth of the city during the nineteenth century, and the "un-building" that took place in urban environment through the loss of effective social institutions. Urban agglomeration as a result of both technics and capitalism. Cycles of growth and decay in the metropolis, and possibilities of renewal and salvage through a regional development.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*. This book in its entirety is most useful. See, however, chapters I, II, VII, and VIII for good treatment of the technicways. Technics and civilization as a whole the result of human choices and aptitudes and strivings, deliberate as well as unconscious, and often irrational when apparently they are most objective and scientific. No matter how completely technics relies upon the objective procedures of the sciences, it does not form an independent system, like the universe: technics exists as an element in human culture and promises well or ill as the social groups that exploit it promise well or ill. The machine itself makes no demands and holds out no promise: it is the human spirit that makes demands and keeps or does not keep promises. In order to reconquer the machine and subdue it to human purposes, one must first understand it and assimilate it. The world of technics not isolated and self-contained; it reacts to forces and impulses that come from apparently remote parts of the environment. The study of the development of modern technics a basis for understanding and strengthening the contemporaneous transvaluation of technology.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters IV and XXVII. Next to the heritage of natural resources and their utilization and waste through economic and cultural developments, the most profound inheritance of the people is that of technology, and change. A partial inventory of the nation's technological wealth, as personified in technology. Technology a major actor in the national drama, adding intensity to the conflict for the survival of American ideals and civilization. Survival and progress to a great extent dependent upon society's ability to match physical technology with social technology. Types of social planning.



Technicways of the New Atomic Age Make a New World

The Battleship Tennessee, symbol of a great warship epoch, heroic in spirit and achievement, now a question mark for the new Atomic Era. BELOW: Task force of a great nation, fleet of war ships, auxiliaries, with back of these supply ships, tankers, small craft, workers from the uttermost parts of the world.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, chapters I and XXV. The problem of bigness and technology in relation to the problem of freedom and opportunity is bound up in the implications of regionalism. The movement concerned with standards of living and work, the increase of wealth and well-being. Word pictures of the changes wrought by technology. Crisis produced by the demands and sweep of artificial society which exceeds man's natural capacity to absorb and adjust himself successfully.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, especially chapters XIX, XXVI, and XXVII. Historical approach to economic ownership and its origins. Development of the modern economic system. The social control of industry. Technological influence on society; concomitant variations and causal relations. Multiple effects of major material inventions. The influence of technology on social institutions. Mechanization and the production of social inventions.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, especially chapters 9, 10, and 31. The urbanization of culture and the characteristics of technological centers of population. Factors in the rise of civilization centers viewed historically. Technology as a dominant factor in Western culture. Contrast in the salient economic features of rural and urban life. The bearing of mechanization and standardization on the deadening leveling which prevails in other aspects of life.

General Readings from the Library

Baker, Elizabeth Foulkner, *The Displacement of Men by Machines;* Beard, Charles A., and Beard, Mary R., *The American Spirit;* Burlingame, Roger, *March of the Iron Men;* Chase, Stuart, *Men and Machines;* Davis, Alice, "Time and the Technicways," *Social Forces*, December, 1940, pages 175–189, and "Technicways in American Civilization," *Social Forces*, XVIII, March, 1940, pages 317–330; Hausleiter, Leo, *The Machine Unchanged;* Mumford, Lewis, *The Condition of Man* and *Technics and Civilization;* Odum, Howard W., "Notes on the Technicways in Contemporary Society," *American Sociological Review*, June, 1937, pages 336–346, and "Sociology in the Contemporary World of Today and Tomorrow," *Social Forces*, May, 1943, pages 390–396; Ogburn, William F., *Social Change;* Rosen, S. McKee, and Rosen, Laura, *Technology and Society;* Spengler, Oswald, *The Decline of the West;* Sullivan, J. W. N., *The Limitations of Science;* Sumner, William Graham, *Folkways;* Thornton, Jesse E., *Science and Social Change;* Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class;* Wright, Quincy, *A Study of War*, 2 vols.

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. What was the Birth Control Federation of America? Why did it change its name in 1941 to the Planned Parenthood Federation of America?
2. Show how the stateways and the mores concerning childbirth are stronger than the technicways in a few limited areas. (Examples: the Catholic

Church; rural areas; and the two states — Massachusetts and Connecticut — where a physician is barred from giving such information to a patient under any circumstances.)

3. From Alice Davis' "Time and the Technicways" and "Technicways in American Civilization," illustrate the power of the technicways in the case of women and smoking.

4. Illustrate from some of the earlier New Deal emergency agencies how some of the social technicways transcended the folkways; in controlled production in agriculture, for instance. Others?

5. In terms of social organization or control, name some organizations or agencies which illustrate Thorstein Veblen's reversed proverb that "Invention is the mother of necessity." One example would be the commission form of city government, which arose from the emergencies of the Galveston flood of 1900.

6. Report on the Vassar College Educational Experiment "Today's Cities" as an observation program to study technicways of urban life. *Bulletin*, April, 1946.

V

Society and the People

21

The New Vitality of the People

"*Nothing matters but the people.*" Part of the folk wisdom of many cultures are sayings about the people that are symbolic of their organic role in society. *Vox populi, vox Dei*, in John Fiske's translation, *Through Nature to God*, carries with it a scientific verdict in addition to the exact meaning, "the voice of the people [is] the voice of God;" "of, by, and for the people" is not merely a spoken shibboleth, but today reflects the new realism of the people's search for mastery in a quick-changing world. "Nothing matters but the people" is not only an emphatic remark but the fundamental point of eugenics. So, too, the common exhortations to keep close to the people and close to nature are symbolic of the folkways of survival. The cumulative meaning of these sayings have come to be peculiarly important in the present world, in which a global war has often been called the people's war.

The people are both creators and creatures of society. In this chapter, we reach another high level of the study of society; perhaps the highest level of all. For, after all, the people are creators and creatures of culture, and of civilization. It is upon the people that the impact of technology and civilization strikes with such speed and power as to bring new problems into being. Wherever problems are for the individual, they are also for the group and require individual and cultural adjustment. When there is maladjustment, there is likely to be pathology, as when people who are gauged to frontier culture are suddenly caught up in the midst of civilization, where the demands of technology exceed their capacity. And always the people, as human resources, are both the makers and the measures of wealth. As the people through science, invention, and technology transform the face of nature and translate it into usable wealth, so the people through social

science, social invention and technology create institutions and organizations for the wiser use of that wealth and for the attainment of a richer human society. Within the framework of these processes and products are found the measures of the culture and the civilization which constitute human society. The study of the people is thus also the study of the processes and products of the people's adjustment to their physical and cultural environments. The new realism of the people means the recognition and recapture of the dynamics of the folk personality throughout the world as the people are caught up in the midst of such great technological and social change. Thus, while the study of population is not itself sociology, it constitutes the backlog of sociology.

So far, we have been studying society as it has developed through its various stages in time and space from the earlier cultures to later civilizations. These cultures and civilizations have all been rooted in the natural wealth or resources which have been available for mankind to utilize. The people represent the universal human wealth and resources which make up the physical basis of culture, even as natural resources constitute the physical basis upon which all cultures build their material structures. The people, therefore, are the heart and center of society, for without them there could be no society. This is, however, more than a truism. The people, while in themselves alone in no sense constitute society, are nevertheless both the creators and creatures of society. In their role of creators, the people have developed cultures, institutions, technology, and civilization, As creatures of society, they are susceptible to the physical and circumferential pressure of environment and resources, as well as to the pressure and the impact of technology and civilization upon both their institutions and upon them as individuals. This latter aspect, the effects of the impact of modern civilization upon people and upon their institutions, and particularly upon individuals, constitutes one of the most important of all current sociological inquiries.

The folk as the everlasting spirit of mankind. The people are, however, basic in another sense which we have constantly emphasized. We have called the "folk" the universal constant in a world of variables, meaning, of course, the people as they develop in each region and dominate that culture are the ever-flowing and limitless source from which arise new cultures in the wake of decaying civilization. In the character of the folk, we find not only the aspirations and the arrangements of the people, but the essence of folk loyalty and patriotism to native lands and culture, and the struggle between human beings and physical resources, which give distinc-

tiveness, character, and survival to each people. In the folk is found the essence, the struggle, of the human spirit as symbolized by the individual: his inner, supreme spirit, his love of life, his fight to work and live, for his family, for freedom, for the expression of his inner self. His sometines pitiful trial and error, ignorance and listlessness, crudeness and selfishness, still reflect the folk in their eternal struggle for freedom. The folk live and always will live as irresistibly as nature.

Global war the symbol of survival for the folk. It is in the light of these fundamentals that the struggle for survival of World War II may well be described as essentially a War for the Folk. It was not only a war to defend the people from dictators and to restore the rights of the peoples; it was war to defend the people from extinction and to set the world's stage for an opportunity to test the enduring qualities of democracy. A "War for the Folk," therefore, comprehended everything that human society has been struggling for and looked toward a new world order to conserve what it had gained. And it was the folk, in every sense of the word, who paid the price for so great a struggle.

Four levels for the study of the people. Sociology must study at least four major aspects of the people. The first is the over-all picture of the people, as they total more than two billion living *socii* in a world society: who the people are, where and how they live, their relations to other people and to total human society. The second is the traditional scientific concept of the study of population composition, its movements, including population policy. A third phase, perhaps too generally neglected by the sociologists, is that of the role of the individual in society, and of his behavior in the social group. This is becoming increasingly important because the individual plays a more critical part in modern civilization than in earlier cultures. A fourth aspect to the study of the people, one which is continuously emphasized in this text, is in the essential role of the folk in the survival and the continuing development of human society as a whole.

THE FOLK IN WORLD SOCIETY

This last phase of the study of the people has been touched on at many points throughout the book, and especially in Chapters 11, 12, and 14. In some ways, the folk picture is closely related to the total picture of the peoples and nations that make up the present world society. We need to understand the folk picture better than we have understood it before. In the light of sociology's identifying the culture of the folk as like the person-

ality of the individual, it may well be true that one of the chief tasks of the new world will be the rediscovery of the folk personality wherever it is to be found.

There are three aspects to the picture of the people. First, there is the quantitative picture of the total number of people. Second, there is the picture of these peoples as grouped into classes, nations, races, and geographic regions. Third, there is the quality picture of the varying traits and cultures of the peoples. In this chapter we shall enlarge on the picture of the folk groups of the world given in Chapter 1, after which, in this and the succeeding chapter, we shall explore some of the elemental factors of population study. Special attention is given to the importance of the individual in Chapters 24 and 25.

The people of China. As an example it is profitable to study the Chinese, who came swiftly and vividly to the attention of the world because of World War II, because they are an excellent symbol of nature's indestructible human resources. Here are millions of folk who cannot be destroyed. In the face of many years of warfare, with its consequent chaos and destruction of resources, they have continuously reflected greater humanity, greater ideals, greater fighting qualities, less hate and less fear, than most peoples. And for thousands of years they have absorbed their enemies and continued to replenish the earth. In their philosophy and culture, the Chinese people represent what we may call the folk society in transition. Their culture is dignified and ancient in comparison with the machine culture of the Western world. In relation to the regional balance and imbalance between men and resources, the Chinese represent another important aspect of the newer sociological study of peoples. For China, commonly cited as an illustration of deficiency, poverty, and low standards of living, is a region where abundance might just as well be possible, if its great river-valley regions were planned and developed for a better balance between the people and their resources.

During World War II the world was continually reimpressed by the spectacle of the endurance and survival powers of the Chinese people. Well, there they are, vast empire of four hundred million people, in what may well be called a "promised land." Is this powerful folk culture to be destroyed by war or rebuilt in fair balance with the new civilization? The Chinese folk who will contribute powerfully to a world society where regional arrangements more than empires may well set the pace. American powers of evaluation have progressed to the point where they are no longer considered "the heathen" or the backward; instead, they represent the vitality of age-old people being reborn. And in this rebirth, the folk institu-

tions, especially the family, are basic resources. The people of China seem to embody all the elemental factors that go into the making of old cultures and new civilization.

The Japanese. Another example of the variability and range of the people may be found in the Japanese. The contrasting characters of the Chinese and the Japanese cultures is strong evidence of the power of the folk in contrast to race. Although both peoples belong to the Mongolian, or yellow race, they nevertheless have had what might be termed an almost opposite development. From a relatively small group of people concentrated in a small area, the Japanese spread and conquered until at the time of Pearl Harbor the people in their Asiatic empire numbered more than the people of the United States or of Germany. First there were ninety-seven million Japanese, and then such increasingly larger additions that at the crest of their successes in the Pacific war, more than two hundred million people were under their control. The Japanese were a people, like nature, indestructible in the mass and so conditioned by their folk society that they could challenge the rest of the world, as the Germans did in Europe. And, like the Germans, they reflected the powerful folkways of a revered ruler and of the promises of military and political leaders seeking to master whole continents and ocean areas.

The people of India. Even more vividly reflecting the indestructible power of the folk society is India, with its more than three hundred million people divided into more than fifty subgroups of folk cultures, religions, languages, and castes. In India, there are the folk societies of many peoples: many are dominated by hopes for independence and by a folk-hero in the person of Gandhi; others are adjusted to the political ideas of the British Empire, which is the supreme state society; and still others are ruled by native princes and exist at the levels of their primitive cultural origins. Yet in all the episodes of the past and in those to come the Indian people have been the unconquerable constant which the state society has never mastered. In the new world which sociology studies, these hundreds of millions of folk will play a major part in the drama of changing human society.

The Russian people combine the folk society and the state society. Another great segment of the world's people which represent extraordinary opportunities for quantitative and qualitative study, are the Russians. Soviet Russia is an amazing example of the power of a people when their folkways and stateways coincide in an era of national development supported by the technicways. The Russians have been the essence of a folk society highly motivated and then highly organized through war and the superstate.

Again, they represent nature's indestructible human resources and unconquerable will to live and to master. No people in the history of modern society have shown more vitality, folk character, and capacity to adapt and achieve than the Russians. In the Soviet Union in eastern Europe, there are 193 million people in addition to which there are several millions more in Asiatic Russia. These millions are divided into some 175 distinguishable subsocieties speaking around 128 different languages or dialects. These millions of Russians may well epitomize the story of societal development. Their attempt to balance culture and civilization, people and machines, the state and the folk constitutes one of the great epochs of history.

The peoples of Africa. Then there is an extraordinary laboratory for the study of people in the wide range of Africa — perhaps a little more than one hundred and fifty million people living on different levels of cultural experience, political order, and civilization. These people also reveal strongly the impact of European civilization and empire control upon their culture. Here the sociologist may well try out the substitution of the concept of "folk" for "race," so that in his total picture of the African people he will be able to analyze and classify many folk societies in relation to race and culture backgrounds, in conflict and in adaptation with what we call civilization.

The peoples of Latin America. Once, again, the sociologist's study of the people takes on new significance in the light of the recent concept of an integrated Western Hemisphere. If ever there were great areas where the population can be described only in terms of people, all people, it is in the Americas to the south of the United States. The varied twenty million folk of Mexico, for instance, assume new proportions in the postwar period. South America's almost a hundred million population, natives and peoples of European heritage, represents again the concept of the folk rather than of race, and constitute a realistic laboratory for sociological study. How vivid such study may be can be seen from the picture of a single republic, such as Brazil, itself capable of combining the elements of folk and state to create a powerful new society.

The peoples of Europe. Europe offers many rewarding fields of study in population policies, migrations, occupation, and all sorts of readjustments after crises. There is Belgium with a little more than eight million people, exclusive of the Belgian Congo; the Netherlands with over nine million; Denmark nearly four million; Norway nearly three million; Sweden more than six million; Switzerland more than four million; Poland thirty-five million; Greece seven million; Turkey sixteen million; and Italy more than forty million. A student of population may carry his researches

into any such details of the number, region, and nature of the people as he may wish, and for which data exists.

The peoples of the world by continents and races. The student may wish to recapitulate the total world population picture by summarizing in terms of the larger aggregates of continents. Africa has more than one hundred and fifty million people; Asia more than a billion; North America nearly two hundred million; South America nearly one hundred million; Europe more than five hundred million; and Australia less than ten million. In the past, many students of population have undertaken to classify the world's population in terms of the major races. It has been estimated that in the 1920s and 1930s there were more than seven hundred million Caucasians, or white people in the world; something more than five hundred million Mongolians, or yellow people; a little more than a hundred million Negroes, or black people; and considerably more than four hundred million Negroid people, the mixed breeds of Melanesia. There is the great lack of dependable statistics on the races.

There has been a great deal of shifting and interregional and international change among the races; there has been change in the rates of increase; and there has been change in racial relationships. The situation also has been confused during World War II by the constant emphasis on the Nazis' fallacious claims of a superior "Aryan race." Thus, it may be possible that the sociologist will prefer to study the peoples of the world in terms of the folk and folk cultures, leaving the study of race to ethnology or anthropology. This would seem to be desirable also when we come to the study of a special society such as the United States, where the racial situation is a mixed one.

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ethnic groups. When we come to examine the total picture of the people of the United States in terms of races and of ethnic groups, the sociologist is faced with a realistic, if specialized, laboratory for the scientific study of the folk. In terms of major races, the total population in 1940 showed 118 million white people and nearly 13 million Negroes. Other races totaled only a little over a half-million, including, in round numbers, 334,000 American Indians, 126,900 Japanese, and 77,500 Chinese.

There are some eleven million foreign born, according to the 1940 census, divided into many nationalities, of which the greatest number, in descending order, have come from Italy, Germany, Canada, Russia, the British Isles, Poland, Eire, Austria, Sweden, and Mexico. (A more detailed anal-

ysis of the foreign born is given in the succeeding chapter.) This is indeed a complex melting pot of the folk, in which the definition of race becomes increasingly more difficult.

Religion. Those who wish to study the American people in terms of their religions find also an interesting problem of analysis. According to a survey of 256 religious bodies made by the *Yearbook of American Churches* in 1943–44, there are 72,492,669 church members in the United States. The largest number of these church members, over forty-one million, belong to the Protestant bodies. The next largest group, and the largest single religious body, with over twenty-three million members, is the Roman Catholic Church. Then there are over four and one-half million members of Jewish congregations, and over half a million members of Eastern Orthodox Churches. There are nearly a million Mormons. Members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) total about seventy thousand.

The largest Protestant bodies according to membership are the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church, the Protestant Espiscopal Church, the Presbyterian Church, the United Lutheran Church, Disciples of Christ, and the Congregational Church.

Distribution. Every student of sociology will wish to gain a comprehensive picture of the people of the United States as they are counted in the Federal census. In 1940, there were 131,669,275 people in the United States. This was an increase during 1930 to 1940 of a little less than nine million, or 7.2 per cent — less than half the percentage of increase from 1920 to 1930, 16.1 per cent.

According to the six regional divisions utilized in this text, there were nearly forty million people in the Northeast, nearly thirty million in the Southeast, nearly ten million in the Southwest, a little more than thirty-five million in the Middle States, nearly eight million in the Northwest, and nearly ten million in the Far West. The largest rate of increase during the years 1930 to 1940 was in the Far West, with 18.8 per cent, and the lowest increase was in the Northwest, with less than 1 per cent. The Southeast had an increase of more than 10 per cent and the Southwest of nearly 8 per cent, while the Northeast had about a 5 per cent increase. In terms of ratios, the largest number of the total people, 30.4 per cent, live in the Northeast; the next largest number, 27.1 per cent in the Middle States; and the third largest, 21.5 per cent, in the Southeast. The others follow in order: 7.5 per cent in the Far West; 7.4 per cent in the Southwest; and 5.6 per cent in the Northwest.

Other population studies. The distribution of the people by urban and rural classifications shows more than seventy-four million, or 56.5 per

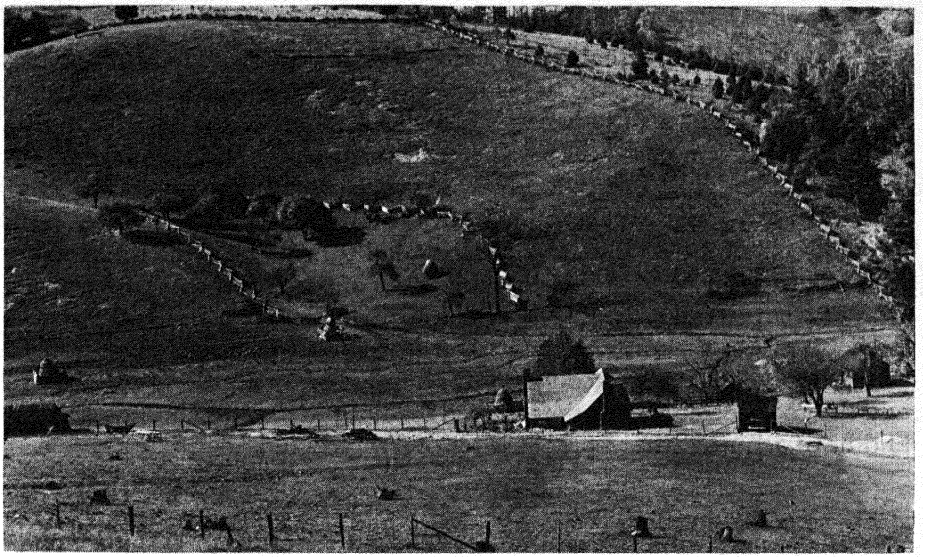
cent, of the total population living in cities, with something more than fifty-seven million living in the rural districts. A summary of the changes in the population from 1930 to 1940 as made by Philip M. Hauser in the *American Journal of Sociology* for May, 1942, gives an over-all picture of the trends before World War II: the total population growth declined markedly with the balance of age-specific birth and death rates shifting during the decade so as to fall below the critical point of population replacement. The population in the South increased relatively rapidly, the rate of urban growth throughout the nation declined greatly to a point barely exceeding that of rural growth, but the population of metropolitan districts continued to grow more rapidly in outlying areas than in central cities. The population continued to age, declined in sex ratio, and remained about the same in race, while the number and proportion of foreign-born white persons decreased substantially. Other details concerning the composition of the population are presented in the next chapter.

The Library and Workshop

Definitions and Examples

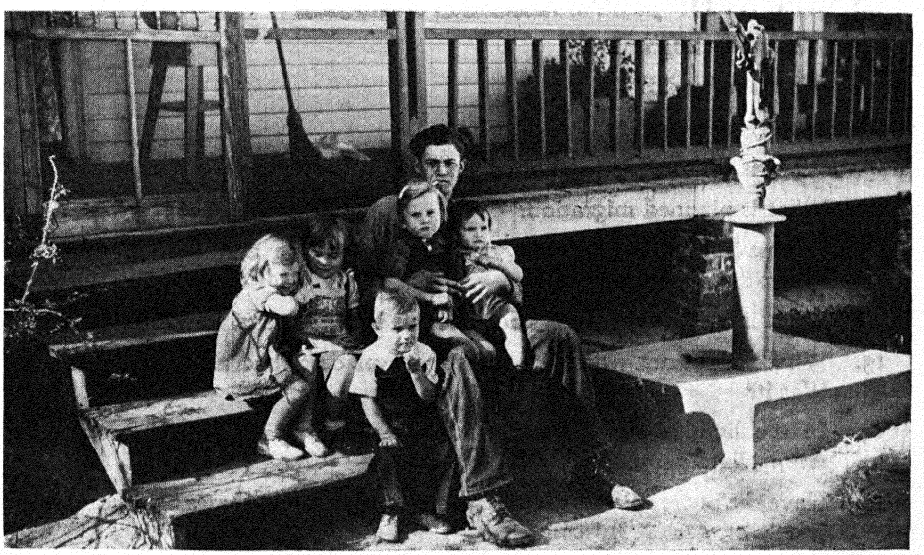
In the study of the people there are several terms which, if defined and illustrated, will illuminate and make more interesting the several chapters of Part v. *Population* is the term used to denote the scientific study of the total people. The population is the counted measure of the people. But sociology says of the *people* themselves that they are not merely statistical units in a census count of heads but that they are living, behaving beings, each person being of importance in himself and the total people being the physical basis of society. The people, we say, represent the quality or content of the population. The phrase *population policy* denotes any organizational or governmental program relating to the reproduction or redistribution of the people. *Population study* and *population statistics* have become so important that a special scientific group has been organized for their study under the name, The Population Association of America. Its activities and publications are both substantial and effective, and they form a kind of special sociology.

There are several other terms which need constant redefinition. We have already defined *the folk*, *race*, *ethnic group*, and *nationality*. *Ethnic groups* are usually associated with *nationality*, although more accurately they are *kinship groups*, which are composite units of society as opposed to national organizations, which are constituent parts of society. This follows Giddings' definition of *composite* as reproducing itself and *constituent* as nonreproducing. The terms *class*, *caste*, and *minority group* also need constant redefinition. Definitions of these terms are also to be found in Chapter 34. The term *class* is used in two ways in this book. One is the general term for the classification of people, such as age groups, sex groups, occupational groups. Another usage implies such ideological concepts as class struggle, class conflict, labor and capital, the proletariat, the upper and lower classes, the working classes, and racial and minority groups. These usages are often inaccurately applied but are important in stating premises. *Caste* is used primarily in contrast to class. This usage is in terms of the unbridgeable distance between groups due to race and inherited traditions of sex and occupation. *Minority group* has the usual meaning of a racial or ethnic group within a larger composite nation or population whose numbers are in the minority to the major racial or ethnic group. The *individual* is stressed for several reasons.



What, If Only the People Count, Is the New Vitality?

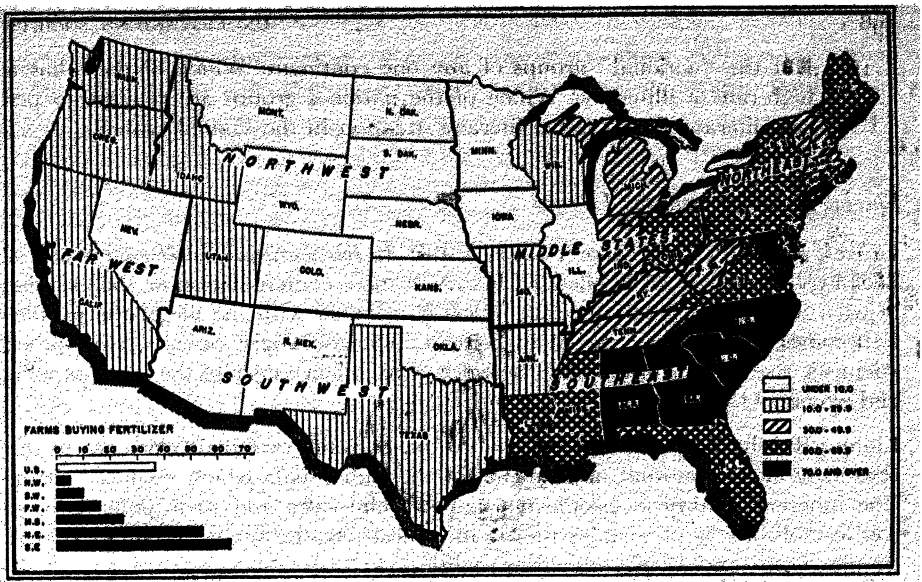
Individual and social differences, due to environment and heredity, are part of the culture processes of interaction. ABOVE: Frontier farm and rail fences near the Blue Ridge trail. BELOW: Beautiful children without a mother.



One is that the individual is the *socially behaving* unit of study. Sociology must study what the individual is not only because of what society does to him and for him but also because of what the individual does to and for society, which is a commonly neglected aspect of the individual. Another reason for studying the individual is the assumption that sound social theory must "work" in relation to both the individual and the group. That is, what is "good for" the individual is good for society. This is illustrated by what Giddings considered the objectives of society: the negative objectives of emancipation from fear, ignorance, and superstition, and the positive objectives of the attainment of freedom and of citizenship, both of which apply alike to a society and to an individual. The strong individual and the good society are both free from the limitations of ignorance and fear and have acquired the characteristics of free people and citizens.

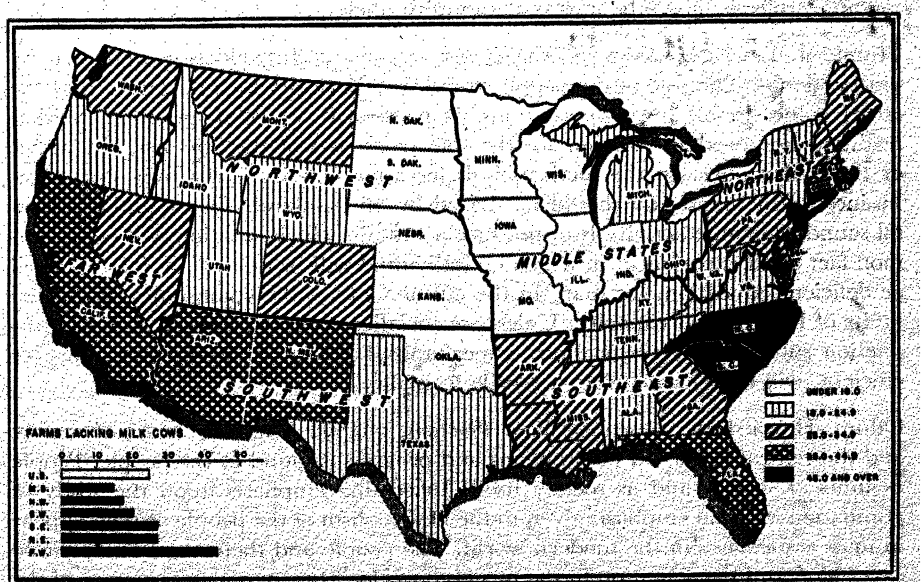
Assignments and Questions

1. Illustrate the range of population study by references to Rupert B. Vance's *All These People.*
2. What are the recent trends in the study of population?
3. What is meant when population study is sometimes referred to as a new "science"?
4. What is the field of population statistics?
5. What is the Population Association of America?
6. What is demography?
7. What is eugenics?
8. What is genetics?
9. What is meant by "population policy"?
10. What is planned migration?
11. Discuss essential differences between emigration and immigration; between these and migration.
12. What is meant when it is said that this is the "age of the common man"?
13. What was meant when World War II was described as the people's war? Was it?
14. In the light of the history of American attitudes, are Negroes people? Are Indians people?
15. Have the poorer classes of immigrants in the United States been considered people or work resources?



Minerals, Vitamins, Dietetics and the Vitality of the People

In the new reaches of agricultural and chemical research, much emphasis has been placed upon mineral substances in the land and its transmission through milk and plants to food. Also the problem of impoverished lands and farm costs in fertilizer are involved. ABOVE: Regional variations costs of commercial fertilizer. BELOW: The poverty of milk production.



16. List the "national" groups of any one continent. Which of these has a high rate of illiteracy? Which of the national groups are at least 50 per cent literate? What is the literacy situation in the United States?

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter I. Sociology cannot be an intellectual luxury of mere contemplation or the exercise of wits; its purpose is serious, but, unless it is linked with the life of the people, it becomes thin, largely verbal in content. The sociologist accepts, with other scientists, the obligation to bring the work of his science near to the needs of men and women.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter IX. Societies owe their existence to the organization and mutual adjustments of the individuals which compose them. The inherent quality of people determine their needs and their potentialities. The establishment of social patterns influenced by the innate qualities of the people. Trade and social contacts as realities.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, especially chapters V and VII. A vital standard which will have the people and their welfare adequately planned. The aim is not more goods for more people to buy, but more opportunities for them to live: hence the objective is only such increase in goods as make for the best life possible. Signs of the new biotechnic orientation of large cities. Implications of modern housing projects. The school as a community nucleus.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially Introduction and chapter VIII, section 8. The role of the people in culture. Necessity for realization that the creative life, in all its manifestations, is necessarily a social product. Neither tradition nor product can remain the sole possession of the scientist, the artist, or the philosopher. In the final analysis, creative activity is the only important business of mankind and should be shared by all mankind. The essential task of all sound economic activity is to produce a state in which creation will be a common fact of all experience; in which no individual will be denied, by reason of toil or deficient education, his share in the cultural life of the community, up to the limits of his personal capacity. Unless we socialize creation, unless we make production subservient to education, a mechanized system of production, however efficient, will only harden into a servile formality.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter VIII. The heart of society and the central key to all its problems and progress is found in the people. People as units of society and as society itself. Increasing emphasis upon the study of population. Special emphasis given to the new realism of the people as they appear in mass restlessness in the modern world. The people and their quest for spiritual expression and participation in the machine world. Mass panoramic picture of the

people of America. Problems of education, and of surrender of the rural nation to an urban America. Reality of the people a framework for social planning.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, especially chapters I and XXV. The new realism of the people as the scientific as well as symbolic basic element in modern civilization emphasized by regionalism. Regionalism interprets the living society of the historical nation and the quest for political, cultural, and spiritual autonomy. The land and the people, in whose continuity and unity of development must be found the testing grounds of American democracy, the theme of the regional movement.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapter XXVIII. Discussion of the subjectivity of goals concerned with social change. The significance of human values in social planning. Necessity for a realistic approach to control of man's world. The function of reforms and revolutions.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, especially Part V. Contemporary man stresses the present world and the enjoyment of his life on earth; he pursues the realities of today rather than the ideologies of yesterday or tomorrow. He seeks the satisfaction of this world rather than those of some imagined utopia. Although modern culture has been marked by individualism and the profit motive, it has emphasized increasingly the importance of the community over the individual, and of the common weal over group or individual interests.

Recent Social Trends, chapter XII; pages 583–585, 757–761. Definition of vitality: the inherited capacity to survive of the individuals composing a people; studied as trends in the expectation of survival. Mortality at different ages. Basic facts relating to vitality: disease is selective as to age, inheritance; influences longevity; survival rate varies as to area and particular environmental conditions. Changes in environmental conditions associated with mortality trends. Genetic aspects of mortality. The present state of the people's health. Health of racial and ethnic groups. Vitality and health of children.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Adamic, Louis (ed.), A new series on *The Peoples of America;* Adams, James Truslow, *The American;* Agar, Herbert, *The People's Choice;* Armstrong, Louise V., *We, Too, Are the People;* Bromley, Dorothy Dunbar, *Birth Control;* Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, *Medical Care for the American People;* Cowdry, E. V. (ed.), *Problems of Ageing;* De Kruif, Paul, *Microbe Hunters;* Dublin, Louis I., and Lotka, Alfred J., *Length of Life;* Fairchild, Henry Pratt, *People;* Gosney, Ezra Seymour, and Popenoe, Paul, *Sterilization for Human Betterment;* Landis, Carney, and Page, James D., *Modern Society and Mental Diseases;* Landtman, Gunnar, *The*

Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes; Lorimer, Frank, and Osborn, Frederick, *Dynamics of Population;* Milbank Memorial Fund, *The Changing Front of Health;* Pearl, Raymond, *The Biology of Population Growth;* Reed, Louis Schultz, *The Ability to Pay for Medical Care;* Reuter, E. B., *Population Problems;* Sydenstricker, Edgar, *Health and Environment;* Thompson, Warren S., *Danger Spots in World Population* and *Population Problems;* Tobey, James A., *The National Government and Public Health;* Vance, Rupert B., *All These People;* Whipple, George Chandler, *Vital Statistics: An Introduction to the Science of Demography.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Describe some of the "people's movements" in the United States. In so far as they have usually been short-lived, what were some of the causes?
2. Discuss the common criticism of most reform action agencies that they neither reach the people nor have their support.
3. What was the purpose and program of the National Consumers League? Is it now an agency of the people?
4. Describe the work of "The People's Lobby" and other similar organized groups.
5. Discuss possible inconsistencies in the programs of organizations which advocate a decrease in the birth rate of the common people. What are the limits to eugenics programs if they reflect control rather than education?
6. Describe the progress of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.).
7. What is the Zionist movement?

22

The Growth and Distribution of the Population

The measure of the people: A measure of resources. In the attempt to understand society, we have sometimes undertaken to measure a regional society in terms of its major types of wealth or resources. For this purpose we have classified all resources into five types, namely, natural resources, technological resources, money resources, human resources, and institutional resources. In general, the first three of these belong to the category of physical resources and the last two to human resources. In other words, there are the two basic elements of society — natural wealth and the people. A formula for measuring an adequate society can be stated about as follows: A region rich in natural resources, in which technological resources — in other words, science, skill, management, and organization — have been utilized to translate natural wealth into capital wealth, would have a material abundance adequate for supporting a rich culture. Such an abundance assumes a healthy and reproducing population, so well educated and socially minded as to utilize the wealth which comes from this abundance of resources in the development of their institutions and thereby in the enrichment of the human resources themselves.

Now, in addition to this general background there are several particular approaches to the study of population as a special field of sociology. First, we need to know the number and kind of people, where they live, and what they work at. Then we need to know the nature and quality of their resources and their capacity to develop and use them. And, finally, we need to know what effect the culture and institutions of people will have upon their increase, distribution, and welfare. Within each of these major areas will be found the several divisions of population study commonly pursued.

In Part I of this text, we emphasized that society is of many sorts, made up of many kinds of people. In Part II, we studied the range and nature of man's physical environment and his efforts to master it. In Part III, we studied the elements of social institutions. In Parts III and IV, we studied something of the logical and universal order through which societies, in adapting themselves to physical and cultural environments, have evolved from the simple folk cultures to the more complex civilized society, featured by urbanism, technology, intellectualism, and science, and the trend toward totalitarianism and power. Finally, we explored the nature of civilization itself. Then, in the first chapter of Part V, we emphasized that, after all, the people, or human wealth, is the heart of human society, and pointed out how the folk have constituted the supreme reality and universal constant in a world of change.

What do we need to know about population? Now we come to the task of understanding more about the people themselves. In conventional terms these will be studies of the various theories of population, the growth and migrations of peoples, their distribution in regional congregations, their composition in terms of classes, races, and age groups, together with specialized inquiries into birth rates, death rates, and population policies. We shall then need to look at these as shown in the population of the United States. And always we must keep in mind that since the people are the heart of human society, it is important to know not only their numbers and the places where they live and work in relation to their resources and technology, but also their character and their quality. The future of the human race is, on this basis, a major problem of sociology.

In the study of anthropology, ecology, geography, or biology, or, more specifically, of evolution, race, or heredity, the student of sociology has a field of study related to his own field. Here again in population he will recognize a specialized area for graduate study or professional research which he may wish to explore after he is older and has had more training in research. Nevertheless, here as in the other fields, the student of sociology must know enough about the general range of population study to enable him to understand as much as possible of the relation of the people themselves to their social processes and the interaction involved in their institutions and in their adaptation to environmental factors.

"Natural" and "social" theories of population. With reference to the origin and development of the different peoples and races, since there are varied opinions and little of universal agreement, the student of sociology will not need to spend much time in exhaustive study of the various theories. Yet, it is important to know that in the past there have been a number of

"natural" theories of population; in such theories, the assumption has been that there is something inherent in the nature of man, of the world in which he lives, that determines his growth at a rate and in a direction largely or wholly beyond his control. There have been many variations of this idea and many expositions of it. Sometimes the biologists have sought to find a law of population growth, and the economists have sought to work out a constant ratio between such factors as abundance or scarcity and the rate of population increase. In the modern world there have been so many modes of interaction between people and environment and technology, and so many technological changes, that the student should want to know more about the problems of modern population as they relate to the survival and progress of human society. Exposition of theories of origins and laws of growth can be left to the biologists and the economists.

Since there have been many other theories which have often been called "social theories," it becomes necessary to know about them. These have recognized the relation of population growth to what may be called social conditions, including such conditioning influences as standards of living, health and hygiene, home environment, education, and industrial and urban life. Although general conclusions may be drawn from empirical studies, and trends may be predicted, it is not assumed here that there is any immutable law inherent in the population itself. The most notable of these theories is that of Thomas Robert Malthus, who held that population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence. Unless prevented by some extraordinary factors, the population will invariably increase at the same rate as the amount of subsistence. Growing out of the balances or lack of balance which come from abundance or scarcity, and any special checks upon population, there would be problems of various sorts, including poverty, vice, disease, war. Modern science and invention long ago invalidated much of the Malthusian theory, yet modern war has made necessary its re-examination.

The number and quality of children. The assumption has been that a people will be superior in proportion to the number of its children that are healthy, well reared, and better educated. This idea has assumed almost the proportions of a population theory. In general, it has been assumed that because people earning lower incomes have larger families and reproduce more rapidly than people with higher incomes, it follows that the quality of the population is rapidly declining and will decline according to the continuance of a large proportion of low incomes. Our study of the tensions of civilization, the conditioning of children of the elite, and our inquiries into folk society raise many questions as to the validity of such assumptions.

This is a neglected field of study. There are many corollaries to the assumptions concerning the rate of reproduction. Some of them have to do with the welfare of mothers and children, together with resulting legislation and educational activity in the broad area which has often been characterized as planned parenthood or birth control. In this field, many studies are being made and many experiments undertaken.

Phases of population that more and more will confront the student of sociology in the future will have to do with racial and ethnic groupings and their interaction. The whole question of the assimilation of the peoples of the various regions into the total human society will be a vital one in this era, which we have characterized as the great epoch of folk domination.

Changing rates of population increase. The student of sociology will want to study all these general theories and as many specific research studies as possible. He should not be tempted, however, to accept loose generalizations about laws of reproduction, because his studies will indicate their unreliability.

The danger in too-hasty conclusions may be illustrated by a number of examples, but two concerning the American population will suffice. One example is the extraordinary way in which the growth and distribution of the Negro population has contradicted so many of the forecasts. Another is a more recent example: in so short a time as two decades, quick changes in the birth rate occurred which contradicted any predictions made on the basis of previous rates.

Thus, in the early 1930s, a continuing decline in the birth rate could have been predicted but by 1941, 1942, and 1943, new figures revealed the effects of what was called "social conditions." The figures showed that from 1926 to 1933, inclusive, the birth rate declined 19 per cent, or at the average rate of 1.1 per 1,000 population every two years; from 1933 to 1939, inclusive, the birth rate increased 4.5 per cent, or at the average rate of 1.1 per 1,000 population every nine years. But the birth rate in 1941 — 19 per 1,000 population — was nearly 10 per cent higher than the rate of 1939, so that the total percentage increase from 1933 to 1941 inclusive was 14.

There was a similar change in marriage and birth rates following the onset of the depression in 1929. By the end of 1932 the birth rate was 8 per cent less, and the marriage rate 13 per cent less than in 1930. By the end of 1940 most of the deficit in marriages had been wiped out. From 1921 to 1930 the average annual number of marriages was 1,185,000; from 1931 to 1940 it was 1,284,000. The total number of marriages was about 8 per cent greater during the past decade, 1931–1940, than during the decade 1921–1930. During the early war years of 1942 and 1943, there was a still

larger increase in marriages, births, and divorces. It thus happened that predictions of the population increase were not accurate and that by 1946 the population of the United States had already exceeded 140 million.

Ways of studying the composition and increase of the population. In general, the student may approach the study of population through its composition and through certain factors relating to increase and distribution which are almost universally accepted. The composition of the American population is counted uniformly and may be studied in terms of sex, age, nativity, citizenship, country of birth of the foreign born, school attendance, education, employment status, births, deaths, and marriages. Population figures are divided by geographic area, states, district, and municipalities. The statistics for the United States as a whole also are divided into urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm areas. The student should familiarize himself with the diverse range of information which the census reports reveal, of which the figures used in this book are only the briefest sampling. So, too, in the study of population increase the sociologist usually studies trends of the crude birth rates and the differences between these and various types of refined birth rates in relation to occupational fertility and many other factors related to cultural levels of living. Important factors in the decline of the birth rate are contraception, changes in age at marriage, the changing ratio of married women and their activities outside the home, various differentials between country and city, and between different ethnic and economic groups, and the trend toward urbanization. The student of sociology will be prepared to see quick reverses in trends whenever such factors as war and economic change cause unprecedented increase or decrease in marriage, birth, and death rates. Such was the situation in the United States from 1941 to 1944, and in Europe and in parts of the Orient, where war and privation have worked such tragic destruction of the people and their actual and potential increase.

The need for study of causes. Whenever, in normal times, there has been a general decline in the birth rate and a similar decline in the death rate, then followed by extraordinary times, in which there has been an increase in both, such as seen in the early stages of World War II, it is always important to understand the causes as a part of our understanding of the total society.

In normal times in advanced civilizations, the general decline in death rates has been attributable to progress in preventive medicine and in medical services, as well as to certain other factors of education, higher standards of living, and parent education. So, the present increase in deaths, tragic and tremendous, is attributable to the war and its consequences. Certain

more-or-less standard methods have been developed by which various death rates have been studied in relation to age and sex, to urban and rural communities, to various types of occupations and to the marital status, to the general economic status and culture, and also to such special phenomena as war and the postwar aftermath. How all of the factors relating to marriage, birth, and death rates help the student to understand society and to discover various "population problems" that give rise to the need for "population policies," may be seen from numerous studies of the population.

Are there too many people? As a result of professional and public interest in eugenics and genetics, a number of questions have been asked by both government and scientific authorities. Thus, the director of the United States census asked: "Is the American birth rate too low?" For, he thought, "We don't have enough babies and we are not building up the population by immigration from abroad." And, again, a Bureau of the Census release in 1941 said that "If the present birth and death rates continue, the population of the United States will fail to maintain its numbers by approximately 4 per cent per generation."

In reply to these questions, other students have insisted that the United States and most nations of the world would be better off with fewer people. The argument of Germany and of Japan was that the need for room and resources for their increased populations brought on the Second World War. With reference to the optimum population in the United States, the *Population Bulletin* for October, 1941, had this to say: "It would be difficult to show that the United States actually *needs* a larger stationary population than 100,000,000, the number we had in this country during the First World War."

Fallacies of civilization's logic. In following these arguments, the student of sociology will want to check them against the larger aspects of societal growth. Thus, it should be asked, what is the ultimate value implied in the doctrine that a hundred million healthfully supported and properly educated people in this country could live more prosperously and could raise a more powerful military force than the present population of the United States, of which some forty-five million, or one third of the people, must live below the requirements for health and efficiency? Roughly about 30 per cent of the young men have been found physically unfit to bear arms in the national defense. Suppose, as is claimed, the smaller population *would* have more natural resources per person and would not have to deplete the irreplaceable mineral and soil resources at the rate they are now being depleted, does not this negate the whole idea of society's

capacity to provide for abundance for all and of nature's own system of abundance in people?

The complexity of the problem is indicated further when it is pointed out that there is a danger in a high birth rate in that "the larger the population increases in the near future the larger it will have to increase in the distant future to keep its age groups fairly well balanced." This is one of the tricks of population growth which has repeatedly baffled nations throughout history. Yet, also, it is pointed out, this is one reason why the overcrowded countries such as Germany, Japan, and Italy felt that they had to continue to keep their birth rates high. This was a vicious cycle which not only led to World War II but ultimately to such miserable economic and social conditions as the world has not hitherto recorded. At least, it seems fair to conclude that this was one of the causes.

Regional balance and distribution of people and resources. One of the most important of all aspects of population problems is its distribution. This has many important angles, some primarily economic, some primarily cultural. Again and again we have emphasized here the need for a balance between the peoples of specific areas and their resources, both natural and technological. This need for balance is not only necessary in regions where resources are adequate or more than adequate, but is essential in regions of overpopulation where resources are limited. The best illustrations here are of special peoples in concrete regions where the total picture can be seen. Such an illustration is that of Preston E. James, who, in the *Population Index* of October, 1941, gives four principal characteristics which summarize the relations of the people of Latin America to their land and serve to explain the nature of Latin American society. The first characteristic is the relatively sparse population. The second is the isolated pattern of settlement. The third is extreme racial and cultural diversity. The fourth is the variegated quality of the soil.

To take a specific illustration, it is pointed out that the world's largest and richest supply of iron ore exists in this continent lacking in coal. What, then, will be the resources of technology if it is to balance a superabundance of this one resource against the lack of another? What are the factors involved in the number and location of people? It is pointed out, for instance, that the habitability of the land depends not only on the land itself, but on the attitudes, objectives, and technical abilities of the inhabitants. In Latin America, these factors are closely related to the struggle to maintain order among diverse and discordant elements and to establish a balanced society. China, which has vast mineral resources, might be cited as another region where a redistribution of the people is not only necessary

for a balanced economy but where cultural elements are powerful factors. The considerations applying to South America would apply to China as well. "Land itself is neutral; habitability is relative; hence present-day distribution must be interpreted in terms of the values, traditions, techniques, and motivations of people, the deadening weight of inherited systems of social organization, and still other cultural factors, explainable only in terms of historical development over the centuries."

Migration of peoples. One of the age-long processes of adjustment of people to environment has been that of migration. Few phenomena reflect more of the struggle of mankind than his movements to and fro over the face of the earth seeking security, freedom, or adventure. So much is this true that it might be said that the story of man is told in his migrations. The beginning student of sociology will want to understand the causes, nature, and extent of these migrations and their relation to the total human society of today. And he will be just as much interested in internal migrations, local and regional, as in the larger, more dramatic world movements. The causes which have contributed to human migration will be important alongside the effects of these migrations. Migrations have effects upon the people who migrate, upon the people and regions they leave behind, and upon the people and regions to which they move. The causes which impel people to migrate are not so simple as often portrayed. Need for food is one cause, but it may be closely associated with overpopulation or crowding or conflict. The passion to conquer may be but a part of adventure, while the pressure of population or institutional control may easily accentuate the impulse to move on. There are those who say the least efficient are the ones who move after being crowded out, while others say the least energetic and efficient are left in the homelands. Conquering peoples often force the conquered to move and to establish new homes where ordered.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

A high motivation for the founding of a number of the American colonies was that of freedom — freedom from religious persecution, and from political bondage. There were, of course, the other factors of conditions in the European homelands which contributed to the intensity of the desire. In the 1600s as in the 1900s, the New World was the world of opportunity. In later years, when millions of immigrants came to America's melting pot, their motives were still varied, but primarily they were seeking to better their lot and to find security. After the eastern seaboard had been settled and the culture of the young republic established, there were still powerful

urges for the pioneer to migrate farther westward and southward. Within the larger framework of the frontier movement, there was, of course, a recapitulation in individuals of many of the motivations which characterized other migratory movements.

Our American society is a product of this great increase by migration and of the natural increase of a vital people. In the period 1901-10, which was the crest of the immigration movement, a total of 8,795,386 people came from many parts of the world to the United States. In terms of census classifications these immigrations help to make up the fabric of the nation, which has often been characterized as *One America.*

In Chapters 6 and 7, something of a preview to the study of the North American continent and its people was given. Perhaps at this point we need to emphasize the influence of the European peoples more than we did then. For the essence of the New World is partly to be found in the number and diversity of its increasing population with all their mixed cultures. The composite of peoples from more than thirty countries constitutes for the sociologist a rare laboratory for the study of not only population and of a gradually growing and changing culture, but later for the study of the impact of technology upon the people. Also, conflicts in loyalties between the Old World and the New constituted important factors in what was to be the real beginning of the new world order of interaction. And if one seeks a vivid illustration of changing society, there are the cities of the Northeast where, instead of the original pioneer Americans, one out of every two inhabitants is a recent descendant of some European immigrant.

The population fabric of America. Of the more than 131 million people of the United States in 1940, there were over eleven million foreign born, and more multiplied millions of foreign-born parentage or close blood kinship. Of the foreign born there were, in round numbers and in descending order, more than a million each from Italy, Germany, Canada, Newfoundland and Russia; between a million and a half-million each from the British Isles (including Northern Ireland), Poland, and the Irish Free State; and between a half-million and two hundred thousand each from Austria, Sweden, Mexico, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Norway. Still in descending order, there were between two hundred thousand and one hundred thousand each from Lithuania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Denmark, Finland, Rumania, the Netherlands, and France, followed by Switzerland, Palestine and Syria, Portugal, Belgium, and Turkey in Asia, with between one hundred thousand and fifty thousand. There were some forty-seven thousand foreign-born Japanese and some thirty-seven thousand foreign-born Chinese. There were less than fifty thousand natives each from Spain,

Central and South America, Cuba and other West Indian islands, the Azores, Australia, Bulgaria, and a few other countries.

Something of the size and nature of the population may be realized by noting that the United States has three times as many Negroes as the total population of the nation at the time Thomas Jefferson was writing the Declaration of Independence. The largest foreign cities in the world are found in the United States in the sense that New York is the largest Italian city, the largest Irish city, the largest Jewish city, and the largest Negro city.

The earlier American immigrant population was predominantly from upper Europe, while the later was from lower Europe. That is, to distinguish those who came from northwestern Europe from those from southeastern Europe, Asia, or elsewhere, the Old, or First Immigration, is the term sometimes used for the former, while New Immigration refers to the latter. Realizing that this classification is by no means without fault, we may accept it for convenience. Prior to 1883, it is estimated that about 95 per cent of the immigrants came from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; but by 1910, fully 81 per cent embarked from Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Poland, Rumania, Russia, Servia, Spain, Syria, and Turkey, usually designated as the "New Immigration." Thus, Brown's and Roueck's *One America* catalogues as Old Immigration, the British-Americans, Irish-Americans, Norwegian-Americans, Swedish-Americans, Danish-Americans, Dutch-Americans, Belgian-Americans, French-Americans, German-Americans, and Swiss-Americans.

"New" Americans from many lands. In the catalogue of new immigrants will be found an amazing roster making the concept of the melting pot a startling reality and its working out a new dilemma. From the *Slavic* states come the Russian-Americans, Ukrainian-Americans, Polish-Americans, Czechoslovak-Americans, Yugoslav-Americans, and Bulgarian-Americans. From *east European* states came the Latvian-Americans, the Lithuanian-Americans, Estonian-Americans, Finnish-Americans, Austrian-Americans, Hungarian-Americans, and Rumanian-Americans. Then from the *south European* states came the Albanian-Americans, Greek-Americans, Italian-Americans, Spanish-Americans, and Portuguese-Americans. There are peoples from the Middle and the Far East, the Syrian-Americans, Turkish-Americans, Armenian-Americans, Hindu-Americans, Chinese-Americans, and Japanese-Americans. In a separate major grouping are the Jewish-Americans from many lands, and the "American-Americans" from Canada and the Latin Americas, and from the Philippines and Hawaii.

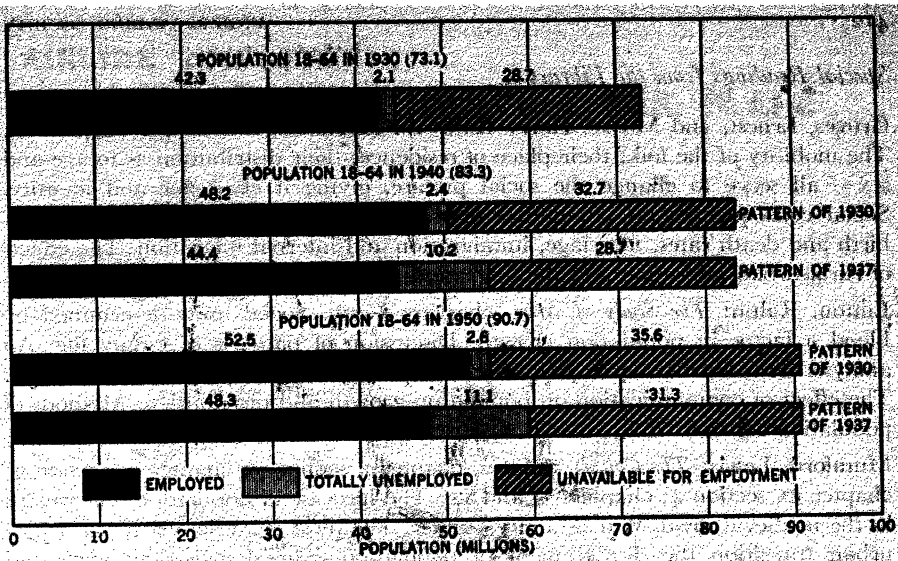
If there was doubt as to the vitality of these Americans all, each in its own

ethnic field, there was needed only the World War II peace arrangement to test the articulate power of the Polish-Americans or the French-Americans or a dozen other minority groups still intent on their own interests. Or, once again, one could apply the test to the refugee intellectuals from the tragic lands of Hitler's conquest and find new Americans that nevertheless are disintegrating forces still in the great melting pot. Here again is incontrovertible evidence of the power and survival of the folk culture wherever found and testimony to the organic contribution of the folk to the fabric of civilization itself.

The future population. The study of the people of the United States is in itself a preview to the study of the people of the world. What the situation will be by 1950, both in the world and in the United States, constitutes a persistent problem for population experts. In the estimates of 1940–42, the people of the United Nations were estimated at 1,308,000,000 or 59.9 per cent of the total world population of 2,185,000,000 with the Axis countries having 675,000,000 or 30.9 per cent, and the nonbelligerents 202,000,000 or 9.2 per cent. What the occupied countries lost during the war is a question to which the answer will require a great deal of study. In the United States, the problem of estimating the population ahead is easier, although that, too, has its hazards. The *Population Index* for August, 1942, made estimates for 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1980 and also by age and sex. By 1950 the total population would be 140,561,000 and in 1980 it would be 153,022,000. In the estimates of age ratios, there are differences in the proportion of older people to the whole. For instance, in 1940 a little more than two and a half million people were reported in the oldest age group of 75 years old or over. In 1980, it is estimated, this group will total 7,795,000. By contrast, the 1940 census reported 10,597,891 infants in the youngest age group of 4 years or under as contrasted with 9,301,000 estimated for 1980. That is, within a total increase for forty years of a little more than twenty million people, there will be an actual loss in the number of children and an increase of more than five million people who are 25 years of age or over. In the oldest groupings, the increase is predicted as much greater for women than for men.

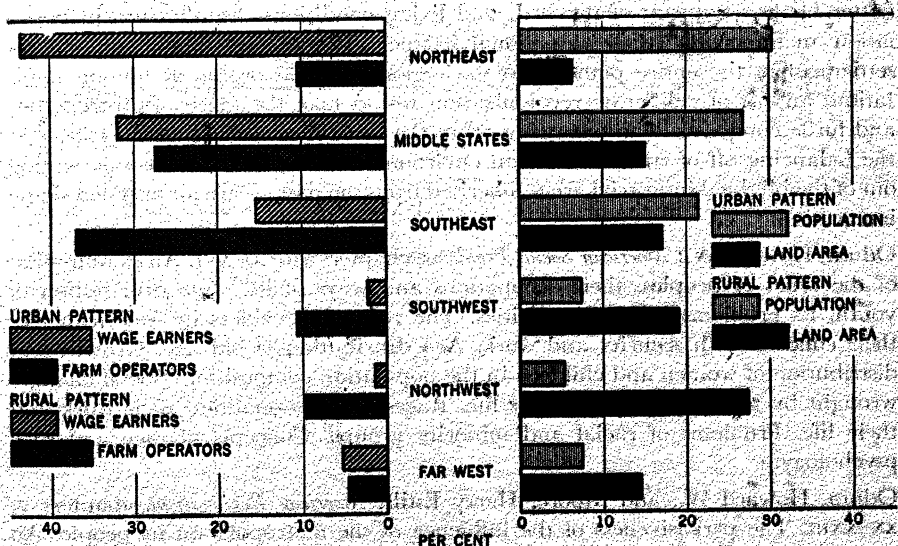
Assignments and Questions

1. What was the estimated population of the world, as measured by the best international statistics, at the beginning of World War II? (See the *Statesman's Year Book* or similar references.)
2. What were the estimated losses of population through military and naval casualties of World War II?
3. What are dependable estimates of the number of people lost through the incidence of war in the conquered countries?
4. What are reliable estimates of the number of disabled or handicapped persons in the United States: civilians and service men? What is the national office of Vocational Rehabilitation?
5. Compare the number and occupational status of the German people in 1935 with the same figures for 1944.
6. Make the same comparison with the Japanese.
7. What was the estimated number of people in the armed services in the United States during World War II? In war industries?
8. What were estimated gains and losses of population from 1940 to 1943 by states and regions? What did this signify as to postwar problems of readjustment?
9. What and when was the peak of increased marriage rates during the World War II period?
10. What and when was the peak of birth increases in the United States? Compare the American birth rate with that of Germany.
11. What are the most critical problems of population in the wake of world war?
12. What seem to be the most neglected population problems?
13. What are the main trends in American population? As to age? Sex? Race? Urban? Rural? (Use reports of the Bureau of the Census.)
14. In which field or fields should occupations be studied: (a) population; (b) sociology; (c) vocational guidance; (d) business; (e) economics?
15. What is the basis of the estimate of the "employed workers" in the United States as more than sixty million in 1944 in contrast to the forty-nine million "gainful workers" of the 1930 census?



The Population — The Man-Land Ratio, Urban and Rural, Employment

Sociology studies social change and trends in the population. ABOVE: The employment status of the population in the United States in 1930, 1937, 1940, 1950. BELOW: The percentage distribution of population and land area and wage earners in urban and rural patterns, by regions in 1940.



Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest, and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter VII. The mobility of the folk; their place of residence; their distribution as to age and sex — all serve to change the social picture, giving it character and identity. Social consequences on population of the Industrial Revolution. Problems of birth and death rates, marriage, immigration and internal migration. The effects of rural-urban migration and the migrations of prewar workers.

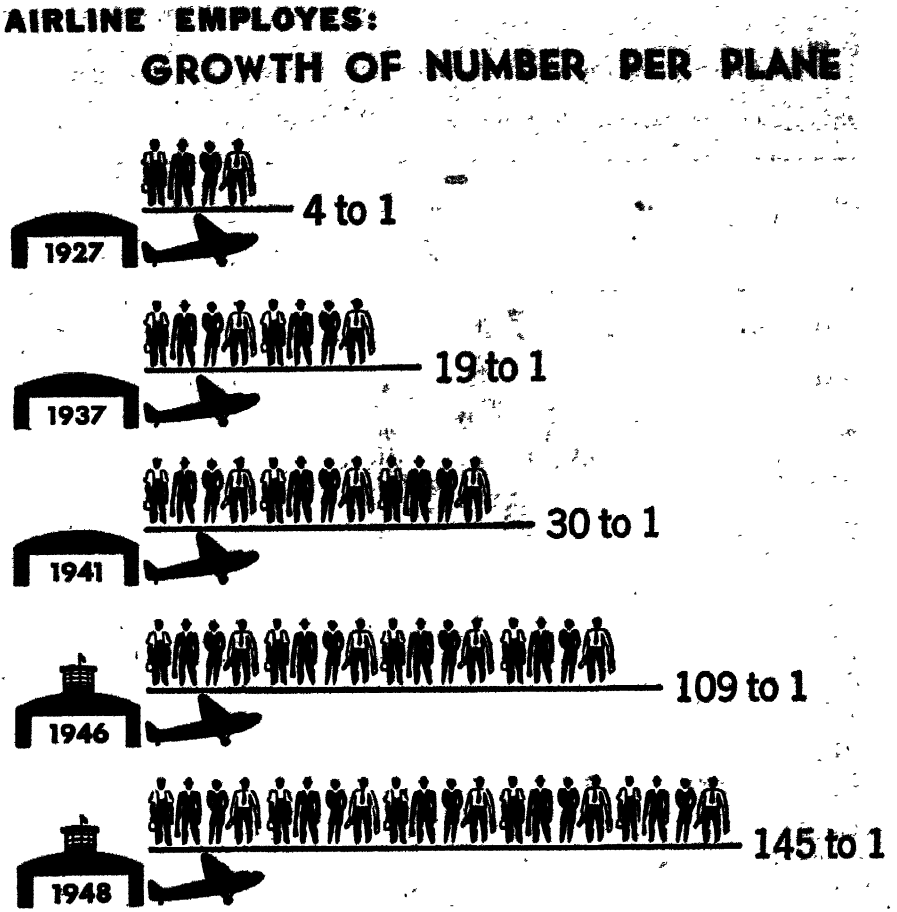
Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapters X–XIV. Social units determined by blood a factor in population growth. Discussion of patterns of family life. An analysis of the local group in primitive society. Organization of the tribe and state. The effect of communication on population growth and distribution. Methods of population control.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapter I, section 3; chapter II, section 4; chapter III, section 4; chapters IV and VII. The increase of population and wealth in the medieval town. War as a city-builder. The most gigantic fact in the whole urban transition the displacement of population. The shapeless giantism and congestion of today's megalopolis. The principles of fine relationship between people and environment embodied in the social basis of the new urban order.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, chapter V, section 12; chapter VIII, section 12. The central factor in the orderly use of resources, the systematic integration of industry, and the development of regions is the planning of the growth and distribution of the population — perhaps the most important of neotechnic innovations. The effects of birth control. Historical approach. The new demands for better births, prospects of survival, and living conditions. Equilibrium in population an important factor in regional balance. The necessity for a rational resettlement of the entire planet into the regions most favorable to human habitation: an era of deliberate recolonization would take the place of obstreperous and futile conquests. The balancing off of the birth rate and the death rate, and the balancing off of rural and urban environments — with the wholesale wiping out of the blighted industrial areas inherited from the past — are all part of a single integration.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters VIII, XI–XVI. An examination of the types of peoples, their occupations and ways of life. Age distribution of youth, its problems and opportunities. The role of the elders in American life, their concern with security and work. Age distribution of old age. Growth and distribution of women and children in the population composition. Social changes wrought by technology in woman's life. Races and nationalities, their work and their life. Problems of racial and minority groups. Concepts of race and race psychology.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, chapters V, XX–XXIII. The pervasiveness of the influence of the metropolis on its people. An



ABOVE: Pictorial statistics prepared by *Airways*. BELOW: Air travel statistics. See also William Fielding Ogburn's *Social Effects of Aviation*, Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1946.

Passengers Carried by Plane

1930	375,000
1940	2,959,000
1944	4,081,000

Cruising Speed

1910	45 miles
1920	72 miles
1930	145 miles
1940	220 miles

Distribution of the Population by States and Regions, 1930 and 1940

By 1946 the population of the United States had already reached 140,000,000.

AREA	POPULATION 1940	POPULATION 1930	POPULATION INCREASE 1930–1940
UNITED STATES	131,669,275	122,775,046	8,894,229
NORTHEAST	39,966,500	38,026,202	1,940,298
Maine	847,226	797,423	49,803
New Hampshire	491,524	465,293	26,231
Vermont	359,231	359,611	− 380
Massachusetts	4,316,721	4,249,614	67,107
Rhode Island	713,346	687,497	25,849
Connecticut	1,709,242	1,606,903	102,339
New York	13,479,142	12,588,066	891,076
New Jersey	4,160,165	4,041,334	118,831
Pennsylvania	9,900,180	9,631,350	268,830
Delaware	266,505	238,380	28,125
Maryland	1,821,244	1,631,526	189,718
West Virginia	1,901,974	1,729,205	172,769
SOUTHEAST	28,261,829	25,550,898	2,710,931
Virginia	2,677,773	2,421,851	255,922
North Carolina	3,571,623	3,170,276	401,347
South Carolina	1,899,804	1,738,765	161,039
Georgia	3,123,723	2,908,506	215,217
Florida	1,897,414	1,468,211	429,203
Kentucky	2,845,627	2,614,589	231,038
Tennessee	2,915,841	2,616,556	299,285
Alabama	2,832,961	2,646,248	186,713
Mississippi	2,183,796	2,009,821	173,975
Arkansas	1,949,387	1,854,482	94,905
Louisiana	2,363,880	2,101,593	262,287
SOUTHWEST	9,782,337	9,079,645	702,692
Oklahoma	2,336,434	2,396,040	− 59,606
Texas	6,414,824	5,824,715	590,109
New Mexico	531,818	423,317	108,501
Arizona	499,261	435,573	63,688

Distribution of the Population by States and Regions, 1930 and 1940 — continued

By 1946 the population of the United States had already reached 140,000,000.

AREA	POPULATION 1940	POPULATION 1930	POPULATION INCREASE 1930–1940
UNITED STATES	131,669,275	122,775,046	8,894,229
MIDDLE STATES	35,741,574	33,961,444	1,780,130
Ohio	6,907,612	6,646,697	260,915
Indiana	3,427,796	3,238,503	189,293
Illinois	7,897,241	7,630,654	266,587
Michigan	5,256,106	4,842,325	413,781
Wisconsin	3,137,587	2,939,006	198,581
Minnesota	2,792,300	2,563,953	228,347
Iowa	2,538,268	2,470,939	67,329
Missouri	3,784,664	3,629,367	155,297
NORTHWEST	7,410,435	7,384,497	25,938
North Dakota	641,935	680,845	— 38,910
South Dakota	642,961	692,849	— 49,888
Nebraska	1,315,834	1,377,963	— 62,129
Kansas	1,801,028	1,880,999	— 79,971
Montana	559,456	537,606	21,850
Idaho	524,873	445,032	79,841
Wyoming	250,742	225,565	25,177
Colorado	1,123,296	1,035,791	87,505
Utah	550,310	507,847	42,463
FAR WEST	9,843,509	8,285,491	1,558,018
Nevada	110,247	91,058	19,189
Washington	1,736,191	1,563,396	172,795
Oregon	1,089,684	953,786	135,898
California	6,907,387	5,677,251	1,230,136
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	663,091	486,869	176,222

SOURCE: *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Series P–2, United States: Final Population, Table 2

inventory of the distinctiveness and characteristics of the peoples of the regions of the United States. The paradoxical traits of mixed population in New England and the Northeast. Analysis of the Southeast and the "Old South" as the essentially "American" region of the nation. Its foreign born, its birth rate, and its Negroes.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapters xv and xvi. Basic factors which determine the location and size of communities. Changes which attend the growth of culture. Distribution of population at the present time. Numerical distribution of world population by continents and races. Changes which have occurred in recent times. Major biological and cultural factors responsible for these changes. Special reference made throughout to the United States. Relation of government to population increase. Effects of a decreasing population.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapters iv and xxxi. The social functions of age groups and their cultural interaction. Present age distribution and sociological age distribution. The growth of cities a salient factor of the twentieth century. Population increase and the development of the mass mind. Birth control in urban areas.

Recent Social Trends, chapter i; pages xxi, xxiv, 445, 447, 467, 553–601, 624, 754–769, 1492. Declining rate of increase in population. White race growing more rapidly than Negro; but colored races as a whole increased faster than white. Large part of population increase going to the cities or their suburbs. Metropolitan districts where commerce and industry have grown rapidly are places of most rapid growth in the United States. Trend toward an older population with decline in proportion of persons under 20. Population policy. Age and sex selection in the city. Increase and distribution of racial and ethnic groups. Child population.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Anderson, Nels, *Men on the Move;* Brown, Francis J., and Roucek, Joseph S., *One America;* Carr-Saunders, A. M., *World Population;* Donald, Henderson Hamilton, *The Negro Migration of 1916–1918;* Fairchild, Henry Pratt, *Immigration and People;* Galpin, Charles Josiah, and Manny, Theodore Bergen, *Interstate Migrations Among the Native White as Indicated by Differences between State of Birth and State of Residence;* Gist, Noel P., Pihlbald, C. T., and Gregory, Cecil L., *Selective Factors in Migration and Occupation;* Goodrich, Carter, and others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity;* Landis, Paul H., *Population Problems;* Lively, Charles Elson, and Taeuber, Conrad, *Rural Migration in the United States;* Myrdal, Gunnar, *Population;*

A Problem for Democracy; Pearl, Raymond, *The Biology of Population Growth;* National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population:* Report of the Committee on Population Problems; Reuter, E. B., *Population Problems;* Thomas, Dorothy Swaine, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials;* Thompson, Warren S., *Research Memorandum on Internal Migration in the Depression;* Thompson, Warren S., and Whelpton, P. K., *Population Trends in the United States;* Vance, Rupert B., *All These People* and *Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution within the United States.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Describe the action programs of eugenics organizations in the United States and Great Britain.
2. What is the Population Association of America?
3. What is the general program of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?
4. Describe the work of the American Public Health Association.
5. To what extent is the American Medical Association an action agency? What was the basis of the charge brought against it under the Sherman Antitrust Act?
6. Describe the work of Americans All, Emigrants All.
7. What is the East and West Association?
8. What is the League for National Unity?

23

The Individual and Society

All of us are the people. In the search for a better understanding of the development of the individual in relation to society we come again to a high point in the study of the people. It is more than a truism to say that what the people are to society, the individual is to the people. For the people are all of us and we, the individuals of society, are the people. If "only the people count," then it is the individual that counts. It follows, therefore, that as the people are, so will society be, and as society serves well its individual members, so will they not only develop and prosper but in turn will serve society well.

It must be clear, therefore, that to study the individual and to study groups of individuals is to study society. For, in addition to their inseparable relationship in the structure of society, there is also the two-way functional relationship of what society does to and for the individual and what the individual does to and for society. What the individual himself is, reflects what society has made him through heritage and conditioning, and the nature of his maturity will be measured by his usefulness to society.

All of this is reflected in the sweep of problems that confront society today, where there are not only millions of maladjusted individuals complaining of society's failures but where students and leaders seek to solve the dilemmas of education of the individual, and of his co-operative participation in an increasingly complex world. And there are millions more in the tragic wake of war and destruction, so broken and puzzled that they are practically stranded in the new world. By the same token they question the social order and constitute persistent problems of the first rank. If society is to grow and if it is to achieve order and survival for itself and happiness and prosperity for its people, it must somehow ensure its individuals of

security and reality, and participation in the opportunities of life. And it must somehow be able to cope with the increasing number of individuals made pathological by frustration and aggression, or made too powerful by technology, wealth, or civilization.

The importance of the individual and the "common man." The dynamic sociology of the future will therefore be inclined to recapture more of this close relationship of the individual to his society and to weave it into integrated programs of study and direction. Contemporary sociologists may well review the assumptions of the dynamic Giddings, who made the *Socius* the elementary unit for the study of society, and the wise Cooley, who never ceased to emphasize the inseparable relationship between the individual and society. Yet it seems likely that the role of the individual in society has perhaps been underestimated in many recent treatises on sociology. This is easy to understand since sociology is primarily the study of human society on the level of association, rather than the study of the individual. It is the behavior of the group and the resulting culture, that have been studied, and the emphasis has been upon society rather than upon the individual. Contrary to many assumptions, the role of the individual in contemporary society, with its urban technological character, appears to be increasingly more important rather than less. This would appear to be true for several reasons. First of all, the assumption is not only that the common man, the folk, represents the universal constant in a world of societal change but also that he represents the new aspirations of millions of individuals in different groups, and is now more nearly in dominance of world change than ever before. So, too, the individual leader such as Hitler or Mussolini or other pathological, maladjusted types, with their power exercised through armies, the radio, the press, and so on, controls a larger number of people than ever before. So, too, the trend in the modern world toward intellectualism leads to all individuals exercising a stronger influence through the press, legislation, education, and other channels.

The balance between the individual and society. If we seek the universal problem which seems to be at the heart of the world situation today, it would appear to be that of finding a balance between individuation and socialization. This involves the rights of the individual as contrasted to his obligation to society, or the freedom of the individual as opposed to the coercion of the state. It involves the dilemmas of race, for instance; whether individual members of a race may be individuals standing on their own merits or whether they must be, to illustrate, Negroes. It involves the question as to whether women can be individuals as well as women. Here the quality of the individual transcends the blanket power of class. Involved

also is the question whether the purpose of the state is to serve the individual or whether the state is to be synonymous with society, the perfection of which is enforcing the conformance of individuals at whatever cost.

Again, the role of the individual in modern society is increasingly important in the problem of adapting individuals of different types and training to different occupations and places in the world. Co-operative society, the school program, and the complexity of personal adjustments, require more knowledge about the individual than we now possess, and an understanding on the part of the sociologists as to what all this means. The large field of personnel work, clinics for social adjustment and the relation of maladjusted personality to social organization, the resort to psychology and psychiatry for the solving of all kinds of problems — these emphasize the importance of the individual as never before.

Just as in nature there are no two things exactly alike, and just as science itself often consists of the measurement of resemblances and differences, so the old folk saying, "human nature being what it is," reflects similar differences among individuals. That is, individuals are not only different in biological backgrounds and physiological and psychological equipment, they are not only differently conditioned by their environment, but, in the common language, they have different "dispositions," different "natures," and they behave differently in nearly all aspects of life. No two individuals are exactly alike in appearance, in strength of body, in psychological reactions, in sex characteristics, and in behavior. The recognition of these differences and a knowledge of the general "nature" of human nature lie at the basis of the sociologist's understanding of much that happens in the world. It must be apparent that the understanding of these differences is not only a necessary knowledge for the scholar but also for all those who make and administer education policies and social plans.

Leaders and followers. We have already referred to types of pathological individuals who, through frustration and aggression, set themselves to lead movements of one sort or another. Adolf Hitler was the supreme type. In *Mein Kampf*, he wrote: "I owe much to the time in which I had learned to become hard and also that I know now how to be hard. . . . One's own painful scramble for existence suffocates the feeling of sympathy for the misery of those left behind." In another place he wrote, "I had the point of view of all those who wish to shake Europe's dust from their feet with the firm resolve to create a new existence in the new world." The United States has had its quota of individuals of this type. Hundreds of leaders of movements, founders of organizations, seek to show the world that it must yield to their demands. A thousand individuals in various parts of the world,

in high places and low, maladjusted and seeking expression, change the course of events in communities, in nations, and in whole epochs of the world's history. The people often learn too late that ridicule and satire not only do not deter such individuals but on the contrary act as a stimulus to their frustration and aggression.

Then there is the second type of individual, namely, the follower, who makes possible the dominance of the more forceful person. In the earlier days of the slow-moving folk society, the dominant leader usually arose through his actual experience and participation in whatever activities his society was undertaking. Partly because of his own equipment and personality; partly because he had training and experience; and partly because the fortuitous circumstances threw the leader into an advantageous position, the story of leadership could be told with relative consistency. In the modern world, there are hundreds of thousands with more knowledge, experience, training, and capacity than many of the great leaders of the older days; mass education and the multiplication of opportunities have made leadership more attainable. So, too, in emergencies or crisis, in war or other critical periods of development, it is commonly assumed that some great man or leader will rise to meet the needs of the situation.

In the modern world particularly, money and organization, the radio and the press, may influence large numbers of people out of all proportion to the real worth of their policies. A chain of newspapers reaching into all parts of the country or a group of high-powered popular magazines may control the thinking of large sections of the people. So, too, the fraudulent leader or the pathological reformer can start whole movements, set the world of public opinion to talking, and exercise influence entirely beyond any reasonable measure. This great danger is possible also in the individual who, by means of political pressure or legislative manipulation, becomes too powerful. The power of leadership in organized labor, or in organized capital, or in organized religious movements always represents a potential danger.

All individuals react differently. We may use several simple examples to illustrate some different types of individuals. A popular verdict is that some people are essentially selfish and some essentially unselfish. Times of crises or of war bring the different reactions of individuals into clear focus. An emotional type of selfishness is reflected in the hoarding of wartime when indications appear that commodities which the public wants will be rationed. The differing behavior of individuals in wartime is also seen in the nature of their response to appeals to patriotism or loyalty. Some individuals respond with high degrees of co-operation whether they

agree with the policies or not. Other individuals protest, spread rumors, adopt negative attitudes, and seek escape from responsibility.

One of the most easily observed types of individual variation may be found in public life among the appointed or elected workers and leaders in the Federal government, or among the job-holders of any smaller political unit; competition for power and influence and money often, though not always, becomes the governing urge in the individual. The climber, the ambitious, the small man in a big job, the continuous quarreling and bickering over details — all of these are observable. The rejoinder may be the matter-of-fact — "what else can you expect, human nature being what it is?", but the key to many of the limitations of social organization in a democracy may be found here.

Thousands of cases in the police courts and criminal records give evidence of how human nature behaves in typical situations. Varied types of behavior are reflected in as many ways as there are avenues of life. There are, for instance, the illustrations in the traffic field. There is the type of autoist who, if another driver undertakes to pass him under circumstances not acceptable, becomes so infuriated that he pursues him, pushes him over to the curb, and challenges him to fight. The traditional quarrel between autoist and truck-driver reflects the same sort of behavior. Yet the war record of transportation reveals the high character and skill of those thousands who drove the freight trucks day and night, and is a measure of the wide range of individual variation. Incidents and examples of behavior might be extended to indicate how communities have been split wide open, families have been divided, feuds have been started, business broken up, and wars started because of the particular aberrant behavior of some individual. In periods of world reconstruction, the legislator, sociologist, and the journalist need more than ever to understand the role of the individual and to watch it and study it, so that programs of planning and organization may be set up that will not be susceptible to the dominance of the maladjusted or the unscrupulous.

In contradistinction to the combative and nonco-operative citizen, there are the many unselfish and peaceful individuals, whose lives and services are in a large measure made available always to the neighbor, the community, or the institution.

The individual's two worlds. When the sociologist comes to analyze the basic reasons why the individual is so important, he will find many simple ways of exploring and explaining the facts. He will find that, beginning with the childhood years and becoming increasingly clearer through youth, the world to every individual is of two sorts. *First* and

chiefly, the world consists of the individual, his own interests, his activities, his needs, his wants. The youth feels, if he does not ask: "Where do I come in?" "What do I get out of it?" "What does this mean to me?" "Which is the best way for me?" "Nobody can tell me what I have got to do!" He obeys or disobeys, grows and develops, joins with his associates or fights or antagonizes them on the basis of how something appeals to him. This is essentially the basis of individualism, and the sociologist cannot forget that it is basic to the evolution of human society. The inner desire of the individual to be loved, to be appreciated, to be esteemed, to have status, represents both the positive and negative bases for social behavior. Failure to achieve this elementary goal results in such complexes and neuroses as to constitute pathology for the individual and problems for the group. *Second*, the other-than-self part of the individual's world is, of course, his environment, his world of people and things, his background, and the extent of his fellowship and co-operation with other individuals. Even the self-interest of the individual is based upon the imagery of ideal relationships with other people and with satisfying environment. The sociologist will want to study these facts a little more in detail than he has in the past. If the sociologist looks at the individual from the viewpoint of the Gestalt, or total, influence, he may see the individual from three points of view.

In the first place, there is the individual, the ego, the person with his inherent physical, cultural, biological equipment. That is, every individual, for whatever reason or from whatever sources, does inherit a certain equipment when he comes into life. This is the basic self. In the second place, every individual is conditioned by the society and environment around him; individuals differ because they have had different cultural heritage. The individual is what he is to some extent because of *what society does to him and for him.* The value of every individual and the final summing up of his life will also be measured by *what he does to and for society.* What are his contributions? What is his influence? What is his "value" to society? It is in these three aspects that the sociologist finds his most effective study of the role of the individual in society.

American individualism. When we come to recapitulate the story of American society, the sociologist will need to have a clear understanding of American individualism. This has often been expressed by the economic term laissez faire. Individualism as commonly understood tends to characterize all early rural societies, and especially in the United States, frontier life. In the earlier days, an individual who did not wish to conform to the group was always beckoned on to some farther frontier of an unlimited opportunity. Rugged individualism even in the councils of the community

and the frontier was set up as an ideal, and American government and democracy were envisaged in the light of something which would enable the individual to keep on being individualistic. This individualism resulted in the development of great businesses, estates, and fortunes, in the development of great industrial leaders, inventors, educators, and adventurers. It set the nature of Americanism in the different regions. It set the incidence of earlier American economic "liberalism" in contrast to the later political liberalism.

Assignments and Questions

1. At the crest of one of the great battles of World War II, General Dwight D. Eisenhower issued a remarkable statement. It was to the effect that, although his army was perhaps the most completely mechanized army ever seen, the individual soldier was never more important than then. What are some of the implications of this truth?
2. Illustrate instances in which the individual appears to be more important in the complex modern world than ever before.
3. What is the function of the social institutions in relation to the individual?
4. What would appear to be the relation of the increasing participation of women in activities outside the home upon the concept of individual freedom?
5. Would there appear to be a direct causal relationship between the global consciousness of race and the concept of individual freedom?
6. What is meant in this book when it is said that one of the important tasks of the immediate future may be the discovery and recognition of the "folk personality?"
7. Is there a conflicting trend in the modern world between a tendency toward socialism and the resurging power of the individual?
8. Is there conflict between recent trends in psychology and education which give the child almost unlimited freedom and the idea of social obligation presented to youth when they leave school?
9. Consider Hitler as a case study of the individual in conflict with society.
10. Consider the problem of leadership in the modern world. What are its implications in relation to the individual qualities of the leader?
11. What is meant by the estimate that a balance between individualism and socialization may be one of the most urgent problems of today?
12. Note the treatment of the individual in the writings of the earlier American sociologists. Franklin H. Giddings in *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, pages 104, 106, 107, and in *Readings in Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pages 275, 302. Giddings made the *socius*, or socially behaving individual, the smallest unit for the study of society. See also his *Inductive Sociology* and his later *The Scientific Study of Human Society* and *Civilization and Society*. Charles Horton Cooley in *Social Process*, pages 3, 4, 19, 23, 55, 71, 72,

The Individual: The verdict of one of the greatest generals of World War II was that the individual soldier was more important than ever even in the most completely mechanized army the world had ever seen. "America's most precious mental possession," was another verdict about that same returning individual.

249, 289. Cooley held that each individual has his own system of values but that individuals and groups hang together. The individual pure is an abstraction. William Graham Sumner and A. C. Keller in *The Science of Society*, pages 32, 40, 68, 326, 327, 331, 625. Sumner based clan distinctions on "variation in the traits of the individual." Also, "There is no warrant in Nature for a belief in equality." Albion W. Small in *General Sociology*, pages 191, 192, 195, 208, 342, 474, 479, 480. Individuals and societies are phases of each other.

13. Compare these viewpoints with those of contemporary sociologists, as Kimball Young's "The role of the Individual is the outcome of the interaction of the person with his fellows." Pareto placed the individual as Class v in his grouping of Residues.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter xi. Society a product of the social expression of the personality of the individual. The function of society is to give human nature more adequate means of self-expression. The socialization of man's needs and the difficulty of his adjustment at social levels. Conflicting motives in the self-expression of the individual and the results on society. Education essentially the process of bringing each person into conformity with what is supposed to be the welfare of the group as a whole.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter ix. The individual as the raw material for society. Societies owe their existence to the organization and mutual adjustment of the behavior and attitudes of their component individuals. The influence of innate qualities of the individual upon the establishment of social patterns. An analysis of primitive man and his early attempts at organization.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapters iii, iv, v, and vii. The effect of mechanization on the individual of the insensate industrial town. The great development of bureaucracy and the limits it has placed on the individual's part in urban societal development. The individual's part in the new regional patterns of life and thought.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapter i, section 8; chapter ii, section 7; chapter iv, sections 7–9; chapter viii, section 8. Social regimentation as part of the cultural preparation for technology. The army and military mass-production are the forms toward which a purely mechanical system of industry must tend, and in which the rule of the individual in societal development is subordinated to the power of the state. The degradation of the worker in the paleotechnic phase of technological evolution. The socialization of creation as an ideal in orientation.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters viii and xvii. The role of the individual as part of the framework of the new realism of the people. The indi-

vidual and leadership in contemporary society. The relation of the individual to favorable cultural environment in which achievements may be performed. The significance of social valuations of the group on individual achievement. The effect upon leadership patterns if government tends to become the rule of persons rather than of constitutions.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, entire Part I with emphasis on chapters I, III, V–VII. Individual differences growing out of geography and culture recognized as basic in regionalism. The implications and meanings of these differences. The areas for regionalism — states, subregions, and districts — related to the differences in people. Planning for the regional entities successfully achieved only in relation to national integration.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapter IX. An analysis of gregariousness with its basis of need and habit as a factor in societal development. The role of the individual in group affiliations. The individual and social control, formal and informal. The effect of the group on the individual's behavior.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, especially Part II, section 4, and Part IV. The role of man and his commanding position in the world viewed from the standpoint of religion and of science. Man's part in the development of institutions viewed historically. The effects of cultural variation on the role of the individual in societal development.

General Readings from the Library

Agar, Herbert, *The People's Choice;* Alexander, Franz, *Psychoanalysis of the Total Personality;* Bogardus, Emory S., *Leaders and Leadership;* Burr, Walter H., *Community Leadership;* Carlson, John Roy, *Under Cover;* Cooley, Charles Horton, *Human Nature and the Social Order;* Embree, Edwin R., *13 Against the Odds;* Ford, Guy Stanton (ed.), *Dictatorship in the Modern World;* Goslin, Ryllis C. (ed.), *Dictatorship;* Heiden, Konrad, *Hitler: A Biography;* Hook, Sidney, *The Hero in History. A Study in Limitation and Possibility;* Johnson, Gerald W., *American Heroes and Hero-Worship;* Kellett, E. E., *The Story of Dictatorship;* Lundberg, Ferdinand, *America's 60 Families;* McConaughy, John, *Who Rules America?;* Mead, George H., *Mind, Self and Society;* Pitkin, Walter B., *The Psychology of Achievement;* Wallis, Wilson D., *Messiahs;* White, William Allen, *A Puritan in Babylon.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. List some of the individuals who are honorary or advisory committee members in a number of leading national social or reform organizations.
2. Indicate the role of the strong individual in either founding or guiding American action groups or agencies.
3. What has been Father Charles E. Coughlin's program?

4. Describe the work of Samuel Gompers, Eugene V. Debs, and Booker T. Washington, in so far as they were leaders of movements.

5. List some of the notable demagogues, or successful agitators of the American people — in religion; in politics; in publishing.

6. Name some of the American movements or organizations founded on the "fringe" of emotional instability.

7. How was it possible for Harriet Beecher Stowe to exert so much influence upon the nation?

8. List and discuss the significance of at least three contemporary American leaders in each of the following fields: professional baseball; college education; electrical engineering; the Foreign Service; the automobile industry; medicine; playwriting; newspaper publishing; social work; air transportation.

9. Name some of the leaders in your own region who have influenced the people of all the other regions of the United States. Why?

10. Identify and tell something of the reasons for the leadership of these Americans: Clara Barton; Thomas Hart Benton; George Washington Carver; Clarence Darrow; Walt Disney; Isadora Duncan; Alfred B. Duke; Dwight D. Eisenhower; Stephen Collins Foster; John L. Lewis; Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.; Henry B. Kaiser; Kenesaw Mountain Landis; Annie Sullivan Macy; W. T. G. Morton; Adolph S. Ochs; Upton Sinclair; Charles P. Steinmetz; Ida M. Tarbell; Harold C. Urey.

11. Then, against the background of personal information, supplemented by discussion and questioning, and the use of such library aids as the periodicals, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and *Who's Who in America*, make your own list of this century's leaders. Estimate the value to society of the individuals on your list.

24

Personality and Individual Differences

Personality is to the individual what culture is to the group. In our efforts to understand human society and the behavior of the people, we try to analyze the factors that go into the making of this society and to study the relation of the several factors to each other and to their total. Some of these factors have to do with the physical environment; some with cultural conditioning; some with time quality and change; some with the people as population; some with the people as individuals. When we come to study the role of the individual in human society and the bases of individual differences we find that the study of personality and individual differences will go a long way toward helping us to understand society.

In Parts II, III, and IV, we have indicated how sociology studies nature, culture, and civilization. Nature represents the physical environment on which the culture of the people is established. Later, society changed by science and technology, utilizing these natural resources in the framework of a changing world, develops that advanced culture which we called contemporary civilization. In this process, culture represents the cumulative total of the processes and the products of human achievement, of which civilization is a cross section of advanced culture in the upper brackets of technical and material attainments.

In somewhat the same way in which culture may be characterized as the cumulative total of the processes and the products of society's achievements, so, when we study the individual as the smallest unit of the people, the social personality may be characterized as the cumulative heritage of the individual in terms of his behavior patterns. In other words, personality is to the individual what culture is to society as a whole. Thus, one product and also one objective for society is the attainment of adequate personality

for all individuals. The understanding of personality also is a medium for adjustment in social relationships. The social personality in this capacity, therefore, becomes a sort of center of gravity for the study of the ends and aims of society and for the understanding and adjustment of individual behavior. Furthermore, personality also is a measure of individual differences. Personality is often the "individual unique," whose total activity is in search of satisfaction, rather than the passive subjectivized creature of environment.

Important areas of personality. There are three larger areas of human relationships in which the study of personality assumes increasingly larger proportions. One of these areas is in the relationship of youth to the tensions and problems of a rapidly changing society. At every turn, the youth of today reflect the complexity of environment which both affects personality and demands a well-adjusted personality. The environment is accentuated by many special factors, including the effects of war; the problem of early marriages during the war years; the changing status of women; the question of economic security, including industrial reconversion; labor-management disputes; and national and racial attitudes, which especially affect Negro and Jewish youth. Another of these areas has to do with what we have called the folk personality. For, in the new world of regional and folk interrelations, it may be that the rediscovery and recognition of the folk personality is one of the supreme tasks of the era. The new articulateness of many folk groups, and of many minority peoples, and their desire for recognition and expression make a tremendous field for study and action. Both of these areas are concerned with the third area, in which personality is supreme — the philosophy and the practice of democracy. How give equality to individuals everywhere who are different one from another? How give equality of opportunity to match each personality or individual without standardized pressures that negate the whole idea of respect for and recognition of the worth of the individual?

There are often contradictions both in relation to individuals and to cultures. Sometimes the recommendations of intellectuals and professionals seek to channel all cultures into the same mold and all personalities into the same pattern. If the essence of democracy is found in the evolution of each individual personality, which by the very definition connotes individual differences, then a contradiction exists. These individual differences are the definitive elements of the personalities just as racial or sex or inherited differences may often be the factors that determine the nature and drive of the personality. When and if a coercive society, either by legislative control or by social pressure, undertakes to standardize thought and action,

the whole process of individual growth and freedom is violated. The same is true of cultures. The French family will not want to live after the fashion of the British even though the British may hold their standards to be the better; the British family will resent being forced to live as the French even though all the world may acclaim French cooking, French styles, and French ideas of freedom. The rural Mississippian will not want to live like the urban Bostonian no matter how high the standard suggested. The Georgians of the United States are of a different sort from the Georgians of Russia. The Polish folk could scarcely be coerced into becoming like their neighbors no matter how progressive they may be. Now it is this process whereby all peoples in meeting the same problems of adjusting to nature, nevertheless develop different cultures, which constitutes a major inquiry of sociology and a major problem of social organization. Thus we come to inquire into these differences as the bases of culture and of personality. When in Chapter 30 the problems of social process and social interaction are studied, it will again be from the viewpoint of ascertaining how differences are related to the social process. First, however, it is important to note the several bases of individual differences, both as related to the role of the individual in society and to the supreme problems of personality: the personality of the individual — the personality culture of the folk.

Natural science measures likeness and differences. The existence of differences among individuals conforms to a universal law of biology — that no two things are exactly alike. The very fact that the fingerprints of no two individuals are alike is a practical, definite evidence of the inherent differences in individuals. Some of the natural sciences are principally concerned with the observation and measurement of resemblances and differences in natural phenomena, and the drawing of conclusions from the facts that have been gathered. In the modern world, the sociologist more than ever must keep in mind this scientific variation when he comes to study human associations and organizations in terms of what they do to and for the individual. The implication is that those societal arrangements which recognize, conserve, and provide for individual differences are more scientifically sound and enduring than those which tend to standardize or mechanize all human beings because similarities and uniformities do exist.

General organic differences. There are many ways by which these individual differences are classified and analyzed. Perhaps it is not very important what sort of classification is used, provided we understand clearly the bases upon which differences exist and the relation of these to human behavior. One important type is that of inherited physical or bodily differences. First of all, there are the simple individual differences

as measured in height, weight, texture of hair, skin, size of the body and the head, as well as different types of blood and variations in blood pressure, body temperature, and in digestive, glandular, circulatory, sexual, and numerous other physiological processes. The measurement of these differences may be studied from various data compiled by schools, hospitals, clinics, and the armed services, which keep careful records of the medical history and general physical traits of many individuals. In Chapter 7 on race and culture, it was pointed out that variations are often greater among individuals of the same racial or ethnic group than between individuals of different racial or ethnic groups. But anthropology argues that certain measurable differences occur which serve to differentiate the races.

Differences of sex: physical, psychological, cultural. Perhaps the most important physical difference is the one which involves the two respective halves of the race. Within each group of males and females there will still continue to obtain the same great variation in individuals, but there are also the fundamental variations resulting from the fact of the two sexes. From the viewpoint of differences this is one indisputable fact. In simplest terms, the male cannot be female and the female cannot be male. Therefore, in the study of the individual as the basis of society and of his behavior and personality, the sociologist must face this initial fundamental differential. As a problem of human relationship it is sometimes said that if the problem of adjustment between the sexes, with all of its varied implications, could be solved, a large number of other problems of maladjustment would disappear. The physical differences between men and women, whatever other differences may obtain, are basic and elemental to the understanding of society and human relationships.

Differences of age. Then there are the differences of age. There are infancy, childhood, adolescence, youth, middle age, and old age. In the study of the total population, these differences are meaningful not only in the mere census of the people, but their ratio, the one to the other and to the total, is of the utmost importance in the total societal picture. These differences also are of importance in the economy and culture of any society. A society that has a larger number of old people than of young people is a different sort of society from one in which children and young people predominate.

Differences of race and nationality. Then there are, of course, great biological and cultural differences because of the existence of racial and ethnic groups, although the sociologist recognizes the fact that racial and national differences represent a combination of biological heritage and total societal conditioning. For all practical purposes races are distinguished

by the measurable traits of appearance that have to do with color and shape of the eyes, color and texture of the skin and the hair, and other indices of homogeneity within the blood and kinship group. For all practical purposes, looking at the world as a whole, the sociologist sees a world society of great differentials. We have already emphasized this fact in Part 1, A Preview to the Understanding of Society, and in Chapter 21 on "The New Vitality of the People." These racial and ethnic differentials will apparently be increasingly important in the society of the future.

Psychological differences and cultural conditioning. In addition to the several physical sex differences, there are the psychological and cultural-biological differences basic to the total personalities of men and of women. The relation of sex to mentality or intellectual activity, to temperament, and to psychological differentials is of particular importance to the student of sociology. The cultural conditioning under which women have grown up in the various societies and their resulting behavior constitute the bases for important sociological study. In the next chapter, we shall explore a little further the emphasis which the psychologist and the psychiatrist have placed upon sex in the total problem of human behavior. This applies not only to the total divisions of male and female, but within any group sex is an important basis for individual differences. The reality of these differences is apparent in education, occupations, law, social life, and in nearly all institutional arrangements. There is a great range of individual differences as reflected in individual and group behavior which can be measured by psychological tests. A popular saying used to be, "many men, many minds." Perhaps this is more true than ever because of the general assumption that psychological differences are not only the result of inheritance, but more and more of the conditioning of environment.

Differences resulting from mental and physical handicaps. Another special group of differences is often termed pathological, such as physical and mental handicaps, both inherited and acquired through the accidents of life. Many of these differences may be ascribed to general, cultural, or environmental influences. Such influences are the type of racial and kinship heritage from which the individual springs; the type of family in which he is reared; and the type of community, school, church, and government which has conditioned or influenced him.

Differences of economic status. An exceedingly important group of differences are those which can be ascribed to economic causes. Individuals differ greatly because of different economic opportunities, occupational training, economic experience, and the favorable or unfavorable psycholog-

ical and physical effects of their working conditions. In this category are the great differences reflected in, let us say, the mill village people of southern textile or coal-mining areas. There are various groups that tend to become classes: the owners, the foremen, the office workers, and their families; the farm tenant, the coal-miner, the mill worker, and their families — and any group that has come to have a distinctive place in the community at large. Thus, many students are inclined to say that individuals differ because of their occupations. The division of labor accounts for the hundreds of different occupations; the 1940 census, for instance, classified the labor force of the nation into 451 specific occupations divided into twelve major occupation groups.

Differences resulting from nature's "hazards." Besides the individual differences already mentioned that result from physical heritage, sex, age, race, nationality, mental and physical handicaps, and economic status, there are still other differences ascribable to cultural and social status, politics, religion, influence, money, personal interests, and the accidents or hazards of existence. The latter group suggests a separate catalogue of differences that result from the calamities and cataclysms of nature, from storm, flood, fire, drought, dust, insect plague, cyclone, hurricane, earthquake, tidal waves, and volcanic eruptions — all of nature's unequal visitations on the individual. There are the differences, complicated and tragic, resulting from war, technology, and economic crises. There are millions handicapped because of undernourishment, forced migration, religious persecution, and the many other hazards of war.

Scholars' explanations of individual differences. We might continue to enumerate bases of differentials and to illustrate them, but perhaps we have presented enough "to make the case." It is part of the field of sociology to understand individual differences and their causes, and the relation of these causes to total societal behavior, and to inquire into balancing of environmental situations toward the best possible adjustment and opportunity for the individual.

W. I. Thomas summarized the bases of individual differences when he pointed out that the reaction of different individuals in the same culture to identical cultural influences would still depend partly on their different trains of experiences and partly on their biochemical heritage and their unlearned psychological endowments. He thought the study of the individual and group adjustment would involve at least the following factors: (1) the culture situations to which the individual is to make adjustments; (2) the devices and instrumentalities for adjusting the individual to the

cultural situations; (3) the capacity and the opportunity of the individual to be adjusted; and (4) the failure of adaptation: dependency, vagrancy, crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, and psychoneurosis.

Bronislaw Malinowski thought that the individual, the group, and their mutual dependence lie at the heart of sociological theory and research. He wrote that "not only does the individual depend upon the group in whatever he achieves, but the group in all its individual members depends upon the development of a material outfit which, in its essence, is an addition to the human anatomy and which entails corresponding modifications of human physiology. The relation is not of the individual to society or the group but to a plurality of groups."

J. F. Brown, writing in a symposium on the individual and the group in the *American Journal of Sociology* for May, 1939, expressed the belief that this is the most important social science problem of the day. He said: "The antithesis, be it real or imagined, between the individual and the group has implications for nearly every endeavor of social scientists. In its practical aspects it underlies the debates of statesmen and political scientists concerning individualism and collectivism. Methodologically it is basic to the ever persistent debate between psychologists and sociologists as to whether psychology or sociology is the basic social science. Philosophically it has important implications for the recently much-discussed problem of the whole versus the part. Most important of all, however, is the fact that a far better solution of the problem than we now possess is prerequisite to any recommendations which social scientists as such might make toward overcoming the present cultural crisis."

Still another way of looking at the individual and the group was expressed by William E. Blatz in the same series of papers. He wrote: "Following this conclusion one may say that no two individuals ever grew up in the same social environment. Two children in the same home are not in the same social environment although they may have the same father and mother, the same house, the same food, similar clothes and toys. The parents react differently to an older than to a younger son, to a daughter than to a son; even twins are 'treated' differently."

In cases of mental deficiencies, the range of differences may be wide because of the numerous ways in which a subnormal role of development for some or all mental functions may be conditioned. In a large number of such cases, some form of mental illness has developed as the individual has grown up or has suffered accidents or strain of one sort or another. Then there are the mixed cases, individuals with more than one deficiency. To this field of individual pathology, John L. Gillin has contributed an ade-

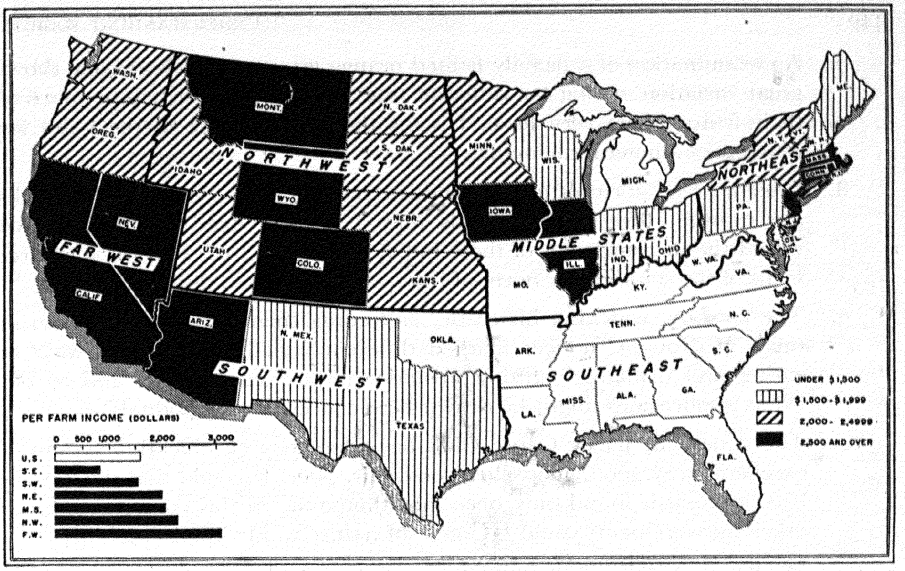
quate definition and classification. By the pathology of the individual, he says, "is meant the failure of the individual to adjust his life-reactions to the conditions which exist in the society in which he lives. This failure to adjust may be due to a number of factors. . . . Whatever the cause, the individual may be said to be pathological from the sociological point of view when he is unable to function adequately in the social system in which he happens to live." He lists the following nine bases: sickness, blindness and deafness, disablement, drug addiction, alcoholism, mental deficiency, mental disease, suicide, and personal disorganization.

The good society and the personality of its members. The significance of individual differences to personality and the over-all significance of the personality itself has been reflected in nearly all the philosophies of the good society. A good illustration is that of Justice Louis D. Brandeis. The heart of society's purpose and its whole progressive process, he thought, were found in "the passionate faith in the supreme value and moral autonomy of the human personality." Justice Brandeis' ideal American society would provide for a "co-operative, nonauthoritarian, pluralistic, regionalistic, yet federalistic state which recognizes side by side semiautonomous groups which themselves are the organs of individual self-expression." Another illustration is that of an economist who looks at the workaday man — Wesley C. Mitchell's reference to John R. Commons' theory of reasonable value. This could be summarized, he thought, in practical application, as a theory of social progress by means of personality controlled. "It is not individualism, it is institutional personality." This means that the personality is not only the product of society, but that it is also an interacting, functional force in many processes and products of society.

It seems clear, therefore, that after we have inquired into the general role of the individual in society and have noted the bases upon which individual differences rest, we need to appraise the individual in terms of the societal product that has resulted and in terms of the social personality as an influence. So important has this study of personality become that many sociologists rate it as elemental to the understanding of society. There are two basic implications in this assumption. One is that the personality of the individual represents the supreme product of society and its institutions; the other is that personality lies at the heart of the adjustment of individuals to society. Personality and social adjustment, therefore, become a major theme for the study of sociology. We shall continue this theme in the next chapter when we point out how psychology, social psychology, education, social work, social hygiene, public welfare, are concerned both with the study of the individual personality and his adjustment to society.

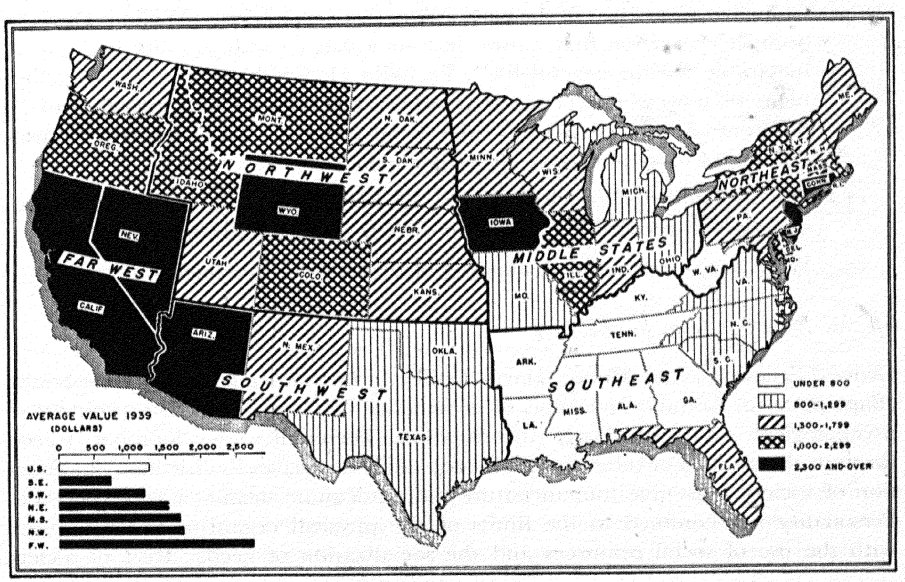
Assignments and Questions

1. Analyze the "themes of personality and the points of emphasis of leading sociologists and social psychologists. Among the sociologists: *Franklin H. Giddings:* the "social man"; the social personality is the highest achievement of society; the types of character as forceful, convivial, austere, rationally-conscientious. *Ernest R. Groves:* "personalistic sociology." *Kimball Young:* the "basic variables" on personality; personality as the "maximum individuality within the framework of group responsibility"; also his psychological and sociological types of personality. *Ernest W. Burgess:* three types of personalities, the direct, the indirect, and the psychopathic. *Sigmund Freud:* the "erotic, compulsive, narcissistic." *Emory S. Bogardus:* individuality and sociality.
   Among the social psychologists: *J. R. Kantor:* cultural personality as human nature. *Daniel Katz* and *Richard L. Schanck:* the evolutionary and integration approach. *Floyd Allport:* description of personality traits and the methods of measurement and personality. *James Melvin Reinhardt:* "the individual unique."
2. For the opinions of the earlier American sociologists, see Charles Horton Cooley in *Social Process*, pages 7, 155, 156, 249, 250; in *Social Organization*, pages 53, 54; in *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pages 70, 71, 374. See Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment*, pages 313, 314, 317, 318. See opinions of the psychologists: Otto Klineberg, *Social Psychology*, pages 406, 434, 435, 457; E. L. Thorndike, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, page 320; Charles Bird, *Social Psychology*, pages 57, 58; S. L. Pressey, J. E. Janney, and R. G. Kuhlen, *Life, A Psychological Survey*, page 432; Franklin H. Giddings, *Civilization and Society*, Parts II and III, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, page 288, *Principles of Sociology*, page 23, and *Inductive Sociology*, pages 46–47.
3. Examine some of the modern theories of education with reference to the emphasis upon personality: progressive education; the democratic movement in education.
4. Discuss the emphasis placed by psychiatry upon "frustration and aggression."
5. Illustrate how the complexity of modern society may increase the range of personality problems.
6. Discuss the conclusion that children from families in which the parents are maladjusted or unadjusted nearly always show personality difficulties.



The Mechanization of Agriculture and Value of Farms

In the trend toward mechanization of farming and the increased standard of living, will the nature of farm labor change? Organized farm workers? Science and engineering on the farm? ABOVE: Gross income per farm, by states and regions, 1940. BELOW: Value of farms per acre as of 1939.



7. An examination of a heavily fruited orange grove after a hurricane shows great variation among the different trees. Some have lost half or more of their fruit; others very little. Discuss the analogy here of the bases for differences among individuals.

8. After a great storm of ice and sudden zero weather when birds in flocks are roosting together, hundreds may be found dead. What evidence would the measurement of those individuals compared with the measurement of the standard or norm of the species give as to differences?

9. The cowboy, watching his cattle, or feeding them, or watering them in times of drought, notices marked differences in behavior — in ways of eating and drinking, fighting attitudes toward each other, and so on. What applications might be drawn here concerning individuals?

10. The American Jersey Cattle Club has adopted a classification system of excellent, very good, good plus, good, fair, poor. It is said that the "excellent" animal is found only once in a thousand. In this connection, what other measurements could be made of nature's individual differences?

11. In the measurement of individual differences in cephalic index, height, weight, and other physical traits, there have often been found greater differences between individuals within the same race than between individuals of different races. Is there a significant point here?

12. Is it likely that sociology will need to co-operate more closely with psychology for the future good of society?

13. Compare these ideas of the earlier American sociologists; William Graham Sumner's assertion that nature has no equality — "inequality is the most inevitable fact in societal life"; Franklin H. Giddings' that the development of human excellence is possible only to human beings free to be different; Albion W. Small's "the social process . . . as a progressive production of more and more dissimilar men."

14. Discuss Giddings' conclusion that the real distinguishing trait of human society is its recognition and support of the "variate from type."

15. What are the essential weaknesses of the earlier "intelligence tests"?

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, especially chapters IX–XI. Common concepts of personality behavior that have come out of psychological and psychiatric investigation. Personality development traced through the periods of infancy, childhood, adolescence, and adult life. The function of society is to give human nature more adequate means of self-expression. Personality not confined to the limits of the physical organism but concerned with the use of social resources and the socialization of needs. Task of society

is the concentration of social objectives that influence man's conduct. Meaning and interplay of personality. See also chapters IV and VI. Effects of ecology; ecological process. The region as an area where many dissimilar species of inhabitants adapt themselves to a common existence so that the ecological community as a whole continues. Transportation and communication as factors in isolation of communities. The biological foundations of social behavior. Regardless of racial and individual differences all persons have a similar biological heredity which makes possible some forms of behavior and precludes others. Habit as group experience of those who share an environment.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapters VII and XXVI. Society is a group of people who have lived and worked together long enough to get themselves organized and to think of themselves as a social unit with well-defined limits. The foundation of every society is an aggregate of individuals. Mutual adaptation in individual behavior and attitudes transforms the aggregate into a functional whole and enables it to do most of the work of a society. Society an organization of mutually adapted personalities. Psychological level of its integration. Analysis of personality as it affects culture. Culture and the dynamics of culture change. See also chapters III, IV, V. Significance of racial differences. The social and historic factors that are of more importance than physical differences. Race-consciousness not very strong until the sixteenth century; reasons. The distinctive aspects of culture in relation to individual differences.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, chapters VI–VII contain good material. Any just appreciation of the machine's contribution to civilization must reckon with the factors of resistance, compensation, and assimilation. Through the projection of one side of human personality into the machine an independent environment has been created that has reacted upon every other side of the personality. Necessity for absorbing lessons of objectivity, impersonality, and neutrality before going further in the development toward the richly organic, the more profoundly human. See also chapters II, III, and IV. Cultural preparation, agents of mechanization, and orientation in assimilating the machine are factors in the individual differences of our technological world. Regimentation caused by technology. Successful control of the machine a means of developing wholesome individual differences. Regional planning a frame of reference whereby people may develop in harmony with their environment.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, especially chapters I, III, IV, V, and VII. Personality and social adjustment in the medieval town. Depletion and blighted areas of the industrial town and the metropolis. Principles which form the social basis of the new urban order with stress on the development of a successful life-economy. Individual differences that arise from differences in the urban milieu. The failure of the insensate industrial town to provide for individual differences. The regional outlook with its new patterns of life and thought. The role of individuation and socialization in the social basis of the new urban order. The many-

faceted personalities of the citizens of the cities with their specialized interests and intensively trained attitudes.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter VI. The social adjustments of personality to society. Necessity for approaching the biological and psychological backgrounds of personality through realistic comprehension of the facts of experience. The role of individual differences in the redistribution of wealth and opportunity in the modern world constitutes one of the two or three most difficult organic problems. Knowledge of the individual and his relationships a chief means of studying, and even correcting, the abuses in the social institutions, and of diagnosing various social and individual problems of maladjustment.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, especially chapters VI–VIII. The mechanisms underlying social behavior. The idea of self. Relationship of group experience and personality. The relation of material and nonmaterial culture to personality. Cultural variations within a culture. See also chapter III. The influence of biological factors and geographic environment. Environmental theories. The significance of natural environment for man and his culture. Human personality: what it is and how it is achieved; its relationship to heredity. Group culture and personality.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapters IV–V. Anatomical characteristics a factor in man's role in society. Psychological traits which have made man unique and have contributed to making him the institution-builder that he is. The directing power, man's mind, which guides his activities, and produces, accumulates, transmits, and applies knowledge. The simple and complex aspects of mind that are produced are interwoven with culture and particularly with social institutions. A whole matrix of interrelationships and activities built by this directing force of mind. See also Part IV. Physical and biological nature as factors in individual differences. Physical nature a set of dynamic, active, ever dormant entities, always affecting man's activity, and conditioning the ongoing and every aspect of every society. The concept of race as a factor in developing individual differences. The role of cultures and subcultures. The control of environment through teleology and its effects on the individual.

General Readings from the Library

Anderson, Nels, *The Hobo;* Atwood, J. Howell, and others, *Thus Be Their Destiny;* Baur, Erwin, Fischer, Eugene, and Lenz, Fritz, *Human Heredity;* Bell, Howard M., *Youth Tell Their Story;* Burgess, Ernest W. (ed.), *Personality and the Social Group;* Burlingame, L. L., *Heredity and Social Problems;* Deutsch, Albert, *The Mentally Ill in America;* East, Edward Murray (ed.), *Biology in Human Affairs;* Elliott, Mabel A., and Merrill, Francis E., *Social Disorganization;* Faris, Ellsworth, *The Nature of Human Nature;* Groves, Ernest R., *Personality and Social Adjustment;* Haldane, J. B. S., *Heredity and Politics;* Hunt, J. McV. (ed.), *Personality and the Behavior Dis-*

orders, 2 vols.; Jennings, H. S., *The Biological Basis of Human Nature;* Johnson, Charles S., *Patterns of Negro Segregation;* Klineberg, Otto, *Race Differences;* Osborn, Frederick, *Preface to Eugenics;* Pearl, Raymond, *Studies in Human Biology;* Scheinfeld, Amram, *You and Heredity;* Sutherland, Robert L., *Color, Class and Personality;* Warner, W. Lloyd, and others, *Color and Human Nature;* Wolff, Werner, *The Expression of Personality;* Woodworth, Robert S., *Heredity and Environment.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Catalogue the action agencies interested in personnel work or the development of the individual from the *Social Work Year Book.*
2. Describe the work of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.
3. What is the Personnel Research Federation?
4. What is the Council of Guidance and Personnel Association?
5. Describe the work of the National Vocational Guidance Association.
6. What is the National Rehabilitation Council?

25

Psychology and Social Psychology in the Study of the Individual

The social sciences working together. In the study of the individual's role in modern society, the sociologist must rely upon both the natural and social sciences for his information. This is true for several reasons. First, the study of the individual has not been usually considered as a part of the field of sociology. Even the study of the individual's behavior in relation to other human beings and their influence upon him is more nearly a province of the social psychologist just as the study of the biological individual is part of biology, and of the mental equipment of the individual is part of psychology. So, too, the study and adjustment of the abnormal individual is more directly related to medicine, psychiatry, mental hygiene, and medical jurisprudence than to sociology.

These other fields of knowledge have accumulated great bodies of data and have made their storehouse of information available to the social sciences. The sociologist, therefore, will want to know where he can find his materials; he will also wish to know enough of the actual conclusions in these other fields to enable him to understand the individual better and thereby to understand the total of society and human behavior better. Among the special disciplines from which the sociologist may expect rich source materials, are psychology, social psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, economics, political science, and especially education, which is concerned with both the study of the individual and his direction. At this point we are specifically interested in how psychology and social psychology may help us understand the individual in relation to society.

When psychology was in the field of education. At first considered as "mental philosophy," dealing largely in processes, early psychology be-

came the instrument and adjunct of education, and an essential study in the training of teachers. The two great American psychologists of the early part of the twentieth century were William James (1842–1910) of Harvard and G. Stanley Hall (1846–1924) of Johns Hopkins and Clark Universities, much of whose work was in the field of education. James's *Talks to Teachers on Psychology* influenced the whole realm of American education. Hall's *Adolescence* and his many books on youth became the bibles of the teachers. Throughout the land these authors were much in demand at teachers' meetings, institutes, and training schools. The subject of psychology in the college or university curriculum was usually taught in the department of education, and it was a leading subject in normal schools and teachers' training schools. This is an interesting point, because it indicates the early development of psychology. It is important also to note certain developments in the field of educational sociology. Necessary, too, is an understanding of the newer trends in psychology which, in later days, is usually classified primarily as a physical science although psychology was also one of the seven charter members in the Social Science Research Council. Social psychology, however, is generally featured as the social science in this field.

Social psychology studies the socially conditioned and behaving individual. Another point of emphasis is the way in which social psychology has developed. Thus, the first social psychology in the United States was developed by the early sociologists, and their work was followed by social psychology written by the psychologists. Something of this development may be seen from recalling, from Chapter 23, the analysis of the parts of the individual. That is, the individual is of three parts. First, that which is "inherited," the "individual unique"; second is the influence which parents, general social heritage, and environment have upon the individual; the third is what the individual contributes to society. The first of these constitutes the main field of psychology, while the other two are usually considered the field of the social psychologist; in general, the individual himself is the unit of study for psychology. The conditioning influences of society upon the individual and the behavior of the individual toward his fellows and his attitude toward society at large, including his response to mobs, fads, crazes, and the like is generally considered to be the field of social psychology. In any case, it seems clear that it is not possible to understand human behavior until we have studied the individual from the very earliest days of childhood on through his maturity, including the various complex forces that go into the making of his personality.

It was from this point that Charles Horton Cooley began his studies that

were really the forerunners of social psychology, and Ernest R. Groves inaugurated his personalized approach. There appeared also special studies of personality, the analysis and treatment of mental deficiencies, of the pathological individual, of the exceptional child, and of the genius and the special variate from type.

The field of psychology. We may understand better this special sociological importance of psychology and the individual if we take a brief look at the science of psychology, from which it will be logical to move on into the special field of social psychology. We have already called attention to some of the psychological approaches to the study of personality, and we have emphasized the reality of individual differences. The psychologist sees in every individual the attempt to make adjustments and readjustments to other people. To the psychologist the individual can only be explained by means of scientific methods as opposed to popular judgments and folk beliefs. Whereas other disciplines or studies may seek through literature and life to understand the individual, psychology tries to get at this understanding through the same kind of methods that are used by the basic natural sciences. We have already pointed out that in earlier days psychology was what was called "mental philosophy," which sought to study attitudes, processes, and the like through subjective means and philosophical approaches. The newer psychology undertakes to work out objective analyses of man's behavior after the manner of cause and effect, and from them to develop more or less formal laws and principles. The individual becomes the biological, physical unit of society, the implication being that psychology must understand the physical mechanisms of the mind and the nervous system in order to understand the total individual.

Although the psychologist tries to study the individual as objectively and as scientifically as any other science, he encounters one major difficulty. Unlike other physical scientists, he can not always isolate his subject, nor completely control his experiment. The very fact that an individual is isolated means that he is different from what he would be in his usual environment and, therefore, is behaving out of order. If the individual is locked in a room or connected to some sort of experimental apparatus, he does not react exactly as he would ordinarily. There are, however, many controlled psychological experiments making use of individuals in which dependable results are being obtained.

Difficulties in the way of studying the individual. This limitation has two meanings in the psychological approach. The first is the often repeated emphasis that the individual is conditioned by his environment and cannot be separated from it; that the nature of human behavior is colored by the

association of the individual with other individuals as well as by various environmental pressures. The second is that the controlled experiment of the individual will have to be in terms of isolating particular aspects of the individual behavior or reaction and in terms of studying particular phases of the individual and his behavior. This means standardizing experimental equipment and testing methods, and seeking for constants and variables in the total situation. Even though the human species can be studied as an animal organism and psychology is interrelated with other biological sciences, the distinction of the human animal has led to defining psychology as the study of man in his interaction with environment. John F. Dashiell has pointed out that it is important to observe that the world in which man lives is a social one: "It will be at once recognized that much of what a man does has direct reference to people around him; it should also be apparent that most of the non-living things to which he must adjust himself — tables, automobiles, clothing, writing materials, and such — are the products of human society and indirectly bring social influence to bear upon him. In his turn he helps to color and to make that human society; and since society is made up of persons, then psychology should form a science basic to the social sciences. Roughly speaking, as psychology is related to physiology and zoology, so sociology, political science, and economics are related to psychology. The results of psychological investigations crystallized into laws of human behavior should furnish many principles helpful in explaining the phenomena of group life."

Psychology and human nature. A common saying among the folk, both high and low, is "Human nature being what it is," we may expect such and such a thing to happen, or "What else can we expect?" Broadly speaking, this human nature is the subject matter of social psychology. Ellsworth Faris incorporated his findings in the title "The Nature of Human Nature." Among the first things we recall is that human nature differs greatly among individuals, and that the study of individual differences constitutes one of the basic divisions of psychology. In the attempt to observe and to record likenesses and differences, many *psychological tests* have been devised and used. Among the first of these were mental tests which later developed into a wide range of tests of intelligence, experience, aptitudes, will, temperament, and personality. It is interesting to compare the more recent objective psychological tests with the earlier types used by Franklin H. Giddings, Lester F. Ward, and others in undertaking to set up systematic studies of human behavior. Yet, for the most part, the later "intelligence tests" have been predominantly tests of experience and interaction more than of intelligence.

The deviate from type. In the study of social relationships and problems, as well as in the study of the individual, sociology has always been interested in the deviate from type. We have called attention to Giddings' four social achievements, one of which is the conservation, preservation, and development of the variate from type. Giddings thought that the function of human society in conserving the variate would give us more geniuses, more superior people, and thus more opportunity for advancing the human race. This is in contrast to the study of social pathology which studies the deviate from normal conduct. A volume illustration of this is the one on social problems by James Ford, which he titled *Social Deviation.* We usually think of extreme deviation as represented by either the genius, or superior type of individual, or by the abnormal person, or pathological type of individual. In discussing individual differences (Chapter 24), the wide range of pathological types has been mentioned. The psychologist studies these deviates from type because the analysis of subnormal and disordered personalities not only enables him to diagnose their behavior and perhaps effect a cure, but by contrast and by relationship it helps him to understand the normal person.

Special fields of psychology. We have called attention to the earlier work of G. Stanley Hall in the field of adolescence and child psychology. From his earlier beginnings have grown up not only the large division of *child psychology*, but many developments in child welfare, in which the sociologist and social worker is interested. So, too, *comparative psychology* has developed extensively through the use of the experimental laboratory. Just as medicine studies anatomy and pathology by utilizing animal life for experimentation in order to find knowledge applicable to the human body and human health, so animal psychology has been the medium through which the psychologists have been able to study behavior. Among the most impressive of the pioneer experiments in this field were those of Ivan P. Pavlov on dogs, in which he showed the power of conditioning on behavior.

Basic studies of psychology. In his study of the normal adult individual, which the sociologist might call the *Socius*, or socially behaving individual, the psychologist has developed a wide range of approaches and procedures. He begins with man as a living organism and undertakes to make his understanding of the principles of human behavior realistic by keeping close to this basic concept. Even though the reach and range of man's living and behaving are such that he can build cities, construct airplanes, dream dreams, write poetry, and compose great music, the psychologist tries to keep in mind that human psychology is to be explained partly in terms of all of these fundamental activities.

The psychologist begins his analysis of behavior in terms of stimulus and response. This, we recall, was the basis of Giddings' multiple-stimuli theory of human behavior, although general conclusions were arrived at on different levels. Modern psychology delves deep into the explanations of stimulus-and-response through study of reactions, both simple and complex; association and action or operation of the sensory motor areas, muscles, glands, and senses — olfactory, gustatory, kinesthetic, organic, auditory, visual, and others. Psychology goes further and, in studying the nervous system, including the lower, intermediary, and higher centers, is able to explain how human energy is directed and operates.

From this point, the psychologist studies simple and conditioned reflexes, including the complex of emotional and social patterns, which together have often been considered to be the sum total of human nature. The psychologist studies the individual and comes to the conclusion that inborn co-ordinations in individuals are much less explanatory than the influences of environment or learning. The psychologist proves that emotional patterns and action patterns are acquired by experience, and that the point of emphasis has been shifted from the general discussion of human nature to the special study of the human organism. These studies, the psychologist holds, are of great importance in the study of mobs, gregarious activities, fads, fashions, sex differences, romantic love, and many other types of behavior. The student may wish to follow the psychologist further in his studies of motivation, intelligence, learning, and perceiving, alongside the co-ordinated aspects of social behavior, such as language, discriminating and generalizing, and thinking. All of these approaches to the study of the individual and his behavior are of importance to the sociologist, whether he is studying the problems of the individual in training for an occupation, in seeking work, in working, in becoming a soldier, in getting married, in raising a family, in driving an automobile, in voting, in acting as a jury member — in any one of the total aspects of societal behavior. In the study of the individual, sociology can follow the general outlines of the psychological approach as it is presented by such authors as J. F. Dashiell, Robert S. Woodworth, and others. Such a framework regards psychology as a physical science seeking to study the individual through as many types of scientific research and on as many levels of objectivity as possible. Just as is the case with biology, anthropology, or geography, so with psychology. While the sociologist does not have to be a master of the subject, he must know something of its subject matter, its methods, and, in particular, he must know how it is related to his own field.

Practical values of psychology to sociology. The understanding here is that the psychological approach will not only help the individual to understand himself, but will help him to understand other people, and that in such understanding of society there will be ways and means of approach and practical adaptations for the sociologist. The task of sociology is just as big as the total number of individuals in any given society which are under study, and as complex as the interrelation of those individuals. This sort of psychological approach fits in with the theme of this volume that the folk, the people, represent the basic reality of society. In a city of 100,000 people, sociology would have for its task the backgrounds of 100,000-odd individuals in all of their varying dimensions from infancy to old age, from normal to abnormal, from simple relationships to the most complex. This approach, therefore, studies the individual and the people on all levels, from childhood to old age, from home to working life, from country to city, from Europe to the United States, or from whatever time, place, or associational aspect may be involved.

In all of these the psychologist — and the sociologist — studies the individual by utilizing whatever methods seem best, whether the case study method, the survey method, the testing method, or other type of experimental approach. The psychologist tries to avoid as many as possible of the biases, prejudices, or influences which hamper or mislead the investigator. So, too, the effort is made to achieve a true perspective of the total individual and of all the influences upon him, somewhat after the manner of Gestalt psychology. For instance, in the discussion of attitudes, "the position was taken that a person's ideology is pretty much a product of his cultural milieu — his home, his gang, his section of the country, his nation. Then quite clearly one way to evaluate and broaden the base of that ideology is to get acquainted with other groups, other sections of the country, other nations."

The field of social psychology. The sociologist, like the social psychologist, soon comes to sense the overwhelming role of social environment upon individual and group behavior. Steuart Henderson Britt, in *Social Psychology of Modern Life*, has quoted certain authors as estimating that 90 per cent of all psychological interbehavior is cultural or social in character. From this he has summarized some six main fields of current social psychology. The first is the field of psychoanalysis, in which many relations between sociology and psychoanalysis have been examined. The second is clinical techniques with special reference to play therapy, in which the character of the individual child may be studied through the expressions of the child from all phases of general play through the development of sexual attitudes.

The third is environmental influence in relation to the intelligence quotient, or I. Q., and the whole problem of intelligence testing. The other fields are those of human interaction, especially studies of leadership; the social psychology of attitudes and attitude measurements; and some special studies of legal problems in the work of the courts, especially as these relate to criminality. Edwin H. Sutherland has studied especially the problems of white-collar criminality and the relation of various professional and economic situations to problems of fraud, bribery, corruption, and the like.

The general field of social psychology, very much like that of sociology, is a flexible and constantly changing one. The social psychologies written by the sociologists are often different from those written by the psychologists. Thus, it has been pointed out that the social psychologies written by the sociologists L. L. Bernard, Emory S. Bogardus, Kinball Young, Edward Alsworth Ross, and E. T. Krueger, are so different from those written by the psychologists Floyd Allport, William McDougall, J. R. Kantor, and Knight Dunlap, that it would be possible for one to understand some of these volumes thoroughly and not know much about the others.

Many of the volumes still emphasize a particular point of view just as is the case with many of the volumes on sociology. However, it is possible to agree upon a general definition of social psychology. One that does represent a fair consensus of the definitions of social psychology is that formulated by Floyd Allport, who, as chairman of a symposium on psychology, presented it at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association in 1936. Social psychology, Professor Allport said, "may be defined as a study of the behavior (or awareness) of individuals in their reactions to other individuals or in social situations, and the behaviors through which individuals stimulate one another in such situations." Although this definition does not have to do primarily with the relation of social psychology to social problems, nevertheless it does permit of a wide variety of treatment. Like sociology, social psychology has grown out of its philosophical background into scientific investigation, the results of which will lead to sound theory. One field of investigation is the discovery of approximate laws of individual differences and their distribution according to the normal probability curve; that is, an understanding of groups, customs, traditions, institutions, and culture patterns interpreted in relation to individual variations of age, sex, class, race, temperament, and personality.

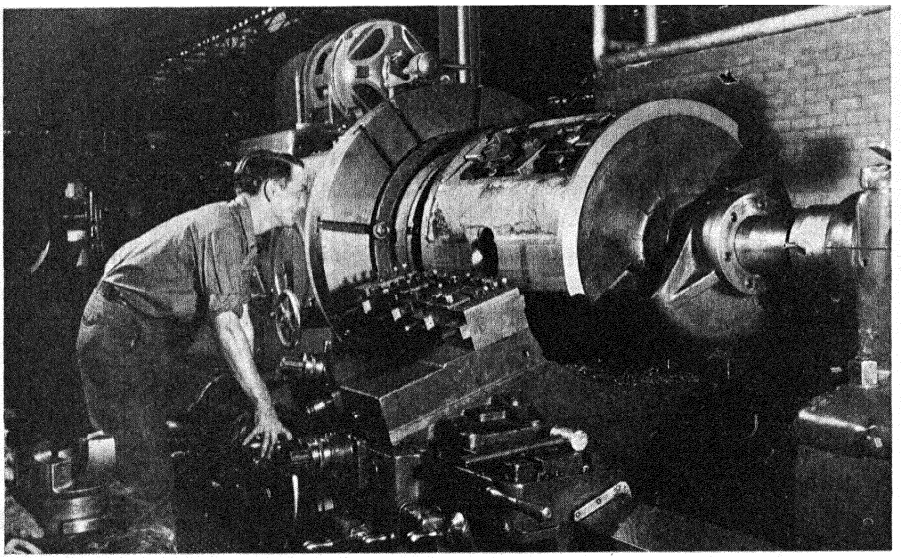
Common grounds for sociology and social psychology. There are many points where psychologists and sociologists, employing different sets of methods and concepts, come together in a common attack upon the study of the individual and his relation to society. One is in the general field of

behavioristic psychology. Another is in Gestalt psychology. Another is in psychoanalysis. There is finally the problem of culture, which, from the viewpoint of social psychology, is considered in its material aspects to be based upon habits of individuals who make use of cultural equipment. Thus, social psychology would tend to negate the theory that culture displaces and supersedes biological and psychological laws of human activity. Social psychology might, therefore, make comparative studies of primitive folk and use lower animals as control groups. Another field of investigation is the study of modern technology and its relation to social behavior, as well as the effect of changing standards of behavior on standards of living and occupations.

According to Britt, social psychology at the present time makes empirical studies by utilizing, first, the experimental method, and second, the observational method, both of which require the use of statistical techniques. These have supplanted the subjective testimony of the old philosophers as source material. In *Social Forces* for May, 1937, Britt catalogues the fourteen techniques being employed today in social psychology as tests, questionnaires, psychophysical studies, genetic studies, personality studies, physiological studies, group studies, field studies, psychoanalytic studies, studies of institutions, contributions from general psychology, experimental studies, observational studies, and statistical studies.

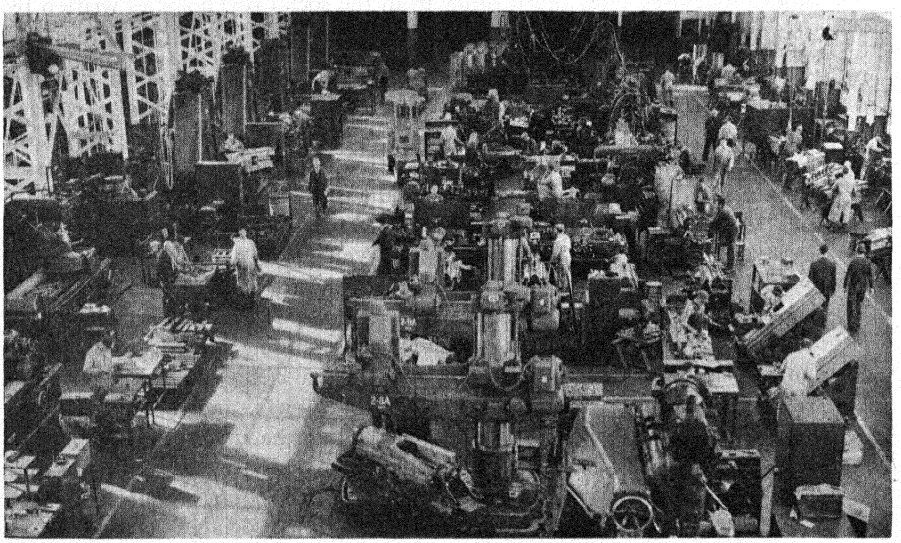
Assignments and Questions

1. The development of psychology in the United States from the time of William James's *Principles of Psychology* in 1890 up to today affords an excellent example of changing scholarship. Trace the course of experimental psychology and of educational psychology.
2. What important contributions to sociology were made by John B. Watson in behaviorism and by Ivan P. Pavlov in his studies of conditioning?
3. What is Gestalt psychology?
4. What is clinical psychology?
5. What is the basis of the claims for a therapeutic value in psychoanalysis?
6. In the days of the earlier American sociology, what was meant when it was said that Franklin H. Giddings and Lester F. Ward belonged to the "psychological school"?
7. Show how Charles Horton Cooley, through study of the child and his behavior and through study of primary and secondary groups, was the forerunner of social psychology.
8. E. A. Ross's *Social Psychology* (1908) was the first American book published under that title. How did it differ from the social psychologies written by the psychologists?
9. Compare other sociologists who have produced textbooks on social psychology: Emory S. Bogardus, whose *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (1924) was dedicated to "Edward Alsworth Ross, Distinguished Explorer and Pioneer in Social Psychology." Bogardus' book treated of the processes of intersocial stimulation and their products in the form of social attitudes and values. Eight years later when he revised his volume, he took into account certain new movements in psychology, namely, behaviorism, psychiatry, Gestalt psychology, cultural anthropology, and cultural sociology. Also, L. L. Bernard, whose *Introduction to Social Psychology* was published in 1926. The framework of this volume includes four parts: an introduction covering science and the environment, the scope and relations of social psychology, phases of the subject, and method of treatment; the foundations of collective behavior; the integration of personality in the psychosocial environment; the psychosocial environment and the organization of collective behavior. Kimball Young's *Social Psychology* (1930) treated the subject from these viewpoints: social setting of human



Reconversion from War to Peace After Peace to War

ABOVE: The amazing quantity production of armament from automotive production to turrets for the 75 mm. guns for tanks. Can we reconvert as quickly? Is it psychology? BELOW: Quantity production of 5-inch naval gun breech housings.



behavior, the psychology of individual behavior, personality and group participation, personality and subjective patterns, and the crowd and the public. E. T. Krueger and Walter C. Reckless, whose *Social Psychology* (1931) envisages social psychology as covering the following main areas: human nature, the social significance of language, social contacts, social objects and social definitions, social behavior, the theory of human motivation, the analysis of wishes, imagination and its social function, the nature of attitudes, the nature of personality, the traits of personality, and social adjustment.

10. Compare these textbooks with those written by psychologists which followed, the first of which was the English psychologist William McDougall's *Social Psychology*, which featured the earlier doctrine of instincts. Following McDougall there were: *Social Psychology* by Daniel Katz and R. L. Schanck; *Social Psychology* by Richard T. LaPiere and P. R. Farnsworth; *Psychology and the Social Order* by J. F. Brown; *Social Psychology* by J. M. Reinhardt; *Elements of Social Psychology* by Herbert Gurnee; *Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison; *Experimental Social Psychology* by Gardner Murphy, L. B. Murphy, and T. M. Newcomb; *Social Psychology* by Charles Bird; *Life: A Psychological Survey* by Sidney L. Pressey, J. Elliott Janney, and Raymond G. Kuhlen; and *An Outline of Social Psychology* by J. R. Kantor.

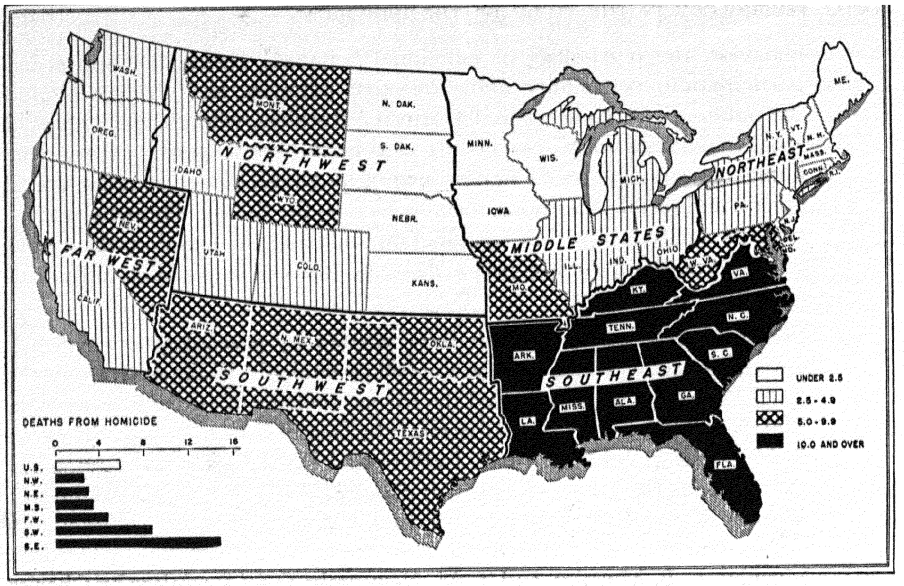
Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter x. The psychoanalytic interpretation of personality. Concepts of personality behavior that have come out of psychology and psychiatric investigation: the unconscious, the libido, ambivalence, the complex, conflict, repression, rationalization. An interpretation of the introvert and the extrovert.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter xxvi. The presence of recurring similarities of central organization in various personalities responsible for what the psychologists call psychological types. Definition of types. Distinction between status personality and psychological type. Psychological types which society approves are diversified according to the culture patterns.

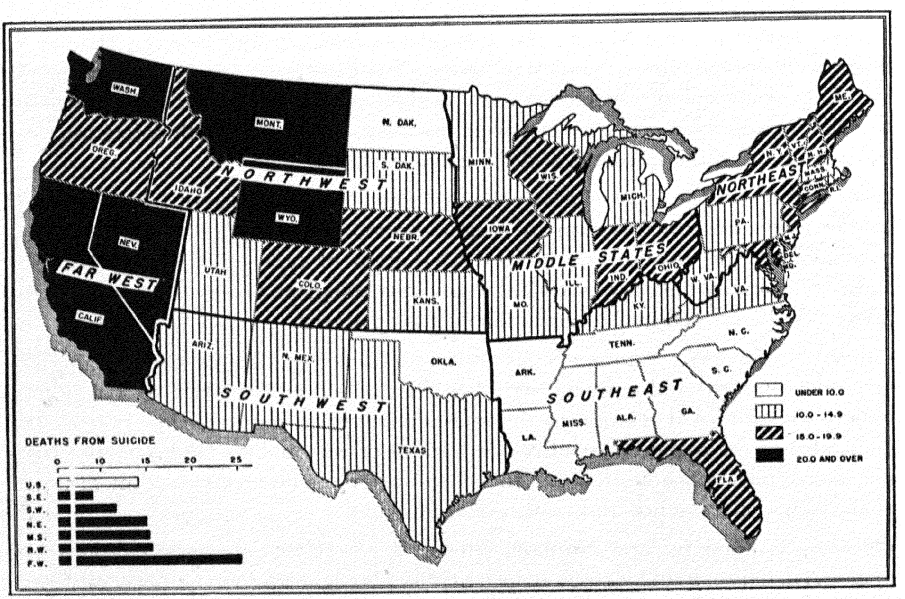
Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter vi. The psychological background of natural and cultural heritage. The individual's relation to society and society's institutional relation to the individual studied more effectively from the viewpoint of the social personality. Definitions of personality. Differences of temperament, intellect, and all other inherited variations lie at the bottom of much of the new social science and educational guidance.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, especially chapters viii and xxvii. Nature and causes of personality disorganization. Culture and per-



Sociology and Psychology Study Social Pathology

How much crime and suicide are due primarily to personal maladjustment and how much to general environment? ABOVE: Number of deaths per 100,000 population in 1940. BELOW: Number of deaths from suicide per 100,000 in 1940. What do the regional variations indicate in terms of culture?



sonality maladjustment. The culture conflicts of a machine age. The use of psychology and psychiatry in personality reorganization. Sociology interested in culture conditions which underlie these disorders. Disorganization of personality a result of rapid and extensive change.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, especially Introduction; chapter II, section 5; chapter IV, sections 12 and 13; chapter VII, sections 10 and 11. The city as a record of the attitudes of a culture. Mind takes form in the city, and in turn, urban life conditions the mind. The city tells the story not merely of physical differences but of essentially different conceptions of man's destiny. The ideology of power in the medieval town and court. Signs of pathology in the megalopolis of today with its cycle of growth and decay. New patterns of life and thought in the regional framework of civilization. The change from money economy to life economy symbolic of the social psychology for the new urban order.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially Introductory chapter, chapters I, IV, VI–VIII. Technology a state of mind as well as a material condition. The degradation of man and the starvation of life are products of the misuse of the machine. The need for the simplification of the environment of the metropolis and a new discovery of the worth of human existence. The psychology of a dynamic equilibrium would stress the successful relation of man to the earth, and would develop the creative power of man.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, especially chapters V and XXXI. The mind of man, its origin and evolution. The simpler aspects of mind. Emotions as constructive and destructive forces which influence our plans and reactions. Communication and the "mass mind" that has been created during this era. The psychology of urban centers.

Recent Social Trends, pages 796–797. Psychological research in child development; psychology seeking methods for identifying personality types or dominant trends in individuals as an approach to mental hygiene. Personality development, emergence of behavior and emotional patterns, critical situations in life of the child; socialization of the child; problem of learning; investigations of social, family, and home situations out of which children come.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Beers, Clifford, *A Mind That Found Itself;* Bernard, L. L., *Introduction to Social Psychology;* Bird, Charles, *Social Psychology;* Britt, Steuart Henderson, *Social Psychology and Modern Life;* Brown, J. F., *Psychology and the Social Order;* Dashiell, J. F., *Fundamentals of Objective Psychology;* Davis, M. M., *Psychological Interpretations of Society;* Ellwood, Charles A., *The Psychology of Human Society;* Faris, Ellsworth,

The Nature of Human Nature; Kantor, J. R., *An Outline of Social Psychology;* Katz, Daniel, and Schanck, R. L., *Social Psychology;* Klineberg, Otto, *Social Psychology;* LaPiere, Richard T., and Farnsworth, P. R., *Social Psychology;* Maslow, A. H., and Mittelmann, Bela, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology;* Murphy, Gardner, Murphy, L. B., and Newcomb, T. M., *Experimental Social Psychology* (rev. ed.); Reinhardt, J. M., *Social Psychology;* Robinson, Virginia P., *A Changing Psychology in Social Work;* Young, Kimball, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment* and *A Source Book for Social Psychology.* (See also Assignment 9 for other books on social psychology.)

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Describe the field of the American Association for Applied Psychology.
2. What contributions have been made by the American Association on Mental Deficiency?
3. Catalogue the principal contributions of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.
4. What is the American Federation for Mental Hygiene?
5. What is the nature of the work of the American Occupational Therapy Association?

26

Social Institutions and Agencies in Relation to the Individual

Varied emphases upon the individual in society. In previous discussions we have emphasized the fact that the individual in society reflects a threefold heritage and function. First, the individual, as an organic unit, brings to society a certain inherent equipment at birth. Next, the individual is conditioned powerfully by his social environment, and is greatly influenced by the people with whom he associates. In the third place, the character of the individual is continuously being affected by his own attitudes and actions and by what he does for and to society. All this helps us to see a close relationship between the individual and society. Most of the sociologists have pointed out that unless a society so functions as to produce the strong individual, socially-minded and with an adequately developed personality, then that society is not the good society, no matter what other excellent characteristics it may possess.

On the other hand, unless there are strong individuals, socially-minded, well equipped, well trained, and possessing qualities of leadership and citizenship, together with creativeness or inventiveness, it is not likely that institutions such as constitute the good society will be developed. Thus arises the difference of emphasis which the fields of psychology, sociology, law, philosophy, ethics, and religion place upon the relative merits of the individual or society as the prime basis of social study. From the study of all these, it seems clear that there is no need for conflict between the individual and society, but, on the contrary, that each as inseparable from the other, is essentially important, requiring varied points of emphasis upon different levels of study.

The institutions and the individual. The interrelationship of the individual and society is of special importance when we come to study the relation of social institutions, agencies, and activities to the conservation, development, and protection of the individual in modern society. In Chapter 20, we pointed out that a major function of the institutions, growing out of the folk wisdom of long developing culture, is to conserve the individual and to act as buffer between the individual and the world of change about him. In our fast-changing technological civilization, the individual needs more than ever the services of the several institutions. The student of sociology, therefore, will need to study the major institutions, the family, religion, education, government, industry, and the community, with a view to understanding what they do for the individual or, contrariwise, what measure of neglect they may reflect. From these institutional patterns have developed many special activities, such as social work, community organization, recreational agencies, public health, public welfare, and numerous still more specialized activities, such as health and hygiene clinics, courts of juvenile delinquency and domestic relations, and others.

Social agencies as social inventions. Any of these agencies may be characterized as social inventions which have resulted from the discovery by the social sciences of new knowledge relating to the child, the family, marriage, education, youth and character training, religion, morality, citizenship, taxation, public service, and the many other subdivisions of the institutions. The sociologist needs to be acquainted with these agencies both because they are the source of this new knowledge in the social sciences and because they apply this knowledge to the understanding of the individual.

The institutions and their accompanying agencies arose through long processes of social discovery and adaptation. That is, society did not wake up one morning and say "Go to, let us establish the great institutions." On the contrary, they grew up as orderly arrangements for meeting the needs of human society in every one of the manifold aspects of the life of the individual. We have pointed out that each institution represents one aspect of the nature of the individual. The individual does have his love-nature and his sex-nature and his need for childhood development and for social relationships in the family. But he also is a *religious* individual and has sought freedom to worship. Likewise, the individual with his curiosity and his search for truth and his need for survival reflects the need for education. So, too, the individual is incomplete unless he is equipped to work and

unless, through the community, he is capable of co-operation and of living in fellowship as a socialized personality.

The needs of the individual are many. The institutions, therefore, reflect the nature and needs of the individual and it may be concluded that the individual is not likely to develop adequately if one or more of these institutions are not available or are not active in his service. The individual is not likely to be protected from the hazards of his environment and from conflicting forces about him unless the various institutions are adequate. We might illustrate by the case of an aristocratic family who might feel that there was no need for them to support the community or the public schools or their local government beyond the most routine, minimum requirements. Such a family would say, "We have our own physicians, our own tutors, our own church, and we do not need to be involved in the relationships with the other institutions. We are sufficient unto ourselves." Then, the children come on. An epidemic of contagious disease sweeps the community because of lack of public health facilities. It is no respecter of the selfish family institution set apart on the hill. Children die. The family and its private physician are not enough.

So, too, children sheltered in the privacy of exclusive privilege and education may fall by the wayside in the rough and tumble of a community struggle that is not too moral or too gentle. The world of nature has little respect for special privilege. Children without social training have not been conditioned and educated in the "give and take" of community life. Their specialized training, their privileged conduct under the atmosphere of protected wealth, are not enough when wealth is gone and when participation in a broader world supplants the narrower confines of family life. Accordingly, ill-equipped or ill-trained to work in a time of rapid change, with the shifting emphasis upon work and wealth and the increasing range of occupational opportunity, these individuals are greatly handicapped in the struggle for survival. Many have been helpless; many have not survived; many others have been weakened and have failed.

The changing needs of the individual and the changing role of the institutions. Thus, we may come to study an individual through the record of his history as it has related to the family and its relative degree of organization or disorganization. To illustrate, one point on which most specialists agree is that children from broken homes reflect a universal handicap. If there are more disorganized families and more broken homes, then there will be need of some other institutions helping. As institutions change and there is increasing interrelationships, then government and education will assume in-

creasingly larger responsibilities. We come, therefore, to inquire into both the changing needs of the individual and some relatively shifting functions in the institutions to meet the demands made upon them.

To illustrate with the family again, the story of its development will show how its functions in the earlier days comprehended training and apprenticeship of the child, religious education, something of the division of labor, and, in the patriarchal family, something of government and control. Since in a world of complex social and industrial relationships, the family gradually ceased to perform all these functions, the alternative was either that the individuals were not served in their needs, or that other institutions, flexible in adapting themselves, co-operated with the family and supplemented what the family had to offer.

Accordingly, the school and the community began to assume increasingly larger services to the individual. Vocational education and guidance, medical and dental inspections, recreation, and other services were logical outgrowths of needs. So, too, from the earlier days of the simple society, of the voluntary, patriarchal, kinship group, when there was practically no institution of formal government, modern society has developed to the point where, because of the limitation of other institutions and the conflicts they bring forth, the government must assume or take over a greater number of services than any of the other institutions. This trend in modern society, however, illustrates well the unity of the individual with society and the essential unity of the institutions. Yet, perhaps even more it illustrates the dangers which come from throwing the institutions out of balance. That is, if the institution of the state and government, ignoring the other institutions, neglects the individual in his various needs and serves him only in the sense of order and sovereignty, the total society tends to become totalitarian and magnifies government as the sole controlling institution.

The institutions need help, too: hence social agencies. As society becomes more and more complex in its interrelations, all of the major institutions begin to need technical assistance in order that they may meet the specific needs and functions which the individuals within their own domain demand. The professional services of public welfare, social work, public administration, public health, and other public services requiring trained workers are the logical products of civilization. Using the family as an illustration again, there develops in the profession of social work several special divisions, especially social case work and child welfare. From these there arise ways of meeting needs through such special techniques as mother's aid. In the school there have developed special activities, such as health education, mental hygiene efforts, physical education, many of

which have to be performed by special agencies in the community in co-operation with the school. Thus, there are national agencies of mental hygiene and social hygiene, playground and recreational associations, and scores of others that are organized to co-operate with and supplement the needs in this field. So, too, national agencies have developed in the fields of child labor, child welfare, a hundred special types of agencies advocating special education and youth direction; and other agencies in the service of municipal government; agencies promoting liberty of the people and protesting against exploitation; associations for the protection and development of a hundred other interests. These agencies provide a working laboratory for the study of institutions and organizations and for the study of leadership and of the interrelationship between societal activities and the developed personality.

The increasing functions of the institutions. The student of sociology may wish to make an inventory of the special functions of each of the institutions in relation to the needs of the individual. In the field of the *family*, he would sense the need for eugenics to attack the problems of being better born; of agencies and trained personnel to work on problems of health, hygiene, and sanitation; of sex relationships, social satisfactions, and leisure-time activities; or of housing, food, clothing, and consumers' problems. The catalogue of special activities in this field is an impressive one.

In the field of *education*, the increasing functions of the school are legion. If we catalogue the activities of any normal American city under the title of "education," we shall find a range of from forty to eighty activities which qualify for budget appropriations. Administration, teaching, athletics, school lunches, health inspection, buildings and grounds, school libraries, and schoolbooks — these are illustrations of the extension of educational functions since the days when school was "kept" or consisted of the traditional teacher sitting on one end of a log and a pupil on the other.

Social services in religion and labor. Scarcely less imposing would be the catalogue of services and agencies in the field of *religion* — all the way from the distinctive services of each of the many churches to the great number and variety of character education and youth agencies. Youth agencies, training agencies, the Sunday school, social service agencies, missionary societies of the churches, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.H.A., and many other organizations reflect the efforts of the church and religion to serve the individual. For instance, the pronouncements of the Federal Council and of the Special Division of Race Relations of the Congregational Church and of the Friends Service, are notable attempts to bridge the gap between the Negro and the church.

In the field of *labor*, modern society writes a startling new chapter of organizations and agencies which have grown up because of the problems and needs of working people and of business and industry generally. Commercial organizations, associations of business and professional people, and the multiple units of labor organizations seek to satisfy the needs and help the individual to adapt himself to a rapidly changing world. In so far as it has long since ceased to be true that "if a man really wants to work, he can somehow always find work to do," the worker in a great metropolitan area, especially, must have help.

The widening range of governmental and community services. In the field of government, the privately-supported organizations and agencies have grown up to guard and protect the individual, and to serve him in a wide variety of ways. Such organizations work alongside the regulatory and service agencies of the Federal and state governments. A multitude of civic committees, women's clubs, men's clubs, of agencies to improve the efficiency of government through the ballot, through research, and through all manner of services, are adequate evidence of the variety and complexity of needs in this field. An example of such agencies are the bureaus of municipal research that provide assistance to legislators and public officials, and all of the extremely valuable organizations grouped together in the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago. When to our complex civilization are added an aftermath of war problems, these new emergencies require hundreds of more specialized ways and means of fulfilling needs and performing functions that grow out of the readjustment of service men and women and the reconversion of all American life to a peacetime basis. All of these are testing grounds for leadership and opportunities for individual participation, and the development of civic co-operation.

Perhaps nowhere better than in the *community* itself can be found illustrations of general services that are needed but are not provided by some of the other institutions. The community agencies provide fellowship for their members and at the same time perform a great number of public services. Among such organizations are Rotary, Kiwanis, the Lions, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Association of Business and Professional Women, and numerous associations working for better housing, elimination of slums, better race relations, higher health standards, and so on.

SOCIAL WORK AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Growing out of these needs and out of experimentation and exploration and subsequent practice have arisen new professions as well as increas-

ing influence from the older professions. Of special importance to the individual are the professions of medicine, education, psychiatry, and social work. Social work is a particular concern of the sociologist because it becomes the work discipline through which the truths of sociological research are applied. The field of social work is a broad one; it includes the general traditional services known as social welfare and their more modern translation into "public welfare," in which the government has assumed the larger obligations of these social services. Such social welfare as it relates to the individual and as it has risen out of the needs not met by the several institutions as such is of three sorts. In the first place, it is characterized by *amelioration* or the effort to improve the lot of individuals through the giving of relief, the treatment of abnormal family situations, the raising of the standard of living, the increase of physical and moral well-being. This ameliorative process as carried out by the professional social worker becomes a sort of composite interinstitutional service supported by all of the major institutions.

Social welfare seeks to correct deficiencies and supplement assistance. Social welfare in the common sense that it is used has, however, in the second place, focused its attention upon the problems of *social deficiency*. That is, it seeks both the curative and preventive program with reference to various physical, mental, and behavior handicaps. It may apply to the deficient offender or the mentally handicapped or the physically handicapped or the defective and dependent. This implies again that the professional social worker is seeking to fill the gap between the neglected tasks of society and the specialized institutions, and that thousands of individuals in this way are the objects of case study and case work and of services not otherwise available.

In the third place, technical social welfare implies effort *supplementary* to that which is ordinarily available. The individual may need help and readjustment to his family or to his community. The criminal must have supplementary force and guidance. Some of the aged and infirm must be aided. Some of the orphan children must be supplied with homes; some of the handicapped must be rehabilitated.

The meaning of social work. More specifically, the nature of the services of professional social work to the individual may be illustrated in some of its technical divisions. The most commonly discussed aspect of social work is social case work. The classical definition of social case work by Mary Richmond was that it "consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment." Another definition by

Miss Richmond: "Social case work may be defined as the art of doing different things for and with different people by co-operating with them to achieve at one and the same time their own and society's betterment." The second is that of Karl de Schweinitz in which he says case work consists of "those processes involved in giving services, financial assistance or personal counsel to individuals by representatives of social agencies, according to policies established, and with consideration of individual need."

There are other aspects of social work which illustrate the relationship between professional services and the institutions other than the family. One of these is community organization which includes varying activities on behalf of the community. The Community Chest, the Community Council, and other phases of what is often called group work may well be taken as examples. Recreation and leisure time activities may well represent another. Community planning councils represent recent developments growing out of the general trend toward social planning. In the field of religion, the churches have more often described their social work activity in terms of social service, carried on through committees or divisions. For the school the social work activities tend to take the place of the visiting teacher, school lunch services, medical inspection, and special services to school children who need help. In the field of government, *public welfare* has long since become the social work part of government and covers the whole field of social work.

Finally, the range of social work activities may be illustrated by a catalogue of the types of workers. These include family case workers, child welfare workers, parole and probation officers, school attendance officers, visiting teachers, medical social workers, rehabilitation workers, psychiatric social workers, American Red Cross and Salvation Army workers, and Travelers Aid Society workers in addition to administrative workers, supervisors, and research specialists.

Sociology and social work. It is apparent that sociology and social work are mutually interdependent in so far as each is concerned with both the individual and the group. The sociologist and the social worker here co-operate. The sociologist sometimes asks information and help from the social worker; the social worker sometimes asks the sociologist to do the research involved in certain cases. It is important for the sociologist to know about these resources of information and of testing grounds for his discoveries. The sociologist and the social worker mutually agree that the development of personality and adjustment of the individual to his environment constitute a major field of research, planning, and work, without

which the fullest development of the individual and consequently the best society cannot be attained.

THE AMERICAN RECORD

In the annals of the social sciences in the United States, sociology is shown as branching off from the early American Social Science Association, an organization which grew up after the Civil War principally to work on American social problems. During the years that followed sociology has developed into an academic subject taught in the universities which seeks to become more "theoretically" scientific.

The other branch of social science as concerned at that time, which sought primarily to study social problems and to work for the amelioration of social problems, developed ultimately into the National Conference of Charities and Correction; in 1917, during the later days of World War I, this organization was renamed the National Conference of Social Work, and became the chief American national agency for the development of social work. Later on, in the 1920s, two other influential organizations were formed — the National Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work, now the American Association of Schools of Social Work, and the American Association of Social Workers. So rapidly had professional social work grown that by 1940 there were more than thirty educational institutions in the United States recognized as competent to give training for professional social work.

The change in the name of the conference was symbolic of the evolution of social work from a narrow and negative field of charity, philanthropy, and correction, to a larger and positive field of democratic services and preventive work based on scientific information and social work techniques. A list of the presidents of the National Conference of Social Work from its beginning to 1940 reflects the public's participation in the field. The biography of these leaders constitutes an eloquent story of efforts toward the amelioration of social ills in the United States. It is interesting to note in the earlier days how often religious leaders took a leading part, and how the character of social work was largely determined by private philanthropy and endowed agencies.

Toward public social work. Subsequently, beginning in the decade 1910 to 1920, the trend towards public welfare, or the social work part of government, was greatly accelerated. This new philosophy and technique of public welfare assumes that the individual has the same right for public assistance, when he needs it, as he does for education and health. Democracy knows no "charity." We have pointed out in earlier parts of the

chapter the nature of social work and public welfare, but it is important to note again that, beginning with the depression years of the early 1930s and continuing into the war years of the early 1940s and following, Federal and state legislation has been responsible for government assuming an increasingly larger share of the social services, as they had already done in the fields of education and public health. No student of sociology, however, will fail to recognize the tremendous services which the private agencies and private social work, with the assistance of private philanthropy made to the larger fields of social work through experimentation which governmental agencies were not prepared to inaugurate or support. In the crises following World War II, increasing needs both in the United States and in the war-devastated countries have required larger numbers of trained social workers, thus making social work increasingly important as a profession. Here, as elsewhere, however, there is definite need for better integration and co-ordination between the social sciences and social work and between the different social agencies themselves. The story of American social work agencies alone constitutes a major field which the student can explore through a special body of writing. In all this there is constantly being sought more satisfactory answers to questions which arise because of the needs of the individual in an increasingly complex world and because of the trend toward over-organization and technology in civilization today.

Assignments and Questions

1. One of the most characteristic trends of America has been the shifting of social work from privately supported agencies to "public welfare." Trace this movement and indicate its significance to democracy. See two chapters in *Recent Social Trends* for a full story of this development.
2. Discuss the changed meanings and philosophies as reflected in the earlier terms "Charities and Corrections," "philanthropy" and the later terms "Social Work," "Public Welfare," "Social Service."
3. When was the name of the National Conference of Charities and Correction changed to the National Conference of Social Work?
4. How many schools belong to the American Association of Schools of Social Work? How many of these are in universities?
5. In most schools the minimum requirement for the degree M.S.W. or M.S.S.W. is the completion of a two-year program, while the requirement for an M.A. is one year of work (although a growing number of universities are requiring a two-year program for this degree also). How can this difference be explained?
6. What is the field of psychiatric social work?
7. What is the field of Hospital Social Work? What is Medical Social Work?

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapters XXII and XXXI. Institutions as tools of society. Through institutions, as through all of its forms, culture shapes society, and at the same time is shaped by society. Institutions channelize actions, and aid in the process of molding personalities. Like the folkways, mores, and public opinion, institutions control the conduct and thought of persons and groups by providing ready-made and socially accepted ways of meeting the problem of existence. Some prevalent ideas of sociology as to what an institution is. The natural history of institutions. Relation between social work and sociology.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapters X, XII–XIV. The role of the family in primitive society. Social units determined by blood. Functions of social units. Local groups and the evolution of tribe and state. Contiguous territory and feeling of unity factors in the development of the tribe and the state.

Local Planning in a County Group of Farm Folk

ABOVE: One distinction between the planning way combining governmental cooperation and voluntary participation is illustrated in the process of making a county map. BELOW: Another group participates in a program of land planning for a county. These represent action groups and organizations experimenting.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, especially chapters VI and VII. The process and postulates of regional development and the new conditions of urban rebuilding. The importance of flexibility in institutions and agencies as they serve the individual. The school as a community nucleus. The city functions as the specialized organ of social transmission. The problem of urban areas is to co-ordinate the host of social functions and processes which have hitherto been misused, or of which we have never taken advantage. The role of agencies and institutions in the social basis of the new urban order.

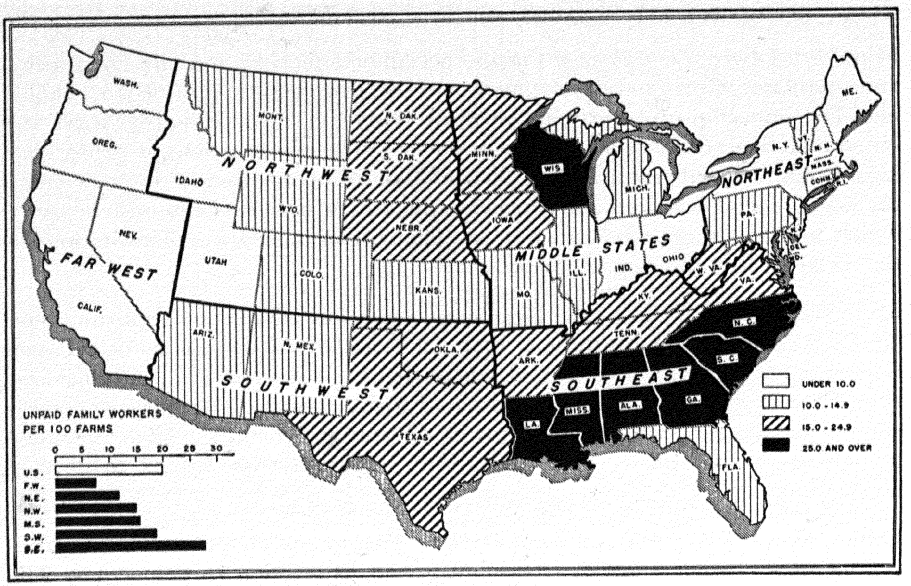
Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapters II, VII, and VIII. The mechanization of institutions that has arisen from the technological age. Survey of changes in the home and school that have resulted from industrialization. A reorientation of the ideas, habits, and goals necessary. The effects of contraception on the home. The church as an institution which has often remained foreign to the naturalistic and mechanistic interests which helped to develop civilization.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, Part III and chapter XXVI. The institutions in a changing world. Government and its relation to democracy. The school and education in the preservation of democracy. Religion as a social problem. Historical approach to the development of the home and family; the changes which technology has wrought. Structure and functions of urban and rural communities. The growth of public welfare and social work as part of the "new outlook" of the modern world. Industry as an institution.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, especially chapters VIII–XI. Aspects, recommendations, and uses of government service and administrative regions, and of nongovernmental activities. States, subregions, and districts as tools for regionalism. Specific characteristics of planning. Social planning connotes design and specific technical ways of doing things.

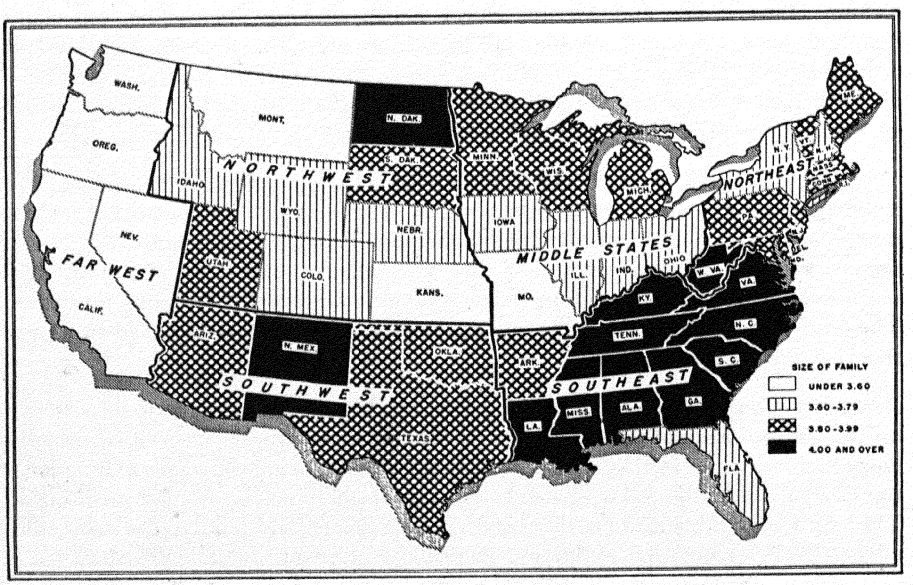
Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, especially chapters XVIII–XXIII. General aspects of social organization. The major social institutions. Economic institutions, their history and transition. Primitive man and his governmental institutions; their evolution into the modern state. The evolution and variations of religious institutions. Our changing concept of religious functions. The family of early times and the modern family. Interrelationship of institutions; theories of their growth.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*. The entire book is useful reading on the institutions and their agencies (including social work); Part III is specially concerned with the institutions. The specific origin, major concepts or functions, the development, the folkways, and the associations involved in each institution. The eight major institutions discussed are: marriage, the family, the economic, educational, recreational, religious, scientific, and governmental systems.



Size of Families and Standards of Living

Problems of the equalization of opportunity in education and security as well as the minimum wage are involved in the regional variations of the American people. ABOVE: Unpaid family workers per 100 farms in the United States in 1940. BELOW: The average population per occupied dwelling in the United States in 1940.



Recent Social Trends, pages XIV, LIV–LXX; 215, 1170. Social institutions. Of the four great institutions economics (or industry) and government have assumed larger degrees of control, while the church and the family have declined in social significance and lost many of their influences. Ameliorative institutions. The individual is more and more dominated by agencies of mass impression (newspaper, radio, motion picture). Individualized treatment in social work. See economic organization, education, labor groups, recreation, religious organization, health, medical practice, crime and punishment, public welfare, social work, government, law, and so on, for specific institutions.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Barnes, Harry Elmer, *Social Institutions;* Bingham, Florence C. (ed.), *Community Life in a Democracy;* Bower, W. C., *The Church at Work in the Modern World;* Cheyney, Alice S., *The Nature and Scope of Social Work;* Fink, Arthur E., *The Field of Social Work;* Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro Family in the United States;* Hughes, Emmet John, *The Church and the Liberal Society;* Hurlock, Elizabeth Bergner, *Child Development;* Kelso, Robert W., *The Science of Public Welfare;* Lilienthal, David E., *TVA; Democracy on the March;* Morgan, Arthur E., *The Small Community;* Sait, Una B., *New Horizons for the Family;* Sanderson, Dwight, and Polson, R. A., *Rural Community Organization;* Swift, Arthur L., Jr., *New Frontiers of Religion;* Warner, W. Lloyd, and Lunt, Paul S., *The Social Life of a Modern Community;* Witmer, Helen, *Social Work — An Analysis of a Social Institution.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Review the classification and number of agencies listed in the latest *Social Work Year Book.*
2. Describe the work of the Family Welfare Association of America.
3. What is the American Public Welfare Association?
4. What is the National Conference of Social Work?
5. What is a court of domestic relations?
6. What is the National Committee for Mental Hygiene? American Psychological Association?
7. Describe the program of the local unit in your community of a national social action agency.
8. What are the basic assumptions of the Juvenile Courts?

9. Enumerate the main provisions of the Social Security Act of 1935.
10. Catalogue major national agencies of welfare and reform, such as the National Probation Association.
11. How many private voluntary agencies in New York City alone?
12. List and classify as many as you can of the agencies and movements that arose during World War II and following years to meet special needs.

27

Education and Social Development

Society needs more than conservation of wisdom. We may begin the study of the influence of education upon the individual by recalling something of the development and role of the institutions. We have pointed out that the institutions represent the orderly form of sanctioned wisdom in the several main areas of human activities. Each of the great institutions had its function to perform in the development, conservation, and preservation of the individual and his place in human society. Thus, the family represents the cumulative wisdom of the race in certain areas of organic and social life. Religion, from the earliest days of the priesthood with its educational features, represents the cumulative wisdom of worship and religion. And so for the other institutions: always their function has been to conserve the wisdom of the race, so that the individual really does have a social heritage. We are accustomed to say that every child coming into the world must learn its own way up from infancy to maturity; that he inherits a certain biological nature and its physical organism, but that his cultural and social experience cannot be inherited. From the point of view of sociology, this is not entirely true because the institutions themselves preserve and conserve the social heritage. Even before birth, and during infancy and childhood, the child is conditioned by the institutions of the family, the school, the community, the church, and the others, so that, as a matter of fact, he does not have to learn all of these experiences the hard way as did primitive youth. The institutions, therefore, serve as a medium for transmitting social heritage to the individual.

Yet this social heritage, as the wisdom of the race, needs more than mere conservation. It needs to be developed, promoted, interpreted, and implemented to the end that each individual, at the earliest possible moment and

throughout his development, will have its full benefit. Hence, the institution of the school and of education has as one of its functions not only the transmission of the wisdom of the race to the individual and each succeeding generation, but the wise interpretation, improvement, and implementing of the knowledge which previous generations have acquired. The modern school, of course, through the varied communication processes, is able to record an increasingly larger and larger amount of knowledge.

Education as the epitome of man's experience. The history of education provides abundant sources not only for studying the individual but for understanding society as a whole. The story of education from its earliest beginnings to the present time, when in such a society as the United States more money is spent on education than on any other activity except war, affords an admirable basis for a biography of society itself. Even in primitive days education, following the same course as other earlier processes of adaptation, became a major means of the growth, development, and control of the individual. From the ceremonial initiation of the children into the full-fledged fellowship with the adults, to the gradually evolving and expanding functioning of education through the priesthood; on through church and private control; and on up to the modern world, in which education becomes a chief function of the state, the sociologist is able to follow the story of mankind again written in the gradual shift from the folk society to the state society, a process which we have described so often in this book.

The chief aim of education among all primitive people was, first, continued individual existence, and later, group survival. This education was provided by practical experience, by the passing on of folk wisdom, and by various forms and rituals. The youth learned by doing and by observation and practice under the supervision of parents and elders, and, later, teachers. Imitation and practice and close association with nature were the bases of education. Later, education made use of ritual and rote to strengthen the physical and mental disciplines which had genuine survival values. Still later, handicrafts and special skills were developed. Later than this, training in the folkways of the people was considered essential not only for survival, but to fit individual members for competition and group participation. There followed, in due time, specially endowed priests, then teachers, and then specialists, in whom the process of teaching became a privilege for a particular few. Initiation ceremonies for boys and girls were followed by special societies and later by group sanction of formalized learning, developed in various degrees according to the nature of the culture.

The history of education recapitulates the history of culture. The history of education then followed the course of human culture, first, through periods of Oriental culture; then through Greek culture, transmitted through the philosophers and teachers — Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and others; then on through Roman culture, in which the Greek emphasis on the individual was supplanted by the Roman emphasis on political organization and institutions. Following these were the ideas of medieval education, chivalry and education for knighthood, scholasticism, the teachings of Christianity, and philosophy, with the light of learning kept alive in the monasteries and the first universities. The purpose of education became the development of refinements in the individual in contrast to the modern idea of learning and training for all men.

Following the Middle Ages came the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation, the consequent political and social revolutions of democracy, and Rousseau's great movement for naturalism. Then followed the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and the beginning of modern technological society. There was a gradual leading up to the idea of public education, with all of its religious, political, and industrial implications. How all of this affected American society and contributed to the development of the individual will be examined subsequently.

Education is evidence that the people are willing to pay for what they believe to be fundamental. It has often been pointed out that one evidence that modern society believes in the value of education is that people are willing to pay whatever it costs to have education. Why do they believe in it? Because it represents a certain insurance for success, insurance against making mistakes of the past, insurance for knowledge. The sociologist comes to know this because he has studied the activities which have to do with the ends and achievements of society. It is important to repeat here that the institution of education, in its service to society, has two functions: one to the individual and another to society. In this chapter we are more interested in the role of education in the development of the individual. From this point of view, the modern school is assuming an increasingly larger ratio of the total services of society to the individual, so that a study of education will reflect pretty well the total place of the school in society. In the earlier days, both in primitive society and the frontier days of American culture, the home and the family contributed a large part of the individual's education through practice, observation, and participation. So, too, the church and religion provided considerable education in the form of religious instruction, Bible-reading, and social relationships. Likewise, through apprenticeship, industry helped in the education of the individual. As society

grows more complex, the school takes over many of these functions, as well as health education, education in community relationships, and training for citizenship.

The widening range and complexity of education. The field of education, therefore, becomes increasingly wider and more varied and tends to develop professional aspects. In addition to what may be called basic or formal studies, there are increasing trends toward vocational training, health education, play and recreation, and physical education and athletics, together with extracurricular activities in the community. There are professional organizations for the teachers of the several subjects, and there are educational associations for each state alongside the powerful National Education Association — the N.E.A., perhaps America's most important educational agency.

The modern school and education have tended to recapitulate the experience of other institutions and of society in general in so far as it has developed gradually from folk wisdom and informal learning into the modern school and its extraordinary education program. Also, education has often become so specialized and professional that it tends to become an end in itself rather than a means and, therefore, fails to meet the need of the people. This is no more nor less true than in the other institutions, but it is important in the reconstruction of education in the modern world. There is no doubt that the school and education have been responsible for a movement away from rural life to the city and have emphasized the achievements of technology and civilization. There is no doubt also that educational leaders have stressed, through various specialisms, something approximating a pure intellectualism which has negated the broader experiences of life and the values that individuals need to survive.

Educational sociology. One way in which sociology and education have co-operated in the study of society and in directing the curriculum has been through the special field of sociology designated "educational sociology." For the most part, however, this field has been developed in the departments of education or in teacher-training institutions rather than in the departments of sociology. In general, there are two points of emphasis in the study of educational sociology. One is the application of sociology to the pedagogical routine or methods of teaching. The other is the development of a framework of education based upon the elements of sociology as it studies the individual society and institutions. Franklin H. Giddings' last volume *Civilization and Society*, with special chapters on educational objectives and educational values, contained the nearest true educational sociology developed by any sociologist. Before him, Lester F. Ward was a

pioneer in his belief that education itself could be made a tool for the redirection and upraising of society and living standards. Later, Charles Horton Cooley did further pioneer work in setting the incidence for social psychology and for studying the child.

It seems likely that educational sociology may be an important field for a number of the younger sociologists who sense its secondary meaning, namely, the contribution which sociology can make to the direction of society by education. On this level educational sociology may well utilize many of the results of social research by applying them to education, just as social work, medicine, and psychiatry apply the results of their researches to practical amelioration or therapy. References to the new literature on educational sociology are made in The Library and Workshop of this chapter.

EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

The sociologist will find in the study of American education another excellent example of the recapitulation of the experience of the race in the educational process. From small simple beginnings in the thirteen colonies on through the development of the colleges and the present public school system, the educational program has expanded until it is the largest "industry" in the nation. Between thirty and forty million of the population, including the teachers and the taught, and the many additional employees, are occupied in this one field. With the exception of war, the total expenditure for education exceeds by far that of any other field. Magnificent schoolhouses, special training schools, great college and university buildings and campuses, and a network of educational associations and organizations have made American education unequaled in the world. The sociologist, however, faces the almost universal verdict, both of the educators themselves and of the people at large, that "education has failed" in the sense that it has not done what the American people wanted.

Public education the open sesame to success. The history of the United States reflects an ideal in which education, for two reasons, has had a unique place in the total of our democratic thinking: First of all, education was to be the open sesame to success and the pursuit of happiness. If all the people could be educated, so the ideal ran, then the nation would not only be literate, but her people would be good citizens, success would follow them, and public education of all the people would prove that the American form of democracy was unrivaled. This ideal was carried further into the mores of the people, who thought that if their children could be sure of a high-school education they would be sure of "success" in later life. Sub-

sequently, thousands went to college, not for education, but to obtain a college degree, which was assumed to be the key to even greater success. As a result of such thinking the number of "educated" people taught to work only in the white-collar fields multiplied more rapidly than the white-collar jobs, and there grew up an aristocracy of work which was contrary to the American tradition. It is here that the sociologist is faced with the problem of exploring and helping to readjust a situation already well settled into the mores of the people.

Another way in which public education in the United States was thought to be unique was that the school was to be free from politics, free to teach all sides of a question, free to do research in which the only aim was the truth. This was an essential part of the platform of American democracy. Sociology is now faced with the dilemma of persisting encroachment on education by business and government. In a number of instances private individuals in control of community interests have felt that they can say what can and what cannot be taught in the schools.

From private to public education. American schools, from the elementary to the realm of higher education, have tended to follow the historical pattern of education. That is, at first there were a few schools for a selected, fortunate group, and an education could be attained by only a relatively small number of people. An education meant a knowledge of classical learning and literature, and it was assumed that not more than 5 per cent of all the people would be capable of appreciating it. A sociological definition of early education, therefore, characterized it as an individualized culture limited to a relatively few people. Then followed the movement for education in public schools and the rise of the state universities. At first the tendency was to imitate the classical, formal education of the private universities; then it expanded into a movement toward education of, by, and for the people.

The universities, a symbol of American culture and democracy. The story of college and university education in itself constitutes an excellent framework for understanding American society. First of all, we recall the religious origins of the early universities, and the history of American higher education, from 1636, when Harvard College was established to give a thorough classical and Biblical training to the youths of the New England colonies, on through the founding of William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, and King's College, and down the long road of the chartering of the state universities, most of them led and manned by scholars from the eastern universities. Until well into the twentieth century, European culture and European universities exerted a powerful

influence on the teaching of the classics, science, and philosophy, molding and conditioning the ideals and patterns of America's growing college and university life. The universities tended to become, even as European universities, more and more aristocratic; the assumption was that culture and a university education was something that could be obtained by only a relatively small number of the people, and that education must be rooted in the learning of the past. Now, no matter how realistic and true that level of university education and culture might have been, it was contrary to the basic assumptions of the "American dream," which made of public education a sort of *religio poetae* — the open sesame to equality of opportunity and the better life for all men. Consequently, there developed another level of university education, the great state universities. Their growth began in the Southeast with the founding of the Universities of Georgia and North Carolina, spread to the Middle West, and then farther to the other wests of expanding America. This was a movement in the direction of democratizing university education. As Frederick Jackson Turner has pointed out, "the university [through the state] fosters that due degree of individualism which is implied in the right of every human being to have opportunity to rise in whatever directions his peculiar abilities entitle him to go."

Yet the development of state universities followed in many ways the same trends as the endowed institutions. They inclined also toward the aristocratic in the sense that their students, their curriculums, and the quality of their teaching faculties tended to follow the old patterns of the East. So much was this true that when the second development of democratic state university education was set in the form of the land-grant colleges, it became the common mode to seek legislative funds for these institutions on the ground that the state universities had become institutions for rich men's sons. Then followed the further extension of the democratic policy in the establishment of teacher-training and special technical and engineering institutions. Many of these in later days were to seek full recognition as standard colleges and universities, thus complicating the problem of the university.

Bigger and better universities. It was, therefore, perhaps, logical if not inevitable that the next trends in university development were set on the quantitative level. University instruction was sought in all the multiple fields demanded by the modern world. This tended to make increasingly greater demands upon the financial support of the people. These larger legislative appropriations have brought a more economic and efficient system in universities of use of public funds.

Now, next, the universities had already moved naturally into what might be called a popular level in two ways. First, they sought to provide ways and means for every high school graduate to attain that university education which the people had come to consider an open sesame to success; and, secondly, they undertook in competitive processes to appeal for popular support of the people and to develop alumni loyalties through adult education, extension work, and public athletics.

Now, manifestly, these several levels of university trends were not necessarily exclusive one of the other nor was there always a clear index of demarcation. Rather, they represent the university's effort to adapt itself to a modern world of change and technology which also reshaped all of our other institutions. In the midst of these ramifications and interwoven in between them in the fabric of public education were still the hundreds of notable private institutions seeking to maintain standards and yet to adapt themselves to the quantitative needs of the people, particularly of their religious constituencies.

The story of universities as the biography of America. The cumulative heritage of these university epochs reflects the biography of the United States in the development of its great prosperity. The biography of American colleges and universities is in many ways the biography of later America. In the cumulative achievements of these many kinds of universities is reflected an extraordinary body of learning in the humanities, the natural sciences, and the social sciences, and a qualitative and quantitative contribution to knowledge and to its applications in everyday life never before approached in the history of learning and education.

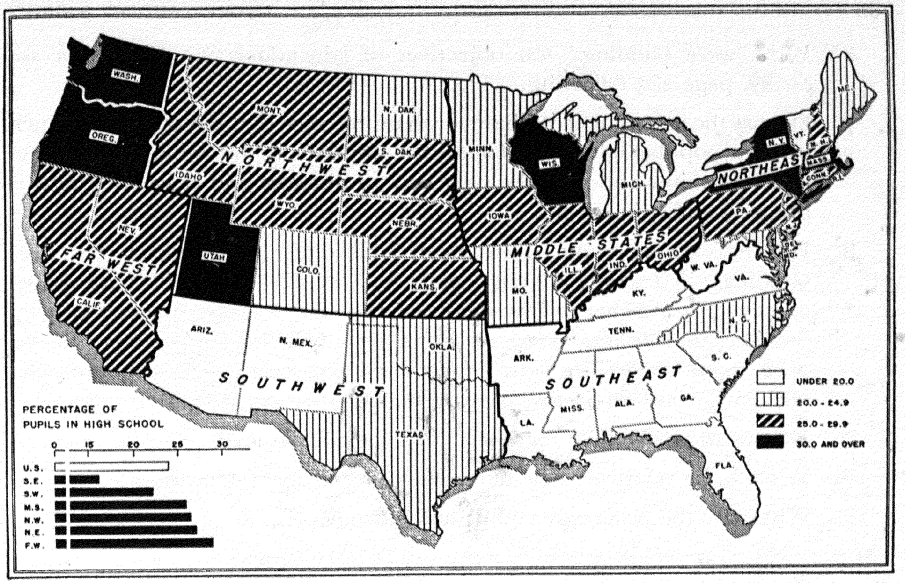
And notable in this heritage was the extraordinary personnel of the faculties and research staffs. Grand professors and scholars they were, devoted and fearless, self-sacrificing and indefatigable, beloved of a vast body of students, symbolic of the people that America could produce. And there was that smaller body of men, the presidents, chancellors, deans, and other technical administrators, who made possible the functioning of college and university life on a scale never before approached. Many of these were notable leaders not only in the field of education but in the general culture and public esteem.

The American university. Our concept of the university is not only as a place for pure research and scholarship, for distinguished achievement. Rather, it is of the university in its task of setting up a framework of scholarship and learning so realistic and so basic to this new world of ours as to maintain the confidence and support of the people in its continuing aim of leading and not following.

This university, we must recall, is made up of several major functional elements. Today it can no longer be assumed that the university is merely the faculty and the students. As a result of these many developments, the administration of the university has become increasingly important and the position of the college and university president is one of the three or four most important and difficult tasks in American public life. More and more the trends in the fiscal policies of the state governments impinge on the university functions to the end that increasing financial determinism endangers many aspects of university work. The president of the university, therefore, has the supreme task not only of maintaining the ideals and standards of the university, but of so interpreting these standards to the public and so acting as buffer between his faculty and his public as to make his position one which deserves the utmost sympathy and understanding of students, faculty, alumni, and public.

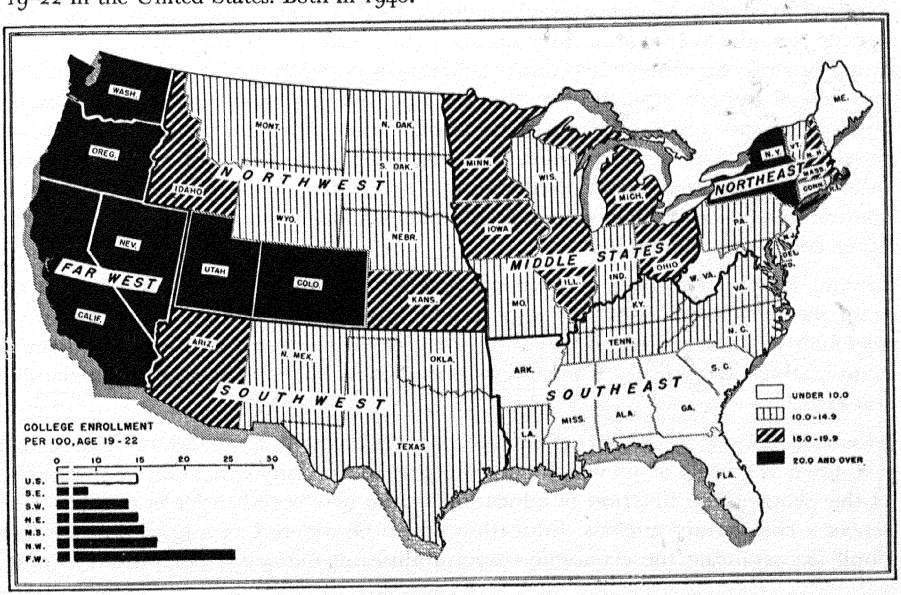
Assignments and Questions

1. Educational sociology has a creditable American heritage in its textbooks. The first of these was by David Snedden and was published in several editions. Forerunners of the Snedden books were John Dewey's *School and Society* and Nicholas Murray Butler's *The Meaning of Education.* Examine these recent books to ascertain to what extent they are "sociologies": Frederick E. Bolton's and John E. Corbally's *Educational Sociology*, in which they point out that "although sociology and educational sociology are integrally related, only those phases of sociology that deal with the conscious effort of co-operative groups to improve society through education may be considered educational sociology." Robert M. Bear's *The Social Functions of Education*, in which he treats the subject in fourteen chapters divided into three main parts: environment, man, and education; schools and modern life; education and social change. Charles L. Anspach's *Problems in Educational Sociology*, with ten chapters, concluding with one on educational contributions to social progress. Ross L. Finney's and Leslie D. Zeleny's *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, with four parts on: the community and the teacher; social interaction in the classroom; culture, social institutions, and education; social control in the school. George E. Payne's two-volume *Readings in Educational Sociology*, in which he discusses the relation of educational sociology to sociology, to educational psychology, and to education.
2. Other textbooks on educational sociology have been written by Charles C. Peters, Walter R. Smith, and Daniel H. Kulp. What are their titles?
3. The sociological approach to education and its role in the life of the individual was indicated by Franklin H. Giddings in a more or less humorous way when he defined the educated man or woman as "one who has found out most of the more important ways in which human beings have made fools of themselves and has thought about them long and seriously enough to have acquired an aversion for them." Illustrate how this might be applied to a modern world at war. What would a course on "Education for War and Peace" include?
4. Lester F. Ward was another one of the pioneer sociologists who emphasized that education was a major process. What was the essence of the famous Chapter IX of his *Applied Sociology?*
5. What was the role of education in Ward's *telesis?* What in the "emancipation" of women?



The Education and Training of the Individual

The problem of giving recognition to individual differences, including opportunity for the education of the superior, is still one of the key problems of education and democracy: How many superior individuals in every region are not discovered? ABOVE: Enrollment in high schools as percentage of total. BELOW: College enrollment per 100 population aged 19–22 in the United States. Both in 1940.



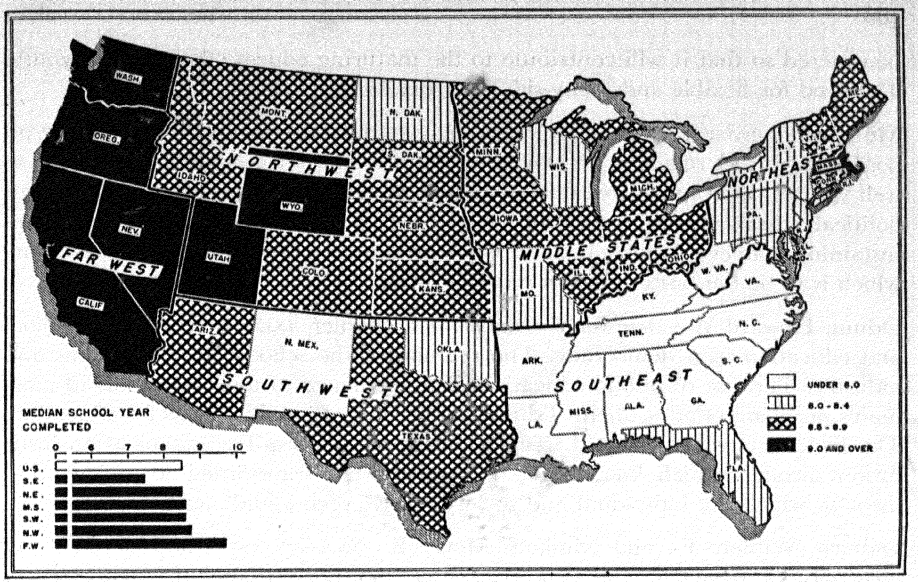
6. What were Giddings' ten objectives of education? See *Civilization and Society*, page 263 following.
7. Discuss the assertion of William Graham Sumner that the one thing which justifies popular education for all the children is the value to society of men of genius, and that the only way to discover and develop genius is to apply education to all.
8. For the viewpoints on education of some other earlier sociologists, see: Giddings, in *Inductive Sociology*, page 244; in *The Mighty Medicine*, pages 2, 3, 12; in *Readings in Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pages 534, 535. Sumner, in *Folkways*, pages 633, 634, 635, 638; in *The Science of Society*, page 1929. Cooley, in *Social Organization*, pages 227, 234, 345, 349, 386, 387; in *Life and the Student*, pages 186, 187, 172, 175, 176, 178, 179.
9. Discuss the movement for "education for democracy."
10. What is the relatively new movement for "resource education"?
11. What was the progressive education movement?

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter XXIV. As culture accumulates, society demands more than the haphazard instruction of family life or more education than can be achieved in daily living. Strongest testimony to the significance and power of the school today is the desire of propagandists to obtain an opportunity to use it to their own advantage. Democracy and its relation to education in a simple society and in a complex one. No democratic process can remove hereditary differences between individuals. The American school system stamped by the frontier. Education as social interaction. Reasons for the conservative character of education. A review of new educational developments. The popular belief that education is a means of gaining success in life. Integration the goal of education. Integration, to be genuine, must be a continuing process, which education stimulates and guides, but which the schools never completely dominate.

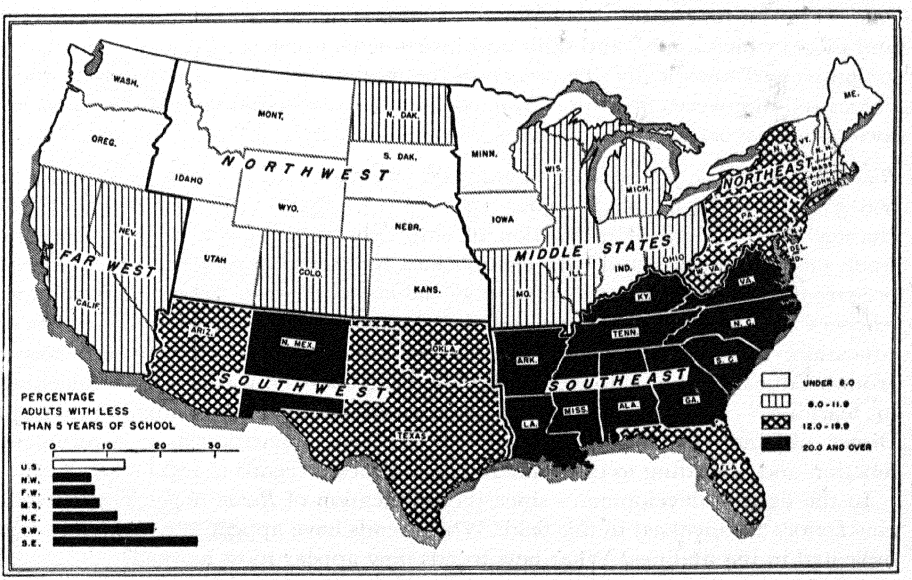
Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XXVI. Primitive society's attempts to train the individual to occupy a particular place in its system. The relation of personality to the success of this aim. Each society approves and rewards certain combinations of qualities when they appear in individuals occupying particular statuses.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, especially chapters I, V, and VII. The medieval town as a work of art which played a part in the daily education of the senses of the people. The function of education in the new social order is to make the school a community nucleus. Education not to be ordered merely to prepare the pupil for assuming the economic responsibilities of maturity, but industry must



The Role of Education in American Society

In the United States public education has been considered an open sesame to good citizenship and success. How much private education, then, is needed? How insure equality of all? ABOVE: The median number of school years completed by persons 25 years of age or over in 1940. BELOW: Percentage of the same group completing less than five years of school.



be ordered so that it will contribute to the maturing educational needs of youth. The need for flexible and many-sided personalities.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapter VIII. To achieve all possible gains in regional development requires the services of the educator as well as the geographer, regional planner, psychologist, sociologist, and skilled political administrator. Education must be flexible, adaptable, and more life-sustaining than ever before. It must play a prominent part in the new life-economy which is to be the basis of urban reorganization.

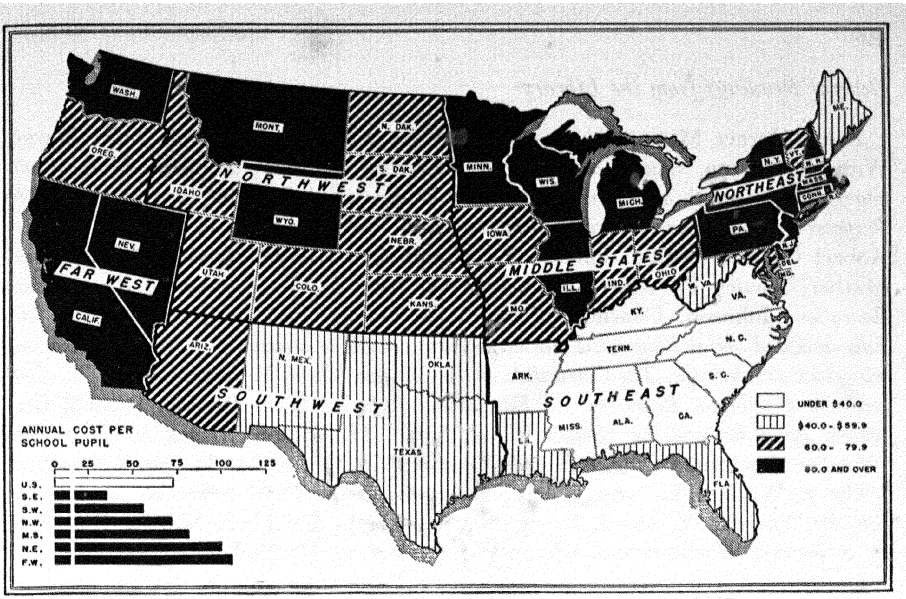
Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter XXI. The role of the school and education in a democracy. The relation of the schools to government and industry. The rise of public education. The challenge to today's schools to meet man's problems of adjustment. Educational organization. The aims for education. The Federal government and its relation to the schools. The school as an institution through which knowledge and wisdom are transmitted to society, and through which the individual and society receive social guidance.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, especially chapters XII, page 360, XX, page 676, and XXIII, pages 744, 760. Educational objectives a reflection of prevailing social values. The "progressive" school and its theories. Co-operation and competition in today's educational world. The relation of the Federal government to education. Functions of the family and the church taken over in some degree by the school.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, especially chapter 16. The major conceptual or functional developments of the educational institution; Folkways and mores which apply, and skills and instruments involved. Educational organization viewed historically. The reach of the modern school and its theories: individual self-discovery, liberation from societal fears, rational control, training for societal endeavor.

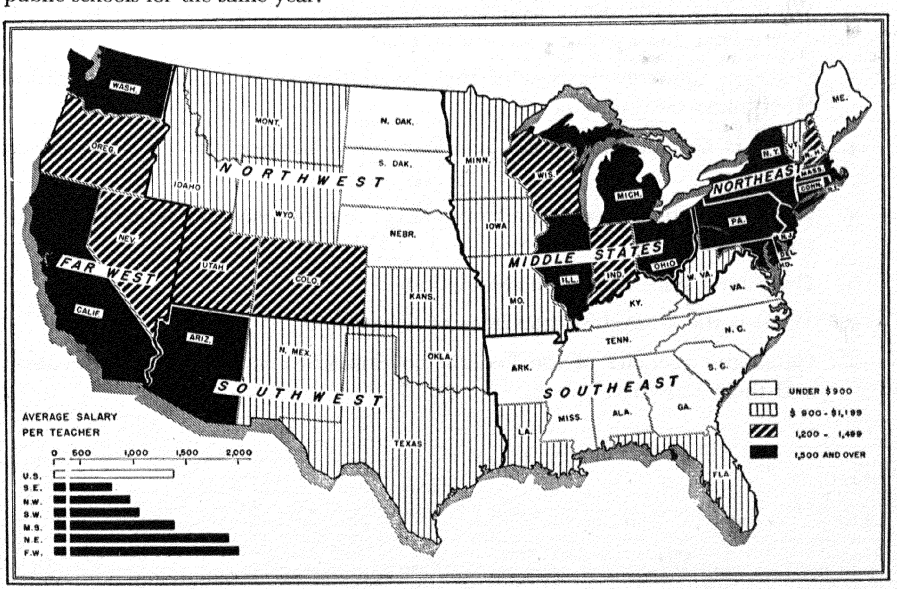
Recent Social Trends, pages XLVII–XLVIII, 525, 585–590, 676, 783, 779, 788, 792–794, 966–976, 1033–1036, 1057, 1302, 1307, 1313, 1325, 1480–1488, 1496–1501; chapter VII. Problem of proportion of emphasis to be placed on vocational or trade subjects as compared with less specifically utilitarian subjects. Schools must prepare for readjustment of ideas and habits to change. School curriculums; teachers' and teaching problems; administration and control; scientific studies of education. Education in rural communities. Education of racial and immigrant groups. Educational functions of the family. Progressive education: "from teaching to learning." Religious education. Parent education. Educational guidance. Direct and indirect education in and for the arts. Education as a government function and according to government expenditures. Trends in legal education.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?



Education and the People's Ability to Pay

Although the people spend more for public education than for any other function except war, the lag in teachers' salaries is one of the greatest bottlenecks in the educational program. Should the Federal Government equalize funds? ABOVE: Annual cost per pupil enrolled in public schools in the United States in 1938. BELOW: Average salary per teacher in the public schools for the same year.



General Readings from the Library

Bond, Horace Mann, *Education of the Negro in the American Social Order;* Bower, William Clayton, *Church and State in Education;* Brunner, Edmund de S., *Community Organization and Adult Education;* Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* and *Federal Activities in Education;* Foster, Robert G., and Wilson, Pauline P., *Women After College;* Hewitt, Dorothy, and Mather, Kirtley F., *Adult Education;* Ivey, John E., Jr., *Channeling Research into Education;* Johnson, Charles S., *The Negro College Graduate;* Judd, Charles H., *Education and Social Progress;* Lunden, Walter A., *The Dynamics of Higher Education;* Morrison, Henry C., *The Curriculum of the Common School;* Renner, George T., *Conservation of Natural Resources: An Educational Approach to the Problem;* Russell, Bertrand, *Education and the Modern World;* Ryan, W. Carson, *Mental Health through Education;* Sargent, Porter, *War and Education;* Van Doren, Mark, *Liberal Education;* Vickery, William E., and Cole, Stewart G., *Intercultural Education in American Schools;* Warner, W. Lloyd, Havighurst, Robert J., and Loeb, Martin, *Who Shall Be Educated?;* Washburne, Carleton W., *Remakers of Mankind.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Why has the National Education Association; with all its years of distinguished service to education, sometimes been called a "racket"? Describe the main programs of the N.E.A.
2. What is the Progressive Education Association? Why has progressive education been both popular and unpopular?
3. Describe the organization of the Association of American Universities. How many total members?
4. What is the Association of American State Universities? Of Land-Grant Colleges?
5. List the regional associations of colleges and preparatory schools and describe their work.
6. Describe a state education association.
7. What is the United States Office of Education?
8. Catalogue agencies of the Federal government concerned with education and their activities.

VI

Society and Its Problems

28

The Meaning of Social Problems

One of the reasons why sociology in the new world offers so much to the student and the public is that it represents one of the highest levels of man's search for truth. This search for truth, as science, has developed through man's continuous attempt to explain nature and subsequently to understand the relation of man to nature and the universe about him. Although it is true that man has been inclined to study all things else before studying himself, he has at last come to a new realization of the need for the study of his society. Sociology is the most comprehensive and systematic attempt to understand human society and its relation to the world and to man's own destiny. Sociology represents a sort of supreme search for truth and adjustment.

Because this is true, some of the essential tasks for sociology are in the laying out of its programs, its fields of research and study, and its framework of systematic analysis of society in relation to the ongoings of society in the ever-widening reaches of a changing world. How the science of sociology can extend the range of knowledge and promote the development of society through an increasingly satisfactory knowledge of man and his behavior becomes one of the most interesting, inviting, and withal most difficult of all problems of science. One of the major fields of study is what is usually called social problems for which the study of both sound theory and practical application are required.

The problem of survival and progress. One of these basic problems is that of social survival and progress in the contemporary world. Recalling how many of the earlier sociologists assumed that one purpose of society was to reproduce and preserve itself, it is easy to sense the necessity of a realistic sociology to study this problem of survival and progress with new vigor and

scientific effectiveness. This problem is also reflected in many of the premises of this book that society exists as a means and not an end, and that the ultimate aim of society is to develop a superior mankind with the social personality functioning fully in an adequate society. This problem has often been set forth in this volume in terms of a marginal theory of survival, contrasting the growing, youthful folk society with the ageing state society. It will be analyzed still further in Chapter 29 dealing with the dilemmas of supertechnological civilization. Yet, at this point, it should be noted that the problem of social survival in the atomic age has assumed such an urgent nature that it becomes basic to all other problems.

The problem of democracy. Another general problem which offers sociology an extraordinary field is that of what sort of society, societal order, or sovereign arrangement will best promote not only the survival of human society but its evolution forward and upward. The assumptions from historical study lead to the conclusion the more freedom man has, the greater is the range of opportunity for growth. Sociology, therefore, seeks to be capable of appraising the nature and role of democracy, or the order of opportunity in the evolution of modern society. Democracy for the sociologist is not only a philosophy of equal opportunity and freedom for the individual, but a societal arrangement that establishes the people as the basic essential of cultural evolution. This is a profound problem and one which challenges the sociologist to measure the factors and values involved.

The problem of balance. Another problem which faces the sociologist is that of the relative roles of nature and of culture as natural processes in the total development of society. This is of the greatest importance not only because of the need of ascertaining what methods of the natural sciences may be used in the study of human society and to what extent sociology may be characterized as a natural science, but also and more because of the fundamental importance attached to a balance between people and their resources, between culture and geography, and between the biological foundations of society and its cultural quality. Sociology in the past has too often made the mistake of merely imitating the methods of physical science or of setting up analogies between human society and the natural order. The sociologist, therefore, has a supreme problem in determining to what extent nature, natural law, and human nature are essentially interrelated in the societal process. Sociology seeks an answer to the question in terms of a naturalism which assumes successful functioning of an organism, including society, within the framework of its regional geographic environment and its inherent biological or cultural heritage.

The problem of race and regional balance. Still another problem of far-reaching proportions is that of evaluating the role of race in the new world order. In this problem, even more than in the past, the sociologist finds tensions, maladjustments, conflict — apparently insolvable problems of relationship. The question is not simply one of inequalities among the races, but also of the traditional race relations between nations and regions. The possibility of placing the emphasis on the folk society everywhere instead of on race has been explored in this volume. Races, ethnic groups, nations, and folk-regional societies are all constituent units of the whole folk society, and specific areas for study and adjustment.

Therefore, a major problem is that of the regional distribution and balance of man the world over. Accordingly, the sociologist's problem is not only one of exploring and understanding the multiple regions of the world, but of understanding the organic relationship between the people and their resources in each region, and in relation to modern communication and transportation, and the international or intercontinental relationships which have been brought into sharper focus.

The problem of balanced institutions. Once again, another generic problem that faces the sociologist is the problem of conserving, strengthening, and balancing the social institutions. One way to point up vividly the importance of this problem is to assume the possibility of a social order in which the single institution of the state has eliminated or weakened the other institutions which are needed to serve the needs of mankind. The great institutions of society arose to meet needs and came to their flowering in the fulfillment of these needs. Then, later, when the functions of the family, education, religion, industry, and the community varied to meet the social and economic change of modern life, a few of the institutions have tended to take over the functions of all of them. The problem of balance among the institutions is a supreme problem of society and may well test the survival value of social organization.

The problem of individuation and socialization. Finally, there is the important problem of finding an enduring balance between what we call individuation and socialization, between individual rights and freedom, on the one hand, and social necessity and social order, on the other. Sociology explores these concepts through the analysis and measurement of as many societal phenomena as possible; and in seeking such a balance in terms of institutional arrangements society is represented on its best associational level. This margin between the individual and society applies not only to the realm of political affairs and public service but also to the problems of men and women, of youth and age, and of race and nationality.

In the new world order, to what extent is a woman an individual, and to what extent is she woman? To what extent must the minority group be pigeonholed as representative of a particular race or ethnic group irrespective of any individual rights and privileges? To what extent does the freedom of the great mass of common men overshadow the desires of the wealthy and the intelligentsia for comfort and culture after their own individual preferences, regardless of what these preferences may mean to the great majorities? These and other questions challenge the sociologist to find the basic facts and help work out institutional arrangements through which the greatest number of adjustments may be made with the smallest amount of injustice and conflict.

Sociology's primary problems are not problems of pathology but of growth and survival. It must be clear, then, that the social problems which sociology explores, so far from constituting a catalogue of pathological conditions or of essentially concrete problems of maladjustment, are primarily the normal problems of societal growth and development. It is true that within the framework of these societal problems the catalogue of specific problems is large, and within the broader framework of scientific inquiry there are hundreds of minor problems that need specific study and adjustment. The sociologist, therefore, will not neglect these important specific problems in their many concrete applications, but he will study them in broader perspective and will find in each of them relationship to the larger problems of society.

One way, therefore, of characterizing the social problem for the sociologist is to contrast two types of the same general problem, namely, the *scientific problem* and the *ameliorative problem.* The scientific problem refers to the broader sociological approach, which seeks to find the answer to certain questions and situations occurring throughout the field of social relationships. The ameliorative problem focuses upon a specific situation in which maladjustment or pathology has occurred, and seeks to improve the situation and "solve" the problem in the sense of eliminating the objectionable features. In reality every major problem, of course, comprehends this two-fold nature. Many concrete social problems have important implications for the basic scientific problems which we have already discussed.

The "scientific" and the "ameliorative" problems. The distinction between the scientific and the ameliorative problems is fundamental for the understanding of the field of sociology. In general, sociology explores the scientific problem and leaves the ameliorative problem to social work or social agencies. This does not mean that sociology and social work do not co-operate closely and that each is not necessary to the other. It means rather that there is a division of labor. Just as the agricultural chemist

studies soils and the processes of leaching and erosion in his laboratory, but does not undertake to go out into the field and do the remedial job, leaving that for the farmer, the agronomist, or the soil conservation worker, so the sociologist seeks to discover the truth about problems and make these truths available for as many people and agencies as may use them.

The scientific problem may be defined as the search for the answer to certain important questions and the analysis of certain relationships. Thus, given a situation defined specifically under certain premises, with certain constant factors involved, what is the answer to various questions about this situation; just as in mathematics and chemistry, given certain known quantities or qualities, to find the unknown. The scientist is not primarily interested in what the answer to his question may be or how the solution to his problem may turn out, but he is vitally concerned that he find the right answer and that the solution be the accurate one. This is especially important in sociology where so many implications are involved.

Suppose we illustrate these distinctions in some of the major theoretical problems which have been enumerated at the beginning of this chapter. For instance, a general social scientific problem is involved when such authors as H. G. Wells and others can say that there is a race between education and catastrophe in contemporary civilization. Or, again, when great numbers of people predict that modern war and technology will destroy civilization; or again when the problem is stated as a conflict between the barbarism of the jungle and humanity struggling upward along the path of social evolution. These are problems which the sociologist seeks to analyze and study as we have done in the search for the understanding of society as it evolves from the folk culture to state civilization.

There are also ameliorative problems of vast proportions and dramatic intensity involved. These include problems of survival in war. They include the feeding of undernourished people, the care of mothers and infants, and the whole problem of the rehabilitation of the devastated countries. They include problems of disease in crowded city neighborhoods and in villages and towns. They include the various social and economic problems of inflation, of rationing of goods, and of community co-operation. All of these are problems which must be ameliorated or else they will leave havoc in their wake. As a matter of fact, society cannot stop to formulate the basic principles involved in the analysis of some problems, but must go immediately to the attack upon them, or their amelioration. Sociology, therefore, has an important area of its work in this immediate study and research; it must help to find the facts and to point to the relation of these facts to others as a basis for adjustment.

Science and amelioration in problems of race. So, too, the distinction between scientific and ameliorative problems exists in the area of race relations. Sociology is supremely interested in the correct answer to this question about race and to the proper ultimate solution of the role of the race and folk in society. This is a universal world problem. Given a world of millions of people, variously distributed among the races and ethnic groups and in the various regions, what is the answer to the problem of social organization and relationships in the new world order? Yet the specific problem of race is ever present, as in the United States, for instance, where the problem of the Negro is constantly being agitated because dangerous situations of inequality and injustice exist, and where, in the Far West, the problem of the Japanese and the Japanese-Americans remains to be worked out.

So, too, the regional balance of man in the world order constitutes a supreme test of the social sciences, and the sociologist, because of his comprehensive approach through the understanding of cultural, physical, and environmental factors, ought to be able to make a large contribution. There are the specific, immediate problems of amelioration of postwar crises in some of the smaller democracies of Europe. There are the specific problems of balance and relationships between North and South America. So, too, in the United States, the economic and social deficiencies of some of the regions must be remedied, and soon, both for the sake of the people in those regions and for the sake of the total national wealth and welfare. The sociologist is equally interested in the search for the truth in all of these problem areas.

Social and societal problems. In the earlier days, Giddings and Sumner differentiated between the terms *social* and *societal*. To Giddings, the societal problem was the problem extending over the ages, applying to universal situations the world over, whereas the social problem implied the here-and-now of a specific situation, irrespective of other world situations or of problems of yesterday and tomorrow. For instance, the problem of the family differs greatly in the United States, in Russia, or in China, yet most American sociologists have been accustomed to explore the universal societal evolution of the family and then to study the American family, disregarding contrasting family situations in Russia, China, India, Africa, or elsewhere. The distinction, therefore, between the "social" and the "societal" is important for the sociologist in order that his answers may be correct and his solutions dependable. In general, the societal problem would correspond to the scientific problem, and the social problem would correspond to the ameliorative problem.

It must be clear, however, that this distinction, which is more than merely "academic," will help the sociologist in a study of both the long-time problem and the short-time problem. Every social or ameliorative problem manifestly has a historical and a cultural background which is societal and scientific in the sense previously described. Thus, the understanding of the general background of race history, race conflict, and race prejudices, and of the specific cultural heritage of the South in slavery and reconstruction, will always throw light upon the sociologist's understanding of the present Negro problem, with its intense ameliorative needs. So, too, the distinction is important in helping the sociologist get his true bearing and perspective. That is, if he knows the long, historical, cultural road of a problem up to now and its generic, universal application to society, he will not, on the one hand, assume its solution overnight in a single-track approach, nor will he be discouraged or disillusioned when he finds that there is no single answer to some of his questions or no single solution to his problem, but rather that there are many answers and many solutions.

These distinctions also are of the greatest importance to the sociologist because of their implications for his methods of study. On the one hand, he must seek objective ways of measuring social phenomena and devise ways and means for inquiry into practical situations and for the discovery of the remediable causes involved in social problems of maladjustment. The sociologist will, therefore, contribute to the program and procedure of the social worker, the public administration expert, the medical specialist, or the psychiatrist. All of this means that the approach to social problems should be sufficiently comprehensive and objective as to render the results scientific and dependable.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

With these fundamental considerations in view, the sociologist explores further the field of social problems to the end that he may analyze, classify, and interpret them, both with a view to research and study, on the one hand, and to adjustment, on the other. One way to obtain an idea of the nature and range of social problems is to catalogue the prevailing problems featured by the principal textbook writers on "social problems." Another is to analyze and catalogue the chief problems featured in the sociology books on "social pathology." A third way would be to look at the great American social problems. From these analyses, then, the sociologist will be able both to make a discriminative selection for study from among all

these problems, and to understand their relation to the totality of his science of society and examine them against the background of American society.

In practically all of the textbooks on social problems, in addition to a relatively uniform catalogue of "problems," there is an introductory discussion which defines the relation of sociology to social problems, while concluding chapters point toward the relation of social problems to social direction or planning. These texts are, for the most part, planned to constitute courses for those who prefer to begin the study of society on the level of its problems rather than from the level of elements, principles, or theory.

Problems of social pathology. There is another special type of study of social problems which is comprehended in the term *social pathology*. In this volume, social pathology has been considered in the rise of civilization and in the demands of artificial society, and specifically in Chapter 24 on personality and individual differences. Since most of the problems of social pathology are special ones which require a great deal of research and a mature point of view, they are not formed as major topics in this introductory sociology. On the contrary, we have pointed out the importance of defining social problems as normal, logical situations in the development of human society. Maladjustments in the several fields of human behavior may eventuate in pathology which, of course, leads to problems of amelioration. The "problems" usually catalogued in the field of social pathology include those of individual pathology and those of social pathology.

Among the problems of *individual pathology* are those of sickness, special defects, such as blindness, deafness, cripple disablements; those of special behavior deficiencies, such as drug addiction, alcoholism, suicide, and special personal disorganization, and inherent deficiencies, such as mental disease and handicaps. Among the problems of social pathology are widowhood and widowerhood, divorce, desertion, neglected childhood, illegitimacy, immorality, vice, and prostitution. So, too, there are many specialized problems in the field of economic relations, such as poverty and dependency, unemployment, unequal distribution of commodities; and there are specialized problems in all of the major institutional modes of society, such as corruption in politics, slums in the community, or pathology in religion. In so far as social pathology may be catalogued as a primary societal problem, it might be explained as a product or trait of civilization where urbanism and technology nullify the chances of adjustment.

Definitions and Examples

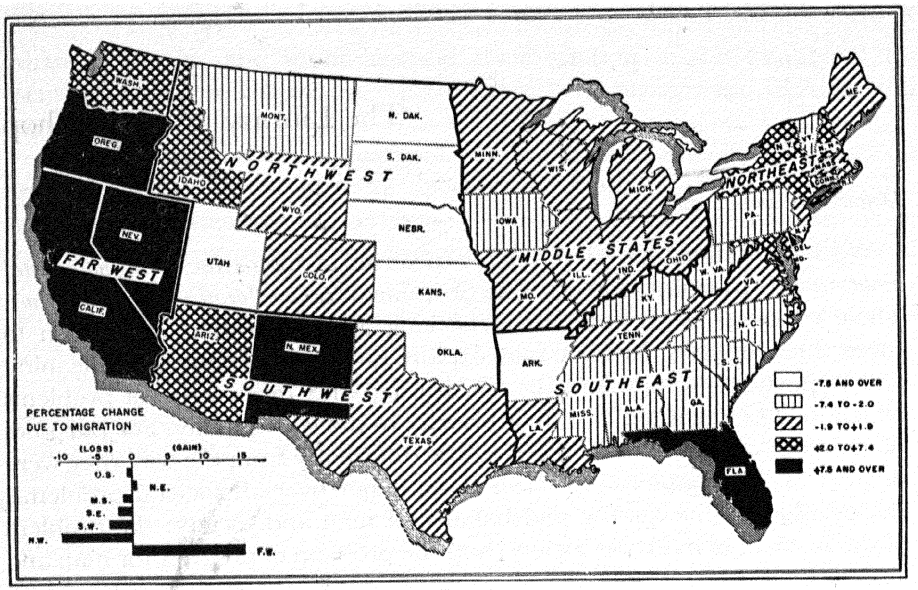
We have defined social problems in terms of long-time *scientific societal problems* and in terms of short-time or immediate *ameliorative social problems.* These meanings need constant rechecking and illustrating in relation to succeeding chapters. Now we may explore further the sociological meaning and implication of problems by illustrating with three series of problems which may be regarded as of first priority in the world today. For purposes of illustration we shall state them a little differently from the way they were defined in this chapter. We select three major over-all societal problems: the problem of the quality and balance of man and society; the problem of the survival of man and society; and the problem of progress for man and society.

For illustrative purposes, we can state the problem of the *quality* as one of attaining equality and balance of people with their resources in the places where they live and in relation to interchange and distribution with other peoples in other places. Accordingly, instead of studying as an end the mechanical problem of world organization, which is primarily the problem of political science, sociology envisages such organization as a means to the achievement of the regional quality and balance of man. This concept needs much detailed illustration to check the validity of its premises, but it illustrates well one way of stating a scientific social problem.

The problem of *survival* may be illustrated in the dilemmas of modern civilization in conflict with science and invention, and in the search for some point of marginal survival between the folk and technology, between science for human-use ends and science for the exploitation of resources and for the destruction of society. This, too, needs a great deal of detailed illustration.

The problem of *progress* is essentially a problem of social planning. Here the best that the social sciences can do is in bridging the distance between science and knowledge, on the one hand, and practical societal problems, on the other. It is essentially a problem of devising social technicways which will translate the resources of technology into enduring human institutions and economy.

Within the framework of each of these three major societal problems are many social problems of strategy, organization, and ideology. We might



The Problem of Planned Migration in the United States

ABOVE: Map showing change in colored population due to migration. BELOW: Census of 1940 figures.

Population Change Due to Migration, 1930–1940 by Race and Regions

AREA	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED
UNITED STATES	− 46,518	− 14,252	− 32,266
NORTHEAST	200,501	− 1,177	201,678
Maine	801	510	291
New Hampshire	9,496	9,891	− 395
Vermont	− 18,152	− 17,938	− 214
Massachusetts	− 70,791	− 72,389	1,598
Rhode Island	− 2,059	− 2,809	750
Connecticut	37,783	35,667	2,116
New York	469,902	320,108	149,794
New Jersey	− 16,178	− 24,135	7,957
Pennsylvania	− 286,521	− 311,941	25,420
Delaware	17,826	15,113	2,713
Maryland	121,244	106,089	15,155
Dist. of Columbia	(149,426)	(98,006)	(51,420)
West Virginia	− 62,850	− 59,343	− 3,507

Population Change Due to Migration, 1930–1940 by Race and Regions — continued

AREA	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED
SOUTHEAST	− 425,792	− 868	− 424,924
Virginia	22,820	57,204	− 34,384
North Carolina	− 82,785	− 14,965	− 67,820
South Carolina	− 83,012	9,531	− 92,543
Georgia	− 129,151	− 28,461	− 100,690
Florida	325,977	263,972	62,005
Kentucky	− 81,719	− 77,884	− 3,835
Tennessee	12,164	− 4,433	16,597
Alabama	− 181,282	− 106,248	− 75,034
Mississippi	− 99,785	− 28,171	− 71,614
Arkansas	− 155,096	− 108,364	− 46,732
Louisiana	26,077	36,951	− 10,874
SOUTHWEST	− 299,864	− 278,465	− 21,399
Oklahoma	− 329,690	− 280,302	− 49,388
Texas	− 22,180	− 37,150	14,970
New Mexico	32,111	28,469	3,642
Arizona	19,895	10,518	9,377
MIDDLE STATES	− 277,713	− 429,342	51,629
Ohio	− 68,717	− 96,698	27,981
Indiana	15,050	4,623	10,427
Illinois	− 49,297	− 108,363	59,066
Michigan	− 36	− 28,234	28,198
Wisconsin	− 40,800	− 41,198	− 398
Minnesota	− 404	− 486	− 82
Iowa	− 109,250	− 108,925	− 325
Missouri	− 24,259	− 50,061	25,802
NORTHWEST	− 672,656	− 662,870	− 9,786
North Dakota	− 128,598	− 128,034	− 564
South Dakota	− 125,998	− 123,817	− 2,181
Nebraska	− 182,787	− 182,537	− 250
Kansas	− 205,945	− 203,776	− 2,169
Montana	− 25,473	− 23,672	− 1,801
Idaho	20,053	20,978	− 925
Wyoming	− 170	450	− 620
Colorado	14,487	14,984	− 497
Utah	− 38,225	− 37,446	− 779
FAR WEST	1,279,580	1,260,464	19,116
Nevada	16,273	16,391	− 118
Washington	105,461	110,720	− 5,259
Oregon	97,893	99,340	− 1,447
California	1,059,953	1,034,013	25,940

illustrate the meaning of a social problem again by stating briefly the nature of such emergency social problems as government and economics, and organized labor.

The essential problem of *government and economics* may be stated as one of balance between individuation and socialization and between abundance and distribution. By *individuation* we mean the concept of the right of the individual to be free, and by *socialization* we mean the concept of the obligation of the individual to society. The essential problem here is to find the form of government which can satisfy both demands. The secondary problem is one of achieving an abundance economy in which there is plenty of everything for everybody with adequate distribution so that everybody can have it. The other problems, of communism, socialism, race, and the like, are corollaries to the main problem. The problem of *organized labor* is the problem of balance between the interests of the worker and his employer. Many of the other dilemmas are problems of strategy or of ideology.

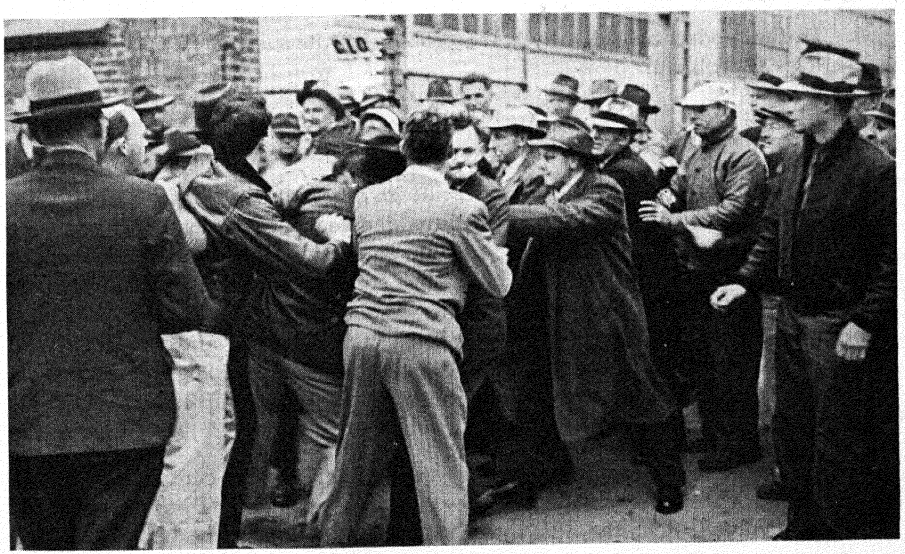
Assignments and Questions

1. Discuss the relative merits of teaching sociology through the "social problems" approach or the "social theory" approach.

2. What is the fundamental difference between "social problems" and "social pathology"?

3. Examine representative textbooks on social problems with a view to sifting the "scientific problems" approach from the "pathology" approach: Grove S. Dow's *Society and Its Problems*, which, in addition to the Introduction, has twenty-eight chapters in six parts: social forces, population, evolution of social institutions, analysis of society, social pathology, and social progress. John M. Gillette's and James M. Reinhardt's *Current Social Problems*, which has twenty-eight chapters in six parts, including a general definition of society and its problems, followed by problems relating to geography and economic conditions; psycho-physical conditions; race and racial activity; the domestic institution; and general social control. James Ford's *Social Deviation*, which has twenty-two chapters, and includes divisions on personal handicaps, physical and mental poverty and economic hazards; social pathology of family and group life; and principles of social reorganization. C. C. North's *Social Problems and Social Planning*, which has nineteen chapters, including discussions of human needs, values, culture; the quantity and quality of population; the economic system and its reconstruction; with special studies of adapting the institutions to changing needs. Mary E. Walsh's *American Social Problems*, which has thirteen chapters, including one on war and peace, and concluding with the current

Questions and Answers: What is the answer to the better adjustment between labor and management? Between differing labor groups? What are the rights of labor and what of the public? ABOVE: on the C. I. O. picket line. BELOW: Fighting it out.



philosophies of social reform. Paul W. Paustian's and J. John Oppenheimer's *Problems of Modern Society*, which has twenty-three chapters in five parts, including problems of wealth and social organization; international problems; and the student in the future. L. R. O'Rourke's *Our Democracy and Its Problems*, which has twenty-nine chapters in six parts: the basis of American society; American economic life; the United States and world problems; political organization and problems of government; and problems of the individual. Howard W. Odum's *American Social Problems*, Book I of which has twenty-eight chapters divided into four parts: first, the natural and cultural heritage; second, the people; third, the institutions of the people; and, fourth, the testing grounds of the people. Book II is devoted to the study and teaching of social problems.

4. In this volume on *Understanding Society*, contrast the titles of the chapters in Part VI on Society and Its Problems with the titles of chapters of other texts on social problems. To what extent does the present volume stress the *sociological* in contrast to the *social?*

5. Illustrate the different nature of the economic problems of labor and the social problems of labor.

6. Illustrate the difference between the "sociological" and the "moral" approach to the study of the Negro in America. See Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma.*

7. Discuss the societal problems involved in each institution's struggle for survival.

8. In the modern world, why is the problem of the survival of society a sociological problem?

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapters I, II, and XXIX. A personalized approach in which social problems begin with the individual as a member of social groups and as a participant in institutions. The end product, however, is not the person but societal patterns, regional Gestalts of human relationships, and artifacts. The sociologist must accept the obligation of bringing the work of his science near to the needs of men and women. Social problems concern people not as isolated individuals and biological organisms, but as human beings who share experience and develop group habits. Concepts of progress.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter VII. Problems which center in the transformation of chance-determined aggregates into societies. Two fundamental processes involved: first, the adaptation and organization of the behavior of the

component individuals; second, the development of a group consciousness, a feeling of unity. Methods for change in cultural patterns.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapters III, IV–VII. Social problems presented by the emergence of the big city of today; the flaws in its economic and social pattern. So far from representing adequately the forces of modern civilization the metropolis is one of the biggest obstacles to their fruitful human use. Increase in population, improved facilities in transportation, and expansion of markets as factors in the rise of the city. Shapelessness and utilitarianism of the metropolitan aggregate. Need for a social basis for the new urban order. Mechanical integration and social disruption have gone side by side in the city's growth. Accumulated physical and social results of that disruption must be faced. Need for creation of co-operative living together, and for co-ordinating, on a basis of more essential human values, a host of social functions and processes which have been misused. Problems which arise from mechanization; the blight on today's metropolis and signs of its salvage. A social basis for the new urban order.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapters IV, VI, and VII. The modifications of the material basis and cultural forms of Western civilization brought about by the development of the machine. Motives which encouraged this transformation, means and methods employed, and unexpected values that have resulted. Reorientation of wishes, habits, ideas, and goals that have followed the coming of the machine. The factors that have limited the beneficence of the machine. Necessity for assimilation and orientation. Discussion of conditions under which technology may be directed toward a fuller use and accomplishment in human existence.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters I, XXIX, and XXX. An introduction to the contemporaneous scene. Problems of world society; American social problems as the living laboratory for study. The necessity for seeking the answers to our questions through approved scientific methods, which are not always the easy, emotional ways of facing facts. Social problems as slow-moving, evolutionary processes which are not susceptible to quick, integrated solutions or adjustments. Types of social problems in the United States.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, especially chapter XXV. Generic problems of attaining the ends of new democracy which may find new focus through regional aspects — the distribution of wealth, the equalization of opportunity, the guarantee of security, the promotion of education and social welfare, international relations, group conflicts and adjustments.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, especially chapters I, XXV, and XXVII. The relation of sociology to social problems. Social problems which belong to the field of sociology. Social problems dealt with by other social sciences. Obstacles to social change which affect social problems. Social disorganization and social problems.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, especially the General Introduction and Glossary, page 560. The relation of social problems to the major institutions. A social problem is a social situation, which, arising from recurring and widely prevalent maladjustments, thrusts itself upon the attention of the community, evokes agitation, calls for reform, and usually leads to attempts at solution.

Recent Social Trends, Introduction and pages 582–583. Social problems of physical heritage, biological inheritance, and the cultural environment, all seen in social context. Social problems raised by our rapidly changing environment of material culture. Problems raised by the communication inventions. Problems of economic balance. Problems of minority groups. Problems of labor. Consumer problems. Rural problems. The family and its problems. Problems of women; of housing and the household; of schools; of the church; or morals and attitudes. Problems presented by increasing leisure. Problems of the arts; of government. See each chapter for more intensive presentation and analysis of the social problems.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Beach, Walter G., and Walker, Edward E., *American Social Problems;* Binder, Rudolph Michael, *Major Social Problems;* Bossard, James H. S., *Social Change and Social Problems* (rev. ed.); Columbia Associates, *Contemporary Problems in the United States;* Dow, Grove S., *Society and Its Problems;* Ellwood, Charles A., *Social Problems: A Sociology;* Galpin, Charles Josiah, *Rural Social Problems;* Giddings, Franklin H., *The Scientific Study of Human Society;* Gillette, John M., and Reinhardt, James M., *Problems of a Changing Social Order;* Groves, Ernest R., *The American Family* and *Social Problems and Education;* Hacker, Louis M., *American Problems of Today;* Hockett, John A., *A Determination of the Major Social Problems of American Life;* Kelsen, Hans, *Society and Nature: A Sociological Inquiry;* North, C. C., *Social Problems and Social Planning;* Odum, Howard W., *American Social Problems* and *Man's Quest for Social Guidance;* Paustian, Paul W., and Oppenheimer, J. John, *Problems of Modern Society;* Phelps, Harold A., *Contemporary Social Problems;* Withers, William, *Current Social Problems.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. The great majority of action agencies outside the fields of politics and economics tend to deal with social problems. Make a catalogue of the leading ones. See the latest *Social Work Year Book.*

2. The Office of Civilian Defense catalogued an estimated 7,000 agencies in the United States devoted to the general or special welfare of the community, state, and nation. Illustrate.
3. Describe the work of the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor.
4. Describe the recent work and endowment of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.
5. What is the National Health Council?
6. What is the National Urban League? How does its work differ from that of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People?

29

The Dilemmas of Technological Civilization

Tension and exhaustion in civilization. In the preceding chapters we have emphasized that the impact of civilization upon the people and their culture leaves in its wake, as a logical product, a varied assortment of social problems. One of the most realistic of all society's problems is that of survival and growth through the natural processes of development under the conditions of modern society. In earlier chapters, we have called attention to verdicts which question survival and progress under the present framework in so far as technological order becomes a substitute for human society. Now we come again to inquire about contemporary society and we conclude that one of its major dilemmas is to be found in a two-fold basis of tension and exhaustion. These grow out of, first, the world of bigness, speed, and power and, second, the dilemma of overspecialization and supertechnology. So much does this appear true that there is a continuous inquiry as to whether and under what conditions civilization can survive. In the midst of all this, there will continue crippling confusion unless certain elementary factors can be isolated, studied, and remedied. This chapter proposes to look at some of the dilemmas of artificial society and supertechnology in which material achievements of civilization appear as ends rather than means for the development of society, and the demands of the technological world exceed the capacity of the folk and their institutions.

Current dilemmas. The purpose of this chapter is to focus upon the generic problem involved in society's capacity to make adjustments in a world of such rapid and profound change. An approach may be made through the cataloguing of current dilemmas, especially those in which the way of satisfactory adjustment does not appear and for which the answers are not now clear. Among these are the problems of race relations, of the

relation between government and business and the consequent conflict between different philosophies of government, and of the adjustment of labor relationships. In the latter, there are, first, the relationships between and among labor groups themselves. Then there are very special problems of the relations between labor and management. Finally, there are the relations between labor and government in so far as labor is the only major institution over which the government exercises neither control nor supervision.

It is also possible to make a long list of cumulative problems, such as were listed in *Recent Social Trends* — imperialism, war, international relations, urbanism, trusts and mergers, crime, taxation, social insurance, agriculture, foreign and domestic markets, governmental regulation of industry, shifting moral standards, new leadership in business and government, the status of women, labor, child-training, mental hygiene, the future of democracy and capitalism, the reorganization of government, the use of leisure time, public and private medicine, better homes, and better standards of living. A hundred "new" aspects of these and other problems were accentuated by World War II and the tensions and exhaustions that characterized the global postwar culture and economy. A great many authorities — publicists, preachers, teachers, philosophers, and scientists — "know" what the problems are and what causes them. They present adequate description and theories of explanation. Yet, although we "know what is wrong with society," knowing what to do about it is another thing. And, even if what is to be done is agreed upon, influencing mankind to do it is still another problem. The sociologist's first work is, therefore, one of analysis and synthesis; he must present the total picture in true perspective to the organic and elemental factors and forces which characterize contemporary society.

What are the survival margins of bigness, speed, and change? The "big, buzzing confusion" which characterizes society, as it appeared to William James in the early twentieth century, and as it is multiplied a thousandfold in the 1940's, may well be the perfect picture of modern civilization, increasingly big, buzzing, and confusing in its artificial and technological aspects. Another characterization by this psychologist also was effective. In a forewarning against the supertechnical in social institutions, "Most institutions," he wrote, "by the purely technical and professional manner in which they come to be administered, end by becoming obstacles to the very purposes which their founders had in view."

We may look at the arch-dilemmas of bigness, supertechnology, overspecialization, and speed as major obstacles in the way of American rebuilding and progress. What else is more characteristic, more elemental,

and more measurable, as well as more dramatic and more resistless in the modern picture? Faster, faster, faster; bigger, bigger, bigger; more, more, more; wants, wants, wants; new, new, new; now, now, now. How fast, how big, how much, how new? What is the margin of limits and how can society be adjusted to the marginal patterns of survival?

The tragedy of bigness. In an arresting magazine cover of New York's 1932 "Vanity Fair," a thoughtful artist pictured vividly the symbol of bigness as the analogy of extinction. Two giant dinosaurs, they of the extinct species of the long, long ago, were shown magnified to silhouette full height against skyscraper city profile, one tall dinosaur matching Rockefeller Center, the other taller dinosaur matching the Empire State Building.

In such a manner, there are many who think they see in the picture of great cities, of big industries, of corporate interests and organization, of unbalanced production and competition, and of the extraordinary concentration of wealth and power and communication, the chief dilemmas in the way of perpetuating society. In the passion and penchant for bigness and speed, they think, may inhere the seeds of destruction. The world has been strewn with the wrecks of experiments based on the assumption that if small efforts were successful bigger ones would be more successful; if a little of something is good, more would be better. Survival may not be for the giant industry or cities or fortunes any more than it was for the prehistoric reptiles. There is ample historical evidence of colossal failure of colossal ambition or empire. The ambitions of the Roman Empire, or the superpower of Germany in 1914, or Hitler's Nazi superstate, or other pathological dreams of power through world organization are examples of the limitations and dangers of bigness.

What happens when the demands of a technical order exceed the capacity of the human society? But whatever else may be true, one thing is everywhere clear in the picture, and that is the dilemma of bigness and technology, and the consequent imbalance between people and resources, and the consequent stark reality of crisis. The magnitude of this problem of adaptation is such as to lead many observers to conclude that their chief dilemma of the time is that of society's inability to accommodate its natural capacities and institutions to the artificial demands of bigness, speed, technology, change; or to harness its science and technology to the service of mankind rather than to the exhaustion of resources and the destruction of society.

Stated in simple terms, the problem is one of marginal capacity. We have already stated the problem in terms of marginal balance between the folk and the state, between culture and civilization. In oversimplified language,

the problem implies that, *in proportion as the demands of artificial society or bigness or rapidity of social change or technology exceed the capacity of the people, or their institutions, to that extent not only prosperity and happiness but also survival are being endangered.* The demands of artificial society or bigness might be for superachievement in some gigantic emergency or for sudden adaptation to new conditions. The demands might be a sheer quantitative test of magnitude and speed, or they might be tests of artificiality over against what was "natural" or possible or attainable without wrecking the social or human organism. Or, again, the demands might be the fabrications of idealists or theorists which are flights from reality, based upon subjective rationalizations unsupported by facts or experience and suddenly thrust upon the people for absorption.

How much can society "stand"? What new things should not survive? There are two fundamental aspects of the question. First, how much can the people and their institutions do? How much *will* the people stand? How much *can* they stand? What is the limit of their present capacities? To what extent can the principle of "psychological obsolescence," or of making the people outmode everything they have, be successfully applied in a stereotyped commercial propaganda? How far can the new always be substituted for the old in quick succession without the preparation of the people beforehand? To what extent and how rapidly can the capacities of the people and their institutions be increased, and what are the ways of increasing them? How, therefore, should the demands of technology and change be so graduated so as to ensure reasonable attainment for given periods of time, for given regions, for specified institutions, for varied objectives, and for social organization in general?

On the other hand, how many and of what sort are the supertechnical demands which run counter to "nature" and the normal capacities of mankind? Which ones will retard human development and welfare, and, therefore, are of themselves detrimental to civilization or to the things of the spirit or intellect, as opposed to those which are primarily material or mechanical or physical? How many and of what sort, therefore, are the demands of artificial society and of supertechnology to which society can never adapt itself, and in the face of which it will not survive? To what extent are the total assumptions of technology valid, namely, what shortcuts to growth, development, and moral and societal achievement are desirable ends of civilization?

The tragedy of the failure to ask and to answer fundamental questions. These are questions which are rarely ever asked and more rarely answered by big business, by science and invention, or even by the theorists of reform

and the dreamers of dreams. And because they are not asked and answered many a business enterprise and many a social experiment has come to grief, seeds for its failure being inherent in the basic unsoundness of its theory and organization and the sheer distance between its specifications and their achievement. Here as everywhere stark reality is no respecter of persons or groups or wishes or dreams; no respecter of what might still be in the future. That which is fact is reality. And fact and reality are of two sorts, one of physical and measurable substance, and one of human relationships, attitudes, and behavior. Involved in the two main questions of capacity and speed of adjustment, and of the inherent nature of modern technology, is the larger question of the direction of social evolution.

A theory of limits? Is there not, after all, a limit to which speed for speed's sake, or newness for the zest of achievement, or change for the satisfaction of thrill, or standards of living as ends in themselves, or technology for individual advantage over the social good, can be multiplied without endangering the survival of the civilization which is both creator and creature? What is to be the verdict in the case of scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions themselves in so far as they are pursued for their own sakes? For instance, what will be the ultimates of creating human life in the test tube as compared to the way of romance and human intercourse?

The thrill and exaltation of multiplying inventions beyond the dream of man; of speeding cars and airplanes, and of synchronizing men and machines, record-breaking and magnificent; of perfected machinery to replace man; of substance to make and substance to destroy life — all of these and hosts of others illustrate the difference between the science that seeks truth and mastery for mankind, and that which creates an exacting, flooding technology which is forever demanding a little more and a little more than society can stand? Here, again, the picture is presented not to set any moral value; or to evaluate any maximun or minimum achievements; or to seek ultimate superlative reaches of genius, or even of possible future capacities of society. The society which the sociologist tries to explain is one of reality, of confusion, of failure to adapt.

Dilemmas in institutions. In American social and scientific organizations of the early 1930s were to be found many of the limitations of technology and formalism of the William James dictum — that most institutions, because of the technical and professional manner in which they come to be administered, often end by becoming obstacles to the purposes which their founders had in view. Such is the complaint which the American people have made of many of the social work and governmental agencies, and of many educational institutions. This is the layman's quarrel with social

work, with education, and with the endless specifications which are required in the continued expansion of government. The problem, again, is not one of the maximum attainment desirable under the perfect conditions that might obtain at some other time, or under some other conditions, but of the capacity of a living social organism of the present. Education and government, so the complaint has run, keep asking more and more and more, multiplying contents and organization, until a limit has been reached beyond which neither the service nor the people can survive. And to the extent that these quantitative and technical aspects have swept on beyond the reasonable capacity of the people to support and absorb, there are the beginnings of failure and demoralization, to which the depression of the 1930s, itself a product of artificial and supertechnical society, and World War II, a product of the same blind superachievement, added quantity and intensity.

Agencies as ends in themselves. There are many specific illustrations in American life. The supercity itself has come to be an arch-example. Sometimes many of the national urban agencies, of which more than a thousand can be counted, appear to overreach their functions, when, as first objectives, the number of memberships, the range of activities, and the perfection of organization transcend the services which they can render best. Accordingly, organization has tended to become an end in itself or so specialized as to defeat its original purpose. Many an American patriotic agency, founded on ideals of support of the government, has been characterized as being more interested in its members and organization than in carrying out its plans. So, too, educational associations, setting out for the promotion of the great American ideal of education, have been pictured as giant organizations more interested in their own work and the techniques of administration than in service to education; or they have developed into organizations which have swept gradually beyond their own capacities of service.

How big, big business? In the business world, the number of dilemmas is legion. The high-powered salesmanship of the 1920's, the overcapitalization of production equipment, the overinvestment in foreign securities, and the building of factories in foreign countries, are examples of extension beyond capacity to absorb. The installment-buying technique, the cult of unlimited credit, and much of the advertising and ballyhoo of foods and drugs are extraordinarily vivid examples of demand exceeding capacity. The new cultural appeals made in advertisements have taken the place of the old quack claims; and are equally unreal. For instance, so unreal and artificial were some of the earlier claims for installment buying, that,

by the 1930's and 1940's their place in the American economy seemed incredible. There was a limit and that limit had not been planned; on the contrary, it had been reached in disaster.

Margins of cultural homogeneity. There are many aspects of cultural life which call for a fundamental understanding of the problem of marginal capacity. To what extent can all cultures be coerced into one channel and integrated into a new world society that is homogeneous? To what extent can the cultural personalities of many diverse peoples, born in the long years of travail and growth, basic to loyalty and life, be uprooted and transplanted in artificial soil? There is the key question to world harmony in a new regional balance of man rather than a one world of uniformity.

To apply this to an American dilemma, there is, for instance, the problem of the Negro whose achievenents have been both epic and epochal. Yet there can be no doubt that he is nowise being accorded a reasonable measure of democratic equality, North, East, South, or West. What can be done? Much must be done. Yet the facts of race, of the cultural history of the Negro, and the history of the South and the nation are part and parcel of the problem. The capacity and training of the mass of Negroes are a part of the picture. The anthropologists and historians and sociologists have taught the importance of appraising the results of long ages of developing racial characteristics and of the great significance of racial cultures. Time is of the essence of evolution. Yet they are inclined to set up formulas for the American picture which are to transform the whole situation overnight. Here are real dilemmas, noble and proper purposes, rosy plans for equality. The picture, one of the most difficult and tragic of the nation, is still waiting for that plan which will strike the greatest reality in the marginal capacity of the races and regions to make fundamental adjustments. It is tragic that capacity is so limited, yet the problem is one of such reality as to demand all that both science and morality can offer. When the objectives of organizations have focused upon propaganda ends or agitation for conflict rather than for fundamental adjustment, the desired ends have been defeated again.

War as a dilemma of civilization. Other pictures of the struggle between demands and capacities include that of war. Was mankind capable again of a world war? Could civilization stand the drain of its blood and morale, of its financial structure, and of the contingency of the modern technology of war destroying civilization? That, in the late thirties, was the question. Did the classes within any nation have the capacity to survive another war? If the picture of World War I had reflected universally the tragic conclusion that all the millions who had perished had died in vain,

were there any nations which had the capacity to survive war of any kind? Here, too, supertechnology in the form of the instruments of destruction added to the long list of dilemmas. Yet, in the years of World War II, the dilemma of bigness, technology, and power in war was to come near to destroying a total world of civilization as it had destroyed a good part of the Western culture known as European civilization. And the question of capacity to survive another World War rises like some terrible crescendo in sweeping appeal to both emotion and intellect.

The dilemma of the intellectuals. Another group of such pictures centers around what might be called the intellectuals. For, strangely enough, the cult of the perfect often reflects amazing pictures of the imperfect when measured by the realities to which they were intended to apply. There are, for instance, the intelligentsia among the psychologists, the educators, the eugenists, whose standards of social excellence often have been gauged almost solely by "intelligence tests" that are themselves overspecialized and often tests of experience. Yet, nowhere is there evidence in the picture that the brightest and best of the intellectuals are producing enough children to perpetuate the race, or that those children that are produced ran uniformly high in intelligence and achievement, or that the children with high intelligence tests succeed in the world of social relationships.

Among the intellectuals also is conflict between the ideologies which commend social-mindedness but which develop the individualistic personality. Here are educational theories specifying unrestricted freedom of conduct in childhood and growth, but conformity in later life. Here, also, is conflict between the natural demands of the human race and the artificial demands of the intellectuals. It will be necessary for the eugenists to recognize the significance of certain natural and social prepotency of stocks not measured by patterns of intellect or social experience, if the nation's population is to continue to grow and to replace the vigorous well-balanced people of the past periods.

Artificiality in education. The intellectuals sometimes appear to plan artificially for the child. The child grown to maturity will find a workaday world. Yet it is possible to see in America thousands of young people who have come to the age for work but who have had no opportunity to learn to work either through apprenticeship, part-time job-holding, or education. If work as well as play is a law of life, how then will these thousands of youth become equipped for work? There has been inadequate mastery of the problem of adapting the growing youth to his workaday environment. When to this is added the prevailing emphasis of instruction upon negative criti-

cism and of assumptions of free opportunity to get what is wanted, youth thus becomes heir to a very real handicap.

The intellectuals also have appeared to put too much emphasis upon formulas and patterns. Mere technical literacy is no measure of the enrichment of life. Ownership of radio or telephone or running water in the home does not necessarily constitute progress and "culture." One is not necessarily liberal or conservative or reactionary in proportion as he subscribes to stereotyped "liberal" formulas, which may be mere rationalization of techniques. Culture is not uniformly synonymous with comfort and conveniences. Life and culture are not always to be measured by artificial standards. Folk art and folk beauty grow out of the soil and from folk hardiness and customs sometimes termed dunghill and rabble, sometimes clamored for as significant or picturesque. And a part of the picture are the intolerance of the intellectuals when criticized and their tendencies to intellectual totalitarianism.

The margin of the farmer's survival. Much of the recent flood tide of criticism of governmental expenditures in agriculture, education, health, and commerce is a result of the revolt against too much and too technical regulation. The small businessman who could not meet the requirements of regulations went out of business. It was not enough to say he ought to be educated well enough. If he were, then he would need clinical assistance, which was beyond his ability to pay. So, too, there was the picture of farmers over the nation who clamored that the language of Federal bureaus and agricultural colleges was not understandable and that services were not practical. Dairy farmers felt that they could not meet the inspection demands of Federal, state, and city technology. Required to provide certain standard farm, dairy, and mechanical equipment, the price of their products was yet kept down by city or state or Federal regulatory measures. Required to meet suddenly the health inspection demands of Federal and state governments, their herds were sometimes confiscated without due process and remuneration. Interstate regulations and official-testing as well as the costs of registration discouraged the farmers' sales of purebred livestock. Campaigns of women's clubs and of special propaganda agencies requiring the pasteurization of milk sometimes tended to put its distribution in the hands of corporate groups, which in turn were interested more in their own profits and the economy of the consumer than in the farmers' survival. In later years when the demand for dairy products came to be of such great importance, the handicap approximated dilemma to which was added political elements of pressure group propaganda. These standards for the scientific development of farming were important, but in the im-

mediate prospect many a farmer was confused. He had scant chance for prosperity in a technological, competitive scheme adjusted to the requirements of an urban America. The multiplication of bureaus in the national capital has often resulted in the extension of essential services but without adequate planning and knowledge of needs. In the emergency of New Deal and war, there were added the immaturity and lack of common sense and experience of many government representatives. Not only were the demands made upon the people greater than they could absorb, but the officials themselves were often not able to perform their own duties. While there were required big men of great experience to handle many of the projects, the picture has reflected too often little men without experience. Here again, this is not a matter of evaluating motivation or purpose; the men simply were not available, or, if available, not utilized.

These maladjustments, cumulative over the years, and multiplied throughout the regions in many different fields have contributed much to the general dissatisfaction of the people. In later days they have found artificial requirements multiplied by the advent of the scores of national "letter" agencies. How long the overtechnical arrangements could last depended upon a continuous readjustment of provisions and demands to the capacity of the people and their agriculture and industries. The Acts had made important contributions. They were new social inventions to meet needs, yet they were following in the steps of machine technology in demanding too much. They had succeeded, but paradoxically could not succeed in any definitive way because of the improbability of adjustment between what was artificial and supertechnical and what was immediately attainable through the capacities of the people and the body politic. The picture was one of epic proportions, but it was also one of comic history and futility. The demand that industry pay its workers at the rate of, let us say, several hundred dollars a month when the farmer, even by using his children, might lose money, represented a demand that exceeded capacity. The suggestion that farmers sell millions of sows to be butchered on the eve of farrowing, especially with the government paying four dollars each for pigs, was manifestly beyond the capacity of the farmers' financial, aesthetic, and moral folkways. This represents the observations of the sociologist during the depression years. Yet the dilemma multiplies in the complexities of the atomic age.

The tragedies of progress. Turning from these samplings of what might be termed the supertechnical, there are many other pictures of the early twentieth century which characterized parts of life as being too artificial to succeed. Some of these characterizations have to do with the big-

ness and artificial strain in cities. Some are part of the picture of institutions and attitudes. There is Gina Lombroso's picture of the tragedies of progress; in substance, this was a complaint against modern artificial world of false culture substituted for intelligence; wealth and cleverness for justice; and for happiness there was "the starving and reducing to ashes of all natural jobs," which respond to the sane and universal instincts of humanity, and the substitutions of artificial and mechanical pleasures and ignoble passions, which are rapidly exhausting. Thus, a protest against a machine civilization which substituted artificial diversions and mechanical shadows for the natural things of life; thus a picture of the vanished natural needs in the disaster of "the mysterious formula which, with so much delirium of triumph, we have praised to the skies."

Other pictures point to the dangers inherent in the substitution of the multiplied artificial activities of modern society for the realistic qualities of the natural folk capacity upon which all society has been built. Some of these are protests against the impact of the machine world upon the folk spirit and folk arts of mankind. Some are romanitc appeals for a return to the natural ways of living or to the old days and old ways; some are vague and immature rationalizations of the back-to-the-land movement or the impulse toward nature. Still others are fads and cults, themselves contributing to the ever-recurring cycle from the natural and elemental to the artificial and complex, back again toward the natural and elemental. Most of these are themselves admirable examples of artificial formulas, seeded and nourished as leisure products of American culture. But whatever the form, whether protest against or illustration of the artificial, whether in literature or art or philosophy or social science, the pictures are a part of the dilemma-consciousness of the nation.

Concrete illustrations of demand exceeding capacity. There are, however, many lesser aspects of this strain between the artificial society and realism. Just after the Florida real-estate boom, an inquiry was made into the number of lots laid off for sale in two Florida counties. The answer to the question of how many people could be housed on the lots so laid off was about 11,000,000 for the two counties. And, for the whole state, no one knew how many. Here was technical development far and away above the nation's capacity to absorb.

The illustration need not be limited to the material world. In education, there is tension in proportion as the demand for compulsory higher education of a definite and technical sort exceeds the capacity and will of the people to absorb and support it. And the higher education of all youth has been gauged to train 100 per cent of them for professional positions for

which it is known that not more than 10 per cent can be accommodated. In various aspects of morality, tension and breakage occurs in proportion as the rapid changes in institutions, in sex standards, and norms of living go beyond the capacity of the group or individual to sustain. There are many social formulas or techniques in legislation, politics, and education which are assuming unbearable proportions after the fashion of physical technology.

Not only what is true, but what else is true? Here again the attainment of balance is to be the test of reality over artificiality, of practical instrumentation over supertechnology. The tendency toward overspecialization or to consider a part of the process or the action as the whole can be illustrated in many ways. In the war days, the moral dilemma of equality for a minority group was often made synonymous with all needs. Or, the philosophy of democracy and the machinery through which its ideals were to be attained were generally conceived of as merely political. As a matter of fact, political democracy is only a part of the whole organic social process which involves the freedom of the people to function successfully within the framework of their regional environment and their own inherent endowment. There are not only the handicaps inherent in remote control of local matters by those ignorant of the realities involved, but the imposition of the will of the few, often untested and unsound, upon the many is destructive of natural, organic functioning. There is the danger of the rule of the self-appointed intellectuals, whose arbitrary, isolated, and specialized training is often mistaken for comprehensive education. There is also the danger of the pure scientist or the experimentalist confusing his learning or his ability to discover facts with similar ability to enact practical programs of policy. There is the same general danger of the learned individual, isolated from the people, developing the same provincial autocracy as the politician, the propagandist, the irresponsible wealthy man, the labor agitator, or the dictator.

The limitations of reform theories inherent in their lack of reality. The essential weakness of new political groupings and creeds; or the many plans that seek support among the people; or the dogmatizing of enthusiastic propagandists lie in the essential artificiality of most of the proposals. Indeed, most of the major theories of economic and social reform reflect similar limitations. Many of their tenets are so artificially designed as to be impracticable; so specialized as to be incomplete; or so technical as to preclude enactment. They do not come to grips with the complicated social problem involved; they stress action and audacity where science, intellectual design and social equilibrium also are needed. In so far as they

constitute a literature of escape or romance, they cannot meet the new demands for social achievement. Economic councils and economic planning, although of the greatest significance in the planned mastery of the future, have no provisions to guarantee social balance or the capacity to meet all the needs of all the people. In this group are technocracy, humanism, world fellowships of faith. So even the League of Nations and the concept of world federation exceed in their demands the capacities of nations and of international organization by ignoring, among other things, the regional quality and balance of man.

This artificiality and formalism are not limited, however, to new programs of action or new theories of social reform. The tragic weakness of laissez faire, of exaggerated individualism, or of American capital and industry is that these systems have long since continued to build upon antiquated foundations, upon outdated principles and formulas, extending their domain and application beyond the capacity of the people and their institutions. Instead of these, there is everywhere need for a planned mastery which will conserve the best of the "right" and incorporate the best of the "left"; which will utilize the vast stores of research still cumulatively ineffective; which will undertake to do the stupendous amount of preliminary work necessary for permanent reconstruction.

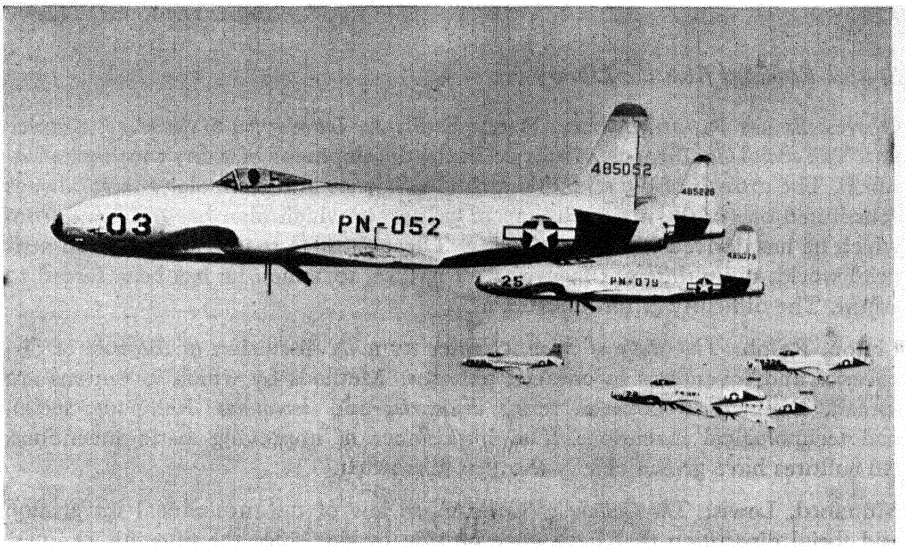
What shall it profit to gain a world of civilization and to lose the folk-soul? There are, however, theoretical values in this picture of the failure of a great deal of modern life to harmonize with the natural capacities and cultures of the people. What is society, through its superorganization and technology, doing to mankind which will promote his survival and civilization? What thing is it doing to mankind which may lessen his chances of survival? Thus the perpetual dilemma, what shall it profit civilization to gain the whole world and lose its own soul? Thus the sociological dilemma of a world fabulously rich in resources, in goods, in machines, in luxuries, in standards, alongside a people incapable of utilizing them. Thus, the problem of social and biological prepotency, of building a stronger race of people; of preventing the multiplication of a weaker race of people; of guaranteeing that each generation shall have more and more of the normal, the stronger, and the good, and less of the abnormal, the weak and the bad.

These are the real problems of progress and survival no less than the economic dilemmas of production and distribution, of monetary policy and distribution of wealth, of unemployment and security. They are essential considerations necessary to any adequate blueprints of progress, to any planned society. So, also, the elements basic to cultural normality and human welfare can be evolved from folkways and folk culture. Even as

medicine and biology in studying the anatomy and pathology of animal life evolve ways and means for attacking disease, for reducing mortality, for extending the span of life, so society, exploring the nature and reaches of the folkways and of human capacity, must evolve ways and means for the elimination of mental strain, of deficient stocks, and of submarginal society. So, also, society must seek a balance between the people and their resources and their institutions.

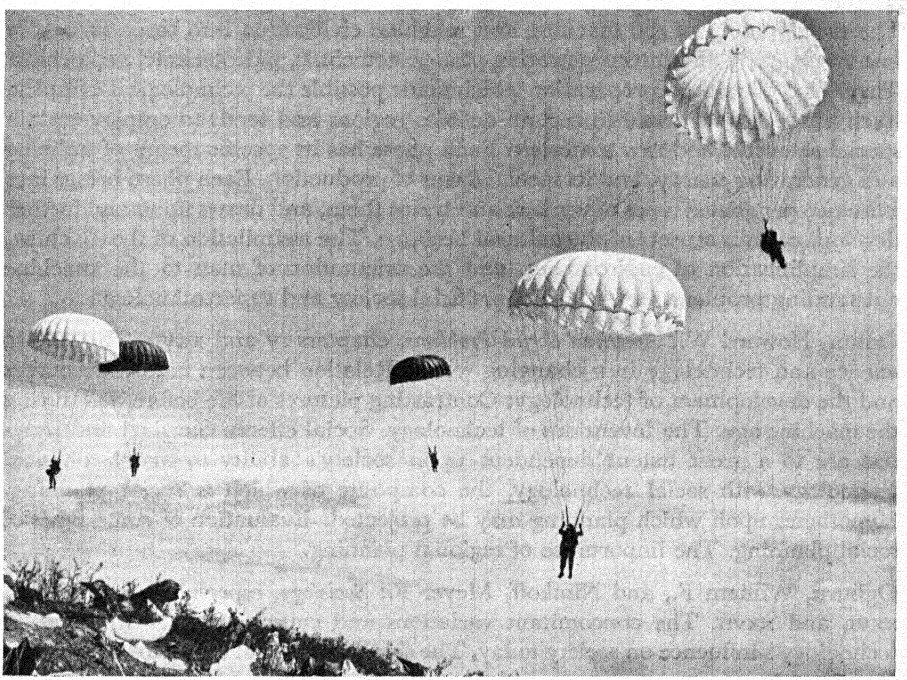
Assignments and Questions

1. Discuss the concept that the fall of empires and the decay of civilizations are the result, not of an inherent law of succession, but of the demands of an artificial society and a technology greater than the capacity of a culture to meet.
2. Illustrate this concept in the case of Hitler's projected empire and of what it demanded of (a) the German people, (b) the conquered peoples, (c) world society.
3. Discuss the implication to individuals, let us say, of authors who move on to New York after achieving success in the hinterlands. Why do they not always produce in the great city with all of its artistic features and resources?
4. What is the relation of bigness to decentralization or regionalization of industry? What has the atomic bomb to do with this?
5. Discuss the syllogism implied by Freud in his *Civilization and Its Discontents* to the effect that: survival and growth have always been through the *natural;* but the contemporary civilization is artificial; therefore, it cannot survive.
6. What was the meaning of Oswald J. Spengler's *contempora* when applied to New York and Babylon?
7. Discuss the changing trends in grand opera as indications of what the people can support or will support in the way of the formal and technological aspects of music. Contrast the older Metropolitan audience with the newer radio multitudes.
8. Discuss the problems of public housing and real estate in congested parts of big cities such as New York.
9. Make a case study of small business concerns forced out of business because of their inability to keep up with demands.
10. Make case studies of dairy farmers and others who "quit" because of the multiple requirements of price control inspection or labor limitations.
11. What is the theme of Leo Hausleiter's *The Machine Unchained?*
12. Co-ordinate this chapter with previous chapters on civilization and urbanism and with the later chapter on social progress and social planning.



What Is the Theory of Limits Applied to Aviation?

The Jet propelled Shooting Star P. 80 is a symbol of new reaches in speed and distance. See W. F. Ogburn's new volume, *The Social Effects of Aviation* for estimates of speed. BELOW: What is the prospect for relief uses of the parachute?



Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter XXI. The social significance of science in the development of today's technological world. The growth of the scientific attitude. Science and technology have always constituted one of the major streams of culture in which man has lived and from which he has derived his ways of living. Through them man has created an artificial world, quite different from that of nature, to which he has been forced to adjust. The difficulty of his adjustment.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XVIII. A discussion of the role of discoveries and inventions in cultural patterns. Methods by which inventions are spread. Distinctions between terms *discoveries* and *inventions*. Religious, social, and technological inventions. The importance of improving basic inventions. All cultures have grown chiefly through borrowing.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*. A review of the mechanical integration and social disruption that have gone on side by side since the fifteenth century. The strenuous mechanical organization of industry and the general pattern of mechanical conquest. The challenge which the people face in altering the mechanisms of our economic regime for human purposes.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapters I, II, VII, and VIII. The development of the machine and machine civilization into three successive but overlapping and interpenetrating phases: eotechnic, paleotechnic, neotechnic. The period of cultural preparation which made possible the technological complex. Each phase has its origin in certain definite regions and tends to employ certain special resources and raw materials. Each phase has its specific means of utilizing and generating energy, and its special forms of production. Each phase brings into existence particular types of workers and trains them, and draws upon and further develops certain aspects of the cultural heritage. The assimilation of the machine, the simplification of environment, and the orientation of man to the machine outstanding problems in this age of artificial society and supertechnology.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters IV and XXVII. The role of science and technology in a changing world. Relation between natural resources and the development of technology. Contrasting pictures of life before and during the machine age. The inventions of technology. Social effects. Survival and progress are to a great extent dependent upon society's ability to match physical technology with social technology, the composite of which is social planning. Hypotheses upon which planning may be projected. Evaluation of some types of social planning. The importance of regional planning.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, especially chapters XIX, XXVI, and XXVII. The concomitant variations and causal relations involved in technology's influence on society today. The significant social effects of converging

material inventions. Evolution of modern economic institutions. Attempts at social control of industry.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapters XIV, XV, and XXXI. The dominant complex in the economic system, in the entire culture, is the machine. Nature of the machine; its advantages and its disadvantages. Problems of the profit-making system. The growth of cities as resulting from the rise of technology. Good and bad features of urbanization.

Recent Social Trends, pages XI–XV. Elucidation of the confusion of the problems: mobility; complexity; indifference to the interrelation of the parts of our society; disorganization; all parts of our social organization not changing at the same speed or the same time; shifting roles of the four major social institutions (family, church, industry, and government). See the entire study for specification and analysis of the dilemmas.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Alexander, Franz, *Our Age of Unreason;* Brandeis, Louis D., *The Curse of Bigness;* Beard, Charles A., and Beard, Mary R., *The American Spirit;* Cargill, Oscar, *Intellectual America;* Carr, Albert, *Juggernaut, The Path of Dictatorship;* Chase, Stuart, *Men and Machines;* Davis, Alice, "Technicways in American Civilization," *Social Forces*, March, 1940, pages 317–330, and "Time and the Technicways, An Experiment in Definition," *Social Forces*, December, 1940, pages 175–189; Freud, Sigmund, *Civilization and Its Discontents;* Hausleiter, Leo, *The Machine Unchained;* Link, Henry C., *The Rediscovery of Man;* Laski, Harold J., *Faith, Reason, and Civilization;* Lombroso, Gina, *The Tragedies of Progress;* Mumford, Lewis, *The Condition of Man;* Odum, Howard W., "Notes on the Technicways in Contemporary Society," *American Sociological Review*, June, 1937, pages 336–346; Riggs, Arthur S., *The Romance of Human Progress;* Rosen, S. McKee, and Rosen, Laura, *Technology and Society;* Rugg, Harold, *The Great Technology;* Russell, Bertrand, *Power: A New Social Analysis;* Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Man and Society in Calamity;* Spengler, Oswald, *The Decline of the West;* Wallas, Graham, *The Great Society.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Discuss organizations in any large city established to combat bigness and congestion in real estate, housing, city planning, traffic, transportation, land use, and so on.
2. Can you name and describe any programs of "labor" and "agriculture" which conflict with each other?

3. Illustrate by citing organizations or agencies how centralization of Federal government might well assume the proportions of that exceeding the capacity of the people to support or how centralization and power might neglect the small businessman or farmer or merchant.

4. In earlier years of the twentieth century, there was criticism of many of the national agencies that worked through the community, to the effect that they utilized local work and local funds to promote the national organization; and that they superimposed their methods and programs upon the people, rather than helped the people work out their own. Illustrate.

5. Examine the current record of organizations and list the ways in which the government (municipal, state, and Federal) is or can be of help to the small businessman or merchant.

6. From a study of current agencies and recommendations, list the ways in which the Federal and state governments can be of help to operators of family-commercial farms.

30

Problems of Social Process and Interaction

Social process a problem of reality. The study of social processes and social interaction, in the light of the premises which we have presented concerning the development of human society, becomes essentially an inquiry into practical knowledge of social reality in addition to the cataloguing of social processes. For, in the individual, in the folk group, and in advanced social organization, the process of adjustment to social change in what appears as a uniform and orderly cultural evolution constitutes not only the scientific problem par excellence, but also the dynamic reality of why and how individuals and cultures differ and what these differences mean in practical terms.

In the total fabric of society threads of interaction run between man and nature, between man and his general cultural environment, between man and man in individual relationships, and between man and the cumulative process and products of change and technology. It is scarcely possible to understand society without a knowledge of the powerful dynamics of nature in partnership with man. In Chapter 28 on the nature of social problems, we have suggested an approach to this understanding by pointing to the significance of society's survival and progress as the major societal problem, and subsequently in Chapter 36 on social planning, by discussing the same problem in terms of the means of social progress and order.

Unity in diversity. How important this total process is may be seen by recalling our inquiries into the role of the individual in human society and the nature and causes of individual differences. Or we may review again the great variety of folk cultures the world over and note the vast differences among peoples who live side by side and have the same standardized technology of organized civilization. Compare, for instance, the

French and the Germans or the Poles with neighboring Russians or their several neighbors among the Balkan states. How else, except through interaction and cultural conditioning, is it possible to explain why mankind under the influence of similar stimuli and in search of the same ends of human endeavor, differs so widely in individual and social relationships?

Lawrence K. Frank stated the problem vividly by recalling that "man has, from his earliest days as man, faced the same persistent tasks of life: to come to terms with the environing world to gain sustenance, shelter, and security, and to perpetuate his kind; to organize some form of group life or social order wherein individuals can participate in the common affairs of life; to regulate human conduct by transforming naive impulse behavior into the patterned conduct and strivings cherished by the group." He stresses the importance of recognizing the essential nature of diversity of form in the essential unity of process. He continues, "What is beginning to appear is that each group, faced with the same tasks and compelled to make the same kind of assumptions about the world, has, of necessity, employed the same *process* of meeting those demands and formulating those beliefs. The products, that is, the specific content or formulation of their beliefs and assertions, what they have developed as their religion, their philosophy, their art, and their patterns of social life, are so different as to appear completely divergent and contradictory." Nearly all aspects of life illustrate the essential unity of diversity if diverse units are integrated into the total. "If we can stretch our minds to grasp this idea of similar patterns underlying different expressions and formulations and can begin to realize how the same fundamental process gives rise to different organizations, functions, and activities, then we may find it less difficult to see the divergent cultures all over the world as different, but equivalent products or expressions of the same human process."

Social institutions and social process. Another way of sensing the essential practical value of the theories of social process is to note something of the role of process and interaction in the development of social institutions as well as in the development of the individual. If, as has sometimes been urged, one function of the processes of society is to develop personalities of as many different sorts as possible, then clearly another purpose is to evolve institutions for serving individuals and for their orderly control in a complex society. Manifestly, this becomes increasingly a key problem in contemporary society. For it is generally conceded that the elementary backgrounds of institutions are to be found in social interaction. Of the products of interaction, which continue also as processes, social organization and social

control are clearly basic to social life. In Chapter 13 on the social institutions, social order was given as a reason for the existence of institutions in that they are arrangements for social organization and social control alongside the less formal social pressures.

General processes — processes of interaction. Accordingly, the essential problem of social process will be to seek such understanding of society as will provide a basis for social organization and institutions and for social control and social order. In this search for the elementary facts, it is generally assumed that there are two fundamental sets of social processes. One is what the sociologists, including Charles Horton Cooley, have characterized the *general processes* and the other the *processes of interaction.* An oversimplified illustration might be cited from Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, whose earlier work has had great influence on the present sociological emphasis on social processes. They concluded that there were four major general processes, namely, the *historical*, the *cultural*, the *political*, and the *economic*, and four major processes of interaction, namely, *competition*, *conflict*, *accommodation*, and *assimilation.* The special processes of co-operation, differentiation, and amalgamation are also at work.

The general processes may be illustrated by what may be called the natural processes in physics, chemistry, biology, psychology, and the other physical sciences. We know also that there are natural processes involved in all physical growth and development, in nature's succeeding cycles, and in the universal time-space relationships; in other words, in the historical process and the evolutionary process. Another way of emphasizing the nature of the general process is to characterize it in terms of change itself. "Nothing is, everything is becoming" was the way the Greek philosopher put it. "Social change" was the key elemental process which characterized William F. Ogburn's search for the understanding of cultural lag. Inevitably, there is the process of change in time and spatial relationships, in quantitative and qualitative measures, and in the sum total or Gestalt perspective of all factors.

Park and Burgess make the problems and processes of social control the same. Before turning to the more practical significance of these social processes, we need to explore briefly their general nature by referring to their definitions in representative sociological studies. In the notable pioneer *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Park and Burgess concluded that "all social problems turn out finally to be problems of social control." Social control, however, they pointed out, is to be associated primarily with the mutual subordination of individual members to the community. These in turn have their origin in the process of conflict. Through the medium of competition,

accommodation, and assimilation, they thought, the community assumed the form of a society. Hence, the supreme problem of that society would be the problem of relating these processes to reality.

Furthermore, from these processes certain definite and spontaneous forms of social control are developed, such as traditions, customs, folkways, mores, ceremonials, myths, religious creeds, political beliefs, and finally public opinion and law. In this book, public opinion and law have usually been designated as the stateways and are contrasted with the earlier folkways. We have also pointed out that in the modern technological world the *technicways* have transcended the folkways and mores and accelerated the rate of change. The technicways also have made possible a new concentration of power-control, through which the functions of society's institutions are negated, the freedom of the people limited, and societal evolution and progress retarded. Here then is the problem of integrating this other process of technological change alongside changes in the general social processes and the processes of interaction.

The modern tempo of social change. These considerations of the social processes relate closely to the study of democracy as social control. In the previous chapter on the dilemmas of modern technological society, we pointed out that the tempo, the bigness, the complexity, and the rapid social change of the present era have practically eliminated many of those forms of social control enumerated here as the normal, spontaneously developed, forms which obtained in earlier human societies. We have previously pointed out that the totalitarian state society transcends the usual institutional forms of organization and social control and, therefore, negates the normal processes of societal development and institutional organization. This, then, is a substantial social problem.

We have emphasized in a number of instances the implication of social change as a problem in itself, and we have called attention to the verdict of President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends, that social problems are essentially an outgrowth of the problem of social change. A number of authors explore the various social processes in the main setting of social change and seek to explain the processes in terms of change and to explain change in terms of processes. Indeed, perhaps more than any other theme, social change is utilized to introduce sociological textbooks and programs. Theories of social change are studied, rates of social change and trends are explored, the nature of changes in the main currents of life and in institutions such as the family, the state, the school, and industry are analyzed. The influence of science and technology in accelerating social

change is especially emphasized, and the relation of all these changes to society itself and the institutions and behavior of the people constitute a major theme for sociological study.

Two approaches to social change. The sociologist usually studies social change from two main approaches. The first approach is the general effect of social change on society, which has commonly come to be designated as one of "cultural lag," a concept utilized by Ogburn to denote the unevenness of change in what is commonly called material culture and nonmaterial culture. The second approach undertakes to measure the specific effects of technology upon social change and, in particular, upon the various institutions. So great has been the effect of technology upon society that we are accustomed to say that all science and invention in the modern world becomes social in its implication.

Technological control or social order? This major societal problem of adaptation and adjustment to social change, however, is quite a different problem from what it was in the earlier cultures because of the very magnitude, extent, and tempo of social change caused by the extraordinary qualitative and quantitative achievements of science and invention. It is almost as if there was a moratorium on the usual processes of cultural development and institutional growth, of competition, conflict, accommodation, adaptation, assimilation, and the like, such that modern society is molded by a sweeping technological determinism. It is almost as if modern science and invention have suddenly assumed the proportions of both structure and function of society and that none of the old processes and rates of change apply any more. When, furthermore, technology is diffused throughout the world by means of communication or transportation, the sociologists find the usual explanations of social processes and social change entirely inadequate.

Technicways as processes of technological change? It is not enough to observe the facts of science and invention in their impact on society. It is not enough to measure in quantitative terms the influences of technology on the institutions and on human behavior. It is not enough to say that the automobile affects families, churches, and governments. It is not enough to set up abstract researches on the effect of technology upon folk culture or to draw up schematic analyses of acculturation processes.

What is needed is to discover the processes through which these changes come about, and the resulting culture traits which supplant the older processes and forms of control such as have always been basic to the folkways, mores, and institutions. We have pointed out in previous chapters that in

the contemporary technological society the *technicways* represent this process as well as the product through which quick adaptations are attempted in order to meet the extraordinary demands of technology and change. We shall, therefore, need to inquire into the relation of the technicways to those social processes and products, social institutions and social organizations, which the sociologists have been accustomed to analyze as basic to human society. We shall need, furthermore, to raise practical questions of the applicability of these social processes to the ongoings of contemporary society.

Application of knowledge of processes to problems. We return now to the earlier paragraphs of this chapter in which the processes of competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation are named as basic processes of social interaction. These processes are basic to social control as it is wrought out through balance between individual members of the community and the community society itself. In order to understand these processes as they have been studied by sociologists and to check their relation to contemporary social problems, it will be well for us to review the principal social processes catalogued in some of the sociological textbooks. Most of them have followed the earlier pioneering texts of E. A. Ross and of Park and Burgess. There are many variations, but in the main they are about the same.

Once again, it should be pointed out that it is not necessary for the younger student of sociology to try to become a specialist in the various processes of social interaction, any more than in psychology, biology, ecology, or geography. To say that the processes of interaction are fundamental and important is to say primarily that the process of adaptation in growth and development is fundamental for every organism. The student, therefore, does not need to explore the many detailed, mooted, and theoretical definitions of the various formally characterized social processes. Rather he needs to know their due order and how each one relates to specific social problems and social situations. The student of sociology might profit more in his study, let us say, of the race question in the United States if he understood the organic conditioning forces of culture which play upon race relations rather than if he made analyses of the means of amelioration, accommodation, assimilation, and the like. *Competition*, *conflict*, *accommodation*, *co-operation*, and *assimilation*, and, in between, the processes of miscegenation, all interact on the relations of the white and Negro races. Of course, they do. We know that already, so the realistic inquiry will relate to specific situations. By the same token, extensive study of these processes becomes another field of specialization in empirical research.

Social processes as social problems. It is for this reason that social processes are comprehended in this part of the book on *social problems* rather than in that on *social theory*. The problem again is two-fold. One is to understand sociology's analysis of social process, and the processes described by sociologists. This is the problem of deciding how much and what sort of study sociology has given and may give to the problem of process. The other problem is one of inquiring, by empirical research and by illustrative examples, how selected processes are important in social research, in social problems, and in social theory.

C. H. Cooley on processes of interaction. The cataloguing of social processes has always been an outstanding feature of American sociology textbooks. While Charles Horton Cooley's pioneer volumes, *Social Organization* and *Social Process*, accented the general processes more than the special ones, he was both specific and comprehensive in his search for facts about the processes of interaction. Both by implication and in specific assertion, Cooley saw the whole fabric of social organization as being integrated through a process of interaction, of which the mechanism was communication. How important this is may be seen by an examination of the modern world of technology. It is through the inventions and processes of technological communication that world society has undergone and is still undergoing profound changes.

E. A. Ross's list. The most impressive catalogue of processes is that of E. A. Ross, who listed no less than twenty-five forms of the process of social interaction. Under the heading of the "Genesis of Society" he put *domination* and *exploitation*. "Conflict and Adaptation" included competition, conflict, toleration, compromise, accommodation, assimilation, and amalgamation. "Co-operation and Organization" was an explanation of only those terms, with no subdivisions. "Class and Caste" included stratification, gradation, segregation, subordination. Then there were five forms treated under "Society and the Individual," namely, socialization, estrangement, liberation, anticipation, individualization. "Occupation and Social Function" comprised three, commercialization, professionalization, institutionalization, while "Social Regress and Progress" concluded with ossification and decadence.

Park's and Burgess' list. Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, perhaps more than any other sociologists since Cooley, set the incidence for dynamic teaching of the processes. As a preview to the study of their main processes they inquired briefly into the nature of the general processes

of isolation, segregation, communication, and imitation, and thereby gave a general definition of the concept of interaction. "It represents," they concluded, "the culmination of long-continued reflection by human beings in their ceaseless effort to resolve the ancient paradox of unity into diversity, the 'one' and the 'many,' to find law and order in the apparent chaos of physical changes and social events; and thus to find explanations for the behavior of the universe, of society, and of man." Their catalogue of major social processes included competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. There were special aspects of assimilation in the form of amalgamation and miscegenation and special aspects of competition studied under segregation, together with subforms of accommodation involved in acclimatization, subordination, and superordination.

Kimball Young's catalogue. Kimball Young listed interaction, competition, conflict, co-operation, stratification, accommodation, and assimilation as basic processes. The study of basic social processes will help to uncover certain more or less general or universal features of society everywhere. His analysis of the functions of certain forms of interaction was very similar to Park's and Burgess': "The two fundamental forms of interaction are *opposition* and *co-operation*. The former is usually divided into *competition* and *conflict*. From opposition and co-operation springs *differentiation*, or the division of social labor in terms of role and status. Out of conflict comes *accommodation* or compromise, toleration, or some other kind of truce which strikes a working balance between contending groups or individuals. From conflict and differentiation emerges the process closely related to accommodation called *stratification*, or the formation of society into castes, classes, or orders of status. Out of competition, conflict, and co-operation may also arise *assimilation*, or the merging of divergent groups or persons into a new and homogeneous association."

Groves and Moore; Wright and Elmer; Dawson and Gettys. Ernest R. Groves and Harry Estill Moore, while perhaps assuming other forms of interaction, especially emphasized contact and interaction, communication, co-operation, and conflict.

Verne Wright and Manuel C. Elmer, following the general pattern, accented competition, conflict, co-operation, accommodation, assimilation, and stratification. F. C. Lumley featured isolation, contact, association, disassociation, with interaction on a co-ordinate basis with these processes, but making interaction a sort of product of contacts.

Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys presented, in these words, still another variation of the study of processes: "It will be sufficient to focus attention on three concepts that have come to be rather generally accepted

as the major processes of social interaction, although they may and often do appear under different names and with a variety of connotations; they are conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. Socialization, individualization, social control, social change, social disorganization . . . refer to particular products, or, in some cases, to by-products, of the major processes of social interaction . . . rather than to separate and distinct processes. There is no fundamental difference in the basic processual character of what goes on; it is the product that differs depending on differences in the interacting elements, in the ecological patterns, in the mechanisms employed, and in the viewpoint of the observers of the phenomena."

Process in The Dictionary of Sociology. These lists are adequate to indicate the relative uniformity of treatment given to the subject of social processes in the present sociological textbooks. In the master list of terms submitted for *The Dictionary of Sociology,* no less than *twenty-five major forms of social process are listed:* acceleration, acclimatization, accommodation, adaptation, adjustment, affiliation, amalgamation, assimilation, association, competition, conflict, contact, co-operation, differentiation, dissociation, diffusion, identification, imitation, integration, interaction, miscegenation, orientation, participation, socialization, stratification.

Three other approaches to the study of process. There are three other ways of studying social processes. The first is the study of the relation of modern technology to social change and the effect of the resulting *technicways* upon these processes, both special and general. A second may well be the study of the relation of these processes to social progress. A third is the study of the relation of social process itself and various social processes to social values. In all of these, of course, firsthand study of realistic society is the mode suggested.

We have already discussed in a number of places the role of the technicways in accelerating the rate of societal change and in transcending the usual slow-moving processes of cultural evolution. In general, the theoretical analyses of social processes as presented by sociologists are predicted upon assumptions of historical, cultural patterns of interaction in much the same way as folkways and mores have been analyzed. Thus, competition and conflict, co-operation and accommodation, are processes which conform to the general patterns of social development, which were products of early attempts at adjustment, survival, and human satisfaction, and which develop subsequently into forms of social organization and social control. In the contemporary world of technology, therefore, these usual processes are transcended by a new tempo of social change conditioned and often superimposed by the modern technicways. This means that the older

theoretical explanation of the processes has less meaning than formerly, and there is need to re-examine and restate these processes as they operate in the modern world.

Accommodation and amalgamation as illustrations of process. Examples are almost as numerous as the processes themselves. Accommodation and amalgamation as they appear in the race situation today might be used as illustrations. The subprocesses of isolation and segregation are being transformed in many instances through the processes of communication and processes of government. In some instances, as in the United States, the democratic process tends arbitrarily to eliminate what might be called natural processes of isolation, segregation, and discrimination. The same tendency is implied by Chapter 1 of the Charter of the United Nations when it is asserted that one of its purposes is "in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." Accommodation and amalgamation, therefore, must be studied in terms of new arrangements and new conditioning influences and in the light of accelerated acculturation processes. On the other hand, in a totalitarian state such as Nazi Germany, the fascist processes threw out of gear the entire normal development of accommodation, adaptation, and adjustment, both as they related to a particular group such as the Jewish people, let us say, and as they related to the peoples of the conquered nations, who were forced into some pattern of accommodation to their conquerors. Amalgamation as seen in the German fascist system of putting the men and women of a conquered area to work or to fight, represents the complete opposite of the normal processes.

Competition as an example of process. An illustration that might be used in the study of American society would be the process of competition. Competition can be studied in its usual theoretical meaning and in its history or stages of evolution. Present-day economic life affords an extraordinarily fine laboratory for realistic research into competition. In many phases of competition, modern technology and civilization negate the natural competitive process.

So, too, in the larger field of acculturation, social science has of late placed considerable emphasis on research into the impact of technology on folk cultures. Yet, even within a few years, some of these theoretical analyses have been left in the wake of such rapid development that they appear no more up to date than many of the pioneer sociological concepts. As one of the chief problems of society, therefore, we shall need to investigate the relation of the general process of change and its special technological aspects to social progress and social values.

Assignments and Questions

1. Examine common concepts of the several social processes as seen by representative sociologists. See particularly Kimball Young in *Sociology* and Verne Wright and Manuel C. Elmer in *General Sociology*.

   Accommodation: A process of social adjustment between groups or societies, growing out of conflict, in which certain working arrangements or functional relations are adopted as a means of getting on together. Some common forms are domination, tolerant participation, compromise, arbitration, and conciliation. — *Young.* (a) The social process which goes on as social units adjust or attempt to settle conflicts. Represented by physical coercion, nonphysical coercion, conversion, compromise, conciliation, and toleration. (b) The social relationship which follows the adjustment process. — *Wright and Elmer.*

2. *Amalgamation:* The biological union of previously distinct racial or subracial groups. — *Young.* The biological process by which racial differences are eliminated so that races become merged. Races become amalgamated through intermarriage and miscegenation. — *Wright and Elmer.*

3. *Assimilation:* The fusion of divergent habits, attitudes, and ideas of two or more groups into a common set of habits, attitudes, and ideas. The process usually takes place within the framework of the national state. — *Young.* The fusion of unlike social units so that a uniform culture results, as seen in the change of immigrants from old-world culture to American culture. — *Wright and Elmer.*

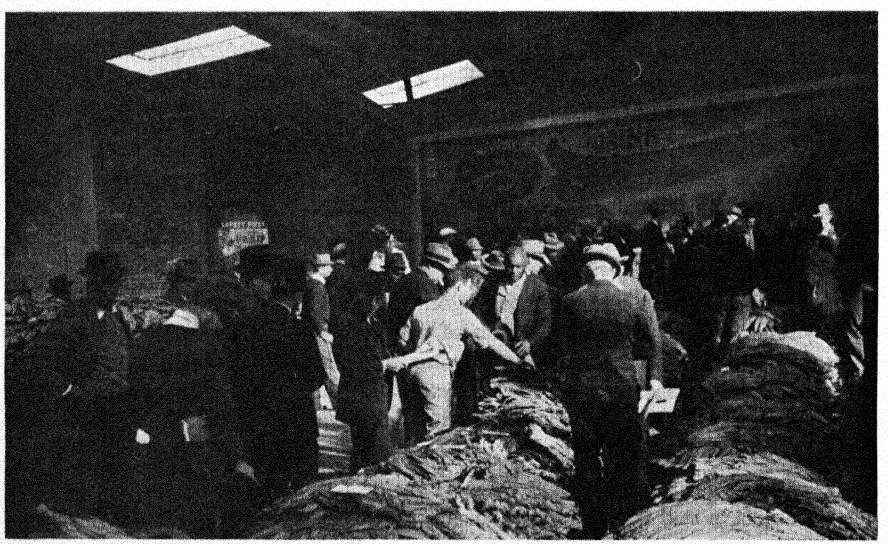
4. *Competition:* The act of striving for some object that is sought for by others at the same time; a contention of two or more persons or groups for the same object or for superiority. — *Young.* A social process in which individuals and groups strive and endeavor to get what is scarce or limited. — *Wright and Elmer.*

5. *Conflict:* Direct and open antagonistic struggle of persons or groups for some object or end. The aim of conflict is defeat, annihilation, or subjection of the other person or group, as a part of the aggression. — *Young.* A social process involving disagreement, quarreling, or physical struggle. In a broad sense, conflict is a form of competition. Domestic discord, race programs, and war are forms of conflict. — *Wright and Elmer.*

6. *Co-operation:* Joint action or working or playing together for a common object or end which may be shared; mutual aid. — *Young.* A social process

Processes of Interaction Between Men and Work

A fifty-fold increase in the manufacture and smoking of cigarettes, through the new technic-ways, makes a new world of commerce and custom. ABOVE: Tobacco ready for loading after the auction. BELOW: The inimitable auction sale of cigarette tobacco, such as the cigarette companies advertise.



in which persons aid each other and work together for common or mutual ends. Represented by mutual aid, social work, compulsory co-operation, division of labor, and mutual co-operation. — *Wright and Elmer.*

7. *Diffusion:* The spread or extension in space of culture traits or patterns. — *Young.* The spread of culture within a society or from one society to another. Each invention must be diffused before it can become established in a population. — *Wright and Elmer.*

8. *Participation:* Social interaction within a group, illustrated by opposition, co-operation, differentiation, and other basic processes. — *Young.* Activity within a group as a member, employee, official, committeeman, or guest. — *Wright and Elmer.*

9. *Stratification:* The process of forming caste, class, or other status-giving groups, or of determining level or plane of status for the individual within a group, community, or society. — *Young.* The process of forming status units within a population. Status units are those of caste, class, age, sex, and individual characteristics. — *Wright and Elmer.*

10. Discuss the assumption that the *social process* is the fundamental value more than the end result of social product.

11. Illustrate processes of competition in what is called the system of "free enterprise."

12. Discuss the need for accommodation in conflicts between "the South" and the rest of the nation in matters of race.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology,* chapters I and II. The complicated character of our civilization and the rapid change in our environment through the marvelous technological advances of the past few hundred years have forced us to realize the possibilities which lie before us and the measure of our failure to attain those possibilities. Changes in communications and transportation have forced us to take into account what is happening in all parts of the world, because such happenings are of immediate importance to us. The necessity for more rigid control over our actions. Necessity for seeking adjustment on a new plane. The relation of geography to social organization.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man,* chapters X–XV. The organization of family patterns. The evolution of larger social units of primitive life. The power of blood kinship. Beginnings of the tribe and the state. Their functions discussed.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities,* Introduction and chapters VI and VII. The city as the form and symbol of an integrated social relationship. The urban milieu is one in which mechanical shocks produce social results; and social needs take

shape in inventions which lead industries and institutions into new channels of experience. The mark of the city its purposeful social complexity. Specialization and differentiation of groups replacing primary contacts. An analysis of the social processes and organization which form the social basis of the new urban order.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapters I, III, VII, VIII. Social processes of the eotechnic, paleotechnic, and neotechnic phases of technology. Social regimentation produced by the machine. Although technics relies upon the objective procedures of the sciences, it does not form an independent system: it exists as an element in human culture and it promises well or ill as the social groups that exploit it promise well or ill. Its pattern linked with the social processes of organization.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, parts IV and VI; chapters XII, XIII, and XVIII especially good. The role of group pressure and social control in organization. Formal and informal patterns of pressure. Nature and functions of the social processes. Coexistence of social processes. Pictures from primitive life. The highly competitive culture of America. Opposition and cooperation as natural phenomena; they are neither good, nor bad, but simply inevitable. Need for emphasis on the importance of assimilation and accommodation. Types of social organization.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, Part IV. A synthesis of the author's previous findings and an emphasis on the operation of the institutional order as a whole. The institutional processes, emergence, development, change, struggle, maladjustment, control, persistence, and teleology viewed as an interwoven whole, but examined separately only for the purpose of detailed description. Processes of primary forming groups not considered in this treatment.

General Readings from the Library

Bogardus, Emory S., *Dictionary of Cooperation* and *Immigration and Race Attitudes;* Carver, Thomas Nixon, *Sociology and Social Progress;* Cooley, Charles Horton, *Social Process;* Coyle, Grace L., *Social Process in Organized Groups;* Fairchild, Henry Pratt (ed.), *Dictionary of Sociology;* Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution;* Hall, Walter Phelps, *World Wars and Revolutions;* Haring, Douglas G., and Johnson, Mary E., *Order and Possibility in Social Life;* Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Social Relations;* Landis, Paul H., *Rural Life in Process;* Lynd, Robert S., and Lynd, Helen Merrill, *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition;* MacIver, Robert M., *Social Causation;* May, Mark A., and Doob, Leonard W., *Competition and Cooperation;* Ogburn, William F., *Social Change;* Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology;* Sorokin, Pitirim A., *The Sociology of Revolution;* Steiner, Jesse F., *The American Community in Action;* Stonequist, Everett V., *The Marginal Man;* Zimmerman, C. C., *The Changing Community.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Here the heart of the sociological approach is in the combination of "theory" with "practice." There is, for instance, the problem of accommodation in the case of the great body of the "displaced persons" or the refugees of World War II. Make a survey of the literature on the refugees from Germany and the Nazi-occupied countries in the United States.
2. Make a study of the organizations which seek a more liberal interpretation and policy of immigration. Is the answer to be found in assimilation or accommodation?
3. There is the problem of race amalgamation in America. On what basis should organizations interested in racial progress and amelioration determine their policies (a) on the basis of larger biological considerations; (b) on the basis of national welfare; (c) on the basis of specific racial welfare. Illustrate.

31

Problems of Social Organization and Social Control

The products of social process. In the previous chapter we have discussed the nature and range of the general social processes and of the processes of interaction. To sense the meaning of the universality of the social process and of social change is to understand much about the nature of society itself. In some ways social processes may be compared to the natural processes of growth and evolution, on the one hand, and to the general structural basis of society, on the other. It is natural, then, to inquire what products grow out of these social processes and what are the purposes and functions of special activities of society.

We have already answered this question to some extent. Culture, for instance, has been defined as the sum total of the cumulative processes and products of social achievement. Among the products of social achievement are institutions in the realm of what is called nonmaterial culture, and the various products of technology in the realm of what has been called material culture. Another way of answering the question in more general terms is to say that social organization and social control are functional products of social process and achievement.

Social organization and social control. The student of sociology, therefore, will recognize that the problem of social organization and social control is not only basic to the development of culture, but is an especially important problem in the world today. This is particularly true with reference to social organization. The sociologist will want to understand as much as he can about the nature and role of organization in order to understand better the total of his society and the many special societies that go into the

making of the whole. He will also need to understand more about organization in order to study its role in social control.

In other words, the understanding of social organization and social control becomes one good approach to the understanding of society itself, just as the understanding of social process and social change provides another good but different approach. For instance, it has sometimes been said that just as language is an exclusive trait of human culture, and culture itself is an exclusive trait of human societies as opposed to animal societies, so to some extent we may look at social organization and social control as exclusive traits of human society. This will be more clear when we compare different societies and cultures and find that they are often characterized by essentially the same differences in their methods of organization and control. A high degree of organization especially may be said to characterize the advanced stages of civilization as opposed to the less formal organization of earlier cultures.

Civilization and organization. One of the assumptions of folk sociology is that a chief difference between the folk society of the early cultures and the state society of later developed civilization is that of the nature, extent, and function of organization. Civilization is characterized by a large measure of organizational effort and control in contrast to the folk society in which any organization is apt to be either voluntary or superimposed.

This idea fits into the framework for the study of society utilized in this text. To recapitulate: societies develop from earlier, relatively simple societies, with naturally evolving cultures, on through various consistent and logical stages of expansion, characterized by increasing social organization and social order, until their cultures reach a certain maximum achievement in organized civilization. This is consistent with the description of many societies evolved through the various organizations growing up to meet the needs of society, but later developing into specialized organizations, which have tended to become mechanical, supertechnical, and artificial. This later development explains a great deal in modern society, for instance, where multiple national organizations seek the formation of public opinion, the direction of control, or the amelioration of unsatisfactory conditions, and where the trends in business, industry, and government are toward centralization and standardization. The extraordinary range and complexity of organization in Nazi Germany is perhaps the outstanding example of the lengths to which organization can go.

Democracy and organization. The problem of organization and control is also a key problem in the study of democracy; it is discussed in the next chapter. This is true both in the study of the growth of democracy in a

nation such as the United States, and in the problems of social control in a modern complex world as contrasted with those of earlier cultures. A simple homogeneous society of a few people with few activities and traditions but with freedom for expansion and development will display different types of organization and control from a heterogeneous society, complex in all its bigness, manifold activities, mixed peoples, and rapid change. A small New England township needs a little formal organization as compared with an urban New England community of many groups of people, from different national backgrounds and speaking different languages. So much has organization become a trait of modern technological society that technology is sometimes defined as including not only science and invention, but also organization, centralization, and standardization.

Contrasts between early and later societies. The problem of organization and control in a complex society of the modern world is quite different from that in the more simple societies and, therefore, needs special study if the student is to understand contemporary society. Thomas Jefferson's verdict that that government is best which governs least, stands in stark contrast to the present world of govermental control with its scores of agencies and bureaus that stem from a great centralized organization. This complex organization is to some extent the natural product of the trend toward centralization and technology. This powerful organization is not just a matter of political control, but is the product of the big, complex, and rapidly changing society of millions of people, distributed often in imbalance among the regions and over a vast territory, working at many occupations and with many conflicting ideals, all of which again must meet interaction of other peoples and other nations. Accordingly, to apply this principle to the United States, it has been pointed out how we have come *from* a nation small in area, of small population, of few occupations, of little wealth, that wealth primarily in land, homes, and small shops or industries, to a nation of a great geographic area, of a large population, of a complex population, of hundreds of diversified occupations, of great wealth, this wealth measured largely in terms of stocks, bonds, bank deposits, per capita income, or in the number of "billion-dollar" industries.

Contrast between early and later labor organizations. Another kind of American organization, which can be used both as an illustration of the role of organization and of the changing needs in its field, is that of organized labor. Manifestly, in the agricultural economy of the new republic, when Jefferson warned the American people that its industries must remain in Europe, and when he remarked that cities are worth just about as much to the body politic as are boils on the human body, there would be no

occasion for organized labor. The history of industry and the history of organized labor in the United States are a part of the natural development from the earlier rural society to the later industrial society. In some ways, the history of organized labor is also the history of industrial development. Also, the processes through which organized labor has been developed are evidences of the operation of conflict, competition, and co-operation. So, also, organized labor is a symbol of the modern tendencies toward super-organization, in which the original purposes sometimes appear to be forgotten. This would be illustrated in so far as there are major conflicts between different divisions of labor organizations, between labor organizations and management, and between labor and farmers' organizations, whenever the activities of the organization are focused on the welfare of the class or the success of the organization as opposed to the original needs which gave rise to the organization.

It may be well to refer here to fundamental concept in the origins of organized groups in a democracy. That is, organizations may be needed not only to meet specific needs of a group for the attainment of desired ends, but the right to organize is elemental in the concept of democracy and in the general assumptions of modern democracies. This right to organize and the rights of free assembly and of free speech are part of the institutional framework which exists to serve American society. The whole subject of social organization has a distinguished heritage in American sociology.

Social organization as treated in the textbooks. This may be seen in samplings from pioneer and contemporary American sociologists which indicate the major place which the concept occupies in the textbooks on sociology. Like social processes, the treatment is relatively uniform, with, however, a wide range of variation in the levels of organization and the details of treatment. There is in most of the texts a close correlation between social organization and social control, but with perhaps a wider range of differences. Franklin H. Giddings often utilized for effective teaching popular terminology. In this instance, "the rules of the game," represented both the formal organization for control and the general social pressure. Kimball Young, somewhat after the same fashion, introduces his discussion of the nature and function of social control by saying that "the rules of society are generally discussed under the general term 'social control.'" More specifically, he says that in the broad sense of the word, "social control refers to any verbal or bodily action by which one person determines response of another." Thus, he makes control fundamentally a phase of interaction, and then defines social control "as the use of physical forces,

coercion, restraint, suggestion, persuasion, or other verbal or symbolic means to enforce or bring about the operation of prescribed or expected rules of action." His implication, however, is that this control may be by a group or institution, or perhaps by social pressure, with the most extensive controls being those of the state and "special-interest" economic organizations.

William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff consider social control as evidenced in the "pattern of pressure which a society exerts to maintain order and establish rules." They point out that group pressure is often unorganized and perhaps unconscious. Just as do Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, emphasizing that social control lies at the hearth and in the mores as well as in institutions, so Ogburn and Nimkoff recognize the effect of these on group ideals. They point out how "the increasing complexity of group life necessitates the development of formal and organized means of social control." Here also E. A. Ross's earlier classic on *Social Control* is cited to emphasize how informal social pressure was often competent to work out a true natural order as in many frontier societies.

Franklin H. Giddings in his later teachings found the beginnings of his sociology to be in controls exercised by what he called circumstantial pressure, or regional influences, and later societal pressure which was the informal control of the public. His analysis of how ruling groups come to power and maintain that power of control reflects a vivid universal procedure in the history of societies.

Contradictions in today's society. In the modern world, the sociologist will find the problem of social organization and social control complicated by what seems to be contradictions and paradoxes. Presumably there is less of the circumstantial pressure of the physical environment. Yet, at the same time, there is increasing significance in the possible redistribution of men and resources toward a balanced world order. Presumably there is less influence in informal social pressure, the folkways and the mores, public opinion and the like; yet the study of propaganda, advertising, and public opinion testing organizations constitutes a chief basis for sociological research. In their search for freedom, men have sought goals which would magnify the liberty of the individual in a society where institutions are less exacting in the power of control over all the activities of life; yet the chief trends are toward centralization of power, standardized mechanical processes, and the totalitarian principle of control over all the activities of individuals. In an age where the demand is made for equal opportunity, to be completely free, individuals sign away their freedom by giving organization leaders the power to speak for them, to act for them, and to coerce them.

So, too, organization itself becomes a sort of composite of the multiplying technicways necessary for survival in the modern world of technology. Organization has become perhaps the chief index of modern efficiency. The student of sociology, therefore, finds himself not only having a special obligation to study further the problems of social organization and social control, but also faced with an extraordinary wide range of opportunities for exploring the total field. One of the most important of these is considered in Chapter 33, when we discuss economic problems and their powerful ramifications into the whole field of government, resulting, sometimes, in economic coercion or in a tug of war between the rule of government and the rule of business. In this field also the student of sociology will find so many and rarer types of social organization that it merits special research.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

When we come to study American society, few fields of inquiry can be found that are richer in illustration than the numbers, types, and methods of organization for achieving ameliorative results and control. In both governmental and private activities, the nature and number of organizations, for all practical purposes, may well be uncountable.

There are, for instance, more than a thousand public welfare, social work, philanthropic, or relief agencies in New York alone. Of the great national, voluntary agencies, more than two thirds have headquarters in that metropolis. More than ninety per cent are in the two regions, the Northeast and Middle States. The influence of these voluntary organizations as developed in the metropolitan and intellectual regions was profound in molding the organizations and methods of governmental agencies during the 1930s, during World War II, and continuing into the postwar America. The story of governmental organization and activities, however, cannot be written until there is more time to inventory the complete organizational picture of the War and its postwar revisions. Many students of American life are inclined to interpret as a chief trait of our society the emphasis upon organizations, their activities and their conventions. From the National Manufacturers Association and the thousands of chambers of commerce throughout the nation on through the thousands of members of Rotary, Kiwanis, and other service clubs through all the ramifications of "community organization," the effort to understand American society may well begin with the understanding of its organizations.

The student of sociology will, of course, distinguish between the concept of organization in the larger, theoretical sense and in the practical sense in

which organizations and their activities have special functions, often temporary and superficial. It will suffice here to point out that more than eight thousand conventions and assemblies are often held in the United States in a single year, and that the study of the products and processes of organization will constitute a major research problem.

Organization in labor. For the present, we may look briefly at this American organizational trait in the fields of labor, education, and religion. The rise of the labor movement has been both a major force in and a product of the American evolutionary picture. The newer ideals of justice and public welfare and the advance in education and social organization had prepared the way for the rapid growth in organized labor, which in turn had set itself to work for a more articulate part in the American economy. On the other hand, the many new kinds of machinery, the new technology of production, the new reach of business organization, were powerful forces working upon American labor, even as they were affecting other institutional modes of life in America. What was to be the measure of technological unemployment and labor's relation to it?

The picture in the 1930's and early 1940's constituted an as yet unsolved puzzle: up to 1933 organized labor in the United States was apparently on the decline and somewhat demoralized. But with the N.R.A. to give new impetus to its cause, the outlook was quickly changed, and the cumulative effect of the New Deal and World War II transformed the whole situation into a tremendous upswing. Although labor union membership had decreased steadily from 5,100,000 in 1920 to 3,300,000 in 1931, a decade later in 1941 it had more than doubled again. The idea of labor as the chief American wealth-maker was so inseparably bound up with industry and invested capital that the problem came to be almost symbolic of the whole national economy. The later conflict between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. became symbolic of more intense trends toward labor organizations and of specialization in labor organization, and of the growth of class. The conflict between leaders of the C.I.O. and John L. Lewis, founder of the C.I.O., showed personal elements in conflict with group interests. After the same fashion, the leaders of certain major labor organizations among the Railroad brotherhoods led to bitterness and to threatened breakdown of the whole American system of services.

Greater production of goods and greater demands for men to produce them contributed to the rising standard of living, but the fluctuations of industrial production and the power of industry to hire and fire were such that a great depression would leave the worker at the mercy of a system; there were many industries over which neither employer nor employee

seemed to have any control. The picture was a complex one in that it showed a multitude of conflicting forces — labor striving to adapt itself to changing conditions; large-scale technological production reducing the personal element; the revival of the open-shop controversy; the failure and impotence of much of "big business"; the differences among labor groups themselves; the failure of the industrial democracy movement, the open warfare of organization in the basic industries; the growing strength of labor; the growing power of capital; the rise of company unions with 40 per cent of labor union membership; the experimentation with investments in company stocks and bonds; the lack of government or corporate provision for unemployment insurance; the lack of governmental control of supervision over labor organizations — these and other items indicate a kaleidoscopic picture reflecting the hazards of readjustment in the new era.

Organization in public education. Perhaps no institutional picture has appeared more impressive and colorful, no national wealth more promising of great returns, perhaps no American organization has shown greater advance than that of public education. Public education has long been acclaimed a great American institution just as equality of opportunity for the common man had been called the American ideal. In the twenties, America flourished and American education, public and private, swept forward in a steady march of expansion. Public schools, vocational education, institutions of higher education, extension and adult education, professional education, commercial education — all these had made the nation blossom like the rose. It was an amazing spectacle — beautiful buildings and grounds, vast football stadiums and athletic fields, consolidation of schools, transportation and free lunches, and the employment of many people in construction work. More than 30,000,000 people in the "school business" made an astonishing picture to the European observer: a matter of fact to Americans. Among these millions were the teachers and superintendents and other school officers, the salaried workers of the multitudinous educational associations, Parent-Teachers' Association members, educational committees of civic and service clubs, members of school boards, and salaried officials in Federal and state governments.

And of educational associations there were legion. There was the National Education Association, with its thousands of members and its two great annual meetings: one about the time of the birthday of the Father of this country, devoted to the Department of Superintendents; the other about the time of the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the great summer gathering of teachers themselves. Rarely could there be found more impressive conclaves than the February meetings of distinguished

superintendents and principals and college professors and presidents. Rarely more colorful picture, overflowing with enthusiasm, ideals, the zest for service and more knowledge, contacts and experience, than those Fourth of July weeks of the N.E.A. — held now West, now East, now South, attuned conveniently to provide recreation and entertainment for the tired teacher, and a profitable week for the hotels, restaurants, and theaters in the cities where the meetings were held.

Learned societies and organizations. Every state has an educational association with its officials and committees, meeting hither and yon throughout the state, following in general the ideals of the N.E.A., giving admirable forum for promotion work and fellowship, and platform for professional speakers and specialists. And, again, there are teachers' clubs and associations in counties and cities throughout the nation, pictures par excellence of professional, educational America. And of school journals a multitude: from the official organ of the N.E.A. and of each state association to the many professional and specialized journals of education published by the universities and public and private agencies, on to the bulletins of a hundred university departments and schools of education, teachers colleges, and the United States Bureau of Education, later the United States Office of Education.

There is still another picture: the normal schools, teachers colleges, schools of education, and local and state departments of education through which the training of teachers and the administration of education are carried out. How these grew from the original, simple textbooks for teachers and from departments of pedagogy constitutes one of the most interesting of all examples of American progress. Yet, by the early 1930s, the picture showed flaws — too many teachers and too many training places for them, whether because of the depression only or whether from a genuine overproduction, the nation inquired earnestly. Yet it was to be only a short time until there was both scarcity and limitation of teachers. At the end of World War II, the picture was confusing: too few teachers in most school systems, too many in others, and the professional standing of the teacher steadily deteriorating.

Still American education grew. A thousand groups of popular and learned societies flourished: associations of college professors and high school teachers in their special subjects; national learned societies in the physical and the social sciences; associations of medicine, engineering, and law schools, of schools of commerce and business, of private schools, of librarians, of college registrars, of college finance officials; and of over-all associations of colleges and universities, national, state, regional. And all of these had

their part in making America the nation of meetings, one-time promise of the perfect fellowship and technology. But this, too, the great American public was protesting and the makers of budgets were withdrawing travel funds for what was appraised as unnecessary expenses.

Organization in religion. So, too, there have been great changes in the religious life of the nation. In the days of the colonies and of the young republic, religion was always in the foreground, but there was little or no organization. The Federal Constitution and the constitutions of all the states, the procedures of the courts, the language of the laws, all paid homage to God as the guiding spirit of the nation. The United States was a nation of destiny, set forth by divine guidance to lead the world into a greater attainment of the good life and a greater glory to God. The Sabbath was holy, and during it there must be no work. Many colleges and preparatory schools were founded by the churches, and later state and municipal institutions were outgrowths of religious denominations. The church has long been a principal supporter of national institutions and contributor to the national conduct. The religious organizations were characteristic of the nation in another respect. From the earliest days American individualism and diversity of interests and beliefs, as well as from the heterogeneous origins of the people, there had flowed in a great number various denominational organizations. By 1945, according to the *Yearbook of American Churches*, there were no less than 256 religious bodies, of which the members equaled about 52.5 per cent of the total population. The greatest power of organized religion, however, was in the jurisdictional organizations of each denomination. These often resembled, in form and regional jurisdiction, the educational organizations, many churches sponsoring institutions of learning and scholarships alongside special conferences on Christian education. By and large, there grew up a vast number of local, regional, national, and international religious organizations — theme for extensive study and brilliant description. Yet, throughout the world, and in the United States in particular, many things accelerated the trend toward organization: the crisis of war and of postwar; the fear of atomic power and of another war; the restlessness and maladjustment of people in the great centers of population, together with the contagion of reform and propaganda, and the technology which made possible through radio and publication almost unlimited opportunity to be heard. All this was a part of the sweeping demands that exceeded the capacity of the people.

Assignments and Questions

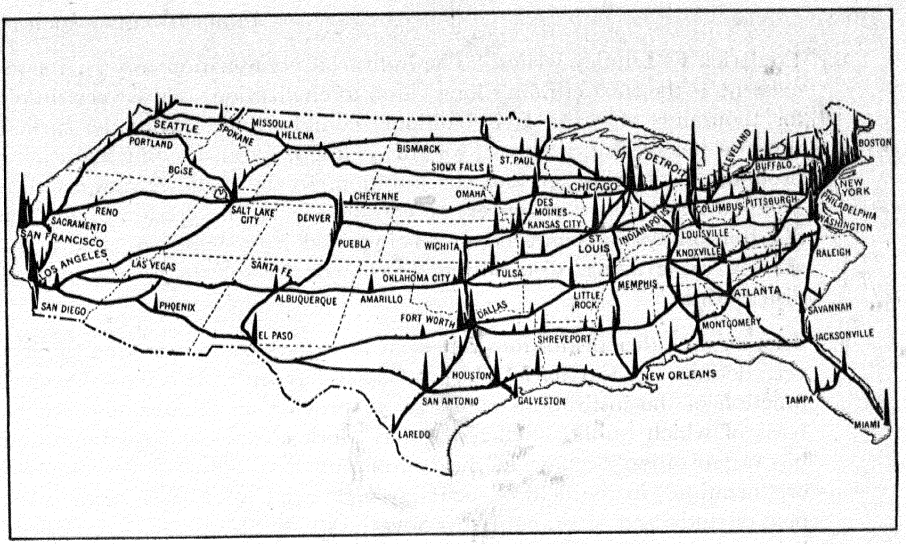
1. We have pointed out that the institutions may be said to represent not only the beginnings of social organizations which have arisen to meet definite needs, but they may also be said to represent the most stabilized form of social organizations. This general assumption has an authentic background in the writings of American sociologists. Check this in regard to the *family*, for instance. William Graham Sumner and A. G. Keller pointed out that ". . . the size and complexity of societal organization depends upon conditions existing in the natural and societal environments and also in the type of adjustment attained in meeting these conditions."

2. Frank W. Blackmar and John Lewis Gillin pointed out that "it matters not what form of general social order prevails, whether it be the loosely bound horde, the definitely organized patriarchal group or the civil state, the family is a constant center from which issue influences tending at once to stimulate and to perpetuate social order."

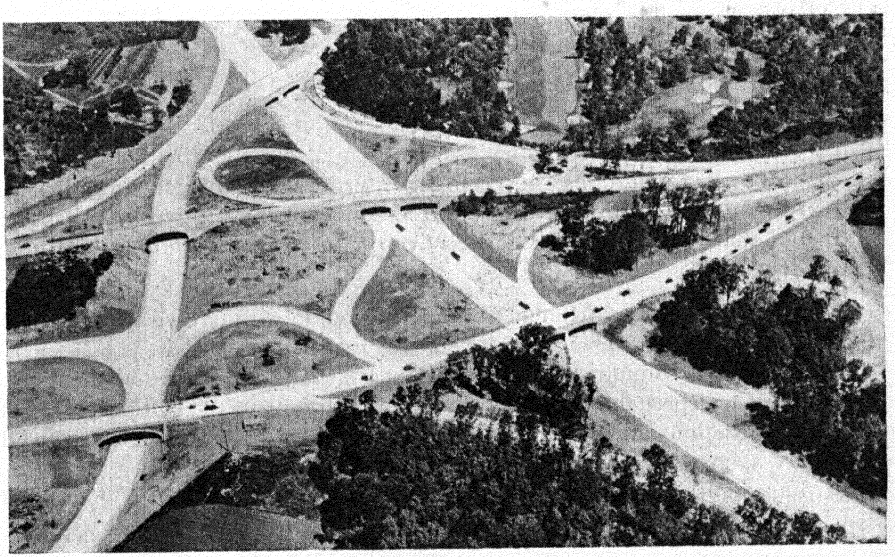
3. Frederick E. Lumley goes further and says that "the industrial organization has saved individuals; the family organization has saved the human race. The family organization must have survival value for it is found everywhere. Moreover, the family organization has provided for personal development in peculiar ways."

4. Or, take the field of *economic* or *industrial organization:* "Organization — specialization plus co-operation. . . . Occasions arise when . . . a group wishes to perform societal functions, then organization becomes necessary. . . . It is to be noted that organization is built upon inequality . . . it requires a hierarchy of managers which has more and more ranks as the organization becomes wider and more complex; it is aristocratic because it selects automatically the more fit for its positions of greater power. . . . To resist these tendencies, which are interest in organization, is to resist culture, which is an issue. . . ."

5. Kimball Young writes, "As men living in groups find ways of satisfying their fundamental needs, there arise in society certain standards and more or less continuous forms of structures which make up a totality called *societal organization.* These structures are expressed in moral customs, institutions, laws — in short, the whole range of what William Graham Sumner called folkways or mores. Yet societal organization is never divorced from the culture of the time and place."



A new nation of transportation and travel is symbolized in the Planned National highways for regional balance, for resource utilization, and defense alongside the recreational and cultural values inherent. ABOVE: Peak loads of travel indicated at focal cities. BELOW: New directions in the intersection of the Belt Parkway, Grand Central Parkway, and Winchester Boulevard in New York, showing the clover-leaf pattern.



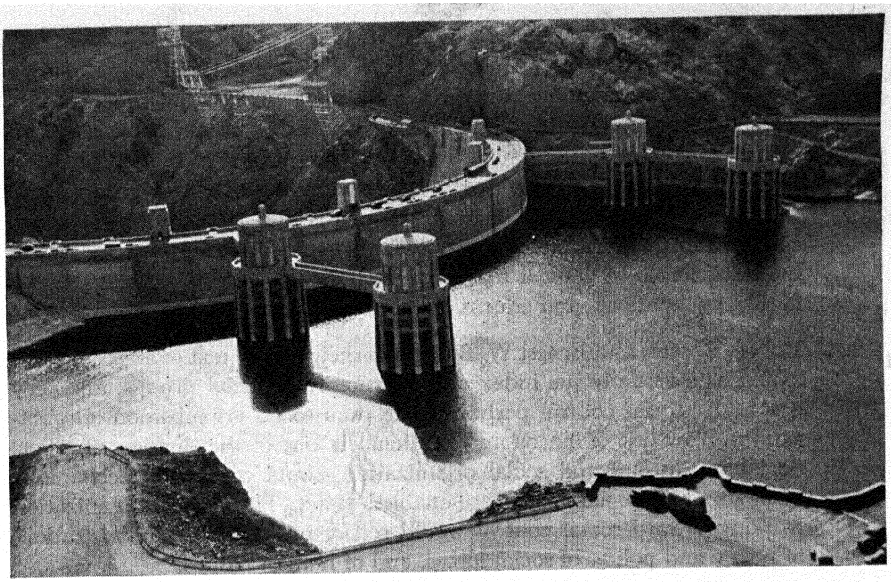
6. Frederick E. Lumley writes, "The industrial organization was . . . nonexistent at the start of man's long climb to civilization. It was very simple for thousands of years. It is bafflingly complex now. From the earliest times to the present, however, we always find *three* outstanding features — production, distribution, and consumption. In the earliest times each individual was his own producer; he consumed what he produced, and the distribution system consisted in passing food from hands to mouth. As sharing came along, distribution developed, for sharing is one kind of distribution."

7. So, too, the other institutions represent first organizations seeking to meet very definite needs. Charles Horton Cooley has said: "It is indeed a chief function of the institutions of society to provide an organization on the basis of which public intelligence may work effectively." So important has organization become in the community that the term "community organization" in the field of sociology and social work came to be a key field of study and planning. Show how the student of sociology by reviewing our several studies of institutions may find proof that in each of the major institutions — the family, religion, education, industry, government, and community — *social organization* gives us an admirable approach for the study of society in its early beginnings and for noting trends toward multiple organization in later stages of civilization.

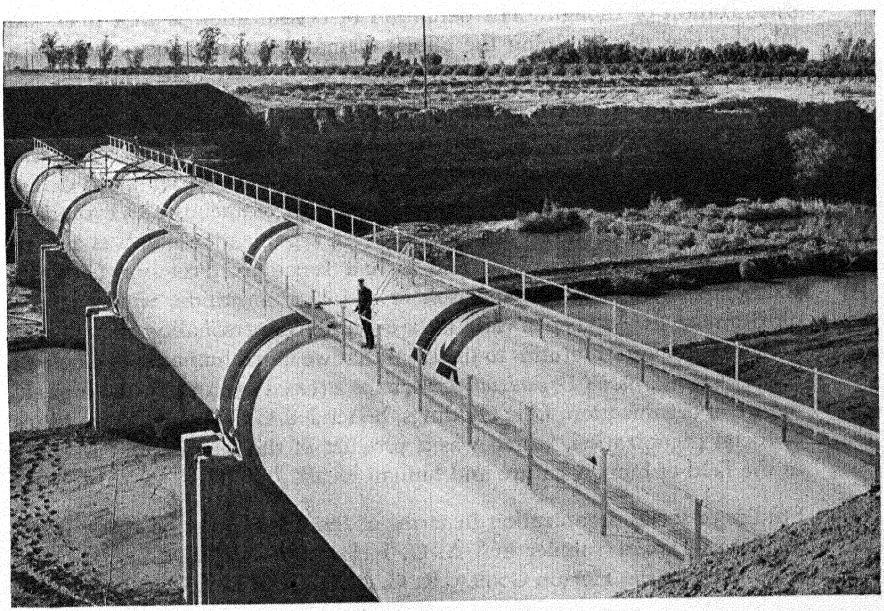
8. Now proceed a little further and add to these samplings of the theoretical implications of social organization from current textbooks on sociology. Thus, Kimball Young in his *Sociology* features especially the family, education, religion, play and art, economics, and politics. These are then followed by a discussion of social and personal disorganization, all of these being introductory to his studies of the processes of interaction.

9. William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff in their *Sociology* make the social institution the focus of the organization of society, treating especially economic institutions, governmental institutions, religious institutions, the family, and, finally, the interrelationship of institutions. They point out that "organization is an effective group device for getting something done."

10. Verne Wright and Manuel C. Elmer devote Part III of their text to social organization, with eight chapters of discussion on family, educational, economic, communal and governmental, and religious organization. They interpret the institutions as the major functional divisions of social organization, and they also discuss philosophy, science, recreation, and art as growing out of the established cultural social order and also as important in the integration and direction of institutions and cultural systems.



Irrigation and Flood control; power and pleasure; human and technological resources — all these are symbol and reality of science and technology transforming the world and needing the sociologist's study of the best possible balance between men and resources, culture and technology.



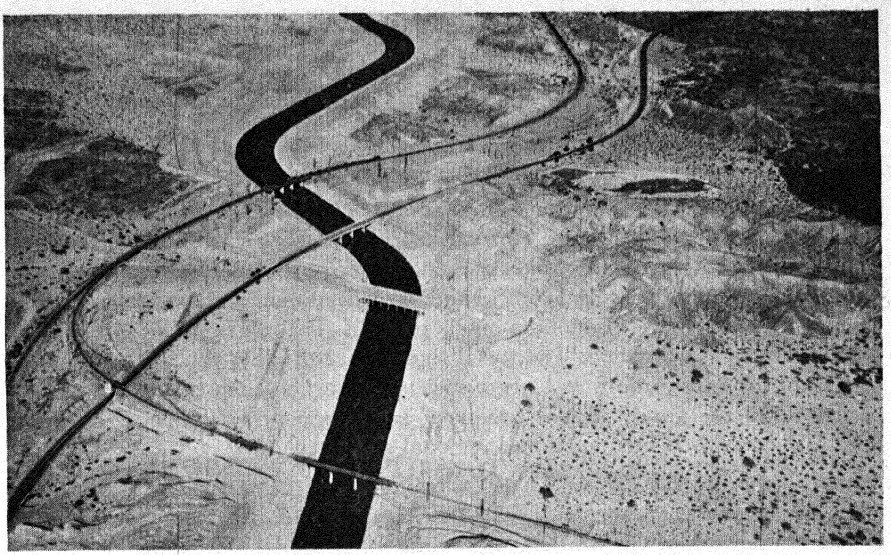
11. In their earlier composite *Introduction to Sociology*, Jerome Davis, Harry Elmer Barnes, and other authors devote Book III to social organization, which the author of this division, Seba Eldridge, treats as processes of group control. Social organization is here interpreted as the sum total of interactions between individuals, between individuals and groups, and between different groups. Primary emphasis also is placed upon social control and, as it is attained through the organization of groups and group interests, forms of control and organization are studied in religion, the family, occupations, and education.

12. Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess in their earlier text consider organization as essentially the index of the structure of social groups, and they emphasize social control perhaps more than social organization. Organizations grow out of needs and particularly out of the division of labor. Social institutions and social organization would constitute mechanisms through which social groups are enabled to act. Thus, social organization working toward social control would reflect problems of administration, of policy and polity, of social forces, and of human nature.

13. Among the earlier sociologists E. A. Ross treated the subject somewhat differently. In his revised *Principles of Sociology*, he devotes four chapters to the concept of co-operation and organization. In the first part of his discussion he covers the modern co-operative movement and then proceeds to discuss the organization of effort, the organization of will, and the organization of thought. His definition of organization is that it is "an effective way of combining the efforts of many for the achievement of a common end."

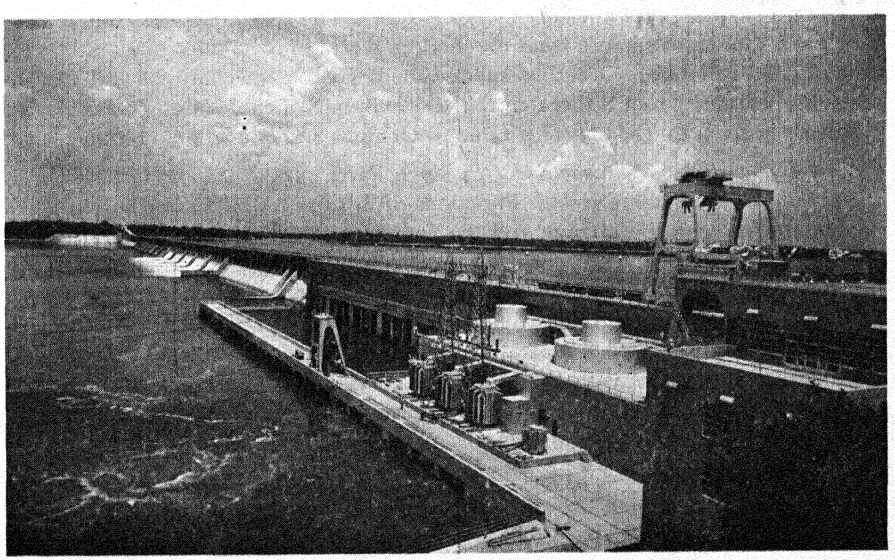
14. Both Franklin H. Giddings and Charles Horton Cooley of the earlier pioneers emphasize the organic nature of social organization as it was reflected in mental interrelationships. Giddings went so far as to define a society as "an organization partly the product of unconscious evolution, partly the result of conscious planning." An organization also was a complex of psychic relationships and it had functions. Professor Giddings then concluded that "the function of social organization, which a sociologist must always keep in view, is the evolution of personality through ever higher stages until it attains to the ideal that we name humanity." Cooley's classical work, *Social Organization*, perhaps stressed even more the organic nature of organization. Like Giddings, he tended to define society in terms of social organization, which was a product of the larger mind working in the field of human nature and human ideals.

15. Studies of social organization in terms of the crowd may be made from: William Graham Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, pages 8, 20, 88; Charles Horton Cooley, R. C. Angell, and L. J. Carr, *Introductory*



Justice and Democracy as Problems of Control and the Distribution of Opportunity

In the search for the regional equality of America, the democratic process is found partly in guaranteeing to all the people access to resources and abundance. ABOVE: The all American canal crossed by U. S. Transcontinental Highway No. 80, by The Southern Pacific, and a branch railroad into Mexico. Problems for the U. S. Department of the Interior. BELOW: Power in the T.V.A.



Sociology, pages 223, 224, 393; Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*, pages 709, 713, 720–725; Frederick E. Lumley, *Principles of Sociology*, page 191.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology.* Chapters XVIII through XXXI give a discussion of modes of social control and social organizations. Informal modes of social control and formalized modes. Biological and sociological factors in control. Functions of folk patterns. The role of public opinion and the crowd and propaganda. The social significance of play, art, science. Understanding of the institutions as tools of society and a fine chapter on domestic experience and the family. Social adequacy and progress in relation to organizations and control. A functional and regional approach.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities.* Chapters IV, V, VI, VII are especially significant. In these the author deals with the Rise and Fall of Megalopolis, the Regional Framework of Civilization, the Politics of Regional Development, and the Social Basis of the New Urban Order. To Mumford the improvement of cities is not a matter of small one-sided reform. "The task of city design involves the vaster task of rebuilding our civilization. We must alter the parasitic and predatory modes of life that now play so large a part and we must create . . . an effective symbiosis, or co-operative living together." Especial stress given to regional planning.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics of Civilization.* There is a similarity concerning the problems and development of organizations and controls in much of the material in *Technics of Civilization* and *The Culture of Cities.* The two works are complementary, each seeking to explore what the modern world may hold for mankind "once men of good will have learned to subdue the barbarous mechanisms and mechanized barbarisms that now threaten the very existence of civilization." Much more emphasis is given in *The Culture of Cities* to religious and educational organization.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, Parts III and IV. The institutions of the people in a changing world. Functions of institutions as buffers between the people and rapid social change and the continuing need of strong social institutions at a time when science and technology are working tremendous changes in all walks of life. Resulting disorganization "when the demands of artificial society and supertechnology are greater than the capacity of the folk and the institutions themselves." Problems of organizational life arising from stubborn allegiance to tradition. Part IV deals with the problem of designing technical, workable ways which will tend to bring about a balance between the old and the new. Chapters on social technology and social planning.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, especially chapters II, V, VI, VIII–XI; Part III, with emphasis on chapter XXV. Regionalism "serving not only as a tool for progress but as a medium for portraying new plural-

ism of the American nation and for interpreting its growth through the orderly processes of the people and their institutions within the living geography of a natural and cultural heritage." The states as areas for regionalism. Definition and function of district, zone, state, subregion, and region as units for planning. Problems and strategy of regional planning look toward national integration yet preserve the richness of regional resources, natural and human, with their diversity of cultural organizations.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions.* The entire book is useful for a study of organizations and control. See especially Parts I and III. To the six major institutions usually used by sociologists Panunzio has added two. His eight institutions are: marital, familial, economic, educational, recreational, religious, scientific, and governmental. These he subdivides into four component subsystems of institutions of concepts, usages and rules, associations, and instruments.

Recent Social Trends, pages XXIV–LXX, 249, 829–852, 1511–1515, 1036–1044. Labor. Minority groups. The family, schools, the church. Morals and attitudes. Government. Relations of government and business. Laws. Organized groups and government.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Bernard, L. L., *Social Control;* Blumenthal, Albert, *Small-Town Stuff;* Burgess, Ernest W., *The Function of Socialization in Social Evolution;* Cantril, Hadley, *Gauging Public Opinion;* Cantril, Hadley, and Allport, Gordon W., *The Psychology of Radio;* Childs, H. L., *An Introduction to Public Opinion;* Cooley, Charles Horton, *Social Organization;* Doob, Leonard W., *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique;* Fink, Arthur E., *The Field of Social Work;* Knight, Bruce Winton, *How to Run a War;* Lambert, Richard Stanton, *Propaganda;* Landis, Paul H., *Social Control;* La Piere, Richard T., *Collective Behavior;* Lawton, George (ed.), *New Goals for Old Age;* Lippmann, Walter, *The Phantom Public* and *Public Opinion;* Mander, Linden A., *Foundations of Modern World Society;* Moore, Underhill, and Callahan, Charles C., *Law and Learning Theory. A Study in Legal Control;* Murphy, Arthur E., *The Uses of Reason;* Odegard, Peter H., *Pressure Politics;* Pound, Roscoe, *Social Control Through Law;* Ross, Edward Alsworth, *Social Control;* Sanderson, Dwight, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization;* Sims, Newell L., *The Problem of Social Change;* Soule, George H., *The Coming American Revolution.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. More important now than numerous readings is the understanding of modern organizations. It has been estimated that there are more than 7,000

organizations or agencies in the United States devoted to over-all, general, or national causes. Most of them stem from the metropolitan centers and intellectual interests. Select one national organization of sufficient size so that there is plentiful reference material about it, and try to answer these questions: Does it employ many educated specialists? How much "good" do they do? How much harm?

2. George B. Galloway, in *Postwar Planning in the United States*, catalogues nearly 150 planning units. Make a study of these according to function and organization.

3. In Lewis L. Lorwin's *Postwar Plans of the United Nations*, published in 1943, there are three hundred pages devoted to India, China, Australia, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, United States, Czechoslovakia, and fifteen other nations. Classify these in terms of their *organization.*

4. No one has listed, classified, and appraised accurately the flood of committees and organizations in the United States that grew up, first, for war situations, and second, for postwar work. Although this is a monumental piece of research, select one or the other and make as complete a classification as possible.

5. List the leaders and describe the programs of organizations devoting themselves to changing the "American system."

6. Describe the organizational plan of the United Nations.

32

Problems of Democracy and Equality

Justice, equality, opportunity the keynotes to a never-ending problem. Few problems are more persistent in contemporary society than those involved in the reasonable expectations of the people for justice, equality, and opportunity, and in the feeling of belonging in a fellowship of democratic society.

It must be clear that justice is not merely something on the level of moral principles. It is, rather, the regional equality and balance of man and resources, of culture and technology in the places where the people live, set in the framework of world culture and standards that are symbols of man's highest ideals.

Equality, manifestly, is not merely something on the level of abstract definition and morality, but rather again a measure of the capacity and the opportunity of individuals and groups to function successfully within the framework of physical and cultural development.

Opportunity is not a stereotyped mass formula of identical processes of security for all peoples and all groups, but rather the measure of the degree to which individuals and groups may succeed in the things they want to do within the framework of their equipment and efforts and the perspective of these to all the factors involved.

Finally, the feeling of belonging, the passion for representation and participation, are but the normal desires of all people growing up and becoming increasingly articulate.

Questions arise then: Are the people right? If "nothing counts but the people," why are they so often neglected or exploited? Why are the people right in insisting on justice, equality, opportunity, security, and representation, and why are they willing to live and die for these things? Consider,

for instance, the people of fifty United Nations whose representatives met at San Francisco during April, May, and June of 1945. On the premises of world society, world order, and world peace, the people *had* to be right.

Why democracy is important. Now, manifestly this sort of verdict about the people is of the greatest significance in approaching a sociological understanding of democracy. This is true for several reasons. In the first place, as we have emphasized many times, the folk represent the supreme reality of all society, the universal cultural constant in a world of variables. The people as the creators and the creatures of society are the heirs to its achievements and the ends of its main motivation. In the second place, the problem of social control has been greatly intensified and made more complex by the wide range and intensity of societal conflict, the increasing difficulty of the processes of adjustment and accommodation, and the tempo of societal change. Added to this is the need for a form of social control which will accommodate the needs of the people and, at the same time, serve as a medium of transition between the old and the new. This means that the sociologist's approach to democracy is one in which he seeks that societal arrangement which does take notice of the wide range of folk culture, folk traits, and folk needs at the same time that it provides a technical organization through which the rights and development of the individual and of minority groups are ensured. The sociologist recognizes that only in democracy are the people the heart of the entire social order as compared with most of the other forms of government, in which the state, the organization, or the system itself are the center or fulcrum.

Democracy is a societal order. In earlier chapters of this part of the book, it has been emphasized that the most realistic issues which sociology undertakes to study are those which relate to the fundamental ongoings of society itself. One of the most important of these is the problem of democracy as a societal arrangement through which the continuity of human evolution and the welfare of human society are conserved and developed. We have pointed out in a number of instances how the need for balance between individuation and socialization, between the rights of the individual and the demands of society, constitutes one of the major problems of the present era. This problem is fundamental in the larger problem of democracy. We have called attention also to certain concrete problems concerning race, poverty, and economic opportunity as challenging sociological study. These are also involved in the sociological problem of democracy.

Democracy is more than philosophy and government. It is important to emphasize again that democracy for sociology is different from democracy

as defined by philosophy and political science. The public has been accustomed to think of democracy according to two general concepts. The first has been democracy as a philosophy of equal opportunity and of freedom, happiness, and success. The second has been democracy as a tool or means of government; government, as Lincoln said, of, by, and for the people; government that insists on equal opportunity for all and special privilege for none; government as the sovereign way whereby institutional social relations are maintained and enforced through sovereignty. A corollary to these concepts makes democracy synonymous with the American system of government and the American way of life.

Now the sociologist in his studies of democracy recognizes and especially undertakes to study these concepts of American democracy, yet he must also envisage democracy as social control and from a more organic vantage point. Democracy for the sociologist is the only one of the sovereign societal arrangements which makes the people the symbol and reality of government as opposed to other sovereign societal arrangements which emphasize organization, form, and the state as supreme. But more than this, democracy for sociology provides institutions and political arrangements in which the individual has continuing opportunity for development, so that in the long run there is opportunity for the continuity of human evolution. Democracy in this meaning is essentially the problem for the sociologist to study. It must be clear why the sociologist considers the world conflict between the two philosophies of totalitarianism and democracy to be of such great importance to the very preservation and progress of human society.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRACY

The people and their institutions. We have pointed out how the heritage of the symbol, vox populi, vox dei — the voice of the people, the voice of God — is more than a merely popular phrase, in that it is rooted in the scientific realism that the people, the folk, are the societal constant in the development and evolution of all cultures. In somewhat the same way, when we speak of "defending" the institutions of American democracy, this catch phrase means more than a mere patriotism or shibboleth to the sociologist; he knows that the basic institutions of democracy are essential to the development of the individual and the continuing evolution of human society as contrasted with totalitarianism, which destroys or exploits the institutions in which the individual finds refuge. One way to visualize the meaning of democratic institutions is to contrast them to this single institu-

tional dominance of the state, always with a view to understanding the organic relationship of these institutions to the conservation and preservation of mankind and his society.

In simple language, the totalitarian society makes the state synonymous with society and negates the functions and services of other great institutions, whereas democracy makes the state the central and most comprehensive of a number of major institutions which have grown up to meet the needs of mankind and which, therefore, are enriched and protected by the state itself. We may look at the origin and function of these institutions again, in order that we may see more clearly their relation to democracy and their services to the individual. For instance, in early society, the search for truth about nature and man was closely related to the religious questioning about the unknown. So, too, throughout the development of mankind the innerspiritual nature of the individual has appeared in most of his struggles for freedom and in most of his creative work, whether it be a symphony, a poem, or a painting, or the design of a building, a bridge, or an ocean liner. If these are measures of the development and enrichment of human society and of the constantly developing social personality, it is evident that society values very highly whatever situations and arrangements will continue to conserve and develop these freedoms.

Thus, again, in the founding of the new country and in its Constitution, freedom of worship was not only a catch word or something to be patriotic about, but it represented an organic part of that which made the new world of society. In later developing technological societies, it has appeared clearly that, whether through coercion of the state or by way of default of mechanism or technology, when those freedoms which are embodied in the freedom of the individual spirit are taken away, other freedoms vanish in their wake.

Democracy and the family. Or, once again, we may use another American heritage as an illustration of the organic nature of democracy. In the American as well as the British democracy, "A man's home is his castle," as the saying goes. This principle was safeguarded through Article IV of the Federal Constitution, which states: "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizure, shall not be violated . . .," and then requires search warrants duly issued by legal authorities before entrance can be had into a private house.

The sanctity of the family and the home was of very early origin, and, through the ethnic kinship of the family, the tribe and the clan really

represented the organic beginnings not only of the folk society, but of the state itself. From the development of the ethnic to the civilized society and the consequent development of the state, the state served only as the medium or the co-ordinating sovereignty of the constituent units that came together for various purposes. Down the long road of human history, the development of marriage and the family, the family relationships for reproducing the race, for nurturing childhood into youth and youth into maturity, were organic functions which guaranteed the stability and survival of the race. It must be clear, therefore, that the family as an institution is essential to conserving, developing, and protecting the individual, and of ensuring a race that shall be well born and well nurtured, with freedom for growth and development, such as contribute to strong personalities and successful lives. When, therefore, a totalitarian arrangement takes away any part of the institution of the home and the family, whatever else it has done, it has taken away one of the bases of human freedom.

Democracy and education. The institution of the school and education in a democracy is the essential keynote of freedom. This is true in more ways than one. In the first place, education has constituted the chief institution for conserving and making available to each succeeding generation the folk wisdom and formal learning of previous generations. As society has developed on and up, education has been increasingly envisaged as that equipment which will give to every individual the fullest development of his own personality in the light of society's wisdom. It is sometimes said that the only security that can be guaranteed by any government is the adequate education of the individual to adapt himself to whatever environment may face him in a world of change.

In later American education, the institution of education has been the keynote of democracy in two ways. First, public education, the education of all the people, has been set as a basic essential for equal opportunity and also as a standard through which an increasingly more intelligent citizenship might be developed to continue the conservation and development of democracy. In the second place, public education, particularly in the higher brackets of university research and teaching, has been considered the most trustworthy and distinctive of all the evidences of genuine democracy, in the sense of freedom to find the truth and to teach the truth unrestrained by political interference. But when a totalitarian government takes over and dominates education, dictating what science will be and what teaching can and cannot be done, the heart of freedom of the individual and of society has been destroyed.

THE AMERICAN RECORD OF DEMOCRACY

Assumptions of American democracy. When we come to study democracy in the United States, we have a rich field for observation and analysis. Assuming the soundness of the theory which we have discussed, we shall keep in mind specifically the American idea of democracy, rather than merely its general concept and philosophy. The American ideology seemed to assume, first of all, a political democracy with economic freedom. Within this framework was the "American dream" of every man: opportunity for development, from the lowest to the highest, and the only limits to opportunity to be a man's inborn talents or skill. The American ideal seemed to have implied, therefore, the sociological ideal of a superior mankind which sets a premium upon individual variates from type, upon developed personality, upon the contribution of the genius or superior person. Every man could attain eminence through the same channels of opportunity, which in turn were to be made possible through the nurture of well-equipped institutions and freedom.

The setting and the procedures for American democracy, however, seemed to comprehend other definitive elements from which its present status has derived. These include the assumptions of limitless frontier areas; of a magnificent agrarian culture later to be well balanced with industry; of nature and resources so bountiful that they could be ruthlessly exploited; of the unquestioned mastery of a chosen people over racial and minority groups; of a group analogy to individual freedom in sectional achievements; of continuing strong genetic stocks of people in generous reproduction rates with no necessity for a planned population; and of a certain national isolation and self-sufficiency that the United States is a world set apart and untouchable.

Within these American assumptions, it is still realized that a distinction exists between the concept of a democracy which represents attainable ideals, and the actual visible ends of organized democracy which represent at most direction and approximation. This means a full recognition of the difference between theory and practice, between dominant ideas and actual institutions. It is assumed further that no matter what the present chasm between the theory and the practice of democracy may be, in fact, the concept must be preserved as constituting the greatest promise of the ultimate attainment of the reality of the democratic process. Our definition, therefore, must be found somewhere within the limits of a merging of concept and theory with the reality of social process, in which will best be approximated the attainable ends of an enduring democracy.

Democracy's unfinished work in America. On the basis of such a distinction between the concept of democracy and the reality of the process, and measuring practical results in the social ends of equality rather than in mere theory or against the Bill of Rights, it is but the recording of reality to say that the present United States does not approximate the democratic ideal. It is not so necessary to cite commonplace evidence to support this assertion as it is to indicate a sort of framework of some of the inequalities and how to understand how they have grown up. For, at the crest of the nation's highest economic achievement, the per capita wealth of the highest income group was a thousand times that of the lowest; the highest per capita personal income tax state was more than a hundred times that of the lowest; and if personal and corporate income be considered, the highest state was one hundred and twenty times that of the lowest; while if per capita income as measured by net incomes of $50,000 or over be considered, the highest state was more than four hundred times that of the lowest.

The states with the largest number of children to be educated had less than one tenth the money for this purpose that the states with the smallest number had. And so, on and on, measured by more than two hundred ordinary gauges of status, the index of inequality in the states and regions ranges anywhere from two to five hundred. To cite other specific examples, there is scarcely an approximation to democracy in the life of many of the minority peoples in America. There is little semblance of democracy, either cultural or political, for thirteen million Negroes in the United States, or for the nearly thirty-two million white people in the South who must educate more Negro children than all the other regions. There is not equality of opportunity for tenant farmers and their children, or for the millions of families who, for no fault of their own, submerged below the American standard, cannot feed or clothe or keep their children healthy. There is no equality for the millions of displaced folk turned adrift from farm or mine or factory; or for children shunted into an older age group so that they may work.

United States nearer than any other society approximates ideal democracy. There has been an approximation to political democracy and an approximation to social democracy in America, and the framework of this democracy is still available, and in its new application, largely untried. Undoubtedly the United States has been the nearest exemplification of the democratic ideal. The ideals set forth in political democracy and individualism have constituted a national faith in which the people have consented to what is going on. The mass achievements and technology which have

brought chaotic inequality have been the pride of the people. In so far, therefore, as it was theirs by intention and vote, no matter what the consequences, it was representative democracy. The "big man" pattern and the ambition of every man's man child to attain comfort, wealth, and eminence have motivated the people. They wanted and admired conquest and mastery. Even the regional inequalities often reflect the organic nature of the folk society and what the people want or are willing to pay for; or what they believe.

To end poverty and provide abundance. And to return to the crest of American achievement, the nation thought it was coming near the goal of abolishing poverty under the grand technical and economic pattern of unlimited production, the maximization of credit and consumers' power of the 1920s. The ideology, for instance, of The Century of Progress World's Fair was that invested capital devoted to the expansion of science and invention would make possible standards for the common man which no period before had afforded even to kings and potentates. And undoubtedly this was what the people wanted. And under a political democracy which could so order its governmental services to the people as to guarantee scientific and expert advice and ensure against exploitation incident to the weakness of human nature, and could muster its science and social engineering together, President Herbert Hoover's Americanism would have come much nearer to ending poverty in America than the pathological ideologies of a mass-minded world of discontent. The limitation there, as elsewhere, was the lack of workable ways to bridge the chasm between theory and practice; and still more to balance the folk with the powerful supertechnology of science and big business which, working for their own ends, crushed the people in the process.

Why American democracy survives. Another fundamental reason for the persistence of the American faith in democracy is the lasting conviction, arrived at after much observation, that the alternatives which have been or are being tried in the rest of the world do not appear to approximate the ideals of equality and opportunity even so much as the American system; and even though they succeed in lands of their peculiar conditioning, their ideologies and forms do not carry with them the basis for a social organization capable of achieving the highest welfare for the United States. Furthermore, preliminary experimentation in regional problems and special areas of American dilemma have not indicated that the application of any other system would be attainable or effectual at the present time. Within the framework of our American assumptions, even though the goals of these alternatives conform to the ideologies of the greatest good to the

greatest number of people, the difficulties in the way of their implementation are greater than those of our own democratic organization.

The need for an orderly transitional democracy. Moreover, the great deficiencies in American democracy are explainable in terms of logical and inevitable sequences to circumstances, policies, and action which will not continue to obtain in the American picture.

Our hypothesis is that the present gross inequalities are the result of a failure to achieve orderly transition from the old America to the new, and that in all probability the motivation and the attainment of such orderly transition in the present period will constitute the sole definitive democracy of the next years. Inherent in the period will be the essence of both the democratic problem and any alternative solution which may prove necessary. It is likely that in the transition period will be found not only crisis, tension, and travail, but also one of the supreme experiments of Western civilization.

Transition from tradition to new reality. This problem of transitional democracy, like the other aspects of the American experience, is reflected in the past history of the nation as well as in the current dilemmas which condition future economic and social arrangements.

There was, first of all, the transition from the small Jeffersonian nation of rural states, of one or two regions of simple motivation, of homogeneity of people, of few occupations, with small individual fortunes centered chiefly in farm and forest and sea, in land and homes, to the present very large nation of urban and industrial majorities, in greatly differing regions with complex motivation and heterogeneity of population, with hundreds of varied occupations, with large individual fortunes, with fabulous salaries, with corporate holdings and wealth not only in farm lands and commodities but also in real estate, insurance, transportation, manufactures, communications, public utilities, mining, construction, wholesale and retail trade, and amusements.

There was a transition from slavery to freedom in the realignment of one section. It was not an orderly transition.

There was and is a transition from agrarian culture and rural folk to industrial life and urbanization; from the human, man-land, man-labor emphasis to technology; from ideologies to science; from education for the few to universal education; from illiteracy to a new literacy fearfully and wonderfully fabricated; from a man's world to a new world in which women assume increasingly larger influence.

There was the transition from the rule of the few to the dominance of the many; from the authority of the elders to the questioning of youth;

from government in terms of the town, village, or state to an increasing federalization of government.

And there was the transition from depression and emergency, from war and destruction, to recovery and reconstruction.

There was the transition from isolation to internationalism through the pressures of war, and a return to nationalism. But the hopes and the determination for an effective world government survive.

And there is the great transition to be made between primary individuation and primary socialization.

American democracy anew. Because of the extraordinary complexity of the whole situation, the requirements of the next few years appear to be relatively clear. That is, because of our peculiar American conditioning and cultural equipment, because of the bigness, the speed, the complexity, and the technology of modern civilization everywhere, because of the sheer enormity of the nation's wealth and resources, because of the limitations in experience, training, and character of its mixed peoples and divergent regions, because of the sweep of its tragedies and its dilemmas, and the irreconcilable nature and the immaturity of its epidemic of "isms," panaceas, propaganda, rumors, claims, interests, demands, ideologies, motivations, and plans; and, finally, because of the pressures of past war conditions, the specifications of next steps appear relatively clear. There seems to be only one way to provide for the rational regimentation of irrational society, and that is through the orderly planning of societal organization, based upon the organic realities of the people, their resources, and their regions.

In simple language, finally, our assumption seems to be that there will be no pure democracy or formal alternative to democracy in the United States for the next decade or two or transition, but that the definitive nature of our political and cultural activity will be found in the gigantic struggle of the American people to evolve an orderly democracy. In other words, the exact form of democratic organization strong enough to meet the needs of our present confused American civilization does not now exist. It is, therefore, the task of the social sciences and their techniques to help discover the basis and form for such organization. The assumption seems warranted, therefore, that the concentration of all the efforts of all parties and regions should be focused upon such an orderly planned procedure as may reasonably be expected to receive the general sanction of the people. This is the supreme test of democracy as it is set in competition with the other alternatives of chaos, revolution, supercorporate control, centralization, or authoritarian government.

The new liberalism, which is a societal composite of the economic liberalism, political liberalism, and intellectual liberalism of the traditional processes, is one which has its existence and development established in the realities of the enduring balance between man and nature. It is a liberalism which sees world peace instead of nationalistic struggle and world war, and is geared to the interrelationships of world economy and culture.

Assignments and Questions

1. Why was it that the earlier American sociologists did not tie in their "principles" more clearly to the American credo of democracy?
2. Why have the later sociologists likewise not paid much attention to the theoretical and practical problems of democracy? Does it result from the fear of emphasizing "values" or "the practical"?
3. What is meant by "transitional democracy" as a description of the situation in the United States from 1930 to the present?
4. What was meant by "The Democracies" in the drawing of issues in the earlier years of World War II?
5. Compare democracy, socialism, and fascism in terms of their relation to the survival or endurance of the major institutions.
6. Compare democracy, socialism, and fascism in terms of their contribution to the *continuing evolution of human society and the enrichment of personality.*
7. Are communism and fascism equally or similarly *totalitarian* in principles and practices?
8. Discuss the "failure" of the movement for "industrial democracy" in the 1920s, if it were failure.
9. Define democracy in terms of its moral and ethical concepts.
10. Define democracy as a tool of government.
11. Define democracy as a societal concept.
12. Appraise the practical effectiveness of democracy to deal with three modern situations for which no complete answers now appear (a) race relations, (b) the conflict between business and government, (c) disputes between management and labor.
13. What was the elemental relation of capitalism to the American concept of opportunity or democracy? "Life, liberty, and the right to own property" is a reinterpretation of the original statement of "unalienable rights." Discuss this.
14. What is the organic relation of the states to American democracy? How does regionalism as a tool for national unity preserve this relationship?
15. Discuss trends in the Soviet Union toward a socialistic democracy of the folk.

Demagogic Leadership or Fascistic Dictatorship

The Louisiana State Capitol, monument to Huey Long, stands clearly as a symbol of the problems of Democracy and Fascism. Appealing to the pride of the people by "doing things" Huey Long built his skyscraper and university and left in the wake of his achievement a tragic picture of frustration.

16. What were the "little democracies" in Europe?
17. What was the nature of Hitler's scornful references to the democracies?
18. Distinguish between socialism and communism.

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapters XVIII and XXIV. Public opinion and democracy; education and democracy. The activity of public opinion an excellent index to the fluidity of society and to the existence of democracy. The right of the minority to express its opinions openly and freely is one of the earmarks of a fluid and democratic society. When it has disappeared, it is safe to assume that democracy has disappeared. With the elaboration of culture, democracy in education is not easy to maintain. Yet the artificial obstacles to equality and mutual understanding must be attacked through the schools. Democratic education as part of the "American dream."

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter XVI. Necessity for high degree of cultural participation if effective operation of democratic institutions is to be ensured. A low degree of cultural participation makes the rule of organized minorities not only possible but almost a necessity if society is to be maintained as a functioning entity. These minorities are capable of concerted action, while the bulk of the population, lacking common attitudes and values which might serve as rallying points, can do nothing against the minority or for themselves.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, especially chapters V–VII. Democracy cannot be achieved with the impoverished conception of the environment that has hitherto satisfied the urban ego. A democratic pattern will come through planning, which will make the city ready to sustain the richest type of human culture and the fullest span of human life. It must offer a home to every type of character and disposition and human mood. It must provide for human feelings and values, prime requisites in democratic life.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapters VII–VIII and introductory chapter dealing with objectives. Through successful assimilation of the machine, democracy is able to advance. The creative life in all its manifestations a necessary social product allied with democratic living. No group must be denied its creative activity. Relation of mass production to democracy. Dilemma of equalizing standards of living in this artificial technical society.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters XIX and XXI. American ideology and governmental institutions. Settings and procedures for American democracy and the changes which the twentieth century has brought. Concept and actual visible ends of organized democracy are in conflict. Effects of circumstances, policies, and actions upon governmental institutions. Problems of a transitional democracy. Specifications for social planning, the promise and prospects for the American nation. The school and education in a democracy. Public educa-

The new conservation and the old waste; the old row crops and the new diversified farming — products of regional planning and the wise use of resources. ABOVE: Rich grazing lands where once were eroded fields. BELOW: Contrasting picture symbolizing Stuart Chase's "Rich land, poor land" and Franklin D. Roosevelt's "poor land, poor men."

tion and the folk. The task of the school and society in discovering the people. Education a keynote to democracy in that it is the societal force that, nearer than anything else, comprehends the possibilities of the great ends of society.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, especially chapters I and II. The theme of American regionalism is that of the land and the people, in whose continuity and unity of development must be found the testing ground of American democracy. Regionalism as an effective and natural medium between the uncontrolled individual and complete centralization of Federal government represents an economy of essential flexibility so fundamental in American democracy. The regional movement offers a framework for planning and adjusting in order that all the people may be benefited. The equalization of opportunity an important element in this movement. Regionalism as opposed to sectionalism and a means for co-operation instead of conflict.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, especially chapter XX, pages 631–639, 650–651; chapter XXIII, page 761; chapter XXVIII, page 928. The role of the masses in a democracy. Methods of transition from royal power to a democracy. Discussion of devices designed to give the people direct control over legislation. The task of democracy in a complex world with a government of vast functions. The relations of state and industry in the large democracies. Ideology of private capitalism back of present American industrial system. The relation of democracy and social planning.

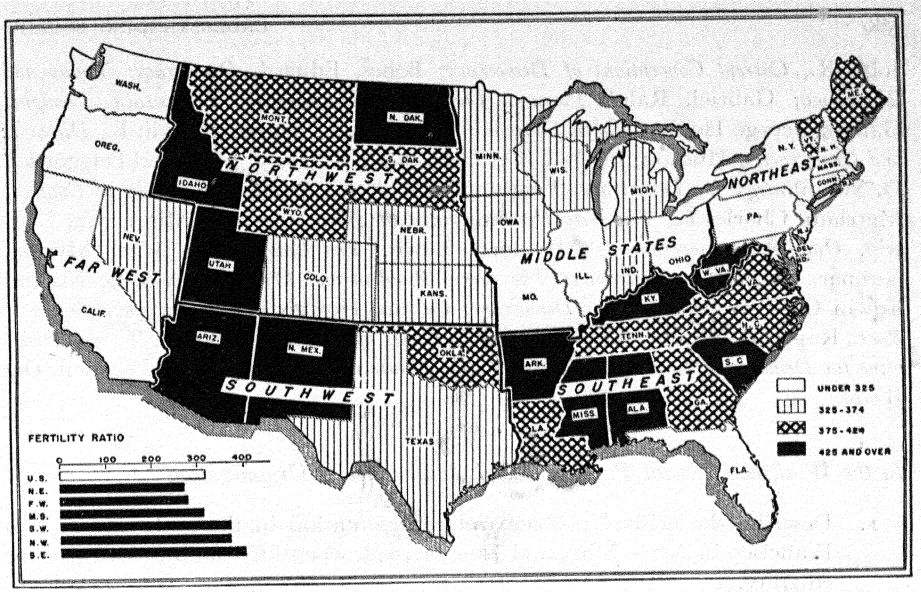
Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, especially chapter 31. The role of democracy in the major patterns and trends of Western culture. Liberalism versus laissez faire. Dilemma revolving around international organization. Man's efforts to build a comity of nations and to create instruments to eliminate war. The relation of economic life to democracy. The struggle of the "haves" and the "have-nots."

Recent Social Trends, pages LXVIII–LXIX, 1527–1530. Evidences of antidemocratic trends and of democratic trends. Habituation of American people to large-scale organization and planning in industry; tendency to use latest fashions in science and technology promptly; lack of sharp permanent classes or castes; wide prevalence of democratic attitudes and practices in social life; democratization of education, forms of transportation, recreation, and dress. Prospect of continuance of democratic regions on a higher plane. Citizenship and liberty.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

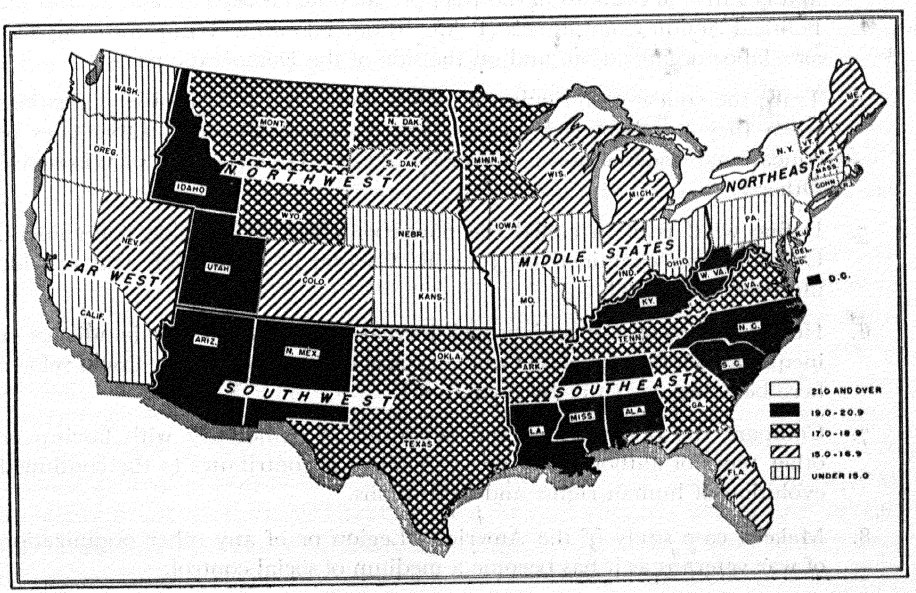
General Readings from the Library

Adams, James Truslow, *The American;* Beard, Charles A., and Beard, Mary R., *The American Spirit;* Beard, Mary R. (ed.), *America Through Women's Eyes;* Beery,



The Seed Beds of the Nation's People: of What Sort?

The kind of environment and abundance economy that abounds in the places where the most people are born is of great importance in the democratic process. ABOVE: Children under five years of age per 1000 women from 15 to 44 years of age, by regions. BELOW: The crude birthrate per 1000 population, by states and regions — both for 1940.



John R., *Current Conceptions of Democracy;* Beneš, Eduard, *Democracy: Today and Tomorrow;* Gabriel, Ralph Henry, *The Course of American Democratic Thought;* Gallup, George Horace, *Public Opinion in a Democracy;* Hoover, Calvin B., *Dictators and Democracies;* Hudson, Jay W., *Why Democracy?;* Kingsley, J. D., and Petegorsky, D. W., *Strategy for Democracy;* Leighton, Joseph A., *Social Philosophies in Conflict;* Merriam, Charles E., *The New Democracy and the New Despotism;* Mises, von, Ludwig, *Omnipotent Government;* Mumford, Lewis, *The Condition of Man;* Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy;* Nourse, Edwin G., *Price Making in a Democracy;* Odum, Howard W., *Race and Rumors of Race;* Rappard, William Emmanuel, *The Crisis of Democracy;* Smith, T. V., *Discipline for Democracy;* Soule, George H., *The Future of Liberty;* Willkie, Wendell, *One World.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Describe the critical problems of representation in the gathering at San Francisco in April, May, and June of 1945, when fifty nations struggled for equality.
2. As far as can be seen at the present time, how successful is the American attempt to democratize Japan?
3. In terms of organization and social control, are the two major political parties functioning well on behalf of democracy? What were the positive and negative arguments in the 1944 presidential election for and against the Political Action Committee's (P.A.C.'s) official entrance into the campaign as a labor organization, and on the side of the Democratic party?
4. Trace the course of agricultural, educational, and industrial organizations when they have entered politics. The Farmers Alliance? Universities or educational organizations: University of Georgia? University of Wisconsin? Others?
5. Define what is often called the power or check of invisible government. Organizations examined by John R. Carlson in *Under Cover* will provide illustrative material.
6. How does democratic society seek increasingly to reduce the handicaps or inequality of organic classes: women, race, children, the aged? Could reform here be achieved better by revolution?
7. Compare the organization and programs of democracy with fascism or other types of authoritarian government as it contributes to the continued evolution of human rights and institutions.
8. Make a case study of the American Legion or of any other organization of war veterans as it has become a medium of social control.

33

Problems of Economic Adjustment and Security

What is the economic problem? In the light of our previous discussions, it seems possible to state the principal sociological aspects of the economic problem with relative ease. These aspects involve the processes and organization which will ensure a society that can provide an economy of abundance with means for effective distribution, and which will give approximately equal opportunity for adequate work for all. Inherent in all this is the assumption of planning and the organization necessary to reconcile damaging differences between labor and management, among labor organizations, between consumer and producer, and between industrial labor and agricultural workers. The heart of this problem is most often characterized as one of security within the framework of American democracy. In terms of the lessons learned from World War II, it is one of producing and creating in peacetime such abundance as was shown to be possible in wartime, yet with better distribution and lower costs, but without the constricting directives of wartime control.

The assumptions of economic control. From the previous chapter, in which we discussed the nature and role of democracy and its relative application to the modern world, it seems clear that there are certain problems of inequality for which democracy seeks a better organization and strategy. Among these problems are those of the distribution of wealth and the opportunity to work. Both of these are indications of the functional role of economic factors in democracy as a form of social control. So, too, in earlier chapters on culture and work and on industrial development as an element in modern civilization, we have indicated something of the fundamental importance of economic relationships to our total society and its organizations. It must be clear also to the student of sociology that what

we call economic processes and organization are peculiarly fundamental in present-day society. So much is this true that it is sometimes said that the chief problem in the United States is to decide which will "rule" — business or government. Thus, this economic problem, its organization and processes, reflects both the generic *scientific* nature of the economic problem to society as well as the more specific *ameliorative* problems of adjustment that arise in many related fields of human endeavor. Generic scientific problems that arise are those of economic abundance and parity as between agriculture and commerce and industry, and the equitable distribution of goods and opportunity in a stabilized program. Specific ameliorative problems include those of reconciling situations where farmers, working from seventy to ninety hours a week, sometimes utilizing the whole family, still do not approximate the industrial worker's ceiling income based upon forty-five hours, and of making possible the continuation of agriculture as a way of life.

Economic foundation of society. There are other illustrations of both the scientific and ameliorative problems involved, but these are adequate to indicate the primary sociological significance of both. It seems quite likely, however, that there is danger of the sociologists not giving adequate attention to these aspects of the economic problem that are rooted in social relationships even though they themselves are recognized as constituting practical, elemental problems which stem from the universal process whereby men make their living, seek to find the best ways of survival, and search for the durable satisfactions of life. From these processes and activities have grown up many of the most powerful folkways and mores in all cultures. Again, the sociologist recognizes that it is not necessary for him to become a specialist in economics, but he knows also that he cannot understand the whole of human society unless he understands many of the elemental factors involved in its major economic problems. And he must know the facts are there and how to find them.

This may be illustrated in many ways. If we review the development of society and note, gradually at first and rapidly later, the growth of trends toward different types of economy, of production, and of distribution, and the sure trends toward a division of labor, a multiplication of occupations, and of economic classes, or a process of stratification in society, we shall understand the sweeping importance of economic development to the total of social institutions, organization, and behavior. Many of the economic theorists came to be known as institutional economists in so far as they made economics and the study of human behavior basic to the study of economic processes. So important have these factors been that many students have

estimated that the economic factor was the most important of all factors in the conditioning of society. Such theory came to be designated as economic determinism and appeared in various forms, the most effective of which has been Marxian socialism. On this premise the study of society would be primarily the study of economic organization and processes with the resulting institutional arrangements for social control as shown in some of the forms of socialism.

The problem of control in labor and government. Another way of making this emphasis clear is to point out that, of the immediate emergency situations which followed World War II, for which the "solution" can not be predicted, two of them stem from the economic field. One is the problem of organized labor, over which government has had little control; the other is the relation between government and business, the problem of flexible capitalism or the substitution of something else for it. This is one way of saying that, at the present time and in the immediate future, it will be essential to solve the conflict between economic forces and political processes. In the discussions of democracy and industrial development, we have pointed out the deficiencies and inequalities resulting from economic maladjustment, such as unemployment and insecurity with special problems of poverty and unequal distribution of resources and wealth and opportunity to work. The growth of economic classes that negate the basic principles of democracy also is important in this consideration. This is one basis upon which, in a comparison of the recommendations of socialism and democracy, socialism provides a framework through which economic security would be guaranteed. So, too, the assumptions of the elimination of economic classes in society is a part of the premise of the tenets of communism and socialism, although class conflict appears to be the key to first steps in the attainment of desired ends.

Economic factors came to the front in depression years. One way of sensing the importance of the economic factor is to recall that in the depression years of the 1930's in the United States, nearly all governmental effort toward reconstruction was upon economic recovery. So much was this true that, on the one hand, it was often complained that the human factors were left out almost entirely and, on the other, it was generally assumed by those in authority and generally accepted by the people, that the first essential step toward recovery was economic rehabilitation. To this end, ways and means were devised which emphasized production, distribution, and control of economic processes, which differed little in many respects from the war regime that was subsequently to test all of our democratic processes. In any case, the understanding of as many as possible of these economic

factors would be the first essential to the understanding of American society at the time.

Economic liberalism in America. Another way of sensing the importance of economic factors is to review again our study of American society. Thus, recalling the fundamental assumption that democracy is synonymous with the New World and recalling that democracy is a philosophy of freedom and of equal opportunity as well as a type of government, we shall be able to explore the meaning and implications of freedom in the new American society. We point out in some detail in Chapter 38 on social theory, how a main motivating force in American life has been the doctrine of liberalism. In its essence, liberalism was the philosophy and practice through which the greatest amount of freedom could be guaranteed to the greatest number of people. So much has this been true that liberalism has come to connote high intellectual effort and patriotic leadership.

At first, however, this liberalism was economic liberalism, which was interpreted as freedom of opportunity within the capitalistic system, as unlimited competition with little or no government intervention. This was to be the key to freedom of opportunity. The "inalienable rights" of the Declaration of Independence were not as originally worded, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," but "life, liberty, and the right to own property." The "economic liberal," therefore, was not the modern "progressive" commonly assumed, but rather he was the fundamentalist who held that things should remain as convenanted by the early forefathers of the Republic. That is, the early American tradition, bottomed in an economy of unlimited resources, new frontiers, and the promised land of individual freedom, held that the surest guarantee of freedom for the individual and the attainment of the "American dream" would be through unlimited, unchecked economic freedom. The right to work, to own property, to operate businesses and industries and farms, but to do all these things unrestrictedly and freely within the competitive process, was calculated to contribute more richly to freedom than any other system. In this pursuit of happiness, government was to have little or no restraining or controlling influence. This economic liberalism conformed to the Jeffersonian dictum that that government was best which governed least and applied it especially to the capitalistic system in America.

Political liberalism and economic liberalism distinguished. On the other hand, political liberalism, which is usually confused with economic liberalism, holds that government should have a great deal to do with the direction and control of economic processes, and the materials and methods of production, distribution, and consumption of goods. This means that

economic liberalism in the modern world connotes almost the opposite of what the average person thinks. The outstanding economic liberals of the thirties were the group commonly characterized as conservative and, as represented by the National Association of Manufacturers, includes most of the leading "big business" men. Those who were considered economic liberals were political liberals. Whereas the economic liberal holds that government should have little or nothing to do with the control of business, the political liberal holds that government should have a great deal to do with it. The important point for the student to understand here is that organically in American democracy, in its very structure and function, economic problems were first, and the assumptions of capitalism were inherent in the "American dream."

Limitations of economic liberalism. What happened in the wake of economic liberalism is that during the depression years of the 1930's an estimated ten to fifteen million people were unemployed. These workers and their families, who were about one third of the people, had no semblance of equality, of opportunity: they could not work, live comfortably, educate their children, or "own their own souls." It was a period of such extreme crisis that a major problem arose as to what the government could do about it.

From this it must be clear to the sociologist that the problem of economic adjustment is essentially a social problem in so far as it has a bearing upon the total welfare of the citizens of the United States and the prosperity of a great American society. It must be clear that this problem of economic relationships lies also at the heart of the American democratic system.

Management and labor seek the same ends. Another way of looking at the problem of management and labor, or of capital and labor, is one that is sometimes overlooked. One way of interpreting vividly the philosophy and program of organized labor is to point out that the objectives of labor today are identical with the earlier objectives of capital. For, what labor insists on as the one thing more than all others which will guarantee freedom, is that all men should work under such conditions and receive such pay as will ensure a uniformly high standard of living for all the people. Organized labor, then, approaches this objective in the way in which it appears most likely it will attain these ends. Thus, in the final analysis, labor and management, management and labor, are working toward the same objective.

When, however, management and labor become ends in themselves, instead of means to an end, there is the resulting picture of the common man paying the price in restrictions in his freedom and liberty, and the

spectacle of institutions defeating the purposes for which they were established. Thus, the sociologist is brought face to face again with the relation of economic factors to the total societal organization. When either management or labor is so powerfully organized and so independent of governmental supervision as to be beyond control, then there is a problem of government and of democracy to be attacked.

Problems of the form of government inherent in the economic problem. In this problem area, therefore, will be found many of the points of tension and much of the experimentation and exploration in new ways of working out economic adjustments. Here is the problem of democracy and its program for giving equal opportunity to all. Here also is the problem of socialism seeking a nearer equalization of work and property through a larger participation and control of government. Here, to some extent, are the problems of fascism, of communism, and of various and sundry theories, economic, social, and political, which seek to achieve a better society. Thus, it is clear that the problems of economic adjustment are very much pointed up by organic theory, and, at the same time, they reflect specific problems and needs.

Economic bases for social planning. In this area also will be found most of the programs and theories of social planning, which for the most part have been restricted to economic planning or the planned economic order. Such planning has comprehended a wide range of fields, such as planned money, planned economy, planned transportation, planned housing, and the regulation of wages, hours, and salaries, together with a vast technique of fiscal affairs such as taxation, budgets, public expenditures, and the like. Although our next chapter will discuss these aspects more in detail, at this point the sociologist will need to remind himself that the problems of economic adjustment and security as they relate primarily to the sociological understanding of society are often different from the "economic problems" as they are viewed by the economist. Accordingly, we shall refer to *A Study of War*, in which the author, Quincy Wright, has given the verdict of economists on the backgrounds and causes of war. When the sociologist asks whether war is rooted in economic factors, he is thinking of the Gestalt influence or interrelation of economic factors, including natural resources, technology, and the processes of economic organization and their effect on institutional behavior. On the other hand, Professor Wright, after reviewing the tenets of the main schools of economic thought, has concluded that to the economic specialist war is primarily economic only when a nation entering war has figured out in all detail that such a war will be more profitable than unprofitable to that nation.

What are the problems of "economics"? We may illustrate further the difference in the sociological approach to economic adjustment and security by referring to the contents of textbooks on economics. A good example is that in which Willard L. Thorp has edited a volume entitled *Economic Problems in a Changing World*, in which thirty-five chapters are classified in seven divisions. The subjects discussed under Some Consumer Problems are the American standard of living, the consumer's selection of goods, improving the consumer's purchasing power, consumer agencies and price policies, consumers' co-operation, and government activity in consumer goods production. The subjects discussed under Some Price Problems are the role of prices, market-controlled prices, business-controlled prices, government-controlled prices (one chapter on public utilities and another on "other forms"), the problem of price balance, and interregional and international prices. The remaining twenty chapters of the book are divided into five parts in which there are chapters on management problems, on labor problems, the function of unionism, wages, and employment, collective bargaining and legislation, and the like, alongside the nature and use of capital and the problem of savings and capital funds. Over against these, then, are the problems of economic conflict and the role of government and constitutional factors in the regulation of competition. These lead to the discussion of the problem of government planning.

Differences between economic and sociological approaches to labor. Another way of illustrating the difference between the sociologist's approach and the economist's approach to economic problems is to look at the problem of organized labor. We have already discussed its major sociological implications, wherein labor represents the people and their families and their ideals of freedom. On the other hand, to the economist labor is a commodity, and the organization of labor becomes a special problem in social organization. Thus, the discussion of the public control of labor relations becomes a combination study of organized labor and governmental control. Of special significance here is the study of labor practices, restraint, coercion, discrimination, collective bargaining, and the closed shop together with their remedies, and the broader problems of free speech, free press, free assemblage, and the like. Constitutional and political issues and legislative and administrative policies are involved in all of these aspects of the labor problem.

In the depression years in the United States. Perhaps one of the best ways to note the interrelationship between economic adjustment and security, on the one hand, and social welfare, on the other, is to review such

a period in American history as the depression years of the 1930's when, for the first time, the nation faced some of stark reality of governmental participation in the reconstruction of the economic order. Beginning with the year 1929, such quick and sweeping changes in the economic status of the nation took place that the whole drama of national life appeared to be economic. It was an amazing picture: what was, to many people, only dull, prosaic, economic activity, the production, distribution, and consumption of goods became suddenly the chief actor in a nation in transition.

There were many scenes in a varied stage setting. A great society had waxed strong and powerful and was face to face with the problem of meeting the test of bigness and artificial technology. A great economic society had grown so quickly that it could not adapt itself either to its own nationalistic economy or to the international economy. The nation was paying for its unbalanced economy and was to pay a great deal more for its isolationist policy in the later years to come. Here was a nation with perhaps a tenth of the world's population boasting of doing more than half of the world's work. It later came to own most of the world's gold, but it had also multiplied its debts until perhaps 80 or 90 cents out of every dollar was indebted. The nation had invested largely and unwisely in overseas concerns and found itself in varying entangling economic alliances.

The maldistribution of wealth. Within the nation the economic problem had become more social than economic in so far as a great proportion of the wealth was owned by a small proportion of the people and the rich were becoming richer and the poor poorer; as a result, distinctions and conflict among social classes were becoming more and more apparent. Thus, at one time it was estimated that 1 per cent of the population owned no less than 60 per cent of the wealth, and perhaps less than 15 per cent of the population owned 90 per cent of the wealth. It was pointed out that less than a hundred individuals held more than three hundred directorships in more than two hundred corporations, which in turn owned more than one fourth of all business wealth. The unequal distribution of wealth was not only among and between persons, but it was so concentrated in a few regions that the nation had become a nation of "haves" and "have-nots." In the Northeast and the Middle States were concentrated the great wealth of the nation and also its great manufacturing and industrial centers, such that it not only gave inequality and imbalance to national economy, but was to prove a potential hazard in times of world war.

Dilemmas multiplied. This picture of the depression years following the period when the nation was at the crest of its economic achievement

was to be re-enacted in different ways in the later war period, in which instead of unemployment there was to be the largest ratio of employment in the history of the nation. Yet, again there was to be regional imbalance, the handicapping of the small business man, and hardships for farm and professional folk. The picture of the 1920's and 30's showed the following complex of social interrelationships:

The quantity of the postwar period
Accredited overproduction resulting in overselling and overstocking
The change from a debtor to a creditor nation
The complex of international situations
The high-powered selling and credit era
The hectic speculation epoch of the late 1920's
The cyclical self-perpetuating depression process
A saturation point beyond which the people could not buy
Beyond which the merchants could not stock
Beyond which the bankers could not lend
Beyond which factories could not operate
Beyond which workers could not be employed
Beyond which wholesale unemployment set in
Beyond which buying power began to ebb
Beyond which there were no profits
Beyond which the people could not pay debts or taxes
Beyond which confiscation began to mount
Beyond which a fourth of the nation's workers were not only out of work and incapable of buying goods, but millions of the best citizens were of necessity on the nation's public relief rolls.

Recent Social Trends. We have referred continually to the findings of *Recent Social Trends*, which was the first comprehensive social inventory of the nation. The summary of these findings is divided into three parts: problems of physical heritage, problems of biological heritage, and problems of social heritage. The problems of physical heritage are those of natural resources. The problems of biological heritage are those of population. The first problem of social heritage is stated in terms of invention and economic organization, which is followed by problems of social organization and of the ameliorative institutions and government.

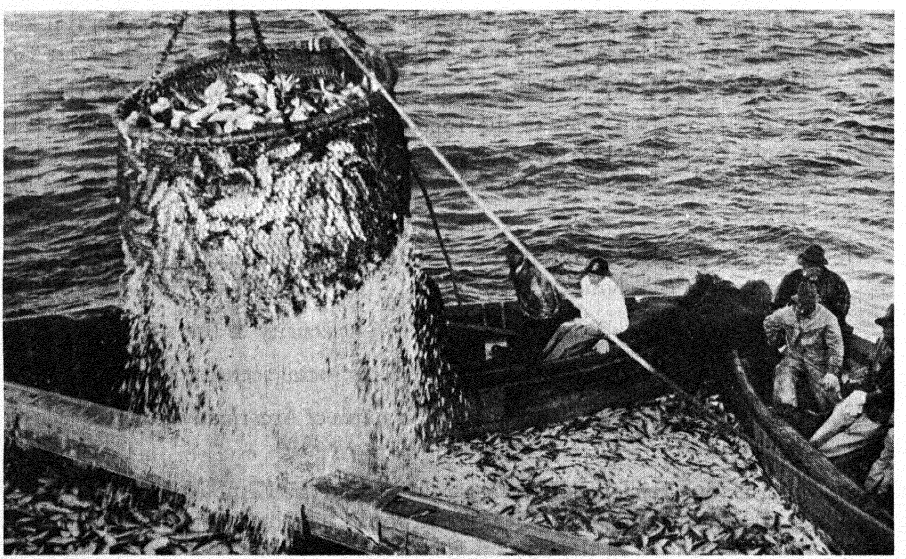
The key to problems of social heritage, as has been pointed out, is found in the tempo of social change. The key to economic needs is found in the influence of inventions upon the habits of the people, which, in turn, call for readjustment in organizations and institutions, including government.

In every problem of technological and industrial development there are social problems raised not only in such specific instances as communications, industrial techniques, or distribution of income, but in the general economic problem in which the American economy of abundance and scarcity must find a better equilibrium.

Assignments and Questions

1. In terms of early American principles, what is economic liberalism? Outstanding modern examples of this point of view are the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce. Discuss this early meaning in connection with the common confusion of terms which would characterize such "liberal" journals as the *New Republic* and the *Nation* as defenders of economic liberalism.
2. What, then, is meant by political liberalism?
3. What is meant by intellectual liberalism?
4. Would the average American have more "freedom" in terms of security, lack of competition, and leisure under "socialism" than under "capitalism," defining these terms according to their general usage. Substantiate your opinion in so far as possible.
5. Compare the opportunity for economic "freedom" under unrestricted competition in the early years of the American republic with the system as it prevails today.
6. If it is adjudged "undemocratic" for two hundred corporations to control over about 38 per cent of all business wealth in the United States, is it also undemocratic for two major regions of the nation to control about two thirds of America's wealth?
7. In the depression years of the 1930's, it was customary for governors and school boards to get permission from eastern bankers to spend specified amounts for education and welfare in their respective states. Discuss this further.
8. The first plank in the platform of modern youth is security. Is this primarily a matter of economics?
9. Describe the New Deal's efforts to furnish security in the 1930's.
10. Describe Sir William Beveridge's plan for social security in Great Britain.
11. Describe the present trends in and the status of American economic security programs.
12. Search out the economic factors discussed in Kimball Young's and in R. L. Sutherland's and J. L. Woodword's introductory texts according to the system used in the Special Readings.

One of the great new industries is that of paper pulp, with needs far from filled in the new era of publishing. With the regional developments, the United States will not be so dependent upon Canada. ABOVE: a paper pulp mill in North Carolina. BELOW: North America still produces 19.1% of the total fish catch according to the *Statistical Yearbook* of 1939–40. New food values are being discovered.



Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter XXVI. Man's ability to maintain his physical existence and if possible to improve his manner of living by increasing his wealth is a question not merely of the tools he uses but also how he can organize his resources. With the increase of wealth has come leisure, class distinctions, competition, and great variation in individual wealth. In turn these changes have influenced government, law, ethics, religion, family life, recreation, and every sort of social practice. The relation of prestige and economic success. Economic life among savages. The Industrial Revolution and world industry today.

Hankins, Frank H.: *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, chapters XIV and XV. The evolution of man's material culture and the basic elements of his economic life. Increases in material comforts rest primarily on improvements in tools and related techniques. Prehistoric culture stages in Europe and some historical economies, as collectional, pastoral, horticultural, settled agricultural, and commercial and industrial. The rise of modern industrialism and its results on society.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter IX. Economic considerations are of great importance in the organization of all social systems. Primitive woman's position strengthened by inheritance of property. In general, property inherited by the sex to whom it will be most useful. Ultimate control of family vested in the partner who makes the greatest contribution to its support.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapters I, section 3, III, V, and XI. The revival of trade as a factor in city-building of medieval times. Capitalism as a disruptive rather than an integrating force which supplanted the old protective economy. The failure of the industrial town to make successful economic adjustments. An analysis of the three types of economic regions: the self-sufficing region resulting from economic balance, the wholly specialized region devoted to the production of a limited number of commodities, and the economic region which is partly self-sufficing and partly specialized. Change from a money-economy to a life-economy symbolic of the social basis of the new urban order.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapter II. Necessity for understanding the machine and assimilating its meaning before it can be conquered and subdued to human purposes. Economic adjustments caused by war; mechanized warfare, which has contributed so much to every aspect of standardized mass-production, is in fact its great justification. Description of the Economic Man abstraction which developed during the paleotechnic phase of industrialization.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters IX, XX, and XXVI. The role of the workers in the picture of American life. The complicated problems of industrial relationships. Concepts of labor today. Security and opportunity for work a major dilemma in American life. Necessity for re-examination of the conflict

between individual freedom and social justice. Importance of the conservation of human resources in an age of technology. The role of public welfare and social work in achieving security for the individual.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, especially Part I, and chapters XV and XXV. Economic adjustment and security implied in the meaning of regionalism. Regionalism a definitive economy of equilibrium between conflicting forces and offers a medium and a technique of decentralization and redistribution in an age characterized by overcentralization and urbanism. The regional movement concerned with the relation of a quantity civilization of standardization and a quality world.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapters XII, XIX, and XXVI. The economic elements involved in the social processes. The historical evolution of our economic institutions. Major issues of economic organization cannot well be solved without an adequate account of the interrelations of economic institutions with other social institutions. Social problems engendered by our present elaborate economic organization. The manner of technological influence on economic adjustment and security. The multiple effects of major material inventions.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, chapters XIV, XV, and XXXI. The gradual, spontaneous, and sporadic development of our present economic system. Objectives of this development: to bring about sufficiency and regularity in the supply of economic goods, to reduce the amount and intensity of labor necessary for sustenance, and to achieve a measure of security in the possession of resources, goods, and wealth. Mankind increasingly directing its attention to collective, planned developments for the economic good. The contemporaneous economic system the product of age-long development. Its salient features — scientific technology, the machine, capitalism, and profit-making procedures — are man's own creations, the fruit of his striving toward definite objectives.

Recent Social Trends, pages XXVIII–XXXIX, 50, 85–88, chapters V and VI, pages 428, 429, 567–582, 664–672, 703, 1015, 1529. Industrial technique and economic organization. Distributing the costs of progress. Problem of economic balance. Economic planning. Current changes in economic institutions. Labor in society. Consumers and their perplexities. Economic life and the population growth. The economic organization of mining and its effects on waste of resources. World War I economy. Price movements. Income and wealth. The output of industry. Business organization and combination. Banking and credit. Continuation of present strong movement toward building of institutions aiming to secure increased economic stability. Proportion of population gainfully employed. Major occupational groups and changes. The nongainfully employed. Occupational insecurity and unemployment. The relative subsidence of reform discussion. Economic life of minority groups. Economic functions of the family. Church pronouncements on economic problems. Economic development and government. "Economic liberty."

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends*, what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Beveridge, Sir William, *Full Employment in a Free Society* and *Social Insurance and Allied Services;* Borth, Christy, *Pioneers of Plenty;* Douglas, Paul H., *Social Security in the United States;* Epstein, Abraham, *Insecurity: A Challenge to America;* Gaer, Joseph, *Consumers All;* Ginzberg, Eli, *The Unemployed;* Lorwin, Lewis L., *Economic Consequences of the Second World War;* Meade, James Edward, *The Economic Basis of a Durable Peace;* Nienstaedt, L. R., *Economic Equilibrium, Employment, and Natural Resources;* Staley, Eugene, *World Economy in Transition;* Stouffer, Samuel A., and Lazarsfeld, Paul F., *Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression;* Thorp, Willard L. (ed.), *Economic Problems in a Changing World;* Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Compare Sir William Beveridge's "cradle-to-the-grave" social security plan for England with proposals for broadening the provisions of the Social Security Act of the United States.
2. Make an appraisal of America's success with rationing and price control in World War II.
3. Which of the units of the United Nations focus primarily upon economic problems?
4. Describe the work of the Committee on Economic Development in the United States in the early 1940's.

34

Problems of Peoples and Classes

Long-time scientific problems of race and caste. In addition to the problems of economic adjustment and security which democracy, as a special social order, has yet to find adequate ways of meeting, there is another large group of problems arising from inequality of opportunity and unevenness of representation, which is manifest in the realm of class and caste, race and minorities. They are problems involving social processes, organization, and control, but they also constitute special problems within the large framework of peoples and cultures. Once, again, as in the case of economic factors, they are long-time "scientific" problems which have generic application to society at large, involving the evolution, survival, culture, and achievements of peoples; but also they represent local "ameliorative" problems of social relationship within particular societies.

Some indication of the important place which peoples and classes have in the organic nature of society is indicated by the fact that many students of society have held that in class, caste, and race are to be found the basic elements of social evolution and development. That is, some students have thought that if we seek some exclusive factor or force which more than any other conditions societal development and sets the stage for social problems, it would be found somewhere in this field of race and race struggle or in caste and stratification. Some of these elemental factors are reflected in such social processes, already enumerated, as conflict, accommodation, competition, amalgamation, and assimilation. Especially is this true of the process of stratification. Thus, social problems on the level of caste and race arise from what is, for practical purposes, both structural and functional situations in the development of society. Their significance is emphasized vividly in the modern world for two special reasons. One is the trend to-

ward racial equalization and justice, and the other is the danger of emphasizing class and class struggle when none need exist. The shibboleth of class may often become the tool of the demagogue and also of the intellectual partisan seeking to place blame. The problems of class and caste are, therefore, of special scientific importance from the viewpoint of society's survival, development, and achievement, as well as from the viewpoint of world tensions and the need of practical adjustments in contemporary society.

The world is full of differentiated groups and individuals. In some ways the significance of peoples and classes may be compared to the significance of individual differences in society in so far as each represents the universal process of social differentiation. In each case the wide range of differences and the process of differentiation represent elemental factors in the total society, both in the sense that differentiation is a universal trait of all matter and phenomena and in the sense that Franklin H. Giddings used to define the inductive method, namely, the observation and recording of likenesses and differences. There is another way in which individual differences and social differences may be similar, and that is that in the modern world both are of increasing importance. This is especially true of race in contemporary society and in the problem of world organization. We have pointed out in earlier chapters the role of individual differences and the significance of the individual in the modern world. In somewhat the same way, World War II and its sweeping influence upon all the peoples of the world made the theme of class, caste, and race a more universally strategic one. C. C. North stresses the sociological import of social differentiation by defining two distinct types, namely, individual differences and social differences. He points out that "individual differences are those which distinguish persons from one another as members of the human race. Sex, age, color, size, temperament, mental capacity, and other such traits, are qualities which inhere in the individual as a human being and cannot be dissociated from his self-hood. On the other hand the members of a given social group differ in the occupations they follow, in the degree of authority or subserviency that they maintain in the group, in the habits of life that they have acquired, in the interests that they pursue."

The sociologist is interested in determining the nature of social differences, how they arise, and what they mean to the total structure and function of society. That is, he is interested in the question as to ways of classifying individuals on the bases of their status in the group, and he is interested in how this status has grown up and what it means to society and what it may mean to the total human welfare. He is particularly interested

in the future role of social differentiation in so far as it has to do with peoples and classes. There are many categories in which we might classify social differences, some of which are illustrated by North's four types, namely, differences of function, differences of rank, differences of culture, and differences of interests.

Class, caste, race. The main areas for our study in this chapter will be found in the three fields of class, of caste, and of race, since we have already described many areas of cultural differentiation in folk societies. By class we mean, for the purposes of this discussion, divisions or levels of the population composed of groups that are separated from other groups or from each other by reason of traits, status, and privilege. By caste we mean a social class in which status, privilege and social distance are organic in the sense that they are determined by birth and assume that in such fundamentals as marriage the gulf between the classes is fixed. We have defined race in the larger sociological sense as being a group differentiated by certain biological traits and cultural conditioning over such a sufficiently long period of time as to develop distinctive group characteristics that are transmissible from one generation to another for reasonable lengths of time. Of *classes* we think of "the working classes," the "upper classes," "the lower classes," as related to the economic status. We think of the ruling class as opposed to those who are ruled. Less accurately, there are the classifications of people into categories of sex and age groups. Of *caste* we think of the American Negro in the southern United States and of many subgroupings in the great Eastern cultures of India. Of *races* we think of the American Indian, the American Negro, the Chinese, and the Japanese. Less accurately, there are many minority groups which have come to be popularly characterized as racial, such as language nationalities, the Jews, the German alleged super-race.

The traits of social classes. First, we may explore the field of social classes. One of the first assumptions in our consideration of class differences is that they have to do with particular individuals and groups at particular times the assumptions being that the positions may be changed from time to time. That is, members may pass from one class to another as opposed to the general meaning of caste in which status is relatively fixed. There would be one main exception to this generalization, namely, in the class of sex, where the biological and organic differences cannot be changed, although the social standing and status of women vary widely and undergo great change.

Perhaps we may best continue our inquiry into the nature and number of classes where we left off in our chapter on Problems of Economic Adjust-

ment and Security. For, probably the most common interpretation given to the term "social classes" involves the economic status. Thus, in both popular usage and in current sociological definitions of class the first category is often that of occupation. Classes determined by the nature of occupation may be temporary and may be used primarily for classification purposes, or they may be relatively permanent in the assumption of superiority by certain classes and the acceptance of inferiority by others. Thus, the "aristocracy" is accustomed to speak of the lower classes as the working classes as opposed to those who have acquired a sufficiently large measure of learning and experience and wealth to insure leisure. Here, as in many other aspects of society, that which arises to meet the needs of society, namely, the division of labor, becomes the basis for later overspecialization and development, which, through the use of power and privilege, sets up the process of stratification and even slavery.

Occupational classes as a basis for statistical classification. On the other hand, the sociologist may use the term class as primarily a group or unit of measurement for classification, the basis of analysis being fundamental occupations or income levels. Farmers as a class of working folk are constantly set over against labor, both in the census functional classification and in the assumed interests of each. So, too, the professional worker, classified in several professional groups, is often set over against what is called the common man. So, too, the white-collar worker is contrasted with those in occupations which are mechanical or imply the use of the hands or animate energy. Here, again, class distinctions as based upon occupations may be utilized by society in the same trend of developing from simple groups and occupations with many personal relationships into antagonistic groups with mass employment and impersonal relations, such that antagonistic relationships grow up between different classes.

"*Ruling classes.*" Economic classes are, however, only a part of the totality of class distinctions in society. One of the most important of all classes in terms of the historical evolution of society and of certain technical groupings in contemporary society is that of what is usually called the ruling classes. Thus, Gaetano Mosca points out that whatever else may be true of facts and tendencies in political societies, it is everywhere clear that in all societies, from those which have barely attained civilization to the present contemporary society, there are two classes, a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The earlier organic concept of the social and political theorists was stated by no less an authority than Aristotle, who said "For that some should rule and others be ruled is a thing not only necessary but expedient."

Franklin H. Giddings gave one of the most vivid illustrations of how the ruling classes grow up and how they become powerful in terms both of control over their fellows and in terms of economic exploitation. First, there is privilege, "When once a leading group and a ruling group, ruling in the sense that it shapes the situation to which others have to adapt themselves and in the long run controls the opportunity, has made itself pretty secure in its position, then privilege always does arise." He points out further what is easily observable, namely, that "It is not in the nature of man or things that those who have taken quick advantage of opportunity and who have shown a cleverness in using it that other men do not show should resist temptation to get advantage for themselves thereby." There is an almost universal and timeless quality in the way privilege grows up, "because the men who have seized opportunity and have begun to be a ruling class are desirous of having the greatest possible following and the greatest possible strength which they may use against any rival faction or any competing group that desires to seize power and will seize it if it can." Giddings continues: "When a ruling group becomes strong enough, it becomes aggressive; it adds to its opportunities and increases its privilege by deliberately wresting goods and other things from other people. It engages in a small way or a big way in the business of appropriating whatever it can lay its hands on, and in time a very strong class is built up."

Plutocracy, "Royalty." In the course of time Giddings points out the group that is developing into the ruling class may become several sorts. First, there is plutocracy, that is, "a group that is powerful by reason of its wealth"; and second "in course of time an aristocracy, begins to turn its attention upon itself as a group and to eliminate those who do not conform to its standard. They see that its daughters and sons marry to keep these privileges, and with legislative powers and administrative powers, they may become members of a legislative chamber, as in the House of Lords in England, an aristocratic, landowning class in society and dictators of manners and a good many other things. The result is inequality of possessions, of opportunities, and for that matter even of culture and educational privileges in society."

Forms of control and types of class. The story of the ruling classes is often practically the story of the rise of sovereignty in many cultural situations with all the varied types and forms of struggle for the gaining of power and the consequent struggle to eliminate inequality and class privilege. From these struggles and conflict have grown many types of control, such as aristocracy, democracy, plutocracy, theocracy, kakocracy and other forms, such as monarchy, oligarchy, anarchy, and in the lesser realms of

the family, patriarchy and matriarchy. There are, then, the many and various isms, such as socialism, communism, fascism, nazism, nationalism, and the like. All these illustrate again the organic place of social processes, social organization, social control in relation to peoples and classes.

"Natural" social classes. There are, however, other classes of great significance. Gunnar Landtman in *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes* traces the primary cause of social inequality from early primitive peoples on up to the development and origin of government. There was first the influence of personal qualities and the natural differentiation in all societies due to individual differences. Women and children as politically and socially inferior and with an unequal distribution of labor were generally denied rights and excluded from many political and religious affairs. Even with great variation and as they developed with increasing rights, they have always constituted a major class. So much is this true that, for instance, when it is commonly said that in American society there are no classes, it is, of course, necessary to make an exception of this group. Following differences due to the personal nature of individuals and to age and sex, classes grew up through social differentiation on the basis of wealth, as influenced by the development of trade and by the consolidation of opposing groups.

Another basic development in which professional classes were differentiated from the others were the origin and rise of the priesthood and its later development into power and aristocracy, with priesthood as a definite order.

Slavery in the role of class and caste. Another powerful influence in the development of class was that of slavery. At its highest civilized ranking it represented a basic and fundamental distinction in the days of the highest attainment of Greek and Roman culture. The origin and development of slavery constitutes also one of the best fields for the study of cultural evolution. Its significance in the case of classical culture may be illustrated by an analysis of the various classes in which peoples and different cultures were divided, namely, the nobility or upper free class, the free middle classes, and the slaves. The slaves represented a technically lower class, but in the case of the Greeks, slaves who came to Rome were far from representing the lowest classes. In the aristocracy of the Old South, many of the Negro slaves, taking their cue from their masters, looked down upon what they called "po' white trash." These three groups were especially well represented in both the symbol and reality of the southern culture, where there were in reality four classes, namely, the upper brackets of aristocracy, the upper middle class of the white South, the lower brackets of the white South,

inaccurately characterized as poor whites and the slaves. How these classes have changed the whole pattern of southern culture since the Civil War is itself an admirable field for theoretical analysis.

From wealth to ruling classes. Landtman concludes his study of the origin of the inequality of the social classes by tracing the origin of nobility and studying the effects of conquest and war and the effect of wealth accruing to people who have power. From wealth and power, family aristocracy was an easy next step, and the subsequent development of differences in all the institutional phases of life were natural products. From the origin and development of nobility and leaders the transition to the origin of government and ruling classes was a normal and easy one.

Class and caste in later classical civilization. The meaning of classes in general and of caste in particular may be well illustrated in the case of Greek and Roman later civilizations where there were also four general classes, at least one of which, as was the case in the Old South of the United States, was caste. In Greece there were citizens of three classes, the warrior, ruling, and priestly classes; the merchants, the artisans, and the agricultural classes; and the common laborer or the plebs. There was then the fourth group, slaves, which were in the majority. In Rome the citizens were divided into two groups, the freemen and the aliens, both of which were set over against the slave group. The aliens again were clients or plebeians. These distinctions are in contrast to the class distinctions in most of the western world where they grew up primarily on economic bases, except as already mentioned in the Southern United States.

Caste theoretically not possible in contemporary evolving society. Perhaps this transition from caste and slavery as it was developed in the early days to the development of social classes based primarily on economic factors is indicative of processes in the modern world. On the theoretical bases of modern democracy and scientific humanism, of world fellowship and international ideals, it would no longer be possible to have new castes developed in the modern world. This is one way of emphasizing the meaning of the nature of caste, which is rather generally defined as a group in which status, occupation, and culture have become hereditary. That is, the economic factor is not the key to the social distance between the groups. It is true that the lower groups separated from upper groups usually reflect lower standards of living, but this may be the result of status and privileges which have been fixed by the upper groups. The conditioning causes of caste are deeper and less flexible, such as sex, intermarriage, birth, race, and religion.

The Negro and caste in the United States. Two illustrations of caste may be used here, one the Negro in the southern United States, and the

other the case of India. In the southern United States, contrary to many assumptions, the caste system is not based primarily on economic status or on slavery, although these indices of status came to be an almost organic part of the structure of the southern economy. The real gulf that cannot be bridged is the one of caste which is based primarily neither on race nor on economic status, but upon the inviolable status in which there can be no sex relationship between white women and Negro men. Caste-mores differentiation is deeper than simply one of intermarriage or fellowship. It is one in which even the very concept of equality on a sex relationship level is unthinkable to the southern white, and the open advocacy by Negroes is invitation to death. Because this is true, the solution of the problem of race in the South is different from what it is in any other region and taxes the whole ingenuity, patriotism, science of government and private agencies of the whole Nation.

Caste in India. The caste system in India is perhaps the most representative of a surviving culture, which has developed gradually from earliest days of society in India even to the present day. India is usually cited as a culture where the classes have become more rigid. The more formal categories have been stated well by C. C. North: "The four castes are the Brahmans or priestly caste, the Kshabuya or warriors, the Vaisya or agriculturalists, the Sudra or servile caste. The subdivision of each caste has resulted in the creation of several hundred distinct gradations. In addition there are the pariahs who are out-caste, excluded from all caste. In such a caste system the functional differentiation is closely associated with the possession of rights and privileges. The occupation, however, is secondary to the matter of rank. There are many sub-castes and mixed castes within the main divisions. The rights and privileges are strictly graded from the Brahman down to the Sudra, and the distinctions concern personal and civil, political, economic, religious, and honorific rights and privileges."

What next after world organization? The sociologist seeking to understand this importance of class and caste in society will sense the theoretical significance involved in the processes of change which follow the world conflagration of World War II. Here, again, is an instance where the power of the long developed folkways, mores, and the organic fixing of social distance between races and groups will be transcended by the new technicways of economic adaptation, industrial adjustment, economic organization, and international order. We have emphasized in this text many times the common statement that was heard, "race will not be the same" after the war. Manifestly, the same thing applies to the term caste.

The student of sociology will find rare fields for sociological research and for practical implementation in the great oriental cultures.

Race struggle as elemental? The most distinguished illustration of the theory that race difference may constitute the most elemental factor in the evolution of mankind is found perhaps in Ludwig Gumplowicz' *Der Rassenkampf*, who held that the greatest constructive force in society has been the struggle for supremacy between peoples or races. This was in line with other doctrines which held that conflict was really "the father of things" as symbolized by Thomas Malthus, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Karl Pearson, and Vasher de Lapouge, with Gumplowicz featuring especially the race struggle. These doctrines are important for the student of sociology in understanding many of the processes of conflict, competition, accommodation, adaptation, and in trying to understand the historical development of human culture as it is reflected in different races and regions. The doctrine does not "hold" in the modern world of reality except as it represents the background of societal evolution reflected in one of the great major indices of social causation. Nevertheless, race for most practical purposes represents a closed class in two ways. First, it is not possible to pass from one biological level to another except over a period of time. And, in the second place, for most parts of the world race mixture is taboo. Even with the sociological concept of race as opposed to the biological, in which race represents the cumulative conditioning of centuries of biological and physical environment, race in a given time constitutes an essential problem of caste plus class.

Old age and youth as classes. In addition to the problems of class, race, and caste as treated above, there are certain organic classes in all society which do not reflect necessary conflict or heterogeneity of peoples. There are the classes of sex and age, both of which in modern civilization assume increasingly important roles in society. In every complete natural society approximately half of the people are female and, therefore, represent a closed class, while the total population of both sexes is composed of relatively uniform ratios of the several age periods. In the modern world the increasing ratio of older people to youth often sets the incidence for what may be class conflict in such cases as the utopian demands of the elders for total security at the expense of the government. In addition to these there are in such complex societies as the United States and in many modern nations distinctive temporary classes representing different nationalities and ethnic groups in transition.

Sex as class. Now all of these are of the greatest importance to the sociologist if he is to understand society. They are, however, also extremely

important in the realistic world of planning and of problems of social relationship. The problem of sex, for instance, may well be a threefold one. One is the problem of the reproduction of the race and the consequent development of marriage and the family. Closely related to this, then, is the problem of changing mores with reference to sex relationships and, therefore, with reference to the stability of the family and the traditional man-woman relationship. A third major feature has to do with the economic and civic function, and, therefore, the education of women. This, again, has important bearing upon the family and its functions in so far as the activities of women outside the home affect the total situation. Some of these problems have been studied in our previous chapters. The maximum implication of their role in society may be reflected in the extreme situation brought on by World War II and its complex ramifications.

Youth and age again. Problems involved in the class aspect of age groups are primarily of two sorts, those relating to youth and those involving the elders and the aged. In the case of youth there is the twofold problem of training and education, and the problem of participation in social control. In the case of the age groups, there are primarily two problems in the sociological sense. One of these is the problem of occupation beyond a certain age and subsequently of security and relief. The other is a problem of participation in social control in which the conflict of class interests as between the aged and the rest of the population becomes acute. Thus, the competing interests between security for the aged and education for youth might very well become a class problem.

Problems of minority groups. The problems of ethnic groups and national minorities are primarily problems of processes, as indicated in our chapter on this subject. The assimilation of many unlike groups with national and linguistic differences is a chief problem of society in the modern world. Accommodation, amalgamation, and assimilation are, therefore, sociological problems of great importance and give rise to other problems of conflict and competition. Here, too, are involved social control; and in the contemporary society where world order and world organization and peace are involved, the problem of classes again assumes proportions of the first order.

CLASS IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, all of these problems are symbolized in actual reality of group experiences. In the first place, the Negro in the Nation represents a distinctive race with all the problems of social distance and discrimination commonly exercised by what is assumed to be a superior

race. In the South, in addition to this, as we have pointed out, the Negro represents a distinctive caste. Some of the class-caste culture of the Old South continues and permeates the social life of the United States. In the Far West, particularly in California and to a considerable extent in Washington and Oregon, the Japanese and Chinese reflect the threefold problem of class, race, and caste, although there have been many notable exceptions of intermarriage between Japanese and Americans.

On the other hand, there has been in America the usual trend toward stratification and economic classes, in the face of the distinctive trait of Americanism that there were to be no classes in America. One way of symbolizing the tendency towards the development of certain social classes is to indicate the ways in which certain classes tend to separate themselves from the great groups of common men. The special groups so separated for all practical purposes appear temporarily as classes. The first of these groups is, of course, what may be called the aristocracy of wealth. The students of American society have signalized this in economic measures by pointing out that a majority of the wealth of America is owned by a very small per cent of the people, perhaps two per cent. This group of wealthy men, whose established assets characterize the rapid development of America after the Civil War, whatever else they may be, has provided one of the chief characteristics of American society. This group becomes a class in so far as the children of the wealthy in their ways of behavior and associations set up certain patterns of leisure, expenditure of money, recreation, and social life.

The aristocracy of blood. The second class as we have discussed it in considering the problems of democracy consists of what might be called the aristocracy of blood. The most notable symbols of this were certain families of New England and particularly of Back Bay Boston, and of the Old South. The influence of these earlier classes has permeated later generations until there have been many "Blue Books" in which certain social rating has been a privilege of those belonging to certain classes. This represented a class a little more definitely than the class of the wealthy. At least in the earlier days, a marriage between the upper group and the lower group was considered as something decidedly calamitous. The student of sociology may study this in case studies or in community studies or in fiction, in which a common mode of question was, "Can a member of the lower class marry a member of the upper class and be successful?" The implication of these two classes of aristocracy was everywhere apparent in the late nineties and early days of the twentieth century in the Populist Movement and in various reform movements when campaigns were made

on the basis of satirizing the rich, who allegedly had silver bath tubs and indulged in all manner of luxurious living.

The "ruling class" and the "intellectuals." The third group, corresponding to what we have discussed as the ruling class, has not constituted so definitely a class except that in centralized Washington and in some centralized State governments and city governments there have grown up great groups known as politicians. This is, of course, the American way and so true is this that sometimes a chief mode of characterizing American life is to call attention to the rule of the politicians. The student will find a rich literature if he wishes to explore this subject further.

There is then the fourth class, sometimes characterized as the intelligentsia or urbanized intellectual groups, whose status is commonly appraised by themselves as being in contradistinction to the "ignorant" common man. The student will locate ample case studies and considerable literature and will find many appraisals which indicate that the intellectuals, seeking very specialized ends of particular interests to themselves and their own groups, neglect the aims of the total folk institutions. The implication of this class distinction has been implied in the conflict between the people and the universities in which the people have thought the universities were teaching subversive doctrines.

Urban and rural classes. Somewhat similar also is the American tendency to make a universal dichotomy and distinction between the urban classes and the rural. There is, of course, a great deal of sociological study and discussion with reference to the question as to whether there are distinctive traits which characterize urban people and rural people and whether urban society is different from rural society in any of its organic phases. Certainly, the rural and the urban constitute distinctive categories in the sense that the farmer has good-naturedly been considered the "hick," and the urbanite more sophisticated and urbane. We have called attention to certain traits of urbanism in our discussion of civilization as contrasted with culture.

"Capital and labor." There is then, of course, the larger and more organic recent development of classes as symbolized in "labor." That is, everywhere labor is considered distinctive not only from "capital," or "management," but from agricultural work. Symbolic of how labor is considered a class of its own, Philip Murray, president of the CIO, writing in *The New Republic*, November 2, 1942, symbolizes this distinction in every instance. He says, for example, "It was labor that did some of the most basic thinking about the war production program." "If labor is given the opportunity to participate . . ." "Through such direct participation, labor

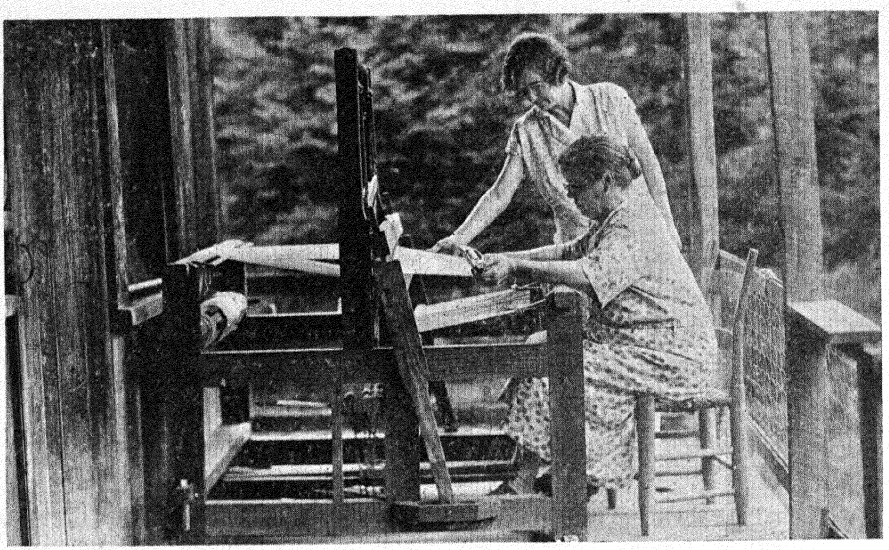
will have available in the post-war period many individuals," etc. Thus, "labor" symbolizes the class of workers, but so far from including the farmers it often implies hostility between labor and agriculture.

There is, finally, of course, the "capitalistic class," in which the basic principles of American capitalism, as we have described them in economic liberalism, have flowered into conflict between capital and labor. The sociologist may find evidence of the class nature of capital and labor not only in the universal assumptions of socialism and communism, but in the bitterness and antagonism between groups as evidenced in the picket line, the boycott, and the ballot.

Military classes. Whenever through war or other situation, an army and navy becomes powerful, a military class or caste system is apt to appear. Such, it is claimed, was the case in World War II and following years, when the American military system has given rise to an especially privileged commissioned-officer class in distinction to a class of noncommissioned officers and enlisted and drafted men.

Assignments and Questions

1. A great many observers have stated that America's most important domestic problem centers around the problems of race and minority groups. Discuss.
2. Read all of the first 100 pages of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* and interpret his statement that the problem of the American Negro is a problem of the heart.
3. Discuss the *moral* approach to the Negro problem as reflected in most of the national advocates of the complete elimination of segregation.
4. What are the three militant fronts in the contemporary revivification of the American conflict between white and Negro, between "North" and "South"?
5. Describe the Japanese evacuation program of the United States during the early years of World War II. In the light of emergencies at that time and of subsequent developments, evaluate the program.
6. Check back on the discussions of the American Indian and state as clearly as possible what "the Indian problem" is.
7. As a result of World War II what trends may be expected to develop concerning Chinese immigration? Immigration of refugees? What are the essential problems involved?
8. Trace the discussions of class and caste in American sociology. Note that, in placing the emphasis upon class struggle, Giddings went so far as to say that "the study of society has come into existence because of a recognition of the fact that the struggle for existence is not only an individual but a collective affair." He continued: "The struggle for existence in its collective form today affects entire races, it affects nations and has become associated with economic affairs in the new struggle of nations and of races, and in the class struggle in economic or industrial fields. The interest, I suppose, of human beings in general is most acutely in the class struggle, and next to that in the national struggle, because the national struggle is connected with the whole world, war and peace, and the class struggle is shown least in the collective struggle of races as such to put themselves on a sounder footing, to make more progress than hitherto; and yet I think the racial struggle the most profoundly significant one, and it will have more far-reaching consequences in the end."



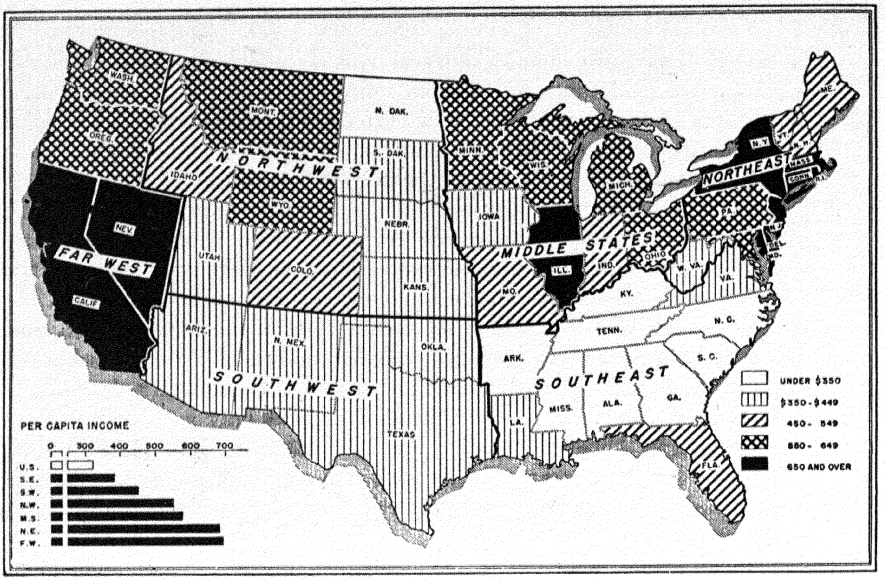
People and Classes in the Folkways of Yesterday

Mountain folk have sometimes been called "Our contemporary ancestors." To what extent is this not accurate? ABOVE: Giving a lesson in weaving in a mountain home during the revival of crafts in the 1930's. BELOW: The Snake Doctor's cabin with the "Doctor" by the door.

Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess treat the concepts of class and caste in a somewhat different way, yet they imply the same organic significance. Thus, "The class is superior to the caste in extent. If the psychological bond of the sect is community of faith, and that of the caste community of profession, the psychological bond of the class is community of interests. Less precise in its limits, more diffuse and less compact than the caste or the sect, the class represents today the veritable crowd in a dynamic state, which can in a moment's time descend from that place and become statically a crowd. And it is from the sociological standpoint the most terrible kind of crowd; it is that which today has taken a bellicose attitude, and which by its attitude and precepts prepares the brutal blows of mobs. We speak of the 'conflict of the classes,' and from the theoretical point of view and in the normal and peaceful life that signifies only a contest of ideas by legal means. Always depending upon the occasion, the audacity of one or many men, the character of the situation, the conflict of the classes is transformed into something more material and more violent — into revolt or into revolution."

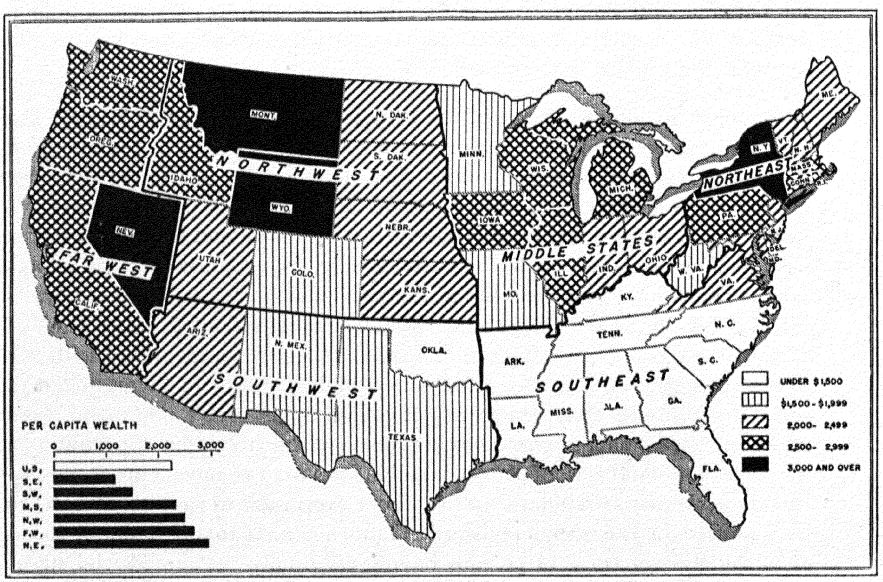
In his *Principles of Sociology*, E. A. Ross devotes Part VI to Class and Caste under chapter discussions of stratification; the rise of gross inequalities; gradation; segregation and subordination; equalization of opportunity; and the social Circulation of individuals. These indicate that Ross also holds class and caste to be organic in the development of society. Even more specifically he discusses some of the problems of social classes in his Part IV on Conflict and Adaptation, especially in the chapters on age Conflict, sex Conflict, industrial Conflict; and conflict between sectarian groups and between the learned and unlearned.

Most other sociologists treat of the subject of social classes at length, but perhaps two or three more examples will suffice. William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff discuss it under their Division on Collective Behavior and devote a chapter to "Status of Social Classes." They point out that it is important to inquire what status is, how it is acquired, and how social classes vary because the position of the individual in the group is of great importance to each individual and lies at the bottom of many problems of adjustment. They continue: "Class status seems to overshadow all other kinds of status. Most people in our culture would prefer to be identified with the upper class because it is correlated with a high standard of living and with social acceptability. But a scientist, let us say, might care a great deal more about his status as a research worker, or a scholar about his reputation in his profession. And it is, of course, possible for a man to have a great reputation as a scientist or scholar, but not, for reasons such as race or poverty, to be included in the social register." Ogburn and Nimkoff define a social class as "the aggregate of persons having essentially the same social status



The Regional Equality of Wealth and Opportunity

One of the most difficult and universal problems of society is that of the distribution of wealth and opportunity. This inequality is basic to many of the class concepts. No less true in the United States than elsewhere. ABOVE: Estimate of per capita Nation wealth in 1936 — Special assignment to compare with 1946, as soon as statistics available. BELOW: Realized income per capita in the United States, 1940.



in a given society." They distinguish between class and caste in somewhat the same way that we have already pointed out, namely, that the class is susceptible to quick, changing status determined by common hereditary factors. They quote Charles Horton Cooley's definition of caste as "a class more strictly hereditary."

Ernest R. Groves and Harry Estill Moore discuss class and caste in their chapter on accommodation, pointing out that the isolation of caste is generally considered the result of birth, of political rights, or of other powerful factors. They define a caste as "a group whose interaction with the remainder of the population is limited by definite regulations, recognized and adhered to by all groups."

Kimball Young in his *Sociology* treats social classes in one of nine chapters on Some Basic Processes of Interaction. In this chapter, entitled "Stratification and Class Structure," he pointed out that social class arises when ascribed status becomes linked to groups or sections of society in terms of some ordering of status as higher or lower, or some fixing of graded inequalities of prestige and power which are taken for granted. This is the essence of *stratification*, which we may now define as a differential ranking or gradation of individuals or groups in a given society on some scale of superiority-inferiority, or superordination and subordination. Classes begin to arise when some special group function or power within the larger society is accepted not only as right and proper but as inferior or superior to another, and when such status is handed down to the next generation of that particular group. That is, the higher-lower relation develops out of conflict, competition, and differentiation but becomes stratified only when the "biological principle" of heredity, as C. H. Cooley put it, is applied. "Membership in the class or caste is determined therefore not by competitive efficiency or individual merit, but by kinship affiliation. In short, the class or caste function depends on gradation of inequalities linked culturally to hereditary descent."

Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapters XV–XVIII. Conflict, accommodation, and assimilation in relation to the problems of peoples and classes. The natural history of conflict. Prejudice as one of the strongest factors in promoting conflict between racial groups. Division of society into distinctive classes apparent throughout the ages. The effect of war on class conflict. Forms of accommodation made between peoples and classes. Caste the best illustration of accommodation on the superordinate-subordinate level. Caste in Western society and the relation between class and caste. The influence of class in assimilation. Participation in culture the key to assimilation.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, chapter VII. Class conflicts do not seem to be of profound significance to the study of societies in general. Class struggle as a special phenomenon which has developed in only a few societies and then as a result of a series of complex factors, the most important of which has been a state of rapid cultural change. Classes can scarcely be said to exist within any society until the individuals at different social levels have become conscious of their common interests and organized themselves. Most of the world's aristocracies have arisen through conquest.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, pages 9, 67, 97, 128, and 473. Need for more concreteness and less abstraction in dealing with the classes of society. An historical approach to the extension of class war in the medieval town. An analysis of architecture of the sixteenth century in relation to social status. Class education of the past and the narrow vocational education of the present passing order are both antagonistic to the biotechnic concept of education as the extension and refinement and integration of human experience in all its aspects.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapters II, IV, VIII. A survey of the agents of mechanization which have produced problems of classes. Mining classes and modern capitalism. The degradation of the worker during the early paleotechnic age and the effect of machines on the craft guilds. The struggle between working classes and possessing classes; the new forms assumed because of the alteration of systems of production and exchange. Changes in type of struggle with development of era of specialization. The relation of the conflict of the national states during the nineteenth century to the class struggles. To the extent that neotechnic industry has failed to transform the coal-and-iron complex, to the extent that it has failed to secure an adequate foundation for its more human technology in the community as a whole, to the extent that it has lent its heightened powers to the miner, the financier, and the militarist, the possibilities of disruption between these classes has increased.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters VIII–XVII. The necessity for recognition of the realism of all classes of the people. The workers and their relationships with capitalism. The problems of the youth and elders in today's world. Children as an important human resource and the dilemma of securing adequate opportunities for their development in the different regions of the United States. The importance of woman and her entrance into industry and professional life. Our American races and nationalities. Minority problems analyzed. The development of leaders as one way by which classes can secure greater benefits from life.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, chapter I. Regionalism implies the natural origins and quality of all folk-life and culture. In this general sense regionalism is a symbol of America's geographic as opposed to occupational representation; of popular as opposed to class control. Regional-

ism as a key to equilibrium between the classes of agrarian society and those of urban areas. The changing status of race and minority groups considered by this movement.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, especially chapters XI and XV. Social class as an aggregate of persons having essentially the same social status in a given society, with its fundamental aspect that of relative superiority or inferiority to other social classes. An analysis of the caste system. Relation of class and culture and the factors favoring the growth of social classes. Classification of American social classes and a comparison with those of Europe. The future of social classes in America.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, especially chapters VI, XIII, XIV, and XXVI. Race contact and its immediate results. Mental and social consequences of modern race conflicts; societal consequences. Conflict between capital and labor. The class struggle known throughout history, but the most outstanding present-day example is that between the proletariat and the capitalist class. So intense is the struggle that the world is divided into warring camps, transcending national boundaries and interests. Whole nations and combinations of nations now engaged in the struggle.

General Readings from the Library

Aikman, Duncan, *The All-American Front;* Anderson, Dewey, and Davidson, Percy E., *Ballots and the Democratic Class Struggle;* Anderson, Elin L., *We Americans;* Armstrong, Louise V., *We, Too, Are the People;* Corey, Lewis, *The Crisis of the Middle Class;* Dollard, John, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town;* Groves, Ernest, *The American Woman;* Janowsky, Oscar I. (ed.), *The American Jew;* Landtman, Gunnar, *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes;* Locke, Alain, and Stern, Bernhard J. (eds.), *When Peoples Meet;* McWilliams, Carey, *Brothers Under the Skin;* Martin, Lillian J., and de Gruchy, Clare, *Salvaging Old Age;* Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma;* Odum, Howard W., *Race and Rumors of Race;* Raper, Arthur, and Reid, Ira De A., *Sharecroppers All;* Schrieke, B., *Alien Americans;* Stewart, Maxwell S., *Youth in the World Today;* Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class;* Wittke, Carl Frederick, *We Who Built America.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Within the field of class, organizations may work for the perpetuation or the elimination of class. Illustrate with a list of class-perpetuating organizations and a list of class-eliminating organizations.
2. What was the New England Society of Charleston?
3. What organizations have been formed to promote "racial purity" or "white supremacy"?

4. Describe the work of the National Sharecroppers' Union.
5. What was the Townsend plan for old-age revolving pensions? Was it only a class movement?
6. What was the movement for "technocracy"?
7. What was the E.P.I.C. (End Poverty in California)?
8. What significance had the F.F.V. (First Families of Virginia) in the earlier days of Southern culture?
9. What are the arguments against any "youth movement"?
10. What implications of "class struggle" are found in what political philosophies?

35

Problems of Peoples and Regions

Regionalism as a tool for theoretical analysis and practical study of problems. We have already studied regionalism in Chapter 5 as it relates to the understanding of organic society, to the natural bases of the folk society and to the growth and development of American society. We come now to study more definitely the role of regionalism as a tool for the analysis and study of social problems and for social planning. We shall examine some of the premises of regionalism as basic to the regional quality and balance of men and Nature and of culture and technology. But first we may indicate the role of regionalism as such a tool by pointing out its important relationship to the major problems which we have studied in this text. Here it is important to re-emphasize the fact that the relationship between peoples and regions is organic and the concept and practice of regionalism are fundamental in the total perspective and framework of our sociology. We may illustrate this by noting the relationship of peoples and regions to the problems which we have studied in the chapters which precede this chapter and those which follow immediately. And we note with emphasis that all the problems of peoples and regions are accentuated by the developments which followed World War II, and that the new world society is again dependent for much of its character and order upon the stability of regional relationships.

Regionalism and economic problems. In the two preceding chapters we have discussed problems of economic adjustment and security, on the one hand, and problems of peoples and classes, on the other. From our studies of these problems, it is clear to the sociologist that the range and nature of many of them are determined by the regional setting and that it is not possible to work them out without due consideration to problems of natural

environment and resources and to ecological and geographic factors. Thus, the wealth of nations is conditioned by the nature and use of resources, by the factors of situation and exchange, by general balance between men, resources, and areal distribution, as well as by the degree to which the regional quality and balance may be integrated and implemented through communication and transportation.

The nature and the amount of wealth are also conditioned by the kinds of resources and the nature of technology and skill which has developed those resources in the area where they are. Even the earlier classical economic theory was originally based upon premises of economic processes related to a particular area of the world, namely, the British Isles, in relation to the rest of the world. So, too, many of the assumptions of economic conflict and war are based upon situations and factors which have led to the usage of the terms "have" and "have not" nations. Again, the development of geopolitics and political geography, so much utilized by the Germans, was based on important premises relating the people to geography and resources. Manifestly, in the modern world all these factors are going to be of still greater importance. In the Western world the development will be dynamic where the new civilization will be conditioned a great deal by regional balance in and between the Americas. In the Pacific area, manifestly, the role of regional arrangements will be even more important if that is possible.

Regions, peoples, and classes. Our study of the problem of peoples and classes indicates clearly how the heart of the problem of races and nations is often found somewhere in the realm of regional conditioning and development. In many ways the problem of race and caste in their genesis and development is essentially a problem of regional culture, and in the new civilization of contemporary society, planning must be based upon a full recognition of the regional divisions of world culture and of interregional adjustments. The development of race and folk culture always has its genesis in the early evolution of peoples in relation to a particular area and environment, with their culture developing over a period of time. The problem of caste is best illustrated and studied in relation to certain regions of the world, such as India and the southern United States of America, in which the explanation is not one of simple factors but of complex relationships in which the problem must be solved by beginning with the regional basis rather than through some coercive universalism.

Regionalism organic in natural society. The problem of peoples and regions and the concept of regionalism also appear as a thread running throughout the fabric of the whole of societal development. In regionalism

the student of sociology will find an expanded ecology, in which he may study not only the history of the relation between an organism and its environment, but also the optimum development of society in relation to various regional settings. The essence of the folk and of the folk society is found in the close relationship between the people, their culture, and the lands upon which they live. Agriculture, industry, and many of the major institutions are all conditioned by the folk-regional society, so that if we can understand the folk in relation to their total regional environment we have a framework for the understanding of how societies grow.

Regional representation in democracy. When we come to study the important problems of democracy and social control and of modern civilization, urbanization, and centralization, the sociologist will again find the region in relation to the people a key to the working out of a permanent balance between man and the land, between machines and men, between urban and rural life. In regionalism may be found an exact scientific and practical medium for decentralization and for adequate representation of minorities as well as majorities and of peoples in all regions and subregions of the central nation. It is an essential tenet of democracy that groups and minorities have representation and equality of opportunity as well as individuals. So, too, it is through the utilization of regional adaptation that the best use of resources can be had and the best adaptation of the people to their environment can be made.

Research and theory inherent in regionalism. The importance of regions and peoples may be emphasized again by anticipating our subsequent chapters, which deal with social planning, social research, social theory, and social definitions. We have pointed out that the region and its culture as reflected in the folk-regional society provides the best possible laboratory for social research in the sense that it is probably the smallest unit of society in which all phases of the evolution, development, and behavior of the people can be studied adequately. It provides an areal laboratory large enough to comprehend all of the activities and factors involved and small enough for an all-inclusive inquiry. The region and the folk-regional society are especially available for the co-operation of all of the social sciences and of the physical and social sciences in exploring the nature and range of regional problems and the development of a complete society. Regional research thus gives reality to inquiry based upon universal principles. This means, in the next place, that we shall discuss regionalism as the framework of social theory, which both helps to explain the universal evolution of mankind in his development from the earlier folk-regional societies up to urban civilization and to provide a framework for the

development of society, which achieves balance and equilibrium between conflicting forces, thus insuring continuity and stability of societal evolution. Accordingly, the problem of regions and peoples symbolizes what we discuss in our subsequent chapter on theory as a combination of what is usually called the theoretical with the practical in a realistic science of society.

THE REGIONAL BALANCE OF MAN AND CULTURE

The role of regionalism in social problems may perhaps best be epitomized in the concept of the regional balance of man and Nature and of culture and technology. This has usually been featured more specifically in what is called balanced economy. The heart of the problem of regional balance is one of opportunity for people in the places where they live and its attainment is essentially a matter of the functional definition of social planning as well as regionalism. "Planning for what" becomes essentially a symbol of inquiring into the new order of world society and more specifically for each particular society. Still more specifically it is the chief problem of American society as represented by the United States of America.

The basic principle of regional balance. But first, it is important to recognize the broader, more general assumption that the key problem of all our postwar reconstruction and planning centers around the quality and balance of people and culture, of economy and technology the world over. More appropriate for our purpose, the problem is one of regional equality and balance in the total integration of world order. For it seems clear that a great deal, perhaps most, of the tragic situations of maladjustment, disorganization, and pathology in the world is due to imbalance whether in terms of the lack of natural ecological balance between plant and animal resources or between man and Nature, or whether in terms of the "haves" and "have nots" in advanced civilization. Inherent in the waste and weakness of any region, in the conflict and lack of unity of the people, and in hazards of regional imbalance and pathology are lurking dangers and dilemmas capable of swelling to floodtide mass emotion, confusion, and revolution in the immediate postwar world and after.

By the same token, the main strategy of planning will be found within the framework of regional balance and equality which must include not only economic opportunity but cultural development and the thing now so much stressed, namely, justice in world organization. Yet justice, admittedly basic to adequate and enduring arrangements, is not primarily something on the level of abstract morality or moralistic principles, but of the essential regional equality and balance of opportunity in the places

where people live set in the framework of world standards and interrelationships.

As relating to the functional aspects of this thing we call the regional balance of man and culture, it seems demonstrably clear that many of the conferences for racial, religious, and world unity became in effect forces for disunity, centering on abstract demands on the one hand and concrete pleas for special priorities on the other, rather than realistic strategy for regional and racial balance and harmony within the framework of the people, their resources, situation, technology *and* high moral principles.

Balanced culture and economy. Now we turn to our main assumptions on the basis of the functional definitions of regionalism and planning and our illustrations from world regions and from the quest for the regional balance of America. In the first place, the assumptions of balance comprehend a great deal more than the technically defined balanced economy with its factors of balanced agriculture and industry and the other factors so well defined by the economists. These are assumed as basic to what Henry T. Buckle a long time ago called order and balance in a country and what administrative authorities have been seeking in balanced economies and parity programs. The heart of regional balance is found in the search for equal opportunity for all the people through the conservation, development and use of their resources in the places where they live, adequately adjusted to the interregional culture and economy of the other regions of the world or of the nation. The goal is, therefore, clearly one of balanced culture as well as economy, in which equality of opportunity in education, in public health and welfare, in the range of occupational outlook, and in the elimination of handicapping differentials between and among different groups of people and levels of culture.

The integration of diverse cultures and values. With reference to the functional definitions of regionalism, it is necessary to re-emphasize the fact that the primary objectives of regionalism are found in the end product of integration of regions more than in the mere study and development of regions themselves. The regions are studied and planned to the end that they may be more adequate in all aspects of resources and culture; yet regionalism itself is primarily interested in the total integration and balance of these regions. In the world order it is not so much a problem of conflict between universalism and regionalism as it is one of world order and organization brought out through the representation, initiative, and balance of world regions. In the case of American society it is not so much a question of centralization of authority in conflict with State rights as it is develop-

ing an adequate federalized central authority capable thereby of achieving realistic decentralization. In other words, it is necessary to have some sort of world order or organization before the world's regions can be integrated and before they may be co-operatively developed at their best. In American society there must be strong national character and organization before the Nation can be made stronger through the strength and integration of its diverse regions so that regionalism may supplant the older separatism and isolationism of sectional development.

Again, the people the heart of society. So, too, the global situation with reference to races, minority peoples and nationalities has made increasingly clear and vivid the organic significance of this regional quality and balance of the people everywhere. The assumptions of regional balance here are both culturally theoretical and administratively practical since it seems likely that one of the key tasks of the postwar planning world will be to rediscover and recognize the folk personality of millions of people who give new emphasis to *vox populi*, *vox dei*, or to the realistic verdict that only the people count. All this means that regional balance assumes a healthy diversity; that the way of each region is the way of its culture and that each culture is inseparably identified with its regional character.

This is not only nothing new but has always been recognized as a definitive part of understanding peoples and their institutions. It has always been recognized by the common people in their loyalties and devotion to their own customs and institutions and in their criticism of others. It has always been recognized by anthropologists and sociologists in their study of cultures. Regional attitudes and mores are so definite and powerful that they constitute rights and wrongs; they determine the nature of behavior and institutions. Intolerance, therefore, of the mores of a people reflects narrowness and provincialism of outlook. In the contemporary America there has recently developed an increasing tendency among urban intellectuals to belittle and to characterize as intolerable many of the mores of rural society, and for intellectuals everywhere to dictate the ways and means of living for minority peoples wherever they are. Manifestly, however, this is one source of conflict and imbalance in the world, for how can the United States dictate cultural order for Poland or the conflicting folk of the Balkan states or the South American republics? Or, how can the oversimplified plans for the reintegration of the cultures of India or the conflicting claims of Palestine be made to work? All this reflects a strange backwardness in an age of communication and intellectual liberalism. The depth and width of the growing chasm and threatened imbalance and the reasons for it would be unbelievable if the situation were not actually true.

This regional quality of culture, behavior, and institutions is, of course, universally applicable to all regions of world society. The recognition of this regional quality of world society, of its imbalance, and of the need for regional arrangements for world organization and peace, while relatively new, is rapidly becoming the basic consideration in nearly all plans for stabilizing world organization. Symbolic of the swelling tide of regionalism is the conviction of Sumner Welles that "an effective international organization can be constituted only through the creation of regional systems of nations . . . under an over-all international body, representative . . . of all regions." But in whatever instance, the point of emphasis is that it is through co-operative arrangement and the integration of diversified cultures that strength and stability are to be found.

Regionalism as a tool for decentralization and redistribution of wealth. Such a functional regionalism thus becomes a tool for attaining balance and equilibrium between people and resources, men and machines, the state and the folk. It is a tool of the democratic process in that it provides for the redistribution of the good things of life and of the opportunity to work within the framework of every people's geography and of their inherent cultural equipment. It is a tool for democratic world reconstruction in the postwar world, because it is through co-operative regionalism rather than economic nationalism that the society of tomorrow can be organized for human welfare instead of for military achievements. It is a tool for social planning, because it takes into consideration the rights, privileges, resources of people and areas, and stresses self-government and self-development as opposed to coercive centralized power. It is a tool for social planning, also because it offers specific technical workable ways of developing and conserving resources for human-use ends. Since regionalism, as the opposite pole of sectionalism, isolation, and separatism, is as true of international as well as of national affairs, it wants no self-sufficiency in economy. It wants no isolationism and separatism, and it wants no tragic imbalance between the folk and the state or between power and the people.

Regionalism and planning. There are other assumptions of regionalism which it is not necessary to discuss in relation to our main premises. Assumed are the specifications of administrative regionalism, regional planning, regional mercantilism and the science of the region which delineates regions, defines its terms, and sets up its adequate methods. There is the final point of emphasis which is that regional balance is essentially synonymous with the ends of social planning. There are many satisfactory definitions of planning in terms of its attitudes, two of which are appropriate here. One is a commonly used one which makes the objectives of

planning the attainment of balance and equilibrium between competing factors and the substitution of effectiveness and abundance for inefficiency and scarcity. The other is one utilized by Patrick Geddes, which assumed planning to be the bridging of the distance between science and knowledge and practical problems. In both of these, as in all efforts toward world regional balance, there are implied skills, science, expertness through which the facts and specifications are provided and through which then the distance is bridged.

APPLIED TO WORLD ORDER AND AMERICAN SOCIETY

We have then to make brief application of this thing we call regional balance. Naturally the first application at this time is to world order and international relations. We need only recapitulate the essential premises of regional balance and then look at the map of the world as in chapters 1 and 4 with its ill-distribution of people in relation to resources and living relationships. There you will see on the map here illustrated, for instance, the wide range of income closely related often in the lower brackets to the densest populations. Similar applications may be made by reference to the different resources — land, minerals, water, power, labor, machinery. Manifestly, here are the measurable ways of indicating need of and means of attaining regional balance in a world where accounts are now sadly out of balance. Manifestly, too, the technical problems of tariff, free trade, of money and exchange, and especially of transportation and organization are among the technical, workable ways of doing the job.

In the assumptions of the regional balance of America there are, of course, two major aspects: one is that of a better balance between and among the Americas and the other is that of the regional balance of our own Nation, with which, of course, we have been concerned. We may illustrate briefly with three aspects of the situation, namely, the over-all importance of regional balance, some specific aspects of planning that need correction, and the southern regions as illustration of imbalance.

With reference to the national character we need only say that to understand the significance of regional balance in America, we need only recapture the epic of the Nation's powerful heritage of resources set in the midst of every region and of every folk at work at every occupation in which democracy has been made enduring because of the diversity of people, place, work, wealth; and to measure the tragedies of imbalance in waste and weakness, in conflict and isolationism. Yet there is another aspect of great importance and that is America's success in attainment of regional

balance in its effect upon the world. America can adopt the procedures of planning and interregional and interracial organization and co-operation and be ready to join with the world in international organization and co-operation for peace. Or America can join the conflicting nations and races in perpetual warfare and violence and lose its place in the leadership of the world of international organization for peace. This problem is no more a one-way obligation in the United States, with its opportunity for interregional and interracial balance, than is the obligations of nations and races and folk in tragedy and travail the world over.

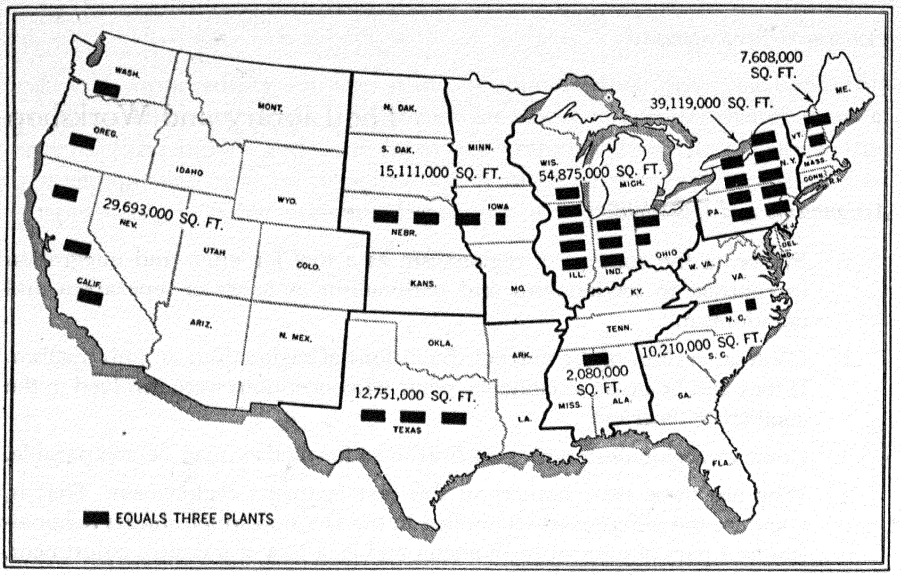
Planning for imbalance. Finally, it seems well to illustrate the nature of imbalance by referring to a specific level of planning which often forgets the essentials of regional balance and therefore negates the idea of national strength and unity. How national planning might not contribute effectively to the regional balance of America may be illustrated in two sample cases. There was, for instance, in the depression of the 1930's an earlier publication at the time when America's consumer purchasing power was scarcely more than sixty billion dollars prepared by a national planning agency looking toward full employment. In the program, recommended under the title "Resource Utilization," it was pointed out that, when the total purchasing power of the Nation reached seventy or eighty billion dollars, the Nation could give full employment to all of its employables. Yet it was stated that, even if the total consumers' purchasing power should rise to ninety or ninety-five or even one hundred billion dollars, there would be need for scarcely any increase in agricultural workers. As applied to the agricultural regions and their mode of farmer folk, it would thus come to pass that, when the rest of the Nation was reaching its peak of prosperity on the basis of industrial America, they would be in depression straits with too little employment and having the necessity of paying high prices for commodities made on the basis of high prosperity. The original program not only failed to plan for regions and their farm populations, but on the contrary assumed that the logical thing would be for the rural folk to migrate to industrial centers, where already people were congested mainly in one or two regions.

Depletion of regional human resources. This brings us to the second type of planning which accentuates regional imbalance and works to the detriment of the regions. That is, the procedure which takes the youth from one region to another, trains them, concentrates them in the same urban industrial centers that already exist, and results inevitably in the impoverishment of the region from which they are drained, is not a sound policy for the Nation or the region. Such programs fail to provide training

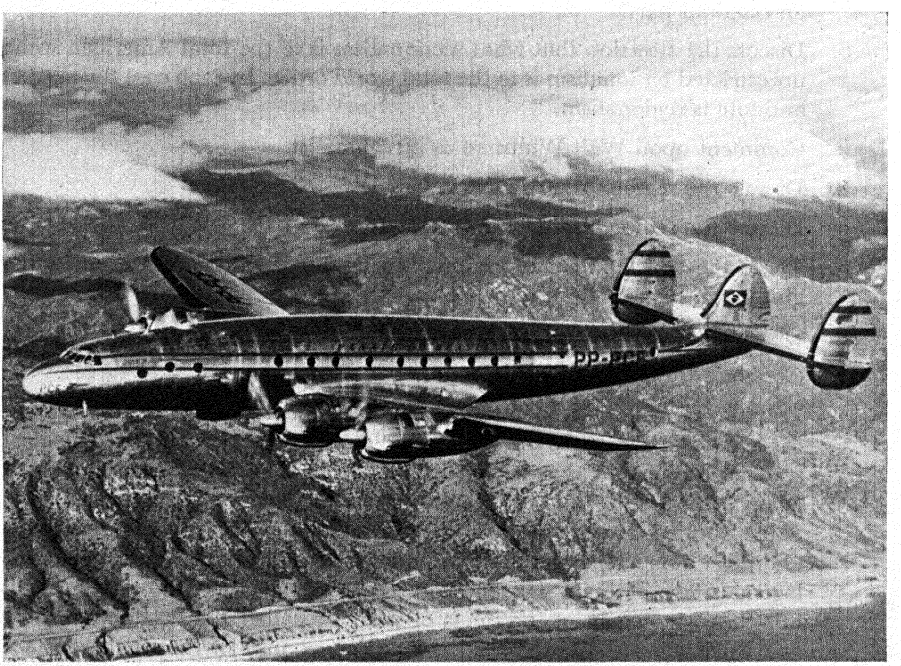
and work opportunity for the youth of that region, and this inevitably results in deficiency areas. It assumes an uneven regional distribution in terms of "the have" and "the have-not" regions with the corollary that such regions can best be provided for through Federal aid and should be expected only to come as near self-support as possible.

Assignments and Questions

1. Elaborate the concept of regionalism as a tool for unity and integration in contrast to sectionalism and nationalism as levels of separatism and isolationism.
2. Contrast certain of the current discussions of regionalism *vs.* universalism. If they can be made to coincide, what misconceptions were involved in the conflicting theories?
3. Contrast regionalism with *geopolitics* in so far as they may be comparable.
4. Why are these two chapters in this text featuring regionalism? That is, what are the different levels implied in the Division which studies regionalism as a part of natural phenomena and as a tool of balance, adjustment, and administration?
5. What is the basis of our assumption that there can be no social planning, American style, except through State and regional planning programs as an essential part?
6. Discuss the assertion that what sectionalism is to the total American scene unrestricted nationalism is to the total world order. In each case the needed antidote is regionalism.
7. Comment upon Walt Whitman as a regionalist.
8. Discuss the regionalism of Patrick Geddes.
9. Discuss the regionalism of Lewis Mumford.
10. Trace the development of regionalism in the United States from its beginning in metropolitan regionalism.
11. Discuss literary regionalism in the United States.
12. Compare this chapter with Chapter 5 in Part II.
13. Franklin H. Giddings, so far as appears, was the first of the pioneer American sociologists to make the region an elementary beginning of sociological study to the extent that it constituted the basis of all "organic society." Many others took into consideration geographic and physical factors. Some studied animal societies. Some studied the "culture area." But Giddings alone recorded its basic and organic role in the formal sociological study of man. His thought ran somewhat as follows: Since all human phenomena are products of what he called the sustentation field and since the sustentation field is a region or part of the earth's surface



ABOVE: Regional distribution of airplane, engine, and propeller plants in the United States. BELOW: Decentralization of industrial and cultural areas possible because of airways and speed.

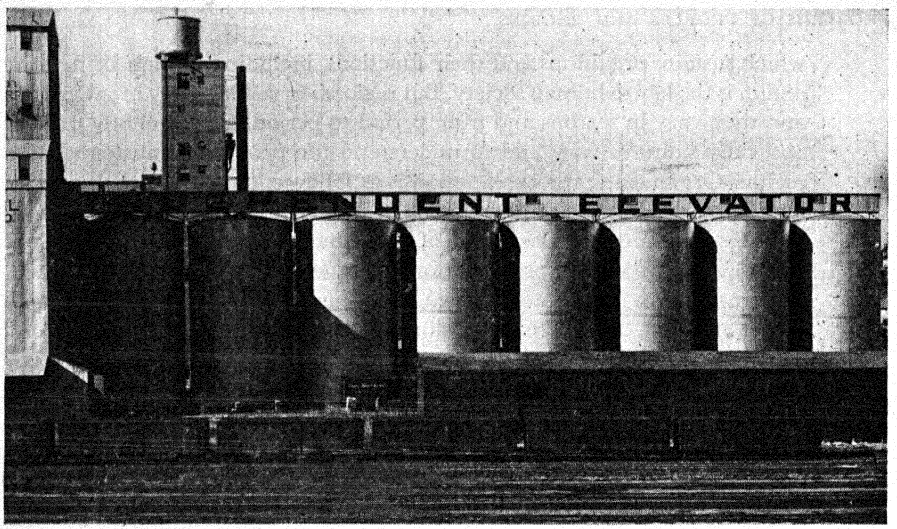


which sustains organisms and their functions, including human beings, the region is the key to human society. But regions vary. They vary in geography and they vary in seasons and from period to period. Consequently peoples and their cultures vary and to understand the people we must study the region. Organically, the explanation is as follows: "Among stimuli that all living bodies react to are phenomena of the surface of the earth, including its life sustaining resources, and of the atmosphere, including variations of temperature and of precipitation. All these are unevenly distributed. Geography is a variegated thing. There are regions that forbid, repel, starve, and kill, and there are regions that nourish and attract. Therefore, the teeming life of the earth is apportioned and segregated, here in energetic aggregations, there in sporadic, ineffective examples according to the regional dispersion of environmental bounty and exaction, incitement and constraint."

14. The importance of the region as a unit for the study and planning of society is emphasized by an examination of a similar importance which has been assigned to the region by several physical sciences and other social sciences. More specifically, the region may be defined in terms of the geographers, the anthropologists, the ecologists, the political scientists, the economists, and the administrators to the end that its nature and function in the scientific study of human society may be made clearer. By way of preview and illustration to all of this we may cite the clear demarcation of the region by Lewis Mumford as the key unit for societal study. "Rationally defined," he writes, "the locus of human communities is the region. The region is the unit-area formed by common aboriginal conditions of geologic structure, soil, surface relief, drainage, climate, vegetation and animal life: reformed and partly redefined through the settlement of man, the domestication and acclimatization of new species, the nucleation of communities in villages and cities, the reworking of the landscape, and the control over land, power, climate, and movement provided by the state of technics."

15. This broader view of the organic relation of the region to society is well supported also by the anthropologists. Clark Wissler, for instance, starts out by noting "that every people has its home, its own peculiar combination of environmental conditions. By and large, the majority of peoples have been long resident, so far as we can tell, within the region in which we know them today.

16. The geographers also have provided a great deal of definitive material descriptive of the region as the complete unit of human habitat. Thus P. Vidal De la Blache summarizes by pointing out that "Human societies, like those of the vegetable and animal world, are composed of different elements subject to the influence of environment. No one knows what



The United States is exceeded in wheat production only by Russia; North America all told produces nearly a fifth of the world's total (19.1), or 1,291,708,000 bushels. ABOVE: A grain elevator in Nebraska. BELOW: A contrast in rural agriculture, showing an old time syrup mill in the South in which sorghum cane is ground for juice, then boiled and refined into the well-known molasses.

winds brought them together, nor whence, nor when; but they are living side by side in a region which has gradually put its stamp upon them."

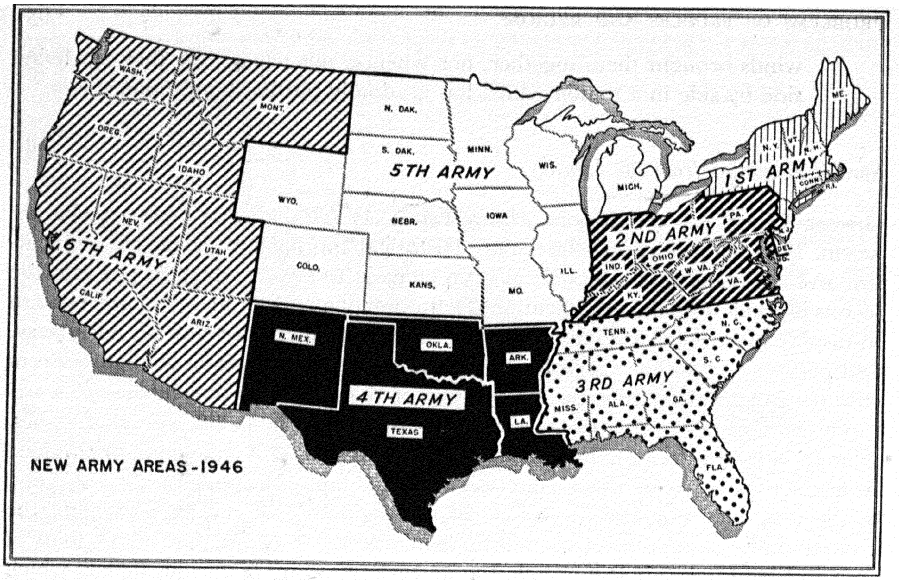
Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapter XXVIII. The community and the region. Historical approach to the idea of regionalism and the belief that regionalism is an efficient tool with which to pry into the secrets of modern social organization. Definition of a region; an area large enough to display most social factors, distinctive enough to make recognition fairly easy, and possessed of a characteristic mode of life based on a unique configuration of culture traits and complexes. An analysis of the regions with reference to geography, homogeneity of people, association with metropolitan life in earlier stages, relation of cultural and natural resources of the regions and economic differences. A distinction between the terms "regionalism" and "sectionalism." The ways of the folk determinative in culture of the regions. The various regions of the United States analyzed. Regionalism demands the coordination of all lines of approach and it is just this correlating and coordinating of various factors which gives the regional approach its greatest value.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapters V and VI. The regional framework of civilization and the new patterns of life and thought which it offers to city life. Analysis of the urban area as a geographic unit and an economic region. The process of regionalization and the cycles through which it tends to pass. The utilization of the region in all its varied potentialities the task for democratic politics. Analysis of the social basis of the new order and the new method of development for the "garden city."

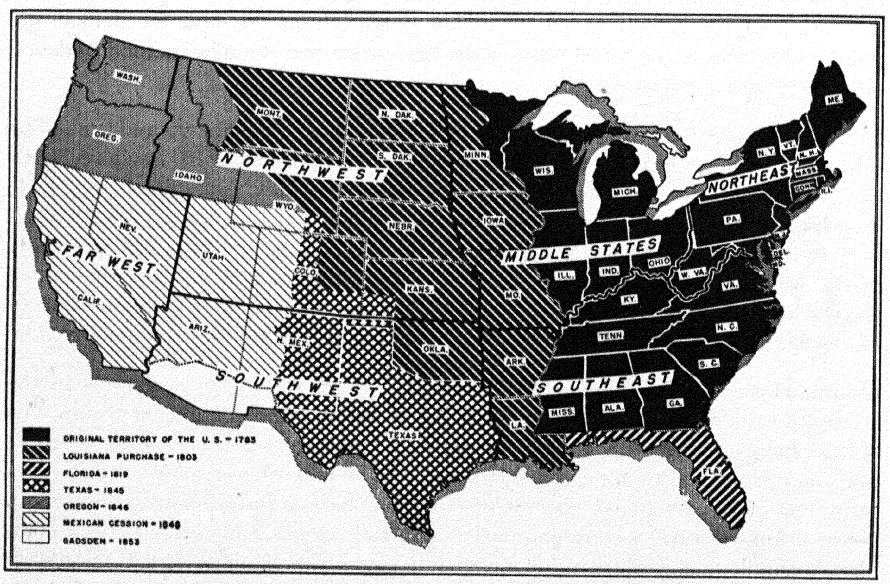
Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapters VI and VIII. The relation of regionalism and European political nationalism shown. Early regionalism in France and Denmark. Analysis of regional cycles; cycle of poetry, cycle of prose, and cycle of action. Cooperative agricultural movements as the basis of a dynamic regionalism. Economic regionalism as the working out rationally of the geographic distributions of the world's resources and the resettlement of the world's population into the area marked as favorable for human living. Survey of experiments in economic regionalism. Regionalism a functional economy.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter VII. The essentials in the concept of regionalism and the significance of regional factors and problems. The development of society in general or the social problems of the American people not understood unless one considers regional backgrounds and cultures. Descriptions of the six major regions of America. Regionalism versus sectionalism. Natural folk-regional society compared with the bigness and artificiality of complex, technological, industrial urban society of the maturing nation. Regionalism



Historical and Administrative Regionalism in America

The basis of studying American Regionalism may be found in the historical development of sections and western frontiers as described by Frederick Jackson Turner. BELOW: The chronological picture of National expansion. ABOVE: The Army Administrative regions.



as a very realistic economy which offers a "way out" for so large and complex a nation as the United States. Development of regionalism and illustrations.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism.* The entire book is related to this chapter heading and Part I offers especially good material. The relation of peoples and their regions the key to regional planning. Regionalism a tool for progress and a medium for interpreting its growth through the orderly processes of the people and their institutions within the living geography of a natural and cultural heritage. The movement a practical framework for planning and adjustment in such areas as population development and policy, standards of living and work, the increase of wealth and well-being, the equalization of opportunity, and the development and mastery of new social frontiers.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology,* especially chapters XIV and XV. Natural environment in human ecology and the service of the advance in culture in liberating man, somewhat, from the restriction of ecological forces. The evolution of the community and the rise of the city. An analysis of the term region and the human ecologist's interest in these areas. Descriptions of the regions of the United States. Distribution of population by regions.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions,* especially chapters II, VII, and VIII. Physical nature far more than a mere stage for man's drama of life. It is rather a set of dynamic, active, never dormant entities, always affecting man's activity, conditioning the ongoing and every aspect of every society. It aids and hinders man and calls for redirection and control. Thus it has created regions. Differences between groups explained by physical nature, plus climate, plus food, plus culture. Culture variations and the content and structure of culture. Regional concept of culture as a conditioner of group life.

Recent Social Trends, pp. 6–10, 43–46, 451–461, 481–487. Growth of population by regions. Regional variations in birth rates. Metropolitan regionalism. Regional planning as purporting to make regions convenient, healthful, and attractive places in which people may work, play, learn, and generally express themselves in well-rounded living.

In the light of developments since the publication of *Recent Social Trends,* what new factors are involved in this field? What trends have appeared which were not indicated in the findings? What new trends now appear most marked?

General Readings from the Library

Adams, James Truslow, *America's Tragedy;* Bond, Beverly W., Jr., *The Civilization of the Old Northwest;* Borg, C. O., *The Great Southwest;* Branford, Victor, *The Regional Survey as a Method of Social Study;* Chase, Stuart, *Rich Land, Poor Land;* Davidson, Donald, *The Attack on Leviathan;* Fox, Dixon Ryan, *Sources of Culture in the Middle West;* Lilienthal, David E., *TVA — Democracy on the March;* Lord, Russell, *Behold Our Land;* Mangus, A. R., *Rural Regions of the United States;* Mukerjee, Radhakamal,

Regional Sociology; Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities;* National Resources Committee, *Drainage Basin Problems and Programs* and *Regional Planning Series;* Odum, Howard W., *An American Epoch;* Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill, *American Regionalism;* Odum, Howard W., *Race and Rumors of Race;* Odum, Howard W., *The Regional Approach to National Social Planning;* Odum, Howard W., *Southern Regions of the United States;* Odum, Howard W., *The Way of the South;* Semple, Ellen C., *Influences of Geographic Environment;* Skinner, Constance L. (ed.), *Rivers of America Series;* Smith, J. Russell, *America's Lands and Peoples* and *Men and Resources;* Strausz-Hupe, Robert, *Geopolitics: The Struggle for Space and Power;* Turner, Frederick Jackson, *The Significance of Sections in American History;* Vance, Rupert B., *All These People;* Vance, Rupert B., *Human Geography of the South;* Webb, Alter Prescott, *Divided We Stand;* Webb, Alter Prescott, *The Great Plains;* Weigert, Hans W., *Generals and Geographers.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. In terms of social action and social problems, can you justify the assertion that *the regional quality and balance of America* is the most important cultural-economic-domestic problem that followed World War II?
2. Describe the regional organizations and regional areas utilized by The Federal Reserve Bank; the Federal Housing Administration; and others.
3. On what grounds can America defend itself if it continues "have" and "have not" regions?
4. Are the tenets of democracy applicable to States and regions as they are to individuals?
5. What are some of the regional divisions of the world proposed for a world organization for international order?
6. Discuss the regional aspects of Dumbarton Oaks.
7. Continue the regional classifications of culture begun in Chapter 5.
8. Describe the TVA as a successful regional arrangement.
9. What are the arguments for and against the Missouri Valley authority?

36

The Problem of Social Progress and Social Planning

Social problems and values inherent in all cultural development. In our previous study of the problem of social process and interaction we called attention to the age-old problem of man's constant efforts, wherever his culture develops, to adjust himself to his environment and to get the greatest possible satisfaction out of his total social arrangements. Implicit in this process were value assumptions. On the positive side there were the values inherent in what men want and negatively there was the goal of survival. Throughout our text we have indicated how human society has grown from the earlier levels of realistic culture, bottomed in the environmental setting of regional factors and the folk society to the later stages of advanced culture set in the framework of technological civilization. Implied in this process of development were also value assumptions in the folkways and institutions which grew out of such development. Then later we have described something of the impact of civilization on the folk and the nature of some of the major social problems which resulted. These problems are of a great range and variety but of particular importance are the problems of adaptation to civilization, the problems of economic opportunity and security, the problems of race and class, the problems of peoples and the regional balance between man and nature and between culture and world relations.

How social problems have been "solved." Now we come to consider the unusual problem of how to solve these problems and how to meet the demands of social change in such ways as to achieve progress and welfare. Sometimes the earlier solutions have appeared to come about through the hard way of survival in the process of struggle. Then the institutions were

evolved to meet needs and to act as a buffer between the individual and change and to give order and control to society. In advanced cultures, science and invention have been applied to society's needs, and special tools for solving problems have been developed through institutional aids, economic measures, social work and public welfare, and the special avenues of education and legislation. Sometimes there have been the extra hazards of war and disease necessitating special means and coercive measures of control. Thus cultures have been of great diversity, and values have been inherent in the traits of each culture and its institutions.

Theories of progress. What we call social progress has appeared uneven and cyclical both in time and in the quality of culture or civilizations recorded. So much has this been true that many theories of progress and change have been reflected in the history of social thought. In general these theories of progress have been of two sorts, one which assumed the inevitability of cyclical change and growth including the assumptions of the inevitability of social progress, with the corollary that nothing could be done about it, that a laissez-faire philosophy was best. The other assumptions, based upon the idealism of philosophy and the later sociology typified by Lester F. Ward's social telesis, set the stage for what subsequently was to evolve into society's newest problem — social planning. Social planning, in turn, assumes that society may have an over-all approach to its problems, including the problems of world peace and organization.

Many levels of progress. In oversimplified terms progress may be conceived as the orderly process of going forward. *Progress in time* is inevitable. *Progress in space* reflects the amazing spectacle of making the world immeasurably bigger through added conquests and the use of air and earth and sea, yet also smaller through transportation, communication, speed, and all the other technologies that eliminate space. *Progress in quantitative achievement* is symbolized in the whole incredible catalogue of scientific discoveries and inventions. By the same token, *progress in the quality of achievement* may be symbolized by a thousand attainments in medicine, transportation, security and safety, and in the upper brackets of human achievements. Yet, for the sociologist it is *progress in the sum total of human achievement and welfare* that is exclusively important. The other aspects are vital only in proportion as they are means to this end. In the same way *values* are defined in terms of processes and achievements whose objectives reflect the end results of orderly progress from earlier stages of culture to enduring survival and stabilization in advanced civilization.

The essential meaning of progress. The student of sociology who wishes to specialize may find an almost encyclopedic catalogue of readings

on the subject of progress. He may define progress in terms of values or utopias or technology; or he may define it negatively as that which does not revert, as when Hitler's marvelous technological progress reflected reversion to barbarism. Yet for the purposes of the elementary understanding of society and of social planning, there is need here for only a primary concept of progress which comprehends the systematic framework of our sociological study. Such a meaning is comprehended when we say that progress consists in the mastery of physical and societal factors and forces and the resulting societal order which insures the continuity of human and societal development through processes and organizations which conserve and develop and give opportunity and representation to each demotic unit in society whether individual or group. As a corollary, progress will be attained in proportion as society develops ways of attaining these ends. Two ways are stressed in social planning and democracy.

Assumptions of social planning. Our assumptions with reference to social planning again recapitulate the premises of our sociology as being both sound theory and practical study of society. This means that any adequate understanding of social planning in the sociological sense assumes a general knowledge of sociology as we have presented it in this treatise. Social planning, in this larger concept, is essentially a major social problem. This means that our problem of social planning seeks to focus upon the whole field of human relationships and especially upon the survival, development, and progress of human society itself. Within this larger objective social planning, again like social problems, seeks to present a general framework through which technical, tangible, workable ways and means may be provided for the adjustment and/or the solution of specific social problems.

Social planning the essence of the best social theory. In Part VII we point out that social research lies somewhere between the fields of social problems and social theory, since research is necessary to discover facts from which systematization of theory may be attained. We point out also that social theory, in the sense that it grows out of the day's work and is based upon realistic facts in adequate perspective, is essentially practical. We point out further that the development of theory and its wise use is itself an important sociological problem and seeks to attain the maximum ends of science in the discovery of truth and the attainment of mastery. Now social planning may be said to be based upon and to comprehend at times the best social theory. It may be said also to be the product of the best social research. It may be said, in addition, to be the most effective over-all tool and technique for both understanding and solving problems. Social planning may

be interpreted still further to be the nearest composite summary and integration of what social science and social invention can achieve as the best results of purposive science.

Planning asks and answers questions. If we look at other major problems studied, we find the concept and practice of social planning in the broader sense in which we approach it again as exclusively essential. Thus, for instance, in social processes and social change, in which it is generally agreed that the total effects of modern technology are such as to speed up the tempo of social change which affects the economic habits of the people and, therefore, their behavior, it seems clear that the greatest crises and maladjustment have come about because of lack of planning and predicting essential needs. This was well illustrated in the United States in the depression years of the 1930's and more vividly illustrated in terms of World War II. The dynamic Giddings had a way of saying that the most important teaching of sociology, after all, was to ask the question, "What else will happen or is likely to happen under such and such conditions?" Sociological planning assumes a scientific procedure which asks and answers these questions in order to provide the basis or framework for meeting new situations.

Resources and regions in planning. Even more vividly the problem of planning may be illustrated by referring to the nature and needs of the problems of economic adjustment and security, which we have treated in an earlier chapter. So much is this true that the almost universal connotation of planning is economic planning, in which there is inherent in the concept some form of governmental power to enforce. In the field of economic problems, of course, planning becomes the key tool in such areas as transportation, distribution, prices, wages, standards of living, land utilization, conservation of resources, income and taxation, and occupations. Here, as in other fields, basic research precedes analysis of the results and their implementation into some workable ways of getting results.

So, too, in the problems of peoples and classes and of peoples and regions, it is not possible for the sociologist to comprehend either the understanding of total society or a framework upon which its future development will be based without some concept of composite social planning. During the most tense moments of World War II and the whole process of winning the war and looking forward to the peace, there was almost unanimous agreement that there must be social planning in the new organic sense in which, on the basis of realistic actual peoples and actual resources, planning for better adjustment of a world order must be attained. In this larger concept of planning a world society the people and the regions have assumed new

meanings, and their adaptation requires, as never before, a new order of social planning of, for, and by the folk and the regions.

Social planning envisages society as a whole. We may illustrate further how a review of other elements of our sociology is necessary for the understanding of the larger problems of social planning. We have pointed out above that social planning represents essentially a broader framework of social theory at its best. Such theory, however, assumes a knowledge of how societies have developed from their earlier grounding in nature and primitive groups, conditioned by the circumstantial pressure of environment and the social pressure of culture, and have grown and developed later into more complex, urban, industrial civilization, still powerfully conditioned by physical factors and technology more than general culture. The understanding of the relation between men and resources, between culture and geographic environment, between races and groups, and the impact of change and technology upon the individual, upon culture — the understanding of all this is essential to the understanding of what the problems are and what needs to be planned in terms of social achievements and social values. So, too, the understanding of the essential elements of modern civilization in terms of the state, of industry, of urbanism, of organization, technology, and the resulting rise of modern technicways becomes basic to the understanding of what planning means and what sort of planning may be assumed for modern contemporary society.

Definition consistent with theory and practice. Thus, from the scientific viewpoint of sociology, social planning is essentially social theory, as we define it in our subsequent chapters as being workable blueprints designed from facts or, more technically, the systematization of conclusions derived from the realistic results of empirical research. Social planning must be that and that alone if it is to be sound and scientific in the sociological sense. Yet, we must keep in mind that social planning and social theory in this sense are almost the opposite of subjective theorizing or merely metaphysical or philosophical utopias. It used to be said that planning is nothing new because Plato had a plan for the good society; so did Aristotle, so did Rousseau, so did Machiavelli, and the countless hundreds of social theorists who have posited abstract premises upon which the good society would develop and thrive. It was often said that social planning, therefore, is nothing new, but something very old, whereas it is very new in the sense in which it connotes governmental participation. We may emphasize this in a preliminary way by introducing our discussion of definitions of social planning with a composite concept featuring the distinction noted. For our purposes here social planning, including world, national, regional, urban, state, community,

on whatever levels of natural resources and cultural arrangements, connotes design, specific, technical, workable ways of doing things set in priority schedules of time and spatial relationships, as opposed to the mere ideological, educational, exhortative general motivation inherent in metaphysical theories or philosophical "isms" and "systems."

The new social planning. Perhaps what needs to be emphasized here most is the newness of social planning in the modern world as it connotes technical, workable, realistic ways of doing things in contradistinction to mere ideology or philosophy. What the sociologist is trying to incorporate into his theory of social planning is that sort of dynamics which makes it almost the opposite of mere exhortation, educational teachings, ideological utopias, or theoretical "systems." Social planning also is based primarily upon empirical research, the results of which are incorporated into a systematic framework of action. Social planning is, moreover, specific with reference to priorities of time, place, and relationship. It involves skills, techniques, science, information. It assumes broad knowledge interpreted in such perspective and technique as to provide the equivalent of workable blueprints. It assumes the long-time look at society and the long-time program of development. It assumes finally the co-ordination and integration of all units in the total.

Three major levels of planning. In order to interpret the theory and practice of social planning still more specifically from the viewpoint of sociology, we may look briefly at three major viewpoints or levels. The first of these is the level of over-all total societal planning, which envisages society as a whole and seeks the unity and integration of all its parts. The second is the level of organic, functional planning, in which there are three main areas, namely, physical planning, economic planning, and cultural planning. The third is the level of technical-administrative planning, which extends all the way from community planning up through county, city, district, state, regional, national, and international planning. In these three are comprehended the framework of social theory, in which social processes, social organization, and social institutions are involved in the total framework of societal evolution from folk culture to civilization, in which balance and equilibrium between the people and resources, between culture and social change are sought in enduring margins of survival and progress.

Over-all societal planning challenges the best that sociology can do. First, it may be pointed out, social planning as it envisages the total progress of society reflects the best and most comprehensive theory implied in the total framework of our sociology. More than this, however, social planning thus

concerned may be said to comprehend, more than any other single entity or concept, the composite of all of our social inventions and social technology which have grown out of our social research. In this respect, therefore, social planning is, of course, more comprehensive than the general ameliorative programs of social work, public welfare, public administration, educational direction, community organization, and the other "work disciplines" through which the products of social science and social research are transmitted to the people and to society.

Social planning, moreover, in this level of the over-all societal planning must be conditioned upon the foundations of sociological analysis and synthesis. "What is society and what is it good for" is the question which Giddings was accustomed to ask. In one of his answers to this he was considerably ahead of his day when he set up as one of the main objectives of society the term security. This was long before in the modern world social security became the keynote to many of the high motivations and stirrings of the people. Professor Giddings included under the term security certain elemental factors in government and public welfare that may well now be a preview to what is to come.

Social planning in its larger practical-theoretical sense is based upon observations of trial and error of experimentation and of the "rises" and "falls" of societies, with always, however, the analysis and objective measurement of factors that have gone into the development and decay of various cultures and civilizations. Social planning, therefore, is built upon the rock bottom of societal understanding, in which survival values are interwoven in the framework of local and temporal programs for security and happiness.

Social planning as theoretical and "academic." It may well be said that the above theoretical aspects of social planning are "academic" in the sense that, while they are soundly bottomed in realistic facts, they are so comprehensive and so involved in time-space-cultural factors that it is not possible to achieve even the statement of complete planning which will be flexible enough for specific societies and the tempo of modern change. This is to say, however, no more than what is said about any broader comprehensive theory. Social planning as social theory has added the element of realistic application and, therefore, partakes of the nature of tested theory, step by step, period by period, culture by culture, region by region. It may be said to be academic further in the sense that it is scientific in so far as its premises are all based upon the systematization of what has been learned in the scientific *application* of truth as well as what has been discovered. It is "academic" in the more popular sense of the word in which, although

it is recognized as sound, the public expects little of it except in the long run and then only when utilized by societal agencies adequate for the purpose.

Too much must not be expected of planning. It is important to note the scientific, theoretical, and academic nature of social planning, as indicated above, both in order to recognize the organic nature of social planning and the responsibility of those who plan and in order to focus upon the role of realistic and responsible planning in the world of tomorrow. We have pointed out in an earlier chapter that too much must not be expected of sociology in the sense of explaining all things and solving all problems any more than should be the case in biology or chemistry; but also that too little must not be expected of sociology because of the great need and opportunity now for sound sociological theory resulting from scientific research and the systematization and synthesis of results. In social planning as a part of the best flowering of realistic sociological research and its application to society we have a sort of recapitulation of the same situation. It will be understood, therefore, that neither too much nor too little will be expected of social planning, and that realistic sociology will not be afraid to proceed to the consideration and formulation of bases upon which sound social planning may be implemented in realistic situations.

Functional levels of planning. This brings us then to our second level of social planning, which is found in the organic, natural, functional aspects of planning. Even while we point to the very practical, realistic, and immediate problem of planning on its functional level, we still must recapture the organic bases of society as found in its natural resources, its physical environment, its people and their culture. Thus, sound social planning must always be bottomed in the objectives of conservation, development, and utilization of resources in relation to the human-use ends of these resources and the resulting successful adaptation and adjustment. These functional levels of planning may best be analyzed on a threefold basis, each of which, in addition, has a multiple catalogue of specialized functional levels. These levels comprehend physical planning, economic planning, and cultural planning; and first we may look at what we designate as physical planning. Physical planning is that planning which seeks the best possible balance and equilibrium between people and the places where they live, the resources which they use, and the natural environment by which they are conditioned. Sometimes it is the land and the relation of man to its situation and use. Sometimes it is rivers and waters, forests and minerals, and what they mean to the development and economics of the people. Sometimes it has to do with wildlife sanctuaries, parks, and scenic

places. Sometimes it has to do with the beauty of Nature and the aesthetic aspects of towns, cities, and highways. Sometimes it has to do with national domains and publicly owned lands and sometimes with private properties and national communication lines. Sometimes it has to do with State, sometimes with counties, sometimes with cities, and sometimes with villages and rural communities. But always planning for the physical foundations has to do with the great organic, natural bases upon which happiness, culture, prosperity, and human welfare rest in their most elemental forms.

The range of physical planning includes land planning in its general aspects which is planning for the best utilization of land and its adaptation to the largest number of purposes and needs;

Land use for towns and cities which is planning for the best utilization and situation for business, institutions, residence, highways, industries, parks, playgrounds;

Land use for State and national domain which is planning for the conservation and use of great forestry areas, parks, forestry and mineral conservation, recreation;

Land use for rural life and agriculture which is planning for balanced agriculture, forestry crops, increasing production capacity and value and conservation of agricultural lands;

Rivers and drainage in their general aspects which is planning for river valley development in relation to total national and State areas;

Flood control and power which is planning for reservoirs of water for power and for the prevention of floods;

Navigation and transportation which is planning for the best use of rivers for commerce and recreation as a part of the transportation system;

Sanitation and recreation which is planning for the purification of waters both for the purpose of health and recreation;

Wildlife conservation and use which is planning for the conservation and enlargement of fish and game, including the development of small streams, lakes, and ponds;

Ocean, gulf, lake, and water fronts which is planning for the utilization of fish and oyster resources, of transportation and recreation, and for harbors and shipping;

Minerals in their general aspects which is planning for the conservation, development, and wiser use of mineral resources;

Discovery and development of new mineral resources which is research and planning for new uses of minor minerals;

Climate and regional variations which is planning for the best possible use of climate in relation to culture and economy;

Transportation and situation which is planning for the wisest utilization of situation through highways, railways, airways, and other communication and transportation arrangement;

Inventory of total resources which is research and planning to insure an adequate knowledge of all resources with a view to their wider and more effective use on behalf of the people.

Economic planning is that specialized planning which involves the relation of government and economics necessitated as such by trends and needs. First of all is the essential universal demand for postwar planning, looking to the transition from war economy to peace economy. The two major areas here are the conversion of war industries and activities into normal peace-time work and the very special planning to avoid unemployment. The still more special planning to see that the millions who have been in war services have opportunity for occupation or occupational insurance and training in periods of transition. Economic planning is special in the sense that the ratio between government and politics, on the one hand, and business and industry, on the other, becomes a technical problem of adjustment, critical in modern life.

The range of economic planning includes postwar planning in general which is an almost universal trend toward planning by individual businesses, by towns and cities, by States and the Nation for economic adjustment in the postwar period at home and abroad;

Conversion of war activities into peace-time channels which is planning for the quickest possible conversion of war industry into normal industry with the least possible confusion and with the largest amount of activity by industry itself;

Widening the range of occupational opportunity which is planning specifically in each community, industry, and State to give jobs to returning service men;

Individual business and industries in the postwar period which is planning by individual industries and business concerns for expansion, development, new markets, labor;

Rural and small industries which is planning for increasing emphasis upon rural industries, part-time industries, arts and crafts, and special development of industries for processing fibers, farm products, etc.;

Agricultural development and diversified farming which is planning especially for the small farmer and for balanced farming, including livestock in dairying;

Selected special industries which is planning for certain special industries appropriate to the State, region, or locality, such as housing, air cooling, new industries;

A type of special regional industry which is planning for a new era in farm fencing the South, including the development of the steel industry, for wiring, posts, and of concrete and forests products, developing an almost major industry overnight;

Banking and finance which is planning for financing industry and co-operative arrangement between private banking and Federal Government;

Public works programs which are planning for special public works programs in support of needed industry and demobilization of business.

Social and cultural planning. There are certain types of planning often neglected in the overemphasis on physical planning and business planning. Such planning emphasizes the social institutions and agencies and looks toward population policies with reference to the people themselves. In this field planning seeks to bridge the distance between research, resources, and the like, on the one hand, and the solving of problems and the adjustment of difficulties of the people, on the other. In this field, too, are many of the major services of government to the people — local, State, Federal.

The range of social and cultural planning includes governmental public works programs which are planning through the co-operation of local, State, and Federal Government for construction of necessary buildings in institutions of learning, public service agencies, or housing facilities;

Special programs for agriculture and rural life which are planning for agricultural development and for co-operative efforts in strengthening country life and balanced agriculture;

Programs of recreation which are planning for community, State, and Federal programs of leisure-time activities and recreation;

Public welfare programs which are planning for more adequate and well balanced programs of services for the handicapped and the deficient and for preventive measures;

Public health programs which are planning by local, State, and Federal authorities for more adequate health services, including especially health education;

Public education programs which are planning for channeling research and theory into more practical educational work, with special reference to elementary and high schools;

Population policies which are planning for wise distribution and optimum population programs;

Race and minority groups which are planning for local and regional adjustment and opportunity for race and minority groups;

Balanced economy and culture which is planning for well balanced communities, industry, and agriculture in relation to high standards of cultural development.

Administrative planning. It must be clear, however, that much more is needed than the mere cataloguing of areas and levels of planning or of just knowing what the needs are. It is relatively easy to agree upon the general principles of planning while the specific catalogue of areas and needs may be as inclusive as the principal activities and interests of society. What is needed most is some framework which makes possible and directs the actual workable ways of doing things. The questions that are constantly being asked are: How can we begin? What are the administrative arrangements best suited? How can planning be practical as well as theoretical? The answer to these questions brings us to our third level of planning, namely, the administrative. And just as in our theory of planning we envisage the whole of society, so in our administrative levels we must keep in mind the fact that every aspect of organization from the grass roots of the community up to the top-most level of necessary centralization of national or industrial agency must not only be provided for but provided for in due perspective to every other part. Thus, inherent in international organization and planning are the essential units of national and regional levels of planning the world over. Inherent in national planning, such as the

United States, are State planning, regional planning for groups of States, city and town planning with their extension into metropolitan regional planning, county planning with also provision for district planning for groups of counties. In this way the same organic unity of both structure and function of American life are guaranteed.

Social planning in the United States. Keeping in mind, therefore, the three major levels of social planning, namely, the general sociological or cultural, the functional, and the administrative, we may turn next to the application of our theory of social planning to the American scene. This means, first of all, of course, that the major objective of social planning is to provide ways and means whereby American society can develop itself through the orderly processes of growth and interrelationships. On the functional side it means that we must provide for conservation and development of all resources, physical and human, and the utilization of our science, skill, and technology in seeking adequate balance and equilibrium between the people and their resources, between the culture of the people and the civilization of the state, and between the people and their institutions, on the one hand, and social change, on the other. On the administrative level, it means that there must be such arrangements as will provide, first of all, for the integration of the total American society into a strong and dynamic culture, attained, however, through such decentralization as will give representation and opportunity to all the peoples in all the regions in conformity with their culture and resources.

Planning connotes sound interrelationships. Within all these levels, it must be clear that in the United States, on the basis of a Federation of States, there can be no national planning without its co-ordinate and commensurate State and regional planning in accordance with the organic arrangement of the American system. This means still more in detail, when we come to set up actual arrangements, that inherent and organic in a national planning council or board there must be a similar planning council or board for every State in the Union and for every major region composed of the larger component group-of-States areas adequately delineated and authentically adopted by the Nation's planning program.

The student of sociology emphasizes these organic, interrelated factors because he knows that those who plan for specific purposes, such as for prosperity or for specific planned economic order or for resource development or for still more specific aims and needs, such as transportation, communication, electrification, and industry, ignore or negate many of the human and societal factors in what is often overspecialized or conflicting plans.

It is important, therefore, to point out that national, social planning, on the basis of our subsequent premises of national, State, and regional research and planning councils, is organic in the whole picture of the United States. This is true for two major reasons. In the first place, the States are organic in the American-national system. In the second place, there is an organicism in the regional frontier developments of the Nation and in the essential need to conserve and develop the diversity of the Nation's resources.

The State organic in American life. Each of these in turn has two bases for its organicism. First, with reference to the States, we must remember that the titanic battle in the early American struggle for national unity was fought around the issue of whether we should have a centralized federalism or an integrated nation of federated States. The decision was made and was fundamental, so that the States are a part of the organic structure. They represent the heart and pulse of the national organicism and are the technical ways also of expressing geographic-democratic representation. Whatever else the Nation is, it is a United States of America.

There was, however, a later development which cemented the American organic concept of the Nation in terms of the states. This was the Civil War and the resulting American principle of a united Nation, in which the States, as Abraham Lincoln put it, like individuals, were part of the union, the essential part of the union, but the union cannot be broken by States. According to that theory, the union was more than a voluntary association of States. It was a mutual situation in which the States had their being within the union, but the union itself had given birth to the States. This organicism was more than just a continuation of the early American dream. It was a sort of conviction that beyond the constitution was a union of morally united States.

This organic nature of the States was not only expressed by the union, but was essentially the heart of the Calhoun doctrine of the Confederacy, namely, that the regional organicism of the South rested upon the essential organic nature of the States, and southern patriotism to the States in later years, sometimes transcending national patriotism, was essentially a part of the organic role of the states.

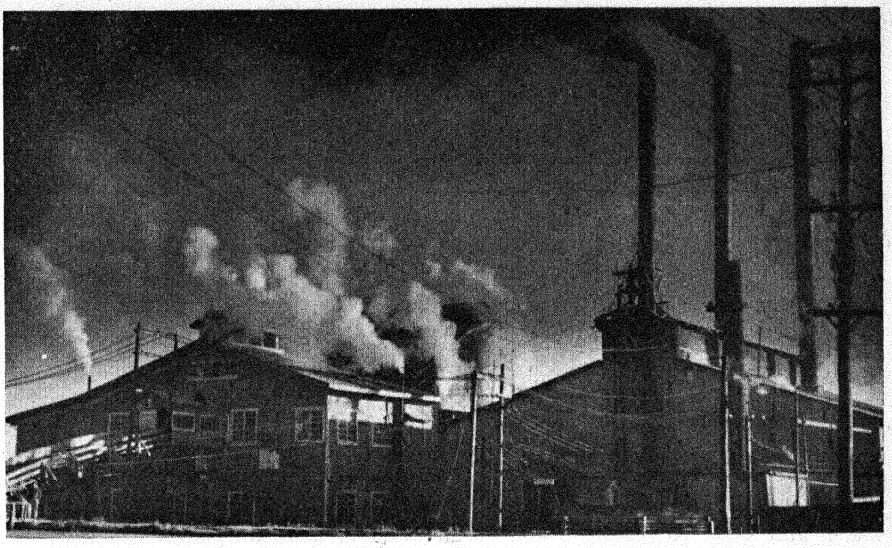
In all of our planning, this essential organicism of the States is the first fundamental to keep in mind in distinguishing between the planning of the democracy and the planning of the totalitarian state or national socialism. There can be no overemphasis upon this. America may change from its organicism of the States, but, until it does, this is fundamental.

Toward social progress. Social planning, then, in both its theoretical and practical aspects is essentially a tool for social progress if we define

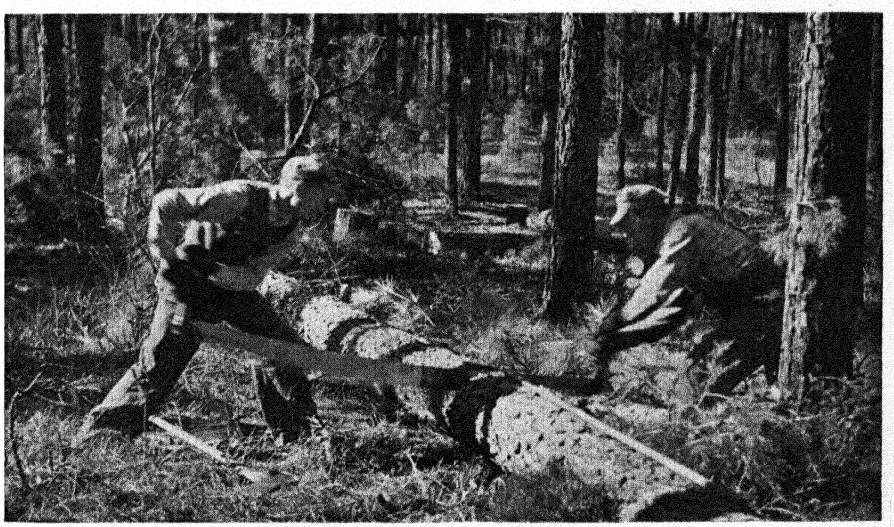
progress as the mastery of physical and societal forces and the resulting social order through which the continuity of human evolution may be insured. On the negative side planning seeks to remedy the deficiencies of imbalance and to bridge the chasm between the folk and their culture and technology and its possible mastery over mores. Social planning seeks to conserve resources and protect society against exploitation and exhaustion. On the positive side, again, social planning provides for creative ways, through the use of social technicways as the chief measure of modern technological society, for achieving the good society as the means for a richer culture and a higher human attainment of mankind. And it recognizes these objectives as applying in practical ways to all units of society at all times and in all places.

Assignments and Questions

1. It has been estimated that more than one hundred definitions of progress have had good standing in the field of philosophy and sociology. From the viewpoint of social planning what is a good definition?
2. Give a half dozen definitions of social planning.
3. In the earlier literature on planning, the concept was almost exclusively that of town and city planning. Now it comprehends a philosophy of control. Discuss the use and evolution of planning.
4. What is involved in "physical planning"?
5. Why designate a separate division of economic planning?
6. What is cultural planning?
7. In their report on region No. 1 The National Resources Planning Board says: "One of the primary purposes of a planning agency is to keep clearly before administrative officials and the public, the major objectives that, according to considered public opinion, should be attained, at least in part, through Government action. In this phase of its work, the planning board's job is one of synthesis. It must fit legislative policies, programs of executive agencies, public opinion, and deduction based on impartial research, into the comprehensive picture of the goal of public endeavor." Discuss.
8. In the foreword for Region 9, it is pointed out that "the basic intent is that the people of the Region should take stock of what resources are available, and realistically think out how these resources can best be used in promoting the welfare and security of the people who are dependent upon them. More specifically, it is intended to present a basis for consideration of general development and stabilization of employment in the Region, also a plan and program of works and activities that will look toward the expansion of economic opportunity in pace with migration of people to the Region, that will aid in meeting immediate needs in the present period of defense activity, and, finally, that will look toward the provision of a needed reservoir of work and improvements for the post-emergency era of readjustment and reconstruction. Discuss.
9. One other selection will illustrate further the nature and objectives of particular types of regional planning as expressed in the foreword for Region 7. "Because of its scope, the plan cannot be of the specific or 'blueprint' form that might be possible for a small area or individual project.



America's resources in timber reflect regional waste and lack of planning scarcely less than that of the eroded lands. Cut over lands and wasted resources made problem areas in American life. Yet, in World War II and in later years for housing emergencies, many a saw mill and thousands of workers outdid themselves to meet needs. ABOVE: A sawmill in Western Arkansas; and BELOW: Selective felling of shortleaf loblolly pine stand of 45 year growth.



It must be over-all and must emphasize the larger aims above those of a more minor and transitory character. Moreover, it must be flexible — an adjustable framework susceptible of modification from time to time as required to meet changing conditions and as permitted through advancement in planning for the actual development of the resources of the Region. Above all, the plan should be subject to wide review and criticism to the end that its progressive development may represent a harmonious blending of the considered judgments of all regional, state, and local interests concerned." Discuss further.

10. From the introductory texts of Kimball Young, of Dawson, and Gettys and of Sutherland and Woodward, select and criticize discussions of progress and planning.

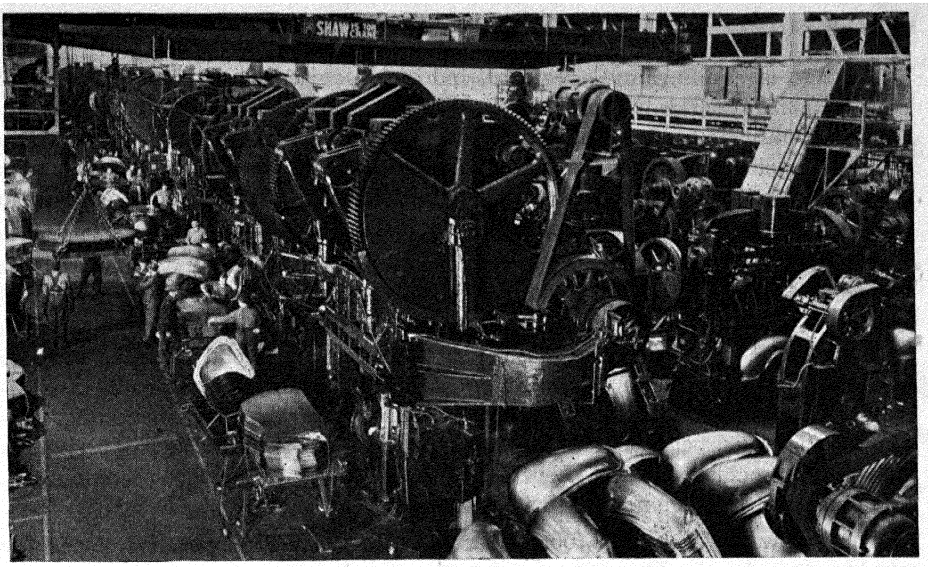
Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapters XXVIII and XXIX. Regionalism and its implications in social planning and in the promise of a richer life for the American people. Regionalism as an escape from standardization and regimentation. Regionalism provides ample security for local and individual initiative, but seeks to add the additional value of wide coordination. Social adequacy and social progress. Progress as a challenge to social evils. Development during the last two centuries. Research had its importance in social planning. Social reality not static, but is composed of human nature and culture built up through social interaction and is in constant change. Man's reluctance to deal as objectively with human nature as with physical environment. Social progress blocked by the stubborn tyranny of prejudice, while material advance has been accelerated by each increase of knowledge.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, Introduction. Anthropology offers a laboratory for the study of human nature. Comparative studies in anthropology provide some measure of the degree to which individuals can be shaped by their social environment, and thus give vital data for social planning.

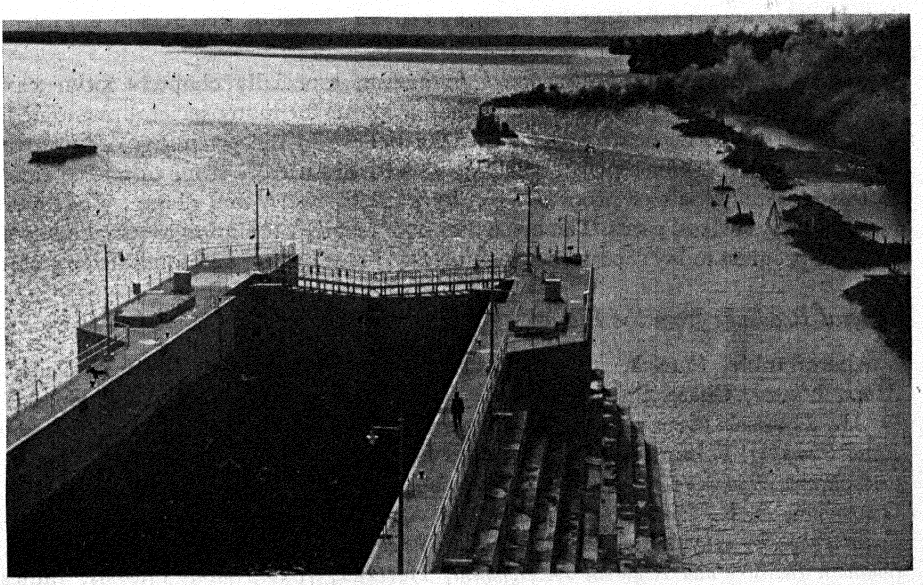
Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, chapters V, VI, and VII. The regional framework of civilization and the opportunities which it offers for city planning. The politics of regional development and the social basis of the new urban order. The necessity for breaking up the functionless, overgrown urban masses of the present and replacing them with the polynucleated city.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially chapters VII and VIII. The necessity for assimilation of the machine. Technics must become a creative force and there must be an orientation of man and the machine. Modern technology, the living by the artificial and the mechanical, must be replaced by the organic and the functional. A dynamic equilibrium for a technical world must include: an equilibrium in the environment, a restoration of the balance between man and nature; an equilibrium in industry and agriculture; an equilibrium in population.



Problems of Production and Planning

ABOVE: What it takes to make an automobile. BELOW: Illustrative of all three levels of planning are the programs of river valley resource development in which physical, economic and social planning are all combined in the widening range of opportunity for the people.



This state of equilibrium — regional, industrial, agricultural, communal — will work a further change within the domain of the machine itself: a change of tempo. Technics must be brought more completely into harmony with the new cultural, regional, societal, and personal patterns we have begun co-ordinately to develop. It would be a gross mistake to seek only within the field of technics for an answer to all the problems that have been raised by technics — but an answer must be found.

Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapters XXVII and XXVIII. An analysis of social technology and its relation to social planning. America's dilemma and the promise that is offered in social planning. Social planning offers the supreme test for all the techniques and mastery of social science. Social planning must be projected on the basis of a continuing American democracy, and will comprehend a working equilibrium in its whole cultural process and functioning. Distinction between social plan and social planning. Analysis of the strong prejudices concerning social planning. Levels for planning; work already accomplished. Regionalism as the keynote in social planning.

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, especially chapters I and XXV. The theme of American regionalism the achievement by a nation of a fine balance of historic, cultural, and geographic factors. The composite six major American regions as a frame of reference for multiple regional classifications and arrangement.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, chapter XXVIII. Social planning contrasted with social reform; reform remedial and corrective, planning preventive and constructive. Review of the theories of planning of Comte, Spencer, and Ward. Factors necessary for success in social planning. Progress of the movement.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, especially chapters XXVII–XXX. Persistence as a master cultural fact which accounts for many societal phenomena and which has to be dealt with by all who believe in the possibility of improvement in society. Teleological objectives viewed historically from primitive times to the present. Goals of progress held by nations, races, and classes. Endeavors prompted by societal goals. The cycle theory of history in relation to social control. Plans of progress today represented by "plans," "new deals," and totalitarian states.

General Readings from the Library

Abercrombie, Patrick, *Town and Country Planning;* Barzun, Jacques, *Darwin, Marx, Wayner;* Chase, Stuart, *Goals for America* and *Rich Land, Poor Land;* Cole, G. D. H., *Economic Planning;* Cole, William E., and Crowe, H. P., *Recent Trends in Rural Planning;* Folsom, Joseph K., *Culture and Social Progress;* Galloway, George B., and others, *Planning for America;* Graham, Edward H., *Natural Principles of Land Use;* Gustafson, A. F., *Conservation in the United States;* Hart, Hornell, *The Technique of Social Progress;* Hayek, von, Friedrich A., *The Road to Serfdom;* Herring, Harriet L., *Southern Industry and Regional Development;* Hertzler, J. O., *Social Progress;* James,

Harlean (ed.), *American Planning and Civic Annual*, 1930–1944; Johnston, Eric Allen, *America Unlimited;* Landauer, Carl, *Theory of National Economic Planning;* Lilienthal, David E., *TVA; Democracy on the March;* Lombros, Gina, *The Tragedies of Progress;* Lorwin, Lewis L., *Time for Planning;* Mackenzie, Findlay (ed.), *Planned Society, Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow;* Marshall, L. C., *The Story of Human Progress;* Mumford, Lewis, *Technics and Civilization;* National Resources Committee, *Regional Factors in National Planning and Development*, also *The States and Planning* and *Technology and Planning;* National Resources Planning Board, *Regional Planning* and *Reports;* Odum, Howard W., *Southern Regions of the United States*, Part I; Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill, *American Regionalism;* Parkins, Almon Ernest, and Whitaker, Joe Russell, *Our Natural Resources and Their Conservation;* Riggs, Arthur Stanley, *The Romance of Human Progress;* Stern, Bernard J., *Society and Medical Progress;* Strausz-Hupé, Robert, *Geopolitics; The Struggle for Space and Power;* Todd, Arthur S., *Theories of Social Progress;* Vance, Rupert B., *All These People;* Van Kleeck, Mary, and Fledderus, Mary L., *On Economic Planning;* Van Sickle, John V., *Planning for the South;* Wootton, Barbara, *Freedom under Planning.*

In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Compare the ideas of progress in the following references: Park and Burgess have grouped their materials into three classifications, under the general headings of the concept of progress, progress and science, and progress and human nature. The cataloguing and description of various concepts of progress set forth by many writers would in itself constitute an illuminating descriptive study. The following are representative: Lester Ward has defined progress as "that which secures the increase of human happiness." Professor John Dewey thinks that the problem of progress is one "of discovering the needs and capacities of collective human nature as we find it aggregated in racial or national groups on the surface of the globe, and of inventing the social machinery which will set available powers operating for the satisfaction of those needs." Herbert Spencer saw progress as a process of evolution; Guillaume de Greef as differentiation and co-ordination, or, in other words, organization. To Comte, progress must be accompanied by the "consolidation of order." Benjamin Kidd held that social progress must be accompanied by the sacrifices of the individual to the welfare and interests of the group. To Condorcet, progress is moral and intellectual. Social solidarity is to Kropotkin synonymous with progress. Henry George states as a law of progress "association in equality." Professor Ross sees progress as better adaptation to given conditions. To Bushee, the three processes of social progress are integration, variation, and selection. To Wyndham Lewis, progress is intimately associated with revolution. Lothrop Stoddard says, "In a wise balance between the factors of conservation and innovation, thus avoiding the extremes of both dull stagnation and chaotic change, lies the secret of human progress."

2. Appraise the following chart on the basis of the soundness of its theory in practical application to the United States.

TYPE OF AGENCY	CONSTITUTION	FUNCTION
THE UNITED STATES PLANNING AGENCY *The state and regional agency inherent in the total.*	Authorized by Congress as a regular constitutional form of procedure. Appropriations from Congress to include co-operative arrangements with state and regional agencies on the basis of precedents of Federal services to agriculture, highways, public health, social security. A major agency implying the highest prestige and most distinguished service. Members nominated by the President and approved by Congress.	1. To insure a continuous scientific inventory of the state of the nation and to provide essential information for the President, the Congress, the Supreme Court, and special needs; to co-ordinate research and act as a clearinghouse, to reduce overlapping, and to economize on congressional committee investigations. 2. To act as buffer between the President and the other branches of government and to provide a safeguard against overcentralization and power through government by persons. 3. To act as buffer between the national government and the states and regions, and provide the federal centralization necessary to effective decentralization.
THE STATE PLANNING AGENCY *The Federal and regional agency inherent in the total.*	Authorized by the state legislature as a regular constitutional form of procedure. State legislation to provide for co-operative arrangements with national, regional, and local planning agencies. A major agency implying the highest standards of public service. Members appointed by the governor.	1. To provide information for the governor and different divisions of state government; to co-ordinate research and act as a clearinghouse; to reduce overlapping and economize on state legislative committee investigations. 2. To act as buffer between the governor and state legislature and other branches of the state government, and to provide a safeguard against overcentralization and power through government by persons. 3. To act as buffer between the governor, counties, cities, and local government; and to co-operate with the regional, national, and local agencies.

TYPE OF AGENCY	CONSTITUTION	FUNCTION
THE REGIONAL PLANNING AGENCY *The state and Federal agency inherent in the total.*	Authorized by national and state legislation creating their planning agencies. A major regional agency with membership composed of ex-officio members of each state planning agency in the region.	1. To provide a clearinghouse of conferences and procedures, enabling the states within the region to keep mutually informed and to avoid conflicting procedures. 2. To act as a buffer between the states, on the one hand, minimizing the trends toward extreme states rights and interstate barriers, but, on the other, also advising and protecting individual states in fundamental matters. 3. To act as buffer between the Federal, centralized government and the individual states; to avoid conflict between states and Federal authorities; and to create wholesome understanding and relationships between the states and Federal government. 4. To co-operate with the United States Planning Agency in special planning and development involved in river valleys, water resources, and other areas overlapping state boundaries.
THE COUNTY PLANNING AGENCY	Authorized by each state legislature as a regular constitutional form of procedure. Board created through an enabling act from the state and elected by the county commissioners, county board, or other county governing body. A major agency in the public services, implying in personnel and services the highest standards of all other departmental divisions.	1. To provide essential information for the different divisions of county services; to co-ordinate research and act as a clearinghouse; to reduce overlapping and economize on state legislative committee investigations. 2. To provide mutual co-operation of the county with state, district, city, or other county planning agencies. 3. To co-operate with the regional, national, state, and district agencies on problems of intrastate concern.

TYPE OF AGENCY	CONSTITUTION	FUNCTION
THE DISTRICT PLANNING AGENCY *Where a group of counties elect to combine their planning efforts.*	Authorized by each state legislature as a regular constitutional form of procedure. Optional appropriations from the state legislature to include co-operative arrangements with county and city planning agencies. A major agency in the public services, implying in personnel and services the highest standards of all other departmental divisions.	1. To enable the counties within a district to co-operate and to avoid conflicting procedures. 2. To provide mutual co-operation of the district with state, county, city, and other planning agencies. 3. To co-operate with the national, regional, state, district, county, and city planning agencies on problems of intrastate concern.
THE TOWN OR CITY PLANNING AGENCY	Authorized by the city council, board of aldermen, or other local governing board, as a regular legislative form of procedure, in accordance with the constitutional procedure set up by the state legislature. Legislation to include co-operative arrangements with county and state planning boards. A major agency in the public services, implying in personnel and services the highest standards of all other departmental divisions.	1. To provide essential information for the mayor and different divisions of the city government; to co-ordinate research and act as a clearinghouse; to reduce overlapping and economize on state and county committee investigations. 2. To provide mutual co-operation of the city with state, district, county, and other city planning agencies. 3. To co-operate with the national, regional, state, county, and district agencies on problems of intrastate concern.

3. Describe the work of the National Planning Association.
4. Describe the work of the National Resources Planning Board, which was discontinued by Congress in 1942.
5. What are the principal problems of city planning boards? How many in the United States, and in what cities?
6. What are the chief obstacles to social planning?

VII

Social Research and Social Theory

37

Research and Society

A *great many years ago Herbert Spencer* complained that man had a way of studying all things else before he studied his own society. This was a part of his appeal for the need of sociology as a genuine science of society. Now, there are many students of modern times who feel that society is paying a price for its failure to heed this and other similar warnings that have come from sociologists since the days of Spencer. So, too, in the present-day world of dilemmas, there are many students, including natural scientists as well as social scientists, who ascribe the dangers and partial failure of science to the fact that it has not extended its research to apply to human society and the social behavior of the people. Research and mastery in the field of human affairs, it is pointed out, is not only the next logical development, but may be the only way to attain a sound theory of marginal survival in the new atomic age.

More specifically and practically, it is pointed out that the great contributions of modern science; the great achievements of engineering; the great gains of industry; and the whole catalogue of inventions and technological resources have come through research. Yet, the results of all this, startling in range and quality, powerful in influence, and beneficent in contributions to the comfort and convenience of mankind, still leaves the world in a state of great imbalance as between physical and human attainments. Why not, therefore, for the first time in the history of society, harness science in the service of society itself and see what results may follow? In order to give confidence to all those who fear the application of research to human affairs, why not recruit and train an adequate number of social scientists and set them to work on this, society's greatest need?

These and other questions like them accentuate the need for the new

generation of sociologists to inquire into the field and methods of sociological research. For in the understanding of the need and the possibilities and in the developing of adequate methods and facilities, the student will not only help ensure the truly scientific nature of sociology but will help to answer the question so often asked: What is sociology and what is it good for?

Social research as a bridge between social theory and social problems. The field of sociological research lies somewhere between the field of social problems as studied in previous chapters and the field of responsible social theory which we have assumed throughout this book and which will be explored still further in Chapter 38. In Part VI, we have studied the type and character of major social problems. Both the study and the "solution" of these problems manifestly are conditioned by the range and adequacy of social research which must be basic to the understanding. On the other hand, sound and responsible social theory grows out of the coordination and systematization of the results of research and findings of what are usually called empirical studies. Thus, the methods of research are not only fundamental in the effort to make sociology increasingly scientific, but they help us to interpret the nature and the range of practical problems and their interrelationship with "theoretical" sociology. As envisaged by many of the ablest young sociologists, the function of responsible social theory is to relate social problems to the increasingly larger and more varied stores of empirical materials which are being made available.

For several reasons the problems and the methods of research are of the greatest significance in the total understanding of society and in the interpretation of sociology. One of these is in the relation of research and method to all the sciences. Another is the importance of research in the interrelations among the social sciences and in the increasingly close relationships between the physical and the social sciences. Social research, therefore, cannot be considered apart from sociology any more than the socially behaving individual can be studied apart from the society in which he lives. This newer and more dynamic interpretation of research, therefore, both accentuates its importance and prevents it from becoming an unrelated specialization or an intellectual fad. In many ways, this exploration of social research must serve to review and to reinterpret our findings in the whole field of sociology.

What is social research? In this perspective, we shall still need to examine the general meaning and implications of research and many of its applications to sociology, social problems, and social theory. We shall also need to explore the several types of research, the meaning of scientific

method and methods, and the main avenues through which research is being done. We shall, accordingly, study some of the specific methods of research and point up practical ways and means of achieving desired results. We shall then study how these reserves of scientific research are utilized in the formulation of social theory and in the direction of ameliorative processes. Manifestly, the recruiting and training of the ablest students for social research becomes a part of the total program.

For the purpose of defining more accurately the meaning of the term *research* in the sociological field, we may define the two terms "social research" and "social study." By social research we mean such inquiry as utilizes methods that have been tested and approved by acceptable authorities as available to the particular area of inquiry involved. The implication is that the scientific method is inherent in the process of social research. Furthermore, the primary purpose of research is to search out the facts or the truth, and to provide for its systematic arrangement, analysis, and interpretation in such a way as to make a dependable contribution to knowledge in the field. As a part of science, it has the two-fold purpose of discovering truth and of attaining mastery; but its main function is not implementation.

Social research as distinguished from social study. On the other hand, social study is inquiry pursued through *whatever* methods exist for the various purposes of understanding situations and subjects, of collecting data of various sorts, and of acquainting the public with the nature of social situations or phenomena. Social studies often provide the basic materials of science or of research rather than constituting in themselves scientific research or scientifically presented knowledge. Thus, a *social study* series of publications might be quite different from a *social science* series; the one comprehending a very wide range of diversified publications of a descriptive, narrative, or general nature, while the other, if accurately characterized, would comprehend special scientific contribution to the specific subjects explored. A social study might very well be literary or philosophical discussion, or popular interpretation, or highly motivated ideological work. Such a series might be even more important in many ways for the purposes specified than a scientific series, but it would not be an example of scientific social research.

This distinction also may be useful in helping the young sociologist to identify not only his own inquiries, but many other publications that relate to the field of sociology. It will enable him to note the functional distinction between sociological research and other research that focuses upon interpretation, promotion, publicity, or propaganda, or even social work,

psychiatry, public welfare, education, or religion. It will enable the student to review the elemental fields of sociological inquiry. It will enable him to sense the unity of all the social sciences. In his own studies, this distinction may be useful in combining scientific methods of inquiry with a comprehensive analysis of the fundamentals. The results should be sound and responsible sociology.

The heart of scientific sociology. It is important to characterize social research in other ways. One is to say that it is the heart of scientific sociology, ensuring, on the one hand, the scientific nature of its inquiry and, on the other, the realistic or empirical nature of its study. Social research not only guarantees an increasingly larger and more dependable body of knowledge of society and, therefore, the continuity and expansion of the science of society, but it also ensures sociology against merely philosophical hypotheses and systems of thought. Such systems of thought and philosophy may themselves become a field for sociological research and thus contribute to a sound and scientific sociology rather than being synonymous with it.

Research has been basic to the effectiveness of the natural sciences. Social research may also be characterized by its importance. Here we may recall the history and experience of the natural sciences and of their influence upon human society. We also may note the part played by research in industry, in which a whole series of inventions or new processes may follow in the wake of any new scientific discovery. It is generally assumed that progress in the inventions usable in economics or industry is based on the findings of research; such research manifestly conforms to the scientific method best applicable to the field in question. Technology is the most powerful conditioner of the modern world. Just how powerful technology is may best be understood by measuring what science and invention did in World War II and in the subsequent periods of reconversion. The peoples of the world have been linked together through the inventions of communication and transportation. Consequently, in a new science such as sociology, involving as it does more than any other science the totality of human society, the need is for both an increasing amount and increasingly scientific quality of research. We shall see how this is fundamental to social discovery, social technology, and social planning.

Four main levels of research. We may characterize social research, after the manner of all research, on the main levels in which it is pursued. The first of these levels antedates formal or organized research and reflects the spirit of research. There is still a considerable amount of research reflecting this pure search for truth, the passion for discovery, the ideology and idealism of the scholar. Perhaps most of the earlier brilliant contribu-

tions made by thousands of individuals had their genesis on this level. At the present time, however, independent individual search for truth has in large part given way to organized, institutionally generated investigation.

The other three levels, therefore, may be more accurately described as divisions. For the great body of research today is done primarily under the auspices of three main institutional groupings. First is the university or the endowed research institute; second is industrial research; and third is governmental research. Each of these includes various areas or levels, and each performs its own functions for society and makes its own characteristic contribution to the complex whole of "research." Characterization in terms of these divisions is a more realistic description of the actual research situation than is the older division into pure and applied science — terms that are no longer used to any extent. Within these divisions there are many units ranging from the relatively simple projects of individuals to co-operative planned investigations covering broad fields and extending over long periods of time.

In earlier days the university represented not only the heart and spirit of research, but also the most comprehensive and thorough of all the agencies devoted to scientific research; it was the basis of, and provided the personnel and the methods for, most of the other research. At the present time, the universities still provide the most appropriate avenues for the free inquiry which results in fundamental additions to knowledge and are still the training schools for many of the research workers. Nevertheless, quantitatively in terms of counted research efforts; in terms of expenditures; in terms of their sweeping application; and especially in terms of the public interest, both industrial research and governmental research have exceeded university research; with still an accelerating trend in that direction. Within recent years governmental research has developed into the most phenomenal aspect of research in most fields of endeavor, that is, if we keep in mind that the inquiries which have been classified under research comprehend a wide range of *general social study* and *general inquiry* as well as of *scientific research*. This was true in the United States during the depression years of the 1930's. It was also especially true during World War II, when a world of nations was forced to use every resource of science and invention in a war for survival. Research under government auspices thus became a decisive factor in victory.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH

But university research still is basic to the whole field since the personnel for government research is necessarily recruited from among university

graduates and since their training must continue to a large extent in the universities. A knowledge of the range and nature of governmental and industrial research therefore is essential both to an understanding of, and the preparation for, research in the university. This discussion will cover briefly and far from exhaustively the government divisions which carry on research and especially those that do research related to sociology. In such reference aids as the *Congressional Directory* or the *United States Government Manual*, the student can find all of the Federal government activities outlined.

A question asked most constantly today is as to what constitutes the proper sphere and range of governmental research. Nongovernmental agencies want to know the character and the extent of the research programs being carried on by the Federal government so as to save overlapping and duplication of effort and to work out a means of supplementing their work with that of the government. To most people outside of Washington, the actual programs of governmental research are often known only in general terms or in part, if known at all.

What Federal agencies undertake in the way of research. In a three-part publication entitled *Research: A National Resource* (1938–1941), the National Resources Committee catalogued and measured the different kinds of research being carried on in the United States. Defining "research" in its broadest meaning to include a variety of related activities — the preparation of schedule forms, the actual enumeration and collection of data, and the interpretation and analysis of all materials — the Science Committee, in Part I of the report, listed the numerous governmental agencies with research programs. There were found to be some 133 Federal bureaus and independent Federal agencies which devote some part of their time and budget appropriation to research as so defined. Besides the bureaus in the ten executive departments, certain permanent agencies, such as the Bureau of the Census and the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, were found to be most outstanding in magnitude and scope of research activity.

In the fiscal year of 1937–38, some 133 agencies reported research activities being carried on. On the other hand, there were apparently some 250 agencies in which some research would seem to be needed. The Department of Agriculture had the largest number of researchers at work in its some twenty divisions. The Post Office Department, with one investigating agency, was doing less research than any of the other nine departments. The Department of State with sixteen divisions, the Treasury Department with thirteen, and the Department of the Interior with twelve ranked next to the Department of Agriculture in number of divisions which devote

part of their time to research. There were thirty-seven independent agencies doing research work, seven of which were using emergency funds only. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937, the Federal government spent about $124,000,000, or nearly $1.00 for each person in the United States, to finance the total research program. Of the obligations of the Federal government for the year 1937, research expenditures, including both regular and emergency expenditures, were, however, only 1.4 per cent of the total. For the year 1938, the expenditures for research were only 1.2 per cent of the total Federal government budget. Compared with some of the larger industries which are spending 4 to 6 per cent of their gross income for research and with some twenty of the leading universities which are spending as much as 25 per cent of their budgets for this purpose, the Federal government does not consider research a major budget item.

Research for military defense. In the natural sciences and technology there are certain fields in which the War and Navy Departments have always carried on considerable research in peacetime as well as war. The years just prior to American entry into World War II and the years of the war showed a great increase in Army and Navy research the nature and amount of which will constitute an extraordinary body of knowledge when it is published. The most sensational and effective of all combined wartime research culminated in the production of the atomic bomb. The major part of the research for military defense was done by the War and Navy Departments in collaboration with private industry and the engineering schools. But bureaus in other departments and independent agencies, as the National Bureau of Standards, the Bureau of Mines, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, and even the Tennessee Valley Authority, also contributed their time and efforts. So also, research tasks were allocated to universities and colleges throughout the nation. In research for military defense, the agencies concerned themselves with the production and invention of armaments, the improvement of vehicles, airplanes, war ships, and artillery and the development of new types of these weapons, the construction of highways, bridges, arsenals, living quarters, and storehouses, the improvement of clothing, food, and medical care, and a thousand other investigations.

Standards, power, communications, transportation. In such research as the testing of weights and measures and experimentation for the setting of working standards, the government has had to be active. The National Bureau of Standards has carried on work in this field since 1901. In the field of the transmission and sale of electric power in interstate commerce, the government had other responsibilities to the people. For this purpose,

Congress created the Federal Power Commission in 1920 and the Rural Electrification Commission in 1936. In the field of transportation, the Interstate Commerce Commission (founded 1887), the Civil Aeronautics Authority, and the United States Maritime Commission are three of the most active regulatory agencies.

Research in foods, nutrition, public health, social welfare. The new research in food and dietetics stems from two main sources. First, the new discoveries of the importance of minerals in diet and soil and the emphasis upon vitamins and balanced diet have created a new field of research of primary importance to human welfare. Here the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics is particularly active. Second, such problems as the misbranding or adulteration of foods, drugs, and cosmetics and similar problems of nationwide and interstate scope demand constant investigation. The Food and Drug Administration is especially concerned with this field. The Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency, which investigates the causes, nature, and means of spread, prevention, and treatment of the human diseases, renders through the National Institute of Health another valuable and necessary program of research besides carrying on many direct health activities. The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation does essential work in a nation in which one person out of sixteen, or one out of seven in the male working population, is disabled. The Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau, and all of the Federal Security Agency, engage in research in the general field of social welfare. Nor should we overlook the responsible research work done in the Geological Survey by its several divisions, the Geological branch which studies land surfaces and makes collections of rocks, ores, and fossils; the Water Resources branch which measures the flow of rivers and investigates underground water supply, etc.; the Bureau of Mines which gathers all data and conducts all types of research too general and extensive for private research agencies; and the Coast and Geodetic Survey which among numerous other activities surveys and maps the coast lines of the nation, the tides and currents, and the river areas.

Research in agriculture. The Department of Agriculture is in all probability the largest research organization in the world, particularly the largest one centering its activities for the most part in the field of the natural sciences and technology. In its seventy-five years of existence, it has become the focal point of agricultural research, and by the establishment of laboratories, grants-in-aid, extension services, and co-operation with other Federal agencies, and state and municipal agencies as well as private agencies, the department has been able to direct and help co-ordi-

nate the wide field of needed research. The Office of Experiment Stations had, in 1938, supervision over some 7,500 research workers. Specialization for research work in agriculture, perhaps one of the earliest and most pressing problems of the nation, by necessity has grown to include studies in problems of crop production and sale, diseases of animals and plants, conservation of the soil, weather forecasting, and hundreds of others, each demanding never-ending work and attention. In this general field the skills of the Bureaus of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry; Animal Industry; Dairy Industry; Entomology and Plant Quarantine; Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering; and the Soil Conservation Service and numerous other divisions of this department are much in demand.

The Library of Congress. The Library of Congress, created by an act of Congress in 1800, today contains the largest collection of books in the world — some 12,000,000 volumes in all. This collection is assembled by purchase, gift and bequest, exchange, operation of the copyright law that requires the deposit of two copies of every book as a prerequisite to registration, and transfer from other governmental agencies. The Library of Congress has one of the best collections available to American research workers, the best in a number of fields. In its general reference and bibliography division, aeronautics division, the Hispanic foundation, manuscripts division, maps division, music division, Orientalia division, prints and photographs division, the Slavic center, and the legislative reference service a wealth of materials is available for use. Books in raised type and recordings of many books are available for blind readers through a special service. These materials are organized in general and special catalogues that may make available not only materials in this country but also those of other countries. The Library of Congress employs a large staff of specialists for the purpose of interpreting the collections and giving guidance in their use. These specialists are acquainted with the problems of all research workers who might come to them and are well educated as to subject matter in their fields. Only the best trained librarians are employed. For giving special advice to research workers there are "chairs" in music, American history, fine arts, aeronautics, and geography. The publications of the Library include: texts, bibliographical guides to special fields of study, bibliographies, catalogues, lists, reports, manuals, and miscellaneous information. Other libraries all over the nation benefit from the cataloguing and classification services and by interlibrary loans.

Research carried on in the Library not connected with its organization and function include those studies made by individuals by working with library facilities and those investigations conducted by the Library in co-

operation with learned institutions or with individuals. In 1937, some 1,150 investigators used the Library study tables. They came from the United States and twenty-one foreign countries, and represented 136 American and fourteen foreign educational institutions. Among them were 140 Federal government researchers, 171 faculty members, 339 graduate students, and 74 holders of fellowships or grants-in-aid. The Library of Congress primarily exists for the purpose of furnishing research and reference aid to members of Congress, but to other agencies and individuals it lends such services as supervision of projects and provision of materials and helps in the selection of personnel.

Research by state and municipal governments. Although the term governmental research is usually applied to that carried on by branches of the Federal government, a considerable amount of research is conceived and financed by state and municipal governments and by state-supported institutions. Representative fields in which research is done under state auspices include public health and sanitation, public welfare and social work, agriculture and farm life, taxation and finance, and the conservation and development of resources, including such special research fields as bacteriology, veterinary medicine, seed and feed testing, dairy and food inspection, and the like. Provisions are often made by municipal governments for research in health, welfare, recreation, delinquency, food and sanitation, and other services. Research is often carried on in child welfare, delinquency, family welfare, pathology, psychiatry, and mental hygiene in the state-supported institutions. All this means that increasingly larger numbers of trained personnel are needed to meet the needs of municipalities, states, and state institutions.

A National Science Foundation. The extraordinary results of research during World War II led naturally to a strong popular movement for Congress to authorize and finance research under the auspices of a national foundation or independent agency of the government. Even before the atomic bomb revelations were made public and the consequent agitation to set up some means of world control of atomic energy, there were many proposals for national research programs to be sponsored by the Federal government. Subsequently the basic premise upon which such national agency and foundation were to be based were stated in a special report made to President Harry S. Truman by Dr. Vannevar Bush, director of the wartime Office of Scientific Research and Development. Then, in turn, bills were introduced in both Houses looking to the authorization of a Federal agency with separate administrative provisions. The first recom-

mendations limited such research primarily to the natural sciences but inevitably recommendation extended the services to include the social sciences and the application of the findings of research to practical situations. The final legislation represented the results of many conferences and compromises, after many hearings, based upon five original "science bills." These were S. 1297, S. 1285, S. 1248, S. 825, and H.R. 3440. All of these earlier bills specified the natural sciences and related fields in which security, commerce, and medicine were the chief areas. Yet because of the efforts of a number of distinguished natural scientists and of the activities of the Social Science Research Council and leading social scientists, provisions were expanded as much as was considered commensurate with the needs of the Federal services. Among those provisions were the arrangements permitting co-operation with universities and research institutes. Federal sponsorship would promote university research by the establishment of fellowships and by allocating research to universities, or it may handicap free research in the universities through exclusive Federal control. Talcott Parsons has presented, for the American Sociological Society, the case for social research, following the failure of Congress in 1946 to act upon this legislation. His report is entitled "The Science Legislation and the Role of the Social Sciences" and is the leading article in the *American Sociological Review* for December 1946.

Any program of Federal research presents many natural dilemmas which, in turn, will constitute a continuing problem to be worked out from year to year as revisions are made as a result of experience and of changing needs. Dangers and dilemmas are always inherent in too great control of research and of education by any outside agency. Some of the dilemmas have to do with freedom of research, with the subjects in which research will be done both in the natural and the social sciences. Other dilemmas have to do with the selection of the universities and private industrial laboratories where research projects will be carried out. Still others involve the co-ordination of research activities, not only under new proposals but of research already being carried on by the many governmental divisions. Both the problem of control and of co-ordination are, however, ever present in all Federal programs and their extension to the people outside of the national capitol. This becomes, therefore, a perennial problem of national policy. In this book we have suggested that the national research and planning agency should be co-ordinated with state and regional agencies, the whole system to be set up through the system of representation.

UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE RESEARCH

That part of the National Resources Committee survey covering the research activities of some sixty American universities and colleges was made to show how the research programs of the nation's academic centers were related to those of the Federal government. The Federal and state governments were found to be dependent on the universities and colleges as centers where: (1) undergraduates are recruited to research, (2) beginning and higher personnel are trained, (3) personnel for temporary appointment in government service is secured, (4) "pure" research is carried on, (5) research problems are originated and research findings distributed, (6) government agencies find co-operation in solving local and regional problems, and where (7) needed aid in the solving of national problems is obtained.

The universities now face a number of dilemmas. In the first place, university faculties have been drained by both the Federal government and by industry; some part of the professional people will never return to university research. In the next place, World War II drafted hundreds of young people who might otherwise have been trained for research. Then, too, in some fields both government and industry have had resources more adequate than universities and they have pre-empted them. The fact that the United States government's great central research agency must necessarily emphasize research in the natural and the engineering sciences militates to some extent against the prestige of social research in the universities. Perhaps thereby the universities have a greater obligation to expand their research and training in this field.

The size of university research activities. Although American research had its genesis in the college and universities, quantitatively measured by the amount of money devoted to it, university research does not make a very impressive showing compared to governmental and industrial research together. The estimated annual expenditures for research in the universities in 1940 and in years prior to World War II was less than $50,000,000; in 1943–44 the Federal Office of Scientific Research and Development contracted for college and university research to just about double the prewar figures. Out of more than 1,600 institutions in the United States, 175 reported funds specifically budgeted for research. It may be estimated that about 5 per cent of some 150,000 faculty members are assigned specifically to research and 15 per cent are usually engaged in some research. Yet, judging from *American Men of Science*, which indicates by an asterisk men doing research, it seems clear that at least half of all the approximately

one thousand superior research men in the nation are faculty members of educational institutions. Although research in the universities shows a relative decrease as compared to the research in other fields, the number of universities giving the doctor of philosophy degree, which is based upon research, increased from 44 in 1876 to 89 in 1942, and the number of doctorates conferred, from 44 in 1876 to 3,497 in 1942. This is an indication of the training capacity of the universities.

University social science research institutes. The greater part of this research has been in the fields of the natural sciences, although the majority of the members of the Association of American Universities, membership in which is conditioned on graduate research capacity, offer the doctor's degree in one or more of the social sciences. The Social Science Research Council has for a number of years held an annual conference of university research institutes and councils, and the average attendance over a period of ten years has included representatives from approximately twenty universities and colleges. In general, the Northeast and the Middle States naturally were represented by the largest number of universities. The catalogue for a single meeting may be used to illustrate. From the Southeast, Virginia, North Carolina, and Vanderbilt universities were represented by institutes; from the Southwest, Texas; from the Far West, California and Stanford; from the Middle States, Chicago, Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin; from the Northeast, Columbia, Harvard, Yale, and Pennsylvania; with no university represented from the Northwest. By the 1940's the total number of social science institutes or special committees in universities had grown to more than double the number of 1930 to 1940. In addition to these over-all social science research groups, there are many special bureaus for economic, business, and educational research and service.

Voluntary research agencies and foundations. Somewhere in between and working with both government research and university research are the National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the private foundations, which award grants for research to institutions and directly to individuals. The National Research Council is an agent of the National Academy of Science and organized for the purpose of aiding and stimulating research in the mathematical, physical, and biological sciences and of assisting the Federal government. Some 165 special committees of the National Research Council are engaged in or promote research in the following ten divisions: Federal relations, foreign relations, educational relations, physical sciences, engineering and industrial research, chemistry and chemical technology,

geology and geography, medical sciences, biology and agriculture, and anthropology and psychology.

The Social Science Research Council represents seven national societies in the fields of anthropology, economics, history, political science, psychology, sociology, and statistics. Some twenty-three committees of the council study the field of the social sciences and the plans for research in each and administer grants and fellowships.

The American Council on Education is made up of thirty associations in all levels of education as well as of 364 of the leading universities and colleges. Research activities in the field of education are promoted and coordination attempted. All three of these academic councils give invaluable co-operation to the research of the Federal government.

INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

The third division of research most effective in the United States is that of industrial research, covered in the second part of the previously-referred-to *Research: A National Resource*. The viewpoint of the National Resources Planning Board, which made this particular survey, was that industrial research is a national resource, and the emphasis was upon the wealth-producing nature of such research. The report showed that in 1938, some seventy thousand people were employed by research laboratories in private industry; such laboratories were to be found in all of the industrial areas and in most industries. It showed an interesting growth of industrial research during the years 1890 to 1940, with two or three corporations initiating research in 1890 to a total of nearly a hundred research laboratories in 1940. It showed an annual estimated expenditure by industrial laboratories in the United States of about $300,000,000 or a little more than one fourth of 1 per cent of the national income. This may be compared with the budget of governmental research, which was a little over 1 per cent of the total budget.

A study of industrial research made in 1940 by the National Research Council listed 2,350 companies reporting 70,033 persons engaged in technical research at an estimated annual cost of $300,000,000. The chemical and allied products industry employed the largest numbers of researchers with other industries in some such order as: petroleum, electrical communications, electrical machinery, apparatus and supplies, and rubber products. Low in the list were textiles, leather, paper, and transportation equipment. Trends toward increased research were found in the petroleum and radio industries, and a need for more research was noted especially in

textiles and in the processing plants for the raw materials of various manufactures. Industrial research also is concentrated in two regions, the Northeast, especially in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, and the Middle States in Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio. California in the Far West is sharing in petroleum research. All of this indicates not only the present scope but the need for a new distribution of research activities in all regions. It indicates also the implications for social research in so far as resources and their use are basic to the good society and to the general public welfare.

TRAINING FOR RESEARCH

From these observations of the range and the importance of research, it must be clear to the student that training for research is an essential part of the equipment of the sociologist. This is generally considered to be true even if most of his time is given over to teaching. Cooley used to have a way of saying that a relative amount of research was important for every teacher in order to keep him in close touch with scientific method and to give him materials for teaching. On the other hand, he thought too much research was likely to make the teacher overspecialized and to lead him away from the reality of the teacher-student relationship, in so far as effective teaching was concerned. This may be one way of saying that training for research has three reasons for existence, in so far as developing the sociologist is concerned. First of all, research is essential in giving the student a well-rounded and scientific foundation. Second, it is essential equipment for teaching. Third, it is essential training for those students who expect to devote themselves primarily to research in the many special fields related to sociology.

Minimum research requirements for students. But the great majority of students — whether they expect to be teachers or whether they are studying sociology solely with the objective of becoming more intelligent and understanding citizens — are not expected to go through the long and tedious training which is essential for any social research position. It is expected, however, that the student acquire a general but exact idea of what the scientific method means and what the methods of scientific research are. The student also should be given opportunity for various types of laboratory work both inside in the study of statistics and outside in the study of the folk-regional society. Perhaps we might characterize the minimum need for such training as being encompassed in the phrase "How to Study Society." This, as part of the seven-fold approach in this book, would specialize upon two major areas. The first is an understanding

of the general meaning of science and scientific method and of the elements involved in scientific social research. The second is in learning how to gather materials, utilize sources, classify, analyze, and interpret findings, and present the results as an integral contribution to the subject.

Concerning the quality of sociological research, the younger sociologist should be more interested in being sure that his methods of inquiry are scientific than in trying to guarantee that sociology is a "science" or in imitating the methods of other sciences. He knows that if he does creditable scientific research after the manner which will be described, the question of whether sociology is a science will take care of itself. He knows that sociology must use various methods and seek to devise increasingly new and effective ways of cataloguing and measuring social phenomena. He knows that he must learn how to integrate his work with the other social sciences and to co-operate with them in the attack upon social research, and he knows that increasingly he must learn how to utilize the physical sciences in his own work. He has a clear understanding of Carl Pearson's remark that the unity of all science is found in its method, not in its subject matter.

Among the pioneer sociologists Franklin H. Giddings, in his emphasis upon the meaning of science and scientific method and in his later insistence upon the statistical approach, was both effective and vivid. "At every step," he insisted, "we must make sure that the methods we use and rely on have been accredited by exhaustive criticism and trial, and are applicable to the investigation in hand." Again, always valuing descriptive science, Giddings nevertheless insisted that "a true and complete description of anything must include measurements of it." In discussing sociology as a scientific study of society, he held that it aims to "become a complete scientific description and history of society, and as nearly as possible a complete explanation of society in terms of simpler phenomena . . . Sociology legitimately uses all known methods of scientific research, inductive and deductive. Its chief reliance, however, is necessarily upon inductive method . . . Induction is a systematic observation and recording of Resemblances and Differences." In one of his many summaries, Giddings implied an extraordinary promise in sociology, if adequately applied. He said: "It is by the application of these procedures to relevant and adequate data that we may hope in time to build up a scientific criticism of the enormous mass of loose inferences which we now encounter relative to the consequences of countless societal experiments which, in modern democracies, are being made in every realm of human effort."

Scientific method and the methods of science. As sociology has developed within recent years there has been an increasing emphasis upon more

objective measurements and upon empirical studies of actual social phenomena, using the several acceptable methods of scientific research. Subsequently, we shall explore some of these and try to make a résumé of conclusions in order to point to the best possible combination of the statistical or other methods of objective measurements with the cultural-historical approach. In the meantime, it is important to note that the general problem of methodology also involves the important distinctions between *scientific method* and the *methods of science*, and between the methods of the physical sciences and the methods of the social sciences.

By the *scientific method* we may mean one of two things. It may be the generic method and spirit of all science, the "scientific way" of doing a thing. This is essentially an attitude of mind, a facility and habituation in intellectual orientation, coupled with the essential principles and practices of science. These include the fundamental processes of observation, description, induction, and deduction, to be utilized wholly or in part in accordance with the nature of the problem; and the essential stages of definition and hypothesis, enumeration and measurement, analysis and interpretation. Or, scientific method may refer to a body of organized knowledge developed around methodology, as mathematics or statistics.

Thus scientific method is different from the *methods of science*, which may refer to the scores of concrete "methods" and "techniques" developed around special sciences and projects of scientific research; to the general types of "approach" or "methods" in the study of society, such as the sociological or the economic approach; and to the specific mechanical tools of research. Again, the methods of social research may involve the social disciplines which in turn are evolving from the older subjective and philosophical methods to the more modern objective and scientific methods, within which there may be any number of techniques. There is, therefore, a *general* meaning of the term *method* which, however, is in no way antagonistic to, or inconsistent with, the special meanings. The first assumption in all our considerations of the scientific program of the social sciences is that of the universal scientific method.

Methods and approaches of scientific research. Early in his study the younger sociologist will wish to know something about the various approaches and methods of research productive for sociology. He will not find it difficult to assume the validity of the fundamental processes, as previously outlined. He will decide upon the approach, whether, for instance, it will be the *philosophical*, the general *analogical*, the *biological*, the *psychological*, the *educational*, the *anthropological*, the *politico-juristic*, the *economic*, the *sociological*, or the *historical*, or a combination of these. He will

explore the use and value of the *statistical* method, the *case study* method, the *survey* method, the *experimental* method, and the *historical* method, along with the possibilities of *systematic sociology* for setting up hypotheses and frames of reference for systematic observation and recording. He will wish to explore some of the newer procedures as contained in *sociometry* and *operationalism.* He will want to explore the possibilities of applying many of these methods in such effective ways as to combine what is often called the cultural approach with the objective or statistical method for the total portraiture of a given society. He may wish to implement all or part of these in what may be called a general methodology, or in the *regional laboratory* approach to the study of the folk society. If, finally, there is any all-inclusive larger "technique" through which the *scientific method* and the *methods of science* may function in a really comprehensive *scientific-human* attack, the student will know that it is scientific social research. Here research becomes the chief manner of procedure of the social, as well as of the physical, sciences.

The statistical method. For the purposes of this volume, some of these methods and approaches may be characterized simply. One of these is the statistical method. The student of sociology will recognize again, as in previous instances in which different approaches, different disciplines, and different tools have been mentioned, that it is not necessary for him to master the field of statistics in order to understand the statistical method. The assumption is that he must know about the statistical method and must know enough of the elementary factors of statistical measurement to enable him to do elementary studies of society. He must know how to go about becoming a specialist in statistics if ever this is required of him. Manifestly, the well-equipped student of sociology must study his elementary statistics, but he will also understand that statistics as a subject is in nowise synonymous either with sociological research or sociology. The scientific nature of statistics, like mathematics, is found in its methodology. It is a method usable in all scientific approaches to social problems that are susceptible to study by numerical measurements.

In his exploration of the range of methods, the student will understand that the statistical method is the chief example of all the quantitative, research methods. Margaret Jarman Hagood, in pointing out how useful such methods are in the investigation of many sorts of sociological phenomena, stated that they may be defined as those which utilize enumeration and measurement, direct or indirect, relatively accurate or roughly approximate. "Statistics is the body of methods developed to deal with data secured through enumeration and measurement."

The case study method. Of the earlier sociologists, Giddings was perhaps the first to evaluate the importance of the case study method alongside the statistical method. He pointed out that "the range of case studies in the social domain is as wide as human interests, its continuity is as prolonged as human history. The case under investigation may be one human individual only or only an episode in his life; or it might conceivably be a nation or an empire, or an epoch of history." The case method is, then, a technique by which each individual factor, whether it be an institution, or just one episode in the life of an individual or a group, is analyzed in its relationship to every other factor in the group.

The survey method. Another specific method is that of the social survey. The term "social survey" connotes any survey having significant social implications and furnishing data for an interpretation of a social process, regardless of whether the unit examined be a nation, a community, a group, or an institution, or whether the dominant emphasis be religious, educational, economic, political, sociological, or a combination of, or all of, these points of view. Briefly, the social survey may be said to be an objective, quantitative approach to a study of a social process within a definite area at a given time, through one or more institutions, by means of the schedule and questionnaire; and the data thus assembled treated statistically.

The experimental method. Another increasingly used method is the experimental. This is one of the chief opportunities for enlarged research methodology in sociology. The domain of social experimentation may be interpreted in the specific "scientific" sense of observation under controlled conditions, in the larger sense of mastery, adaptation, and trial and error, or in the comprehensive sense — in the potentialities of social experimentation and social experience for the discovery of new facts from incidence and by-products. This opportunity and challenge for discovery of new ideas and techniques as well as of data is dependent upon the researcher's own alertness, and inventiveness, and upon the working interrelation of all methods and disciplines.

The historical method. Historical inquiry is both an approach and a method. History as a record of the past makes its approach the most inclusive of all social study. Much of the data of sociology will be comprehended in social change, the rates and processes of which are examined by historical study. Historical study also assumes an entity distinctive in time and place. Of the historical method itself, Giddings again was timely: "In point of logic," he said, "a scientific method in history is only an application of those precedures of scrutiny which all sciences avail themselves of to

determine fact, . . . but it is an application of them to one class of facts in particular, and it has become highly detailed and technical. The facts with which history has particularly to do are facts of record, and these are indispensable not only for history in the narrower meaning of the word but also in every domain of science and art, since an observation once made exists thenceforth only as recorded. Therefore, in the systematic accumulation and comparison of observations in any field of scientific study, it is necessary to use or to rely upon the technical procedures of historical criticism."

The regional laboratory approach. There is the regional laboratory approach in which the region is utilized as a definitive social entity adequate for the study of a complete society. A specific and authentic type of regional methodology was that of the regional survey first made use of by Frederic Le Play, who in the 1850's, in his study of the working men of Europe and their families, devised a new and scientific approach to the study of social life. In his adaptation of the Le Play system, Sir Patrick Geddes argued that "the main lines of a concrete revolutionary sociology have been laid down for us, but the task now before us is to extract from all this teaching its essential scientific method. With this end in view, he pleaded for a sociological survey, rustic and civic, region by region, and insisted in the first place upon the same itinerant field methods of notebook and camera, even for museum collections, as those of the natural sciences." Geddes envisaged the exhaustive examination and interrelation of all natural and human phenomena within the frame of the regional unit, grouped under the divisions of Place, Work, Folk, or again Folk, Work, Place, which are consistent with his evolutionary concept of Environment, Function, Organism. Geddes developed the Le Play system as a survey within the framework of a definite area, or the regional social survey, which has two main objectives: "It endeavours to present a complete and systematic panorama of human life within a definite region, be it rural or urban, or both; but further, it seeks to understand the community and its habitat and their interrelations, in order to set aright the chaos of haphazard social and economic developments, and to point a way to the more rational material and fuller spiritual expression of mankind."

An example of co-operative scientific method. In Chapter 9, in which culture and war were discussed, it was pointed out that the study of war might be undertaken through the several approaches — philosophical, psychological, anthropological, economic, political, historical, and so on — which is a method originally suggested in this author's and Katharine Jocher's *An Introduction to Social Research.* Again we shall refer to the monumental co-operative research project supervised by Quincy Wright, begun

at the University of Chicago in 1926 and completed in 1941, and published by the University of Chicago Press under the title *A Study of War*. This was the most comprehensive and scientific study of its sort that has been made and illustrates both general methodology and specific studies through the approaches of several of the social sciences. Thus, in Appendix 26, entitled "The Analysis of War by Economists," by means of a brief presentation of the views of ten schools of economic thought the editors are able to reach the conclusion that economists generally consider the causes of war to lie outside their field. On the other hand, the economists believe that the influence of political institutions and nonrational motives have been dominant in the causation of war. These conclusions, derived from elaborate research and meticulous scientific procedures, are of particular importance to the sociologist who is studying method.

Appendix 27, entitled "The Analysis of War by Political Scientists," utilizes the same general methods. From a study of political science, it is pointed out that war can be said to have political causes if initiated by government or a faction with the object of maintaining or increasing its power. Most modern wars have had such an origin and the influence of economic procedures has usually been remote or indirect. That is, war would result from economic causes primarily only when the makers of war figured that they would make a profit out of war.

Still another conclusion — based on the material in Appendix 28, entitled "The Analysis of War by Social Psychologists" — is that "social psychologists in general appear to support the hypothesis that wars arise (1) from too exclusive a concentration of individual loyalties upon the symbols and cultures of a single group; (2) from the inertia of individuals inducing them to eschew individual responsibility and regress to a condition of blind acceptance of a leader or a myth for guidance in group situations; (3) from characteristics of early education creating ambivalences and the projection of aggressive sentiments upon foreign nations; (4) from the functioning of intergroup conflict in maintaining intragroup solidarity; (5) from the opportunity of leaders and elites of aggressive disposition, relying for their position upon conditions of unrest, disturbance, and anxiety, to perpetuate those conditions by unilateral action; and (6) from the opportunity provided by new means of communication to encourage regressive tendencies in large populations and to induce conditions of mass psychosis uninfluenced by the rational consequences of war or the normal consciences of individuals."

We may illustrate two other important methodological approaches to the study of a major social problem by reference to this notable work. One

of these is Appendix 35, entitled "The Definition of Certain Sociological Terms," in which certain terms are discussed as designating social entities, social processes, social forces, and social relations. In particular, it was shown that interrelationships among certain sociological and biological terms are of great importance.

Finally, Appendix 25, on "The Application of the Scientific Method to Social Problems," is an excellent illustration of how the different social sciences may approximate the standard procedures which constitute scientific method even in the study of a tremendously complex social problem. The standard procedure is as follows: First, the problem is defined — the beginning of every scientific method. Second, the problem is analyzed. Third, the problem is solved by verifying or rejecting hypotheses. Fourth, the solution is formulated briefly and accurately, so that the quantitative value of any one factor can be determined easily from a knowledge of the quantitative values of the others.

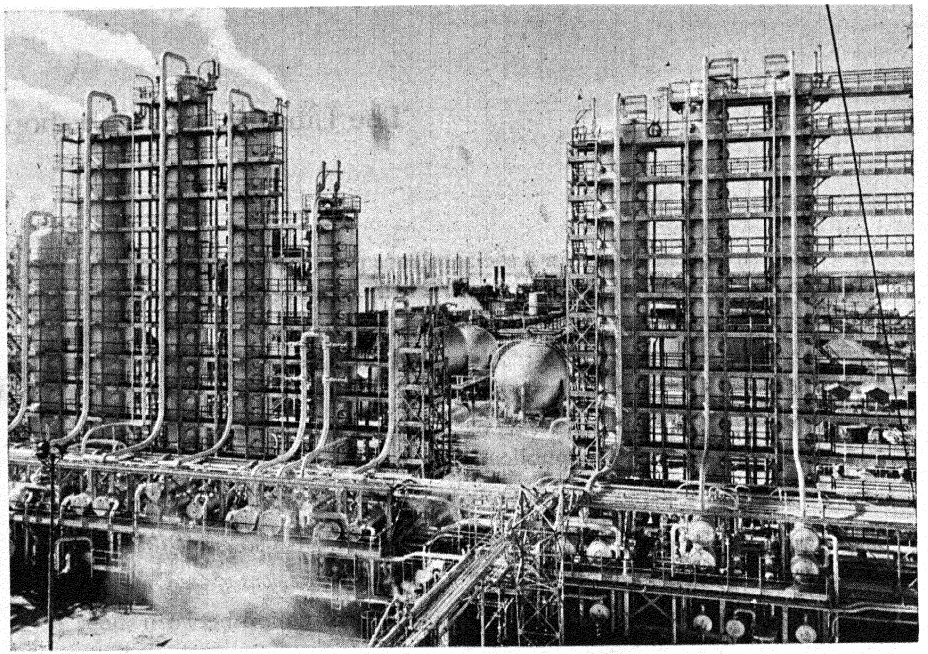
Further study of research and methodology is continued in the next chapter on the interpretation and use of social theory, and in the final chapter on definitions, where the fields for research are defined by the cataloguing of examples. In most of the classical "social theories," it will be found that certain broader hypotheses, certain general methodologies, and certain assumptions for sociological research are inherent.

Assignments and Questions

1. Draw up specifications for a social science research laboratory in an American university. To what extent would the research carried on be different from the research at Johns Hopkins in the 1890's?
2. Discuss the general characteristics of co-operative research. What is planned research?
3. Report on *Recent Social Trends* as a piece of co-operative research: its personnel, its methods, its publication.
4. Report in the same way on Quincy Wright's *A Study of War.*
5. Make a similar report on Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma.*
6. Make a similar report on this author's *Southern Regions of the United States.*
7. Discuss the trend toward an increasing co-ordination between the natural sciences and the social sciences.
8. How many American universities have organized institutes or councils or formal committees on social research?
9. How many university presses are there in the United States and what evidence is available that they have encouraged research?
10. Investigate the earlier American sociologists' attitudes toward scientific method and research. For instance, Charles Horton Cooley was skeptical of any overspecialized, technical methods of research which were set forth as exclusively valid for sociology. He would point out, for instance, the distinctive contribution, universally recognized by sociologists, which William Graham Sumner made in his *Folkways.* He would then point out that Professor Sumner not only did not use the statistical method or the survey method or the case method or the operationalist formula, but that if he had been required to use any one of these he probably never would have produced his great work. Cooley's rather insistent and oversimplified concept of method was practically the same as that of the distinguished economist, Wesley C. Mitchell, namely, that the best method is the best way of doing the thing to be done.

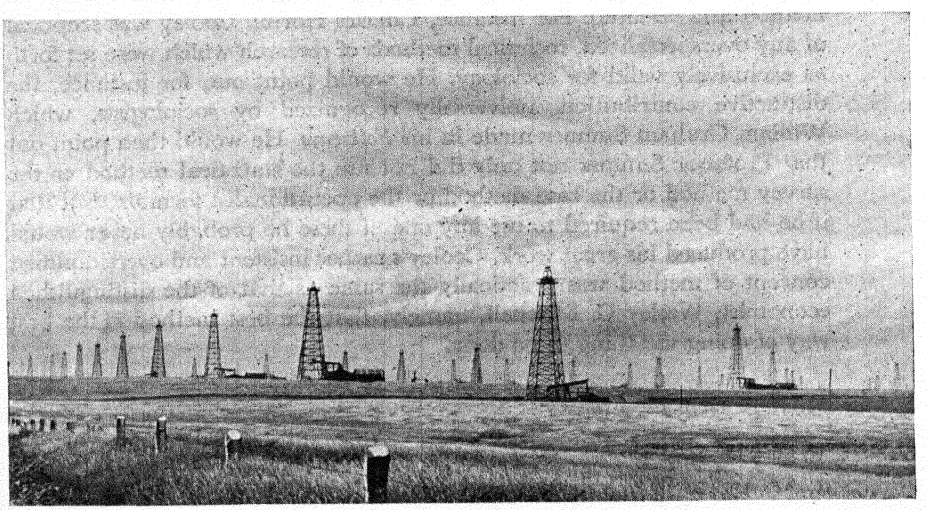
Special Readings from the Library

Groves, Ernest R., and Moore, Harry Estill: *An Introduction to Sociology*, chapters I and XXXI. An approach to sociology and social science. Sociology as the study of



Research and Resources as Basic to the Good Society

The value of oil products by 1940 in the United States has been estimated by the Government as no less than $1,678,135,256.00. Much of this has come through research and has been followed by the employment of nearly 200,000 persons (199,631). ABOVE: Oil refinery in Texas. BELOW: Oil and wheat in Kansas.



how people live together and of the arrangements they have made in their efforts toward the solution of this fundamental problem. Sociology and sociological research originate in serious purpose and are linked with the needs of men and women. No science has a larger duty in making applicable its findings than has sociology, and through its popular contribution is revealed the scientist's genuine desire to broadcast any information he has gathered which he considers important for human welfare. The field of sociology is large and varied, and the science has merely begun its task, but information already compiled shows the impossibility of constructing any system that completely explains social phenomena by a collection of abstract laws and principles. The field of sociology demonstrates a trend toward acceptance of the responsibility which scientific methods place on any investigator in any division of knowledge.

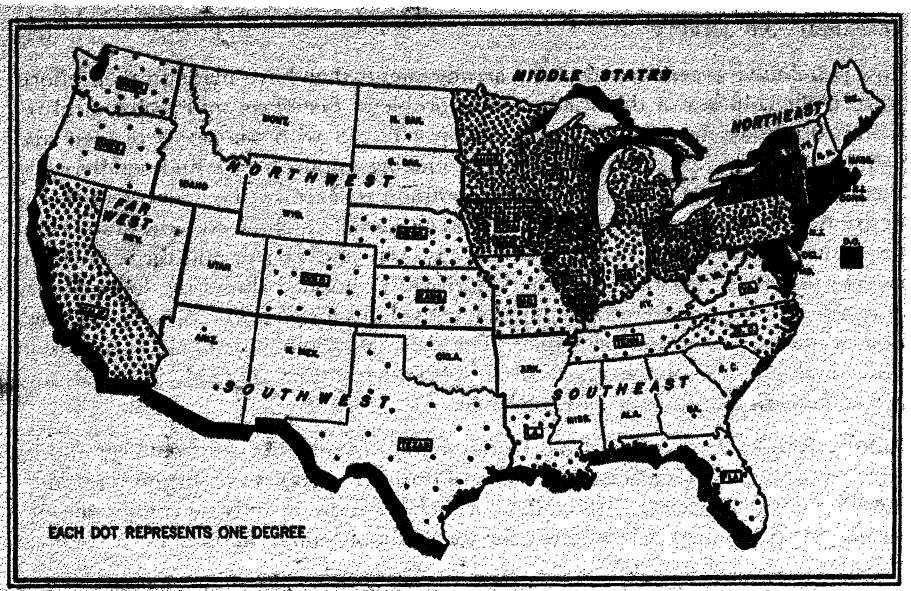
Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man*, Introduction. The field of anthropology and its relation to the social sciences. The study of primitive peoples as a means for understanding our own society. Advantages of such a means of studying contemporaneous life. Anthropology a laboratory for the study of human nature.

Mumford, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*, especially Introduction, chapters v–vii. A study of a city and its immediate environs based primarily on firsthand surveys. Mumford explores in a more unified way a field that is worked on from divergent lines by a number of specialists, and seeks to establish the basic principles upon which our human environment — buildings, neighborhood, cities, regions — may be renovated. The author tries to bring to light what the modern world holds for man when he has subdued the machine.

Mumford, Lewis: *Technics and Civilization*, especially Introduction, chapters i–iii, viii. The field of this volume is the machine, the city, the region, the group, and personality as they are related to the growth of technology from primitive times to the present. The machine is studied as a means of understanding society and knowing ourselves. An attempt is made to trace the rise and development of modern technics as a basis for understanding and strengthening this contemporaneous transvaluation in society.

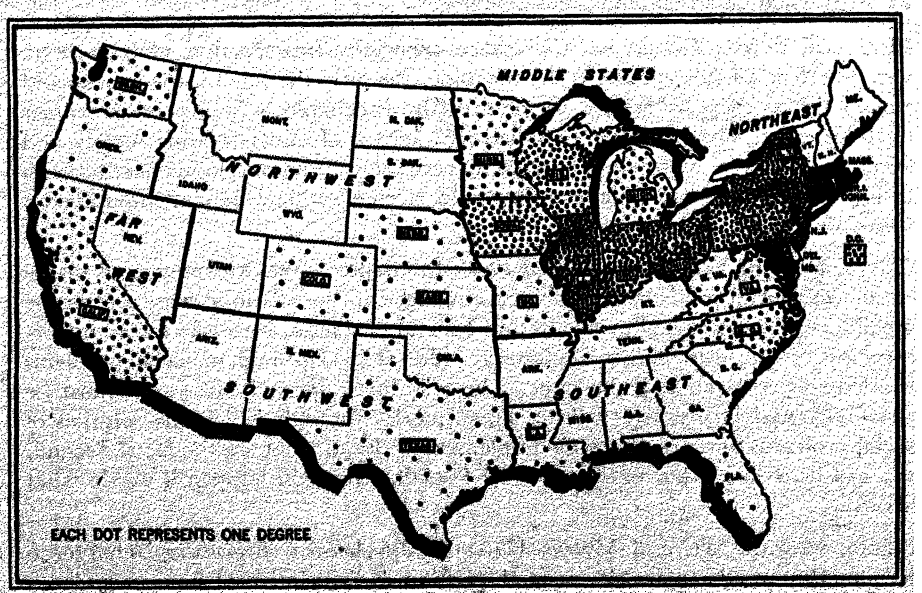
Odum, Howard W.: *American Social Problems*, chapter xxix. Meanings and implications of "social problems." Problems envisaged in the scientific sense and in the ameliorative sense. Social problems and societal problems. Necessity for an understanding of the historical, evolutionary, cultural background of social problems if adequate research is to be done. The scientific approach. Research must be essentially and inherently realistic. Four queries through which the solution of social problems may be effectively implemented: First, what are the facts? Second, what of it? Third, what to do about it? Fourth, what will happen if we do what about it?

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill: *American Regionalism*, chapter i. Regionalism, as the new science of the region, is descriptive of how all societies



Regional Deficiencies and Imbalance in Research

Among the most striking measure of inequalities in the several regions of the United States is that of research and research personnel. ABOVE: The distribution of the Ph.D. degrees in Biological Science, a map picture prepared by Edith Webb Williams for the period 1939–1942. BELOW: The same for Chemistry.



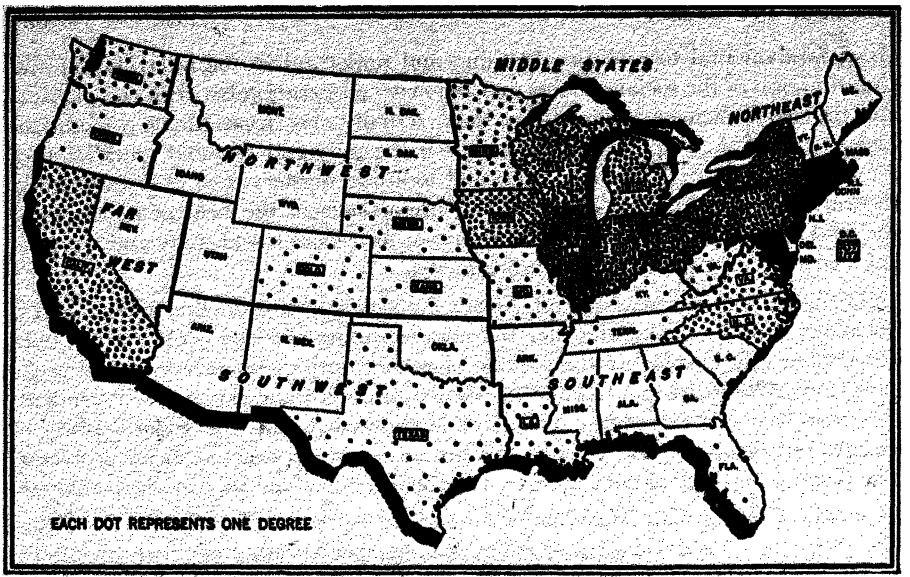
grow, fundamental to realistic planning, and important in the interrelation and co-ordination of the social sciences and the new co-operation between the physical and the social sciences. Regionalism, then, actually may approximate a methodological approach. Implied in this science is the universal two-fold motivation of all science, namely, to discover truth and to attain mastery. Use of historical and theoretical arrangements. The practical importance of the field of regionalism: the field becomes a realistic frame of reference for research and study and a practical framework for planning and adjustments.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F.: *Sociology*, Introduction and chapter 1. Sociology supplies background for the understanding of social problems but does not suggest solutions for all the specific ones confronting our society. Social problems studied by sociology: family, population, immigration, crime, the dependent, the defective, and recreation. Sociology is concerned with the general study of society, but deals also, practically and intensively, with selected social problems. The field of sociology as conceived by European writers and by American colleges.

Panunzio, Constantine: *Major Social Institutions*, especially the General Introduction. Sociology has developed, or is developing, specialized, analytical disciplines, within such fields as marriage and the family, educational sociology, and the sociologies of religion and government. The sociologist subjects the component parts of society to scrutiny in order better to understand the wholeness of social phenomena. Attention is focused in *Major Social Institutions* upon those complexes of thought and activity which are more or less universal, and which are directed to the satisfaction of basic human needs. The book is a synthesis and draws up a frame of reference for further work.

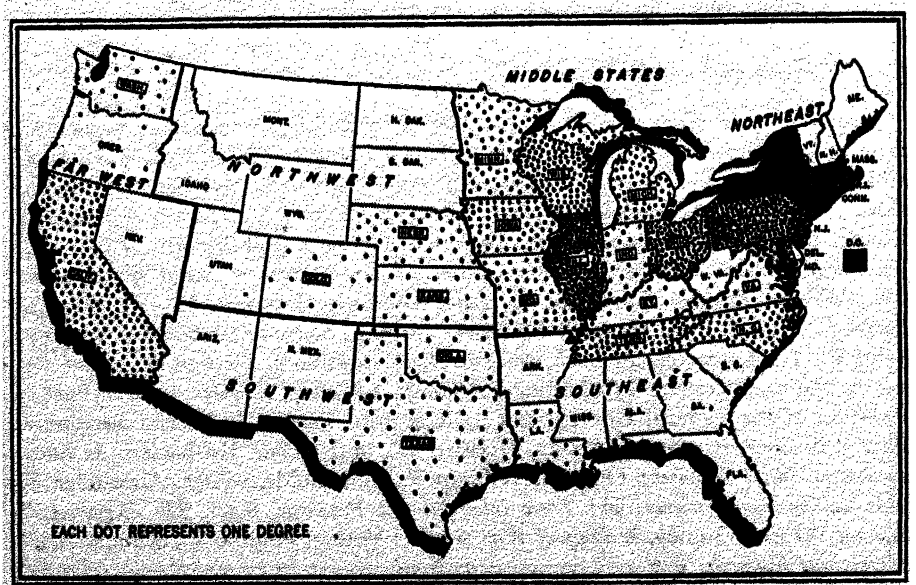
General Readings from the Library

Bernard, L. L. (ed.), *The Fields and Methods of Sociology;* Bogardus, Emory S., *Introduction to Social Research;* Chaddock, Robert E., *Principles and Methods of Statistics;* Cobb, John Candler, *The Application of Scientific Methods to Sociology;* Durkheim, Émile, *The Rules of Sociological Method;* Ellwood, Charles A., *Methods in Sociology;* Elmer, Manuel C., *Social Research;* Gurvitch, Georges, and Moore, Wilbert E., *Twentieth Century Sociology;* Fry, C. Luther, *The Technique of Social Investigation;* Gee, Wilson, *Research Barriers in the South;* Giddings, Franklin H., *The Scientific Study of Human Society;* Hagood, Margaret Jarman, *Statistics for Sociologists;* Ivey, John E., Jr., *Channeling Research into Education;* Lundberg, George A., *Social Research;* National Resources Committee, *Research: A National Resource*, 3 parts (Part 1, Relation of the Federal Government to Research; Part 2, Industrial Research; Part 3, Business Research); Odum, Howard W., and Jocher, Katharine, *An Introduction to Social Research;* Ogburn, William F., and Goldenweiser, Alexander S. (eds.), *The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations;* Pearson, Karl, *The Grammar of Science;* Wright, Quincy, *A Study of War*, 2 vols.; Young, Pauline V., *Scientific Social Surveys and Research.*



Research in the Physical and Social Sciences

Talcott Parson, in the leading article of *The Sociological Review* for December 1946, presents the story of efforts toward legislation for a National Research Foundation. The needs are apparent from these maps. ABOVE: Regional variation in Ph.D. degrees in the Physical Sciences. BELOW: the same for the Social Sciences. By states in which degrees were conferred.



In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization

1. Describe the organization and work of the National Research Council.
2. Describe the organization and work of the Social Science Research Council.
3. What is the American Council of Learned Societies?
4. Describe the work of the Mellon Research Institute.
5. Describe the work of the du Pont research laboratories.
6. How many colleges and universities make research a major part of their programs?
7. What is the Southern Association of Science and Industry? What is the emphasis upon research in the New England Council?
8. Draw up plans for a privately endowed regional research institute in each of the major regions of the United States.
9. What are the chief limitations of training for social research in undergraduate courses in American colleges?
10. Trace the present status of organized research as a Federal independent over-all activity from the Senate bills 1285 and 1297, introduced in 1945 by Senators Warren G. Magnuson and Harley M. Kilgore, respectively.
11. Give local or regional examples or plans for organized research in any field.
12. Give specifications for a sociological research laboratory.

38

Social Theory and the Science of Society

Sound theory is essentially practical. The assumptions of this text have been that sociology is essentially a combination of sound theory and practical study of society. We have characterized sound and responsible theory as among the most practical things in the world, chiefly because enduring "solutions" of social problems are possible only when there is sound scientific framework back of them. Another reason why sound theory is of the essence of practical reality is that it grows out of "the day's work," in the sense that it is a product of the systematization of findings from empirical studies. This dual nature of social theory may be illustrated in our premises of regionalism. While scientific regionalism is essentially sound theory derived from empirical studies, its major function is practical as it seeks social analysis and the regional balance of man and nature in culture. The same is true of our assumptions of folk sociology, which seeks to achieve the margin of practical survival in enduring processes and organization.

Now this meaning is somewhat different from both the popular concept of the "theoretical" and earlier concepts of "social theory" in the teaching of sociology. For, in the popular sense of the word, the very meaning of theory implied that it was something apart from the practical or real. On the other hand, in many of the college courses in social theory, attention has been given primarily to the history of social thought. The essential distinction is one between the distinguished metaphysical, subjective "theorizing" which has resulted in unified "systems" of thought, and the more realistic theory which incorporates the systematized findings that are applied to particular situations. The distinction implies Giddings' dictum, It isn't theory, if it won't work, or, if it won't work, it isn't theory.

The earlier "systems" and "theories" were important. This distinction has an important meaning in contemporary sociology. It implies no reflection of any sort upon the magnificent "theories" of the masters of sociology who have gone before. The earlier "theorists" were working within the system, the means and the methods, of their times. As we have often pointed out, they fulfilled admirably the role of pioneers; and they were the promoters and the publicists so much needed in their day and still needed. Presently we shall illustrate what the pioneer sociologists meant when they used the term *theory* and indicate the magnificent sweep of their contributions to the literature of social thought, or, in other words — we shall point out something of what mankind has done in trying to understand and explain his society. We refer to the "systems" of thought or the unified frameworks through which such sociologists as Giddings, Ward, Small, and others explained society. There was, for instance, Giddings' *consciousness of kind*, Ward's *social telesis*, Small's catalogue of *interests*, Cooley's *social process*, Fouillee's *idea forces*, Tarde's *laws of imitation*, Gumplowicz' *race struggle*, and many other systems.

As we have pointed out in Part I — our preview to the study of society — these theories are an essential approach; their cumulative result is itself a part of the organic structure and history of sociology. In another way, these "theoretical" contributions were and still are of importance in that they illustrate both methodology and theory; they reflect imagination, the logical process of analysis and presentation, and systematic categorization; above all, they illustrate the broader meanings of the hypotheses characteristic of earlier deductive methods and social philosophy. In the physical sciences too, in the discussion of modern situations, there is new emphasis upon the broad, enduring hypotheses of the earlier men of science. The student is interested in knowing the theories taught by the pioneer sociologists, how they taught them, and what their teaching meant more than he is in "debunking" their contributions as merely something of the past.

Earlier metaphysical theory related to, but not social theory. By the same token, however, the student is interested in the contributions which the earlier sociologists made to more realistic theory, which helps to understand human society because it is derived from the actual study of human society. It is possible to distinguish between earlier and later social theory. We may utilize two comparisons to illustrate our meaning. One is to say that, in general, the earlier theories can be compared to what we may call subjective theory, which is of the character of philosophical and metaphysical systems. This early social theory is a true product of philosophy, the matrix of all science and of magnificent processes of deductive reasoning. Later

theorizings added the method of rationalization in arguing that some of the "systems" of social theory combine the inductive and deductive. This does not mean that sociology does not combine both induction and deduction, because that is exactly what it tries to do, but on different levels and through different units of its study and systematization.

Sound social theory is based on factual blueprints. An oversimplified way of illustrating the meaning of realistic social theory is to use the analogy of the architect's preliminary drawings and his later blueprints, both essential to the construction of any edifice. Usually the first step in building, whether it is to be the "dream house" of a young married couple or a great skyscraper, is the "architect's rendering" — his imaginative picture of how the structure will look when completed. If he is a good architect and wants to be employed to draw up the blueprints for the house, he will give his drawing due artistic coloring, indicate the lawn and the flowers with all possible aesthetic setting, so that he can say to the young couple, "This is the way your house will look," and they will say, "That is the house we want." The same is true of the architect's first plans for an office building or city school building or housing project. What the architect's picture shows is the subjective theorizing and imagery of what he and the others concerned actually see in their minds' eyes. This is what utopias are — dream pictures of the hopes for the future. This is what the "perfect" system of social relationships is, as presented by the remarkably unified theories of the social philosophers. As a matter of fact, this is what the great systematization of Vilfredo Pareto is, although presented as an objective study of society, in four volumes. This is what Oswald Spengler's magnificent *Decline of the West* is, and what Pitirim A. Sorokin's *Cultural Dynamics* is.

But we all realize that no architect's picture of a front elevation of a building ever built a residence or a skyscraper or a school building. This does not affect the vividness or accuracy of dynamics of the analogy. The theory of the original plan is necessary, yet before the building can have any actuality it must be implemented by the architect's blueprints, based entirely upon facts, upon accurate information about all the measurements and construction details and materials to be used. Everything must be included, and yet each group or unit of information must grow out of the study of that particular unit and must conform in detail to the requirements of reality, or else there will be no building. Sound social theory is the most practical thing in the world when it is equivalent to specifications based upon research. These blueprints, these facts or specifications, are projected in the over-all frame of reference of societal situations visualized by those who have the imagination and the capacity to sense the interrela-

tion of all parts and, in particular, the appropriate uses of these facts and specifications.

Tested in the laboratories of crisis. The need of realistic and responsible social theory embodying these specifications may be illustrated in a thousand ways in society today. One way is to suggest that the reason there is often waste, overlapping, duplication, inadequacy, and futility in new crises of depression and war, in great national and international situations, is that there were no sound basic theories available which could comprehend the realities of the total picture and of the interrelation of the many units to each other. This is not to say that it could have been possible at this stage of social thinking to have provided adequate theory with leaders trained to apply it. Nor is it possible in the confusion of modern civilization, with its imbalance of technology and the complicating factors which we have already described so often, to provide a valid and comprehensive social theory to solve the problems of world society. The problem here is only one of definition and illustration. It is to point out the great opportunity and obligation of sociology to provide an increasingly sound and workable theory of contemporary society. It is to conceive of the sociologist as having a really scientific part in the construction of such theory and its application to world reconstruction. The problem also is a definite challenge to the younger sociologist. Is the assumption that sound theory grows out of the systematization and interpretation of realistic studies of society a valid assumption? Does the framework of his sociology conform to such assumption? Will social theory of this sort both explain human society and give the basis for more realistic participation in, and direction of, the next steps in its continuing evolution?

The catalogue of philosophical theories. Before we examine some of the more recent theories, we ought to look at some of the earlier ones. First, we may summarize some of the representative theories which have become such a commonplace heritage in sociology that they constitute the basic introduction to an elementary sociological education. More accurately, these first illustrations of theory may be designated as social thought; later, in such instances as Charles Horton Cooley and Max Weber and Alfred Weber, they blend into theory which systematizes many units into logical and integrated "systems," applicable to the totality of the social organism. The most notable and well-known of the organic theories was that of Herbert Spencer, who interpreted both the structure and function of society in terms of quasi-biological organisms. The individual is the cell unit, and each individual is analogous to total society. This society is sustained through its alimentary system. Its vascular circulatory system takes care

of the problems of distribution through "arteries of commerce"; while the neuromotor or nervous system maintains control and regulation through the government and military organization.

In somewhat the same way, Paul von Lilienfeld makes society analogous to a biological organism, regarding it as the highest form of organic life. As the physical organism is composed of cells controlled by a central nervous system and the whole held together by intercellular substance, so society is made up of individuals governed by basic institutions which co-ordinate and regulate the function of each individual in his social, economic, and political relationships. Like all organic life, each society passes through a regular cycle of growth and decay in which change and adaptation take place.

Georges Vacher de Lapouge compares civilization to a biological organism. The brain of the group is provided by a "superior ethnic element," which directs and carries along the masses. This superior element may be brought to the fore by conquest, pacific migration, or even internal selection. The increase of these superior elements marks the development of the social organism. The organism arrives at its fullest development and the peak of the civilization is reached simultaneously with the culmination of eugenics. As these directing forces regress, the civilization decays. Even Gabriel Tarde bases his psychological interpretation upon the organic analogy. Alfred Fouillée "tried to reconcile the organismic and the contractual theories in the form of an interpretation of a society as a 'contractual organism.'" Many other organic theories have been set forth by Emile Durkheim, Thomas Hobbes, Georg Simmel, Joseph de Maistre, Edmund Burke, Adam Müller, J. G. von Herder, G. E. Lessing, J. G. Fichte, Immanuel Kant, F. W. J. von Schelling, G. W. F. Hegel.

There were other theories of organic analogy which undertook to characterize all of human life and behavior. Thus, according to Otto Ammon, since man is a biological organism and since society is therefore essentially a biological phenomenon, the study of human society should be based on biology. The biological inequality of human beings necessitates and justifies social inequality. This social stratification fosters genius and leadership which is vital to the life of any society. Instruments of social selection, such as schools, courts of justice, and so on, weed out the mentally and morally unfit.

Albert Schäffle also holds that the social organization is homologous to a biological organism. All social devices for safety — armies, police, armor clothing, and so on — are "protective social tissue," while "technical and practical social arrangements" supply the muscular tissue; and education

is the directing power or nervous system. The group, rather than the individual, is the basic unit in social evolution. As development proceeds the social units become larger, more complex, more specifically differentiated, and yet more closely interrelated; and the struggle for existence becomes one of kind and of interests rather than of survival or extinction.

The Russian sociologist Yakov A. Novikov's bio-organismic theory is based on adaptation through conflict and alliance. As in society, struggle is constantly taking place, not only between heterogeneous groups, but also within the groups themselves, so in any organism there is constant struggle among the various parts. In this conflict, some parts are absorbed (assimilated) while others are eliminated. Thus there is brought about a "functional interaction and interdependence" of the many and varied parts of the social organism.

Later René Worms developed the theory that in "origin, structure, and function, society is analogous to organism." The differences which exist between society and an organism, although unquestionable, are not sufficiently important to invalidate the analogy.

The classical theories influenced American sociologists. The theories of these earlier authors and many others had their influence on American sociologists. Gustav Ratzenhofer's theory of interest influenced one of the earlier American pioneers, Albion W. Small, who developed an adaptation of the theory of interests which was somewhat in contrast to W. I. Thomas' and Florjan Znaniecki's theory of the four wishes. Adam Smith's theory of sentiments had an effect on Franklin H. Giddings' development of his theory of "consciousness of kind," as the dominant conditioning force in human society, while Herbert Spencer's evolutionary theories were important in Giddings' *Studies in the Theory of Society.* Gabriel Tarde's theories of the laws of imitation and Gustav Le Bon's theory of crowds are to be seen in E. A. Ross's *Social Psychology* and considerable parts of his various sociologies. Robert E. Park's and Ernest W. Burgess' early comprehensive emphasis upon the social processes of interaction were an extension of many of the earlier social theories, especially Cooley's, augmented with their application to modern society. Most of the interpretations of "social processes," outlined in Chapter 30 and emphasized in most of the college textbooks on sociology, are for the most part recapitulations of earlier theoretical appraisals of society. They are products of a sort of combination of the deductive method and logical analysis gathered from observations and literary sources rather than from primary experimentation or empirical studies. They are useful theoretical contributions in the sense that they are a part of the total systematic explanation of human society.

The Sorokin theories. A similar type of theory in present-day sociology, which has, however, a closer interrelationship to other theories and to research and statistical measurement, is that of Pitirim A. Sorokin, as set forth in the four volumes of his *Social and Cultural Dynamics* and as summarized in his later volumes, *The Crisis of our Age* and *Man and Society in Calamity*. In substance Sorokin's theory envisages the present stages of Western culture and society as a tragic spectrum of the beginning of the disintegration of the present sensate supersystem of culture, which must presently pass into a new ideational or idealistic phase. We have already summarized something of Professor Sorokin's conclusions as indicated in *crisis*, *catharsis*, *charisma*, and *resurrection*. Two predictions which reflect the nature of his theory are: on the one hand, "values will be obliterated increasingly until mental, moral, aesthetic, and social anarchy reigns supreme"; and, on the other, "[beyond] loom the magnificent peaks of the new ideational or idealistic culture as great in its own way as sensate culture at the climax of its creative genius. In this way, the creative machine of Western culture and society will be continued, and once more the great socio-cultural mystery will be ended by a new victory." Not only has Sorokin presented magnificent premises, but he has, perhaps more completely than any other scholar, enumerated and classified historical sociological theories, interpreted as they are interpreted here as the history of social thought and systems of social philosophy.

Spengler's Nature Cycles and Law of Successions. Another vast ideological contribution is Oswald Spengler's theory of the "Decline of the West," which also is the title of his great work, first published 1918–1922. One prominent American historian has orally pronounced it "magnificent foolishness." We have already discussed something of Spengler's conclusion, but it is well to recall his organic theory of culture to illustrate the contribution he has made. In general, Spengler's theory is that each culture moves in definite tempo and rhythm and harmony with an inner necessity. In its spring, the soul of the new-born culture expresses itself in world-fear and world-longing; its religion, its art, its literature, are founded upon mysticism; in its summer, the culture ripens, and the world-feeling of wonder and awe develops into philosophy; with the autumn comes enlightenment and belief in the almightiness of reason, and with winter comes the materialistic world-outlook and the cult of science. People of the springtime of a culture are men of earth, but they become men of the city when culture reaches its winter.

So, then, although cultures differ from one another just as human beings do — in physiognomy, in personality, and, therefore, in expression — they

follow, nevertheless, identical phases of development. First, there is a precultural period, prehistorical time of amorphous being; then comes the early period of culture when the formless changes into form; a late period of culture follows, with a gradual hardening of the form in the mold. Then, when a culture has reached the end of its formation period, it passes over into that which Spengler terms civilization. It is in this civilization period that the Western world now finds itself. Each phase of a culture has a definite time limit, just as in music beats are marked off in measures according to the tempo of the whole. An historic event occurs only once and is unique, but that event in one culture is homologous with some event in every other culture. From this theory, Spengler derives a new definition of the word *contemporary* — for him it means two or more historic facts occurring in the same relative positions in their respective cultures, and therefore possessing equivalent importance. For example, the building of Alexandria or of Bagdad is contemporary with the building of Washington or New York; classical coinage is contemporary with double-entry bookkeeping; and Hannibal is contemporary with General George S. Patton, Jr.

Spengler's predictions several decades before World War II destroyed a good part of European civilization rate careful study. Thus he said that, since the West is now so irrevocably on the path to extinction, it would be well to know the characteristics of the period of decline. To recapitulate, in the spring of a culture, there is only rural peasant life, but as the culture matures, the city becomes the center of every creative activity, until, at the beginning of the decline, we have that which Spengler calls the *megalopolitan* civilization — the period of the world-city: man is no longer attached to the earth; he moves with the flux of the urban center; the folk changes into the mass.

Alfred Weber sees the distinction between culture and civilization. Another type of theory — and an important one — tends somewhat to bridge the distance between philosophical theorizing and the clarification of theoretical problems as applied to a specific historical subject. This is the work of Alfred Weber, which has been described as an approach to a sociological synthesis of the historical process. The keynote, *Kultursoziologie*, indicates the broad theoretical treatment of the whole process of history and its sociological interpretation. The nature of his fundamental sociological concept is reflected in his three primary phenomena: order, domination, meaning. Of particular significance to certain of the ideas which we have emphasized in this text is Weber's theory contrasting culture and civilization. Thus, "the process of civilization is based upon the continuity and irreversible progress of reason. Civilization represents the human effort to

conquer the world of nature and culture by means of intelligence in the spheres of technology, science, and planning. . . . Culture, in distinction to social process and civilization, is based on the realization of spirit, on philosophical and emotional self-realization." Certainly this too depends on the potentialities of development in a given moment, but at the same time its responses reveal the creative power of human thought and soul. Hence Weber emphasizes the spontaneity and creativeness that are inherent in culture. Whatever may be the limitations of human behavior patterns as they are revealed in the social process and in civilization, in culture they find freedom and spontaneity. Thus there is no place in Weber's sociology for any kind of determinism, and he declares that it was in combating an economic and biological determinism that the idea of *Kultursoziologie* arose.

An expanding sociological theory such as Alfred Weber's is presented as more than subjective, metaphysical theorizing in that it intended to represent empirical studies of the historical process as interpreted through the study of primitive societies and then of later great civilizations. Furthermore, this particular theory evolved as a part of a product of revolt against economic and biological determinism and the sweeping generalizations of the earlier theorists, and in line with conviction that "universal sociological concepts are so abstract and empty that they have to be corrected by individual concepts adequate to the various historical realizations." His theory, recognizing, however, the limitations of sociological study and of empirical methods, was based on the assumption that every genuine sociological analysis deals with the topography of the conditions which make possible the development of human nature.

Arnold Toynbee and Ralph Turner synthesize the cultural process. Two excellent examples of the attempt, through the scholarly study of historical cultures, to synthesize the historical process may be cited in Arnold J. Toynbee's *A Study of History* and Ralph Turner's *The Great Cultural Traditions*. Both of these historians are continuing their studies, with increasing efforts to make genuinely scientific social analyses of the structure of society. Professor Toynbee's Volume IV of his series features certain cyclical aspects of civilizations. His distinction between culture and civilization is especially appropriate to our sociological "theory." He is now continuing a monumental study of history both on his own initiative and under the special auspices of scientific grants. His work may well be taken as an example of the search for sound theory which grows out of the examination of vast and varied materials. Professor Turner has completed two volumes of his study of cultural traditions and is continuing his emphasis upon *structure* and *process* as the basic factors in societal development. The rise of the in-

dustrial community, the processes of urbanization, the quest for power, and the need for orientation and reeducation of the mass of folk in a changing world, are key concepts to his synthesis.

The Cooley contributions. Illustrating this same effort to combine historical theory with empirical study was much of Charles Horton Cooley's theoretical contributions to sociology. We may illustrate the nature and meaning of this type of theory by reference to some of his concepts and practice of theoretical study. Cooley's assumption was that society is a functional entity of interacting individuals, and it included the relation among and between ideas of persons, society having its locus in individual minds. From this interaction developed processes, and these processes, institutions, and group relationships constituted the laboratory materials for the scientific study of society. Cooley's theory transcended the limitations of narrow disciplinary theory and comprehended a broader scientific method. His standard for social research and social theory was to "make it total and to make it human." Because his conclusions were derived from concrete and special studies of children, of individuals, or primary and secondary groups, and from a broad and thorough study of historical and cultural backgrounds, his theory has provided an important framework from which to continue more scientific empirical studies and to test his hypotheses; because of his special studies of the individual and of the group, Cooley's theory became articulate as a pioneering approach to social psychology, which grew out of his day's work in social study.

Theories of the American frontier. An excellent example of theoretical hypothesis in the study of American society is that of Frederick Jackson Turner concerning the influence of the frontier on national culture. In substance, Turner's theory assumed: "The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization. The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. . . . It strips off the garments of civilization. . . . It puts him in the log cabin . . . and runs an Indian palisade around him. . . . Little by little he transforms the wilderness, but the outcome is not the old Europe, not simply the development of Germanic germs. . . . The fact is, that here is a new product that is American. . . . Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines."

Turner's interpretation of the effects of sections or sectionalism in American history is closely interrelated with his theories of the influence of the frontier. He concluded, on the one hand, that the sectional development of the nation was responsible for much of its cultural diversification,

and, on the other, that interest in sectionalism was in great danger of producing a divided United States that might follow the example of the European states in patterns of conflict.

Limitations of the Turner theories of frontier and sections. Now both of these "theories" appear extremely plausible and valid. They have had great influence on American thought. Yet they also afford an excellent example of the limitations of conclusions which have not been adequately supported by complete studies or which omit realistic elements in the framework of the total inquiry. Many scholars have questioned the validity of Turner's frontier theory and pointed to important omissions in it. Thus, George Wilson Pierson, writing in the *New England Quarterly*, Volume xv, No. 2, 1942, asks, "How much of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier hypothesis is reliable and useful today? This problem has begun to trouble economists, sociologists, geographers, and most of all the teachers of graduate students in the field of American history.

"For how shall we account for the industrial revolution by the frontier? Do American music and architecture come from the woods? Did American cattle? Were our religions born of the contemplation of untamed nature? Has science, poetry, or even democracy, its cradle in the wilderness? Did literature grow fertile with innovation in the open spaces? Above all, what happens to intellectual history if the environment be all?" Then, in summary, he concludes: "In what it proposes, the frontier hypothesis needs painstaking revision. By what it fails to mention, the theory today disqualifies itself as an adequate guide to American development."

So, too, in his theories of sectionalism, Turner did not comprehend the fundamental nature of a regionalism which will integrate the parts into the whole of a living and growing America in contrast to the divisiveness of sectionalism. The "theory" involved is one of the main hypotheses in this textbook, which is presented in support of such a unified American society.

Parrington's theories of European-American composites. Somewhat in contrast to Turner's theories of the exclusive influence of the frontier in American life, the student of sociology might explore the conclusions of Vernon Louis Parrington in *Main Currents in American Thought.* Thus Parrington, estimating that the United States is the child of two continents, concluded that it could be explained in its significant traits by neither. On the contrary, it is to be explained by the transplanting to America of Old World liberalism of two sorts — of English theories of political independence and of French romantic theory. Thus, analogous to Turner and others who make the settlement of Middle West the beginnings of definitive culture, Parrington studies, in colonies other than New England, the

European immigrants "who created during the eighteenth century the great body of yeomanry that was to determine in large measure the fate of America for a hundred years or more. It was to these scattered and undistinguished colonials that French romantic theory was brought by a group of intellectuals in the later years of the century, a philosophy so congenial to a decentralized society that it seemed to provide an authoritative sanction for the clarifying ideals of a republican order, based on the principle of local home rule, toward which colonial experience was driving."

Other theories of American culture. In contrast to Turner's supposition of the exclusive influence of the frontier in American life, there are other theories that may be explored by the student. Turner, we recall, calculated that the United States became America after the influence of the frontier had molded its institutions in such a way that they broke away from European culture. In earlier chapters, we have quoted William Allen White's opinion, that the America of the Middle West, as the most dominant of the democratizing influences, was conditioned largely by the schoolhouse and the church and the community, which in turn had been influenced by these institutions in the Northeast and the South. That is, he held that even though there were frontiers at first, the definitive culture evolved later in the community and its institutions.

Ernest R. Groves in his study of *The American Woman* has estimated that a distinctive element contributing to the nature of American democracy in the Middle West was the influence of the American woman as she increased her participation in all phases of community and national life. Lester F. Ward also concluded that the increasing participation of women in societal activities, along with education, was to be a dominant factor. Many other historical-cultural studies are available, such as those in the distinctive volumes on American history of Arthur M. Schlesinger, in which what is perhaps the definitive character of American society is seen in terms of the rise of the common man.

The margins of soundness in popular "theories." These illustrations are adequate for the sociologist to understand much of the "theory" of the cultural conditioning of American society. It is not necessary for him to go into detailed study of their historical background or methodologies, but it is important for him to understand how these types of theory illustrate the significance of general theory in American life. The sociologist knows that all of these theories are "right"; and he knows that no one of them is "right." He knows also that this is true of the great European masters, John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, Charles Darwin and Karl Marx, and many others, as well as of the Ameri-

can ideological intellectuals, Henry George, William James, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the greatest of all nature theorists and democrats, Walt Whitman. Their adherents need not apologize for the soundness of the contribution of any one of these men. What the sociologist knows is that each was presenting a part, but that these parts must be integrated, co-ordinated, and synthesized into a sound theory, which will not only explain what is happening, but will set up a framework upon which continuing sŏcietal evolution may take place. From the viewpoint of this student of present-day American society, the theoretical implications of American regionalism and the organic folk society provide such a framework. They will provide for the realistic balancing of all resources and environmental factors with the evolution of cultural development. The premises upon which this general theory is couched have been set forth at length in earlier chapters so that only a re-emphasis is needed here.

The anthropologists' theories of culture. There are numerous other theories of American society; the anthropologists, for example, have made valuable additions. Clark Wissler's studies of the culture area, growing out of concrete studies of American Indian culture and comprehending an analysis of universal culture traits, is a good example. Lewis Henry Morgan's studies of the Iroquois Indian, from which he developed certain theories concerning the family, marriage, and social control, is another example. Franz Boas, of the school of American anthropologists who have studied race as culture, has offered another type of theory that can be applied to the changing racial structure of American society. Of special importance, both as examples of the sound theoretical approach and for their own contributions are Ralph Linton's analysis of the folk structure of society, A. L. Kroeber's studies of the configurations of culture, Bronislaw Malinowski's dynamics of culture change, Robert Redfield's studies of the folk society. These and other scholars have introduced to sociologists the anthropological approach to the study of contemporary society. All general theories which influence the laboratory of American culture, of which we have given several examples here, are valuable contributions to realistic sociological theory, to be examined and criticized as basic hypotheses and to be studied, supplemented, and tested.

The powerful influence of Darwin and of Marx. Perhaps one more illustration of the significance of historical theory will be sufficient. Taken at large, perhaps the two most influential theorists in conditioning the culture of the present world were Charles Darwin and Karl Marx. There were others, of course, as, for instance, Thomas Robert Malthus and the

theory of population, Jean Jacques Rousseau, John Locke, and others and theories of nature and freedom, and Richard Wagner and Friedrich Nietzsche and theories of power. But, all told, the Darwinian theory of evolution, having reshaped the worlds of religious culture and biological science, and Marx's analysis of the capitalist system and his preview of the communist state, are perhaps the outstanding illustrations of the powerful influence of theory in the actual development of world culture. Yet the limitations of these theories must be clear to the sociologist when his explorations show without doubt that they are not adequate either for a complete understanding of society or for providing a framework for its continued evolution in the face of modern technology.

Sociology still in search of adequate theory. The sociologist, studying the great heritage of social theory, esteeming the masters who made such profound contributions, appraising its total content as an organic part of the scientific structure, and seeking to find all the valid teachings of such theory, still recognizes the fact that in the field of sociology there is yet no theory quite adequate to meet the standards set. It is in this recognition and in the need for such theory, together with the increasing acceptance by sociologists of the meaning of the new theory, alongside the promise of a more scientific sociology, that the modern student of sociology finds his essential field, motivation, and prospect. The student of sociology recognizes that it is no reflection upon his science that the great body of sociological theories have not been adequate for the complete understanding and direction of society any more than it is a reflection upon other social sciences — philosophy, economics, and political science — that many of their theories need constant revision and adaptation.

The two-fold function of social theory. In so far as the sociologist appraises sound theory as the most practical thing in the world he is looking for a concept and practice of theory which comprehends a two-fold function: one to enable him to understand society in its broader totality and the other to give him a framework for research in specific areas that is consistent with the total framework of his social theory. This means that his researches in relation to specific units and entities of society have meaning in proportion as they are scientifically carried out and as they have sound perspective to the total.

Although the sociologist understands full well why in many instances events have turned out as they have and why human beings behave as they do, he knows that his theory does not give him the concrete answers as to what is to be done. His theory, however, does provide a framework and the factual bases upon which workers in the field of societal arrangements may

strive increasingly toward a society which conforms to the specifications indicated by realistic sociological theory.

Sociology has its best opportunity up to now to produce sound theory. In earlier chapters the reminder was given that too much must not be expected of sociology any more than of the other sciences. By the same token it was urged that too little must not be expected because of the great opportunity for sociology and social research in the present and in the years ahead. Among other things the younger sociologists have learned is that they do not need to waste time and energy debating whether sociology is a science when the way is open and the facilities adequate for doing scientific work. Adequate scientific research, integrated into the best possible theory, fabricated from as large number as possible of realistic empirical studies, interpreted and applied in scientific ways, will take care of the scientific quality of sociology itself. Another thing the younger sociologist has learned is that his science, just as all other sciences, has as one of its functions the exploration of practical needs and situations and the making available of data for new directions.

The sociologist, turning aside to read two or three years' leading articles in *Science*, notes that the presidents of all of the great scientific societies, in national and international convention and on special occasion, are asking over and over again, "What can science do in these days of social need?" The sociologist can do no less; on the contrary, he must do more because of the nature of his science, and he must seek to point his research and theory in the directions of answering the questions asked by the student and public alike, the answers to which are needed for the sure societal progress implied in the understanding of organic society.

Social theory in understanding society. As a final illustration and as a sort of introduction to *The Library and Workshop* of this last chapter, we may now discuss very briefly something of the framework of social theory reflected in this book. In the first place, we have assumed that now, as never before, there is need for a realistic and responsible science of society, the framework of which must provide the basis for societal survival as well as the continuity of human evolution and social progress. Underlying the premises of such a sociology are the assumptions that the starting points for any realistically scientific study of human society will be found in the physical factors of the people and the places where they live, together with the interaction processes of these people among and between themselves and between themselves and their total natural environment, as they become the makers of society and the creators of culture. That is, the people *plus* the natural environment, including the whole regional setting, con-

stitute the physical basis of over-all society within which, then, cultures grow and civilizations mature. This is equally true whether reference is to, let us say, the more than 5000 cultures cross catalogued at the Yale Institute of Human Relations where cultures are shown to differ in some ratio to different environments and therefore different interactions, or whether in the modern world where the interaction of the people with their technological physical environment results in a different sort of culture or social order. In either case, the scientific study of society finds it starting points in the description and measurement of these factors rather than primarily in fragmentary descriptive and historical studies or in ideological concepts deductively systematized. How realistic this universal application is may be seen from an understanding of the contemporary world society where folk and ethnic groups, increasingly articulate, and the regional imbalance of men, constitute not only starting points for explaining current crisis but also for the promise of general societal adjustment and specific United Nations programs.

The preliminary formulation of even the most elementary theory of such a science of society requires, not only a wide range of exhaustive study of sources but also a great deal of empirical research. From such research, then, come certain assumptions of regionalism as a special frame of reference for the study of society, for the analysis and administration of societal arrangements, and for action programs adequate to achieve the regional balance and equality of men. Nevertheless, such empirical study has to be supplemented by considerable study of theoretical treatises by sociologists and specific studies and generalizations by anthropologists. Then, some special effort must be made to examine what has been done in the study of uniformity of cultural evolution and to explore the nature and measure of social change. The search also has to be made to see what efforts have been made by historians and philosophers looking toward the sociological synthesis of the traditional cultures and social movements. And finally, there must be some attempt to identify the nature of the folk in terms of the well-nigh universal reflection of the human spirit and emotions in the great religions and literatures and in the never dying folk power so transcendent in Music and Art.

Yet, there was and is another great frame of reference of the physical world within which the people must interact among themselves and between themselves and their environment. This is the world of technological civilization, of urban societies, and such sweeping mastery of physical science as has transformed both the physical world and human society. To a great extent, therefore, the same wide range and exhaustive study

must be made of modern society, including the records of those ancient societies that grew from folk culture to the advanced stages of culture called civilization. From these studies arise many problems to be resolved, many terms to be designated and defined, and many assumptions to be tested. Some of the assumptions to be tested will be catalogued subsequently as further illustrations, but the composite nature of our social theory may be indicated here by listing a few of the assumptions, such as those relating to the indestructibility of the folk, the survival power and constancy of the crude folk process, the coexistence of the folk culture and the state civilization in all modern societies, the consequent contrast between the two, the folkways and technicways as opposite poles for the study of the same processes, and the ideal state society as approximating a technological order more than a human society.

Elemental concepts to be defined. The concepts and terms to be utilized and defined represent a minimum catalogue of elemental factors necessary for the formulation of hypotheses and for providing basic formulae for action programs. These terms have been largely defined already in the several appropriate chapters but the methods of arriving at adequate meanings constitute important aspects of theoretical study. It is of the greatest importance that these definitions, while being both more specific and comprehensive, as applied to dynamic sociology, than as applied to narrower fields, shall nevertheless comprehend and utilize the authentic definitions of scholars who have derived similar definitions from concrete studies in special fields. To take a single illustration of *the folk* for instance, it must be clear that the meaning of this concept must be constructed upon the authentic definitions of such current scholars as Redfield when he features the primitive folk, or Linton when he senses the folk power and process in the small community, as well as in the traditional concepts of Sumner's universal *folkways*, Wundt's folk as "the most important collective concept in mental life," or Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft*. Such a definition should also, whenever analogical concepts need to be appraised, give operational meaning to such abstract terms as Giddings' *consciousness of kind*, Ratzenhofer's and Small's *interests*, Thomas and Znaniecki's *wishes*, or Gumplowicz's *der Rassenkampf* and many others in which the authors were searching for the folk denominator of the social process.

So, too, some of the terms that are relatively new must not only find their construct in authentic work and usage, but must be given accurate meanings in the setting of some earlier documentary evidence where possible. For instance, such terms as *technicways*, *achievement lag*, *state civilization*, find much of their genesis in such concepts as Ogburn's *social change* and

cultural lag, Ogburn, Kaempffert, and Gilfillin's *social inventions*, Veblen's "invention as the mother of necessity," Weber's and Toynbee's contrasting civilization and culture. So, too, in our dynamic sociology, such standard terms as *justice*, *morality*, *progress*, which come to have a greater social and operational implication in their meaning, must nevertheless be defined in clear relation to other meanings. The main point of emphasis, here, however, is that it is not so important that our definitions always conform to prevailing usage, as it is that they shall be constructed soundly within the framework of the total fabric of which they are a part, and so consistently used as to make possible the construction of hypotheses that apply to society of the present and future, as well as that of the past.

The folk culture and state civilization. Now we may look at some of the assumptions which may be interpreted and tested in the light of stated premises and of definitions given. The first of these is that the framework of our social theory posits and reconciles two main currents of societal development. These are the *folk culture* and the *state civilization*. The folk culture is studied through folk regional societies, characterized by folkways and mores, gradualness of change, and with cultural lag predominating. The folk culture is also studied through the analysis of the coexisting folk quality in advanced cultures. It finds much of its documentation on the anthropological-cultural level of primitive societies, the historical-cultural levels of earlier civilizations, and the literary-philosophical levels of the quality of culture. The state civilization is studied primarily through contemporary technological societies, characterized by stateways and technicways and by rapidity of social change, with often achievement lagging behind cultural ideologies. The state civilization finds much of its documentation in the works of the physical scientists, in empirical research, in varied social science contributions, and in historical, literary and philosophical works.

The folk culture is identified with nature in respect to space, time, resources, in the frame of reference of area, region, situation, climate, total environmental resources. It is also identified with nature with respect to process, interaction, cultural development, within the framework of universal laws, evolution, biological factors, reproduction, kith and kin. Folk culture is also identified with primary institutions and community, within the framework of face to face institutions, the family, religion, ceremonials, mutual aid, primary occupations and primary conflict. So, too, the folk culture is identified with loyalties, morality, will, likemindedness, and finally with freedom and liberty, personality, immaturity, the struggle for survival, "leave to live with no man's leave."

There is no value-bias in the assumptions of the folk culture, except in so far as the folk process connotes the elementary, primordial, the substance of which societies are made, or in the sense that the folk as people are natural, having the capacity to function successfully within the framework of their physical environment and their inherent endowment. That is, the folk culture has no inherent assumptions of good or bad, better or worse, as when folk is characterized as the universal constant in a world of societal variables or when the folk society is contrasted with the urban society, or the folk described as primitive and crude in comparison with the refinement of civilized culture. The folk, like life, breath, personality, is elemental, both as essence and as interacting forces.

The state civilization is identified with industrialization and the industrial community, with urbanism and the process of urbanization. It is identified with science, invention, technology, organization. It is identified with speed, bigness and complexity. State civilization is identified with three other major traits, namely, intellectualism and cultural specialization, centralization and power, and with state society and totalitarianism.

Diagnosis and trends. There are certain bold assumptions that may be tested in the framework of trends and diagnosis in the modern world. One of these is that society changes from the folk culture to the state civilization when quick moving technological innovations exceed the slow developing traditional culture patterns and when the mode of mass behavior is reflected within the framework of stateways and technicways in conflict with and subversive to the folkways and mores.

Such a state civilization, flowering into its maximum attainment of specialization, organization, centralization and power, tends to assume the nature of a technological order rather than a human society. Inherent in such technological order are not only antagonism, conflict, derangement, but the capacity to destroy society.

The decay of civilizations, therefore, reflects primarily, not cyclical inevitability, but the failure to conserve the survival values of the folk culture, and the subsequent demands of supertechnology and artificial society which exceed the capacity of the people and their resources and institutions.

The crisis of contemporary society is reflected in continuing trends toward confusion, imbalance, chaos; and in an apparent possibility of alternative future directions in societal evolution. The one would continue the present accelerating trends toward state civilization. The other would achieve balance and equilibrium between the folk culture and the state civilization through the maturing services of science and social science in

the framework of the regional equality and balance of society through cooperative arrangements of peace rather than the exhaustive technics of war.

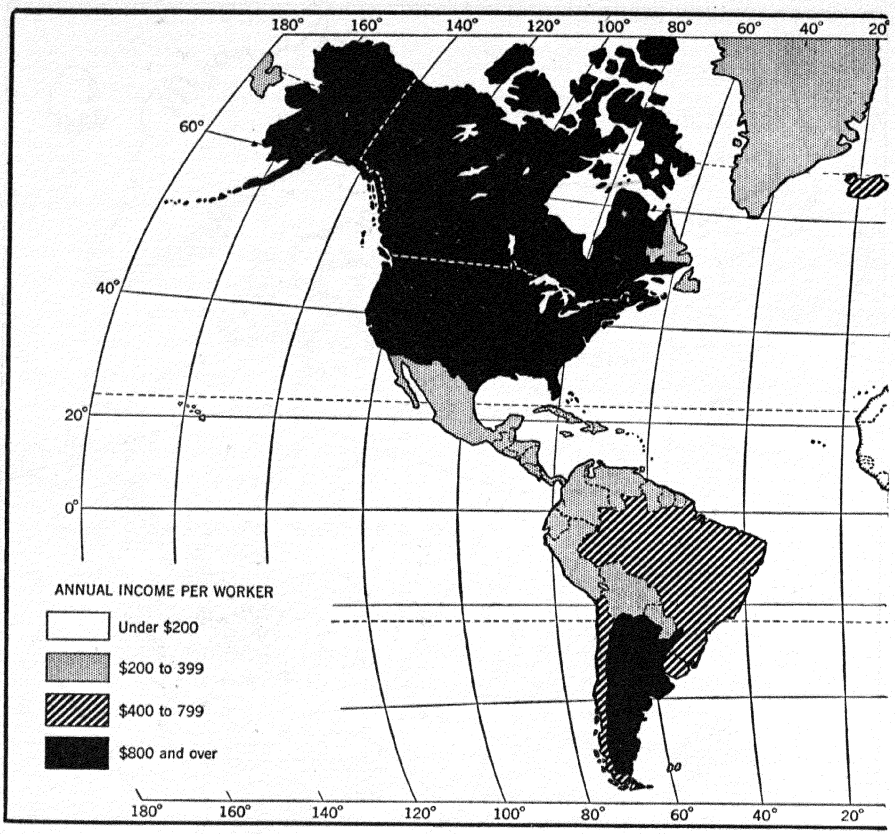
Sociology is sound theory and practical study. These examples of general assumptions with reference to contemporary society might be greatly multiplied in number and elaborated in detail. But they are adequate to illustrate the very genuine reality of social theory. We have now presented briefly enough such theoretical assumptions concerning the dilemmas of modern society in conflict with the changing structure of social institutions, and enough of the range of historical social theory to indicate the close relationship between sound theory and the science of society. We return now to one of our earlier starting points, namely, that sociology is sound theory and practical study. Our assumptions are that it now has its greatest opportunity up to date to become a dynamic science, capable of providing a formula, not only for interpretation but for action programs looking toward survival and enrichment. The text materials in the book, the *Definitions and Examples*, the *Statistics and Illustrations*, the *Questions and Answers*, and the ever-present *References and Problems* have all been presented within a framework of systematic theory. From this point on the advanced student, the scholar, the scientist, must carry the study on toward matured research, writing, and presentation.

Assignments and Questions

1. The idea of laboratories and workshops for "theory" might have been considered out of place in the earlier days when the terms "pure science" and "applied science" were current. Discuss the assumption in this book that "sound theory is the most practical thing in the world."
2. Illustrate how scientific "social planning" is based essentially upon "social theory" in the most dynamic sense of the word.
3. Discuss the older connotations of the adjective *theoretical* as applied to a person or a work.
4. Define the term *academic* according to its popular usage. Are there more realistic meanings?
5. What are the specifications for a regional laboratory for social research and planning in a university? (See also Chapter 37.)
6. Contrast, with illustrations, the differences in the meaning of social theory between the unified theories or "systems" of earlier sociologists and the definitions of contemporary sociologists.
7. What was the nature of the organic analogies utilized by Herbert Spencer and other early social philosophers?
8. Make an analysis of "operationalism" as presented by Stuart Carter Dodd and George A. Lundberg.
9. Trace the rise of "sociometry" in the United States.
10. Lester F. Ward prepared a remarkable list of analogies "such as have been more or less seriously prepared by modern sociologists." Report further on his article in the *American Journal of Sociology* for January, 1902. This article lists more than fifty analogies of Spencer, Worms, Lilienfeld, Durkheim, de Greef, Schaffle, Tarde, Fouillée, and others.
11. Discuss as analogy the theories of evolution as they relate to man's relation to animals.
12. What was Franklin H. Giddings' "consciousness of kind"?
13. What was Gabriel Tarde's "laws of imitation"?
14. What was Ludwig Gumplowicz' *Der Rassenkampf?* (See also Chapter 34.)
15. What new analogies are developing in the world of "international fellowship"?

The Regional Basis of Cultures and the Study of Comparative Folk Societies

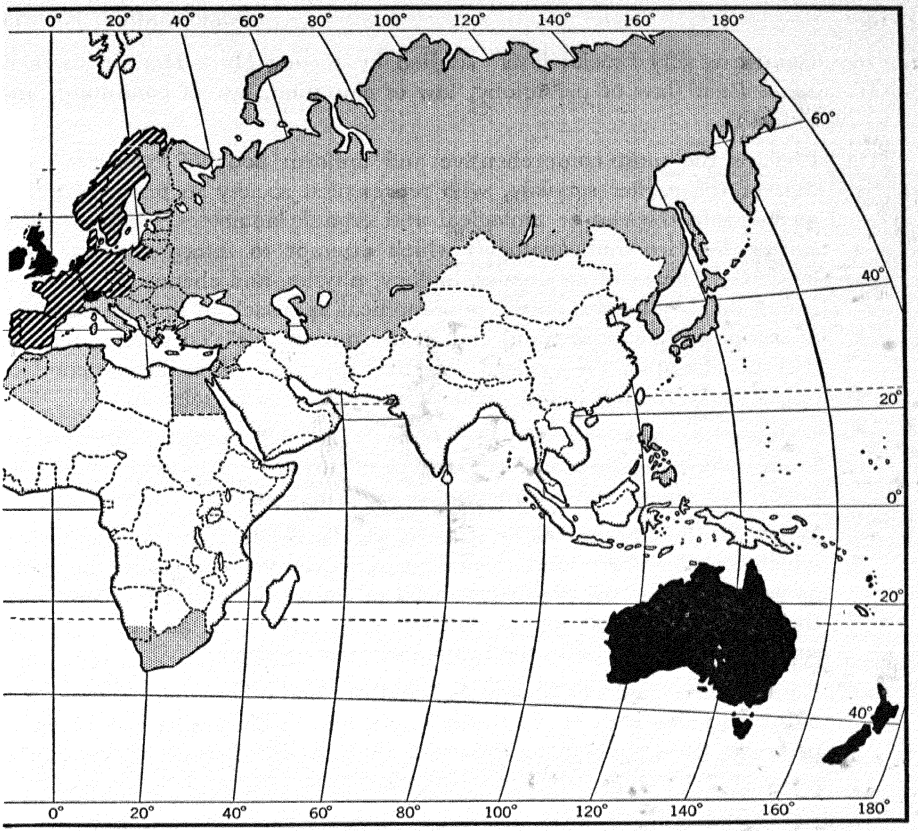
Systematic folk sociology, through the study of comparative societies and through the analysis of the traits of technological civilization, seeks to find elemental constants basic to societal survival and enrichment. The study of the American Indians is rich in illustrations of the regional basis of society. ABOVE: The regional cultures of the Indians of the Americas.



Profound Theoretical Implications Involved in the Very Practical Problems of Achieving the Regional Balance and Equality of Man.

A study of the regional imbalance and inequalities of many peoples illustrates realistically the theoretical implications of the "problem" of achieving an all-world society to be integrated from a great diversity of cultures in many places. There are many aspects of this theoretical application to practical situations through the world. One has to do with what we have termed the regional equality and balance of Man in which the goal is opportunity for all people to have access to their resources and to occupation in the places where they live but also in the framework of new world standards and relationships. Involved here is the social effects of the impact of technology and civilization upon various cultures.

Another theoretical problem is that of society's capacity to meet the demands of quick changing social structure. Society is not able quickly to achieve an economy capable of giving to all people in all places, in varied cultures and heritages, the same standards of living as the individuals who have achieved the highest brackets in systems of free enterprise where resources and technology are most abundant. Nor has society been able to achieve an intercultural organization capable of resolving quickly differences in ideologies, religions and races. These become problems of "achievement lag" rather than of "cultural lag."



ESTIMATED REAL INCOME IN INTERNATIONAL UNITS PER CAPITA, 1925–1934.

United States	1381	100	Greece	397	29
Canada	1337	97	Finland	380	28
New Zealand	1202	87	Hungary	357	26
United Kingdom	1109	80	Japan	353	25
Switzerland	1018	74	Poland	352	25
Argentina	1000	72	Egypt	350	25
Australia	980	71	Latvia	345	25
Netherlands	855	62	Italy	343	25
Eire	707	51	Estonia	341	25
France	681	49	Yugoslavia	330	24
Denmark	680	49	Russia	310	22
Sweden	653	47	South Africa	276	20
Germany	646	47	Bulgaria	259	19
Belgium	600	43	Rumania	243	18
Norway	539	39	Lithuania	207	15
Austria	511	37	British India	200	14
Czechoslovakia	455	33	China	120	9

16. Catalogue fifty "social laws" studied by Kyung Durk Har in his book *Social Laws* (law of parsimony, law of causation, law of continuity, and so forth).

17. Perhaps the most comprehensive and uniform body of "theories" was that of the earlier scholars, who represented society in terms of either mechanistic theories or biological and organic analogies. Criticize these earlier theories and analogies which attempt to interpret social phenomena in terms of mechanics, biology, physics, and chemistry. To what extent do they border on the philosophical approach in that they assume a sociophysical monism and end in the unprovable? To what extent do they border upon the modern objective approach when they attempt to apply the method of the physical sciences to the social sciences?

18. Indicate the lack of reality in Leone Winiarski's mechanistic interpretation which posits society as a system of points — of individuals in perpetual movement, with attraction as the primary cause of movement.

19. What are inconsistencies in Roberty de la Cerda's energetistic theory which considers three fundamental forms of energy as composing the world as we know it — the physicochemical or inorganic with the molecule as the unit; the vital or organic with the cell as the unit; and the social or superorganic centered in the brain and nervous system?

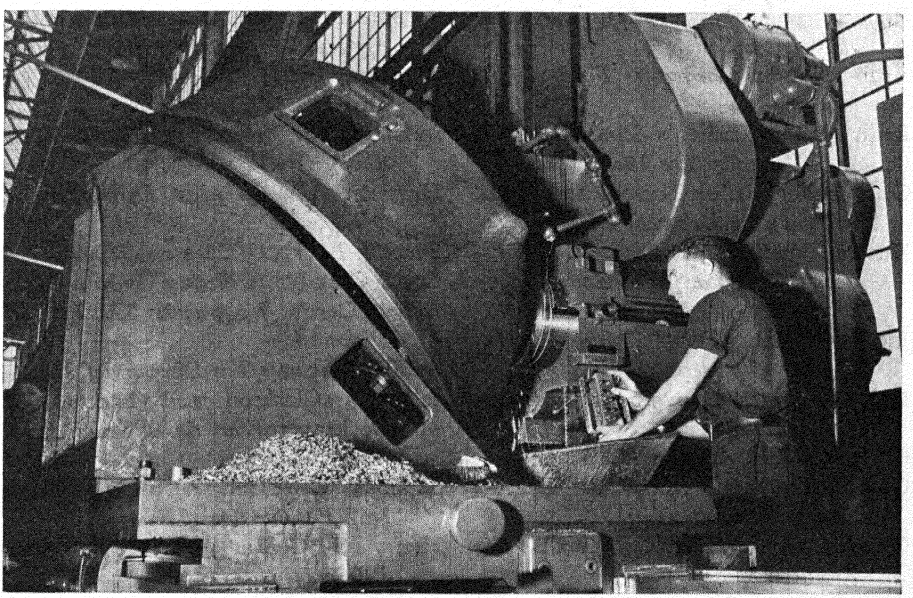
20. Compare the claims of George A. Lundberg and others that sociology is a natural science with H. C. Carey's assertion, in his comparison of social processes with physical mechanisms, that the same laws govern in the social and economic world as in the physical.

Special Readings from the Library

We keep emphasizing that the factual basis is the heart of social science, even as of all science. Facts, however, are of more than one sort. There are the physical facts that emerge from the observation and recording of resemblances and differences in empirical study. There are also the facts of relationship and interaction which are often measured in terms of effects or described in definitive frames of reference. There are facts of just events, of episodes, reflecting what men do and what happens when they do it. There are facts recorded in books and catalogues of what men think and write. Often the facts of relationship or the power of thought, speech or writing may be more dynamic than the mere facts of physical measurement, as for instance the relations between nations, between races, religions, classes, parties over against the anthropometrical measures of race, or the number of people, the per capita wealth, the consumer purchasing power, the value of church edifices. Facts of all sorts are essential to the framework of responsible theory. By the same token, the sociologist searches for his facts from many sources, including the objective measurements of empirical research but also through the examination

Balance and Equilibrium Between Men and Machines

Can Sociology formulate theories of adjustment between Man and Nature, machines and men, war and peace? ABOVE: The tools of liberation in war — what is their equal in peace? BELOW: Bigness — this 4000 lbs metal piece is just a part of the equipment for one gun on an M-3 tank.



of what is written and recorded on many levels of culture and practice. He must therefore broaden his search to examine much that may be called materials for sociology rather than sociological works themselves. In our first Chapter in the "Preview to the Understanding of Society," we indicated samplings of "non-sociological" titles. Now we come to explore this field of Special Readings a little more comprehensively and exhaustively in this last Library and Workshop, than we have in other chapters. For most of these new titles challenge us to more scientific work and to bridge the distance between theory and reality.

Among the volumes in this list in which social theory and methods are specifically discussed are the titles by Linton, Mannheim, Myrdal, and Wright.

Charles Abrams' *Revolution in Land*

Brooks Adams' *The Law of Civilization and Decay*

Eugene T. Adams and Others' *The American Idea*

James Truslow Adams' *The American*

Franz Alexander's *Our Age of Unreason*

American Council on Public Affairs' *Regionalism and World Organization*

H. Dewey Anderson and Percy E. Davidson's *Occupational Trends in the United States*

Robert Cooley Angell's *The Integration of American Society*

Ruth Nanda Anshen's *Freedom. Its Meaning*

Ruth Nanda Anshen's *Science and Man*

Benjamin Appel's *The People Talk*

O. E. Baker, Ralph Borsodi and M. L. Wilson's *Agriculture in Modern Life*

Harold Barger and Hans H. Landsberg's *American Agriculture, 1899–1939*

Jacques Barzun's *Darwin, Marx, Wagner. Critique of a Heritage*

Ralph S. Bates' *Scientific Societies in the United States*

Carleton Beals' *American Earth*

Charles A. and Mary R. Beard's *America in Midpassage*

Charles and Mary R. Beard's *The American Spirit*

Mary R. Beard's *Woman as a Force in History*

Ruth Benedict's *Race, Science and Politics*

L. L. Bernard's *War and Its Causes*

Edward T. Booth's *God Made the Country*

Henri Bonnet's *Outlines of the Future. World Organization Emerging from the War*

William Dow Boutwell and Others' *America Prepares for Tomorrow*

Richard M. Brickner's *Is Germany Incurable?*

Bernard Brodie's *Sea Power in the Machine Age* and *The Absolute Weapon: Atomic Power and World Order*

Earl Brown's *Why Race Riots?*

Stuart Gerry Brown's *We Hold These Truths*

Harrison Brown's *Must Destruction Be Our Destiny?*

Pearl S. Buck's *Of Men and Women*

Oscar Cargill's *Intellectual America*

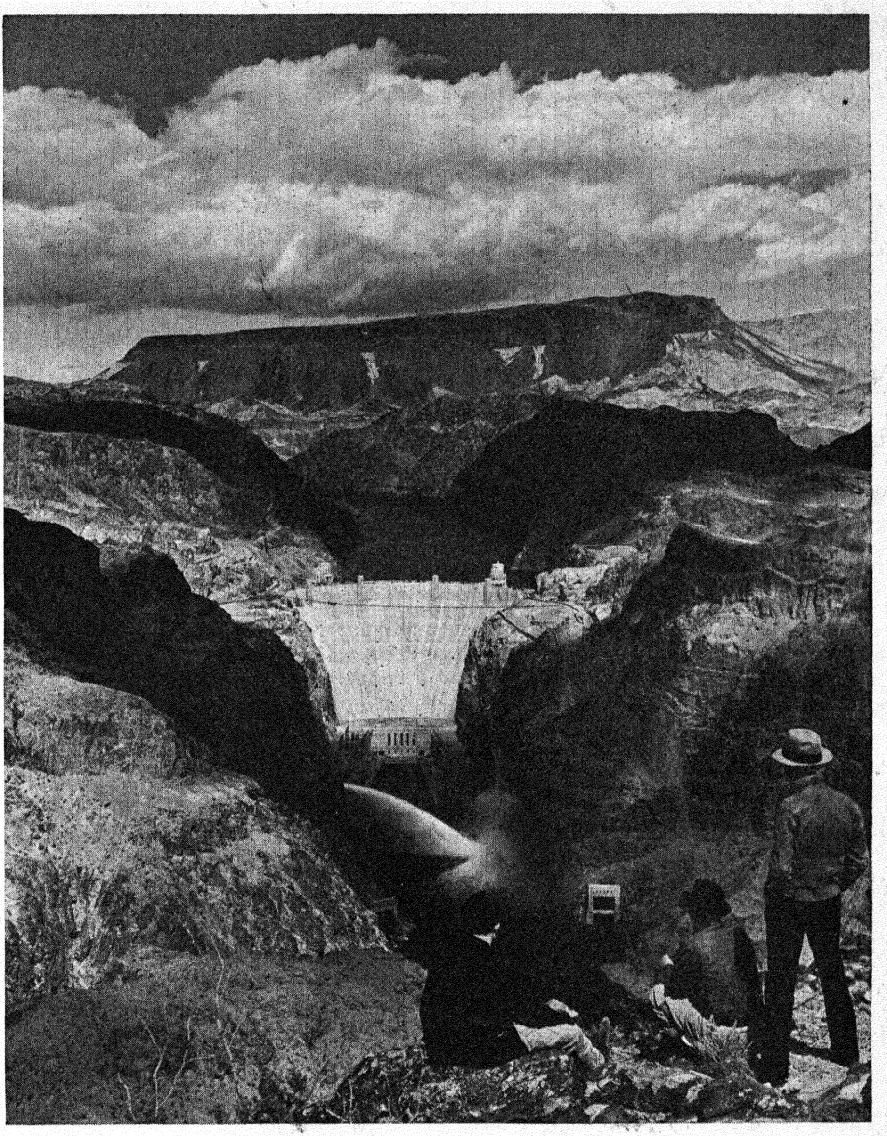
Albert Carr's *Juggernaut: The Path of Dictatorship*

Stanley Casson's *The Discovery of Man*

Jesse D. Clarkson and Thomas C. Cockran's *War As a Social Institution*

Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller's *The Age of Enterprise*

Henry Hill Collins, Jr.'s *America's Own Refugees*



The Theoretical Aspects of Social Planning in River Valleys

How much centralization of power, how much regional autonomy, and how much states' rights in river valley planning? ABOVE: The down stream face of Boulder Dam as a symbol of the reality of river valley regions in the United States, in which issues have come to assume major problems of theory. Science and Government working together may get the answer.

P. E. Corbett's *Post-War Worlds*
Paul K. Crosser's *Ideologies and American Labor*
Gunnar Dahlberg's *Race, Reason, and Rubbish*
Darrell Haug Davis' *The Earth and Man. A Human Geography*
Clive Day's *Economic Development in Europe*
Anna de Koven's *Women in Cycles of Culture*
Paul de Kruif's *Health Is Wealth*
Wallace R. Deuel's *People Under Hitler*
Babette Deutsch's *Walt Whitman: Builder for America*
Nicholas Doman's *The Coming Age of World Control*
James E. Downes, Nathaniel H. Singer, and Donald Becker's *Latin America and Hemisphere Solidarity*
St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's *Black Metropolis*
Joseph Doreman's *The Economic Mind in American Civilization*
Marshall Dunn and Lloyd N. Morrisett's *Wings for America*
James Fairgrieve's *Geography and World Power*
George B. Galloway and Associates' *Planning for America*
George Gamow's *Atomic Energy in Cosmic and Human Life*
Lionel Gelber's *Peace by Power*
John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhardt's *Problems of a Changing Social Order*
Ernest R. Groves' *The American Woman*
A. F. Gustafson and Others' *Conservation in the United States*
Lucy Lockwood Hazard's *The Frontier in American Literature*
G. G. Hawley and S. W. Leifson's *Atomic Energy in War and Peace*
Sylvester John Hemleben's *Plans for World Peace Through Six Centuries*
Adolf Hitler's *My New Order* and *Mein Kampf.*
Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson's *The Problems of Lasting Peace*
Emmet John Hughes' *The Church and the Liberal Society*
Aldous Huxley's *Science, Liberty, and Peace*
Preston E. James' *Latin America*
Charles S. Johnson's *Patterns of Negro Segregation*
Gerald W. Johnson's *Roosevelt: Dictator or Democrat?*
Abram Kardiner's *The Traumatic Neuroses of War*
Feelix M. Keesing's *Native Peoples of the Pacific World*
Hans Kelsen's *Society and Nature*
Edgar Kemler's *The Deflation of American Ideals*
Odette Keun's *I Think Aloud in America*
V. O. Key, Jr.'s *Politics Parties and Pressure Groups*
Frank J. Klingberg's *The Morning of America*
Corliss Lamont's *The Peoples of the Soviet Union*
Oliver La Farge's *As Long As the Grass Shall Grow*
Oliver La Farge's *The Changing Indian*
Clara Lambert's *I Sing America. A Pageant of the Regions*
Alexander Laing's *Way for America*
Harold J. Laski's *Faith, Reason and Civilization*
Alfred Lief's *The Brandeis Guide to the Modern World*
David E. Lilienthal's *TVA — Democracy on the March*
Ralph Linton's *Science of Man in the World Crisis*

The Challenge of Social Theory in the Modern World

ABOVE: In December, 1946, New York City, with its United Nations Headquarters, became technically the capital of an all-world society, still characterized primarily by heterogeneity and powerful folk cultures in conflict and travail. BELOW: Chicago, the central capital of agriculture and industry, symbol also of the search for harmony and balance in American Society, new frontier of Western Civilization.

Alain Locke and Bernhard J. Stern's *When Peoples Meet*

Karl Loewenstein's *Hitler's Germany. The Nazi Background to War*

Hannah Logasa's *Regional United States: A Subject List*

Russell Lord's *The Agrarian Revival. A Study of Agricultural Extension*

Frank Lorimer, Ellen Winston, and Louise K. Kiser's *Foundations of American Population Policy*

George A. Lundberg's *Can Science Save Us?*

R. M. MacIver's *Leviathan and the People*

Arthur Macmahon, John D. Millett and Gladys Ogden's *The Administration of Federal Work Relief*

Karl Mannheim's *Diagnosis of Our Time*

Karl Mannheim's *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*

Davie Maurice's *Refugees in America*

André Maurois' *The Miracle of America*

Dexter Masters and Katharine Way's *One World or None*

Horst Mendershausen's *The Economics of War*

A. G. Mezerick's *The Revolt of the South and West*

John Mill's *The Engineer in Society*

Lewis Mumford's *The Condition of Man; Men Must Act;* and *Values for Survival*

Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma. The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*

Arnold S. Nash's *The University and the Modern World*

F. S. C. Northrop's *The Meeting of East and West*

Franz L. Neumann's *Behemoth*

Howard W. Odum's *Race and Rumors of Race. Challenge to American Crisis*

Howard W. Odum and Katharine Jocher's *In Search of the Regional Balance of America*

William F. Ogburn's *American Society in Wartime*

William F. Ogburn's *The Social Effects of Aviation*

Henry Bamford Parkes' *The World After War. A Program for Post-War Planning*

Donald Culross Peattie's *Journey into America*

Elmer T. Peterson's *Forward to the Land*

Elmer Peterson's *Cities Are Abnormal*

Joseph S. Ransmeier's *The Tennessee Valley Authority*

George T. Renner's *The Conservation of National Resources*

George Renner and Associates' *Global Geography*

Oliver L. Reiser's *The Promise of Scientific Humanism*

Roy M. Robbins' *Our Landed Heritage. The Public Domain 1776–1936*

Agnes Rogers' *From Man to Machine. A Pictorial History of Invention*

Nancy Wilson Ross' *Westward the Women*

Constance Rourke's *The Roots of American Culture*

Bertrand Russell's *Power: A New Social Analysis*

Eliel Saarinen's *The City. Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future*

Porter Sargent's *War and Education*

Carl T. Schmidt's *American Farmers in the World Crisis*

Paul B. Sears' *Who Are These Americans?*

Walter Shepherd's *Science Marches On*

Henry E. Sigerist's *Medicine and Human Welfare*

Carl Snyder's *Capitalism, the Creator*

Helen Sorenson's *The Consumer Movement*

G. H. Seward's *Sex and the Social Order*

P. A. Sorokin's *The Crisis of Our Age*
Pitirim A. Sorokin's *Man and Society in Calamity*
Pitirim A. Sorokin's *Russia and the United States*
George Soule's *The Strength of Nations*
Henry William Spiegel's *The Economics of Total War*
Nicholas John Spykman's *America's Strategy in World Politics*
Jesse F. Steiner's *Behind the Japanese Mask*
Bernhard J. Stern's *Society and Medical Progress*
Richard Sterner's *The Negro's Share*
Michael Straight's *Make This the Last War. The Future of the United Nations*
Robert Strausz-Hupe's *Geopolitics, the Struggle for Space and Power*
Maxine Y. Sweezy's *The Structure of the Nazi Economy*
John Kenneth Turner's *Challenge to Karl Marx*
Ralph Turner's *The Great Cultural Traditions*
Rupert Vance's *All These People*
Samuel Van Valkenburg's *America at War: A Geographical Analysis*
Thorstein Veblen's *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*
Herbert von Beckerath's *In Defense of the West*
Robert Averill Walker's *The Planning Function in Urban Government*
Willard Waller's *War in the Twentieth Century*
Dixon Wecter's *The Hero in America*
Hans W. Weigert's *Generals and Geographers. The Twilight of Geopolitics*
H. G. Wells' *The Fate of Man*
H. G. Wells' *The New World Order*
Albert Rhys Williams' *The Russians. The Land, the People, and Why They Fight*
Carl Wittke's *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant*
Quincy Wright's *A Study of War*
Albert Rhys Williams' *The Russians*

General Readings from the Library

Adams, Brooks, *The Law of Civilization and Decay;* Bagehot, Walter, *Physics and Politics;* Barnes, Harry Elmer, and Becker, Howard, *Social Thought from Lore to Science,* 2 vols.; Beach, Walter G., *The Growth of Social Thought;* Bernard, L. L. (ed.), *The Fields and Methods of Sociology;* Bogardus, Emory S., *The Development of Social Thought;* Ellwood, Charles A., *A History of Social Philosophy;* Eubank, Earle E., *The Concepts of Sociology;* Giddings, Franklin H., *Studies in the Theory of Human Society;* Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W., *From Max Weber;* Hertzler, J. O., *The History of Utopian Thought* and *The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations;* House, Floyd N., *The Range of Social Theory;* Kohler, Wolfgang, *The Place of Value in a World of Facts;* Kroeber, A. L., *Configurations of Culture Growth;* Kropotkin, Peter, *Mutual Aid;* Lichtenberger, James P., *Development of Social Theory;* Mannheim, Karl, *Ideology and Utopia* and *Diagnosis of Our Time;* Mumford, Lewis, *Technics and Civilization* and *The Culture of Cities;* Northrop, F. S. C., *The Meeting of East and West;* Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill, *American Regionalism;* Ogburn, William F., *Social Change;* Parrington, Vernon Louis, *Main Currents in American Thought;* Pareto, Vilfredo, *The Mind and Society,* 4 vols.; Redfield, Robert, *Folk Culture*

of Yucatan; Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Contemporary Sociological Theories* and *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, 4 vols.; Spengler, Oswald, *The Decline of the West;* Sumner, William Graham, *Folkways;* Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, Florjan, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America;* Toynbee, Arnold J., *A Study of History*, vol. IV; Turner, Frederick Jackson, *The Significance of Sections in American History* and *The Frontier in American History;* Turner, Ralph, *The Great Cultural Traditions;* Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class;* Weber, Alfred, *Fundamentals of Culture-Sociology* (tr. by G. H. Weltner and C. F. Hirshman) and *Essays in Sociology* (tr. by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills); Wiese, von, Leopold, *Systematic Sociology.*

VIII

Notes, Acknowledgments, Credits

Postscript

The end papers of "Understanding Society" may well be considered representative of the range and method of this text. For here are catalogued in chronological order the library of textbooks in sociology, reflecting an extraordinary variety of treatment and of content. It is a long way from the earlier days when a Ward or Giddings, selling a thousand or two copies, appeared as a popular book, to the present when the aggregate of elementary text sales runs into the hundreds of thousands. And it is a long way from the prefaces to first and second editions of a Giddings *Principles* defending the concept of *consciousness of kind*, to the elemental prefaces to our multiple text editions of class room sociologies.

The end papers are symbolic of both the content and method of the present text in a number of ways. In the first place, this text attempts to present the elements of sociology, so systematically arranged as to provide also the framework of more advanced principles. Thus it follows the precedent set by the textbooks, some of which have been emphasized as "Elements" and some as "Principles." The book seeks also to feature more of the dynamic sociology, first introduced by Ward, and it seeks more than the usual text, to stress world society and intercultural relationships, at the same time that its basic frame of reference is always sound theory.

The end papers are symbolic again, in that the titles listed there are indicative of the wide range of methods and content upon which a new book must be based. Yet there must be much that is new, transcending what has been written and taught, and at the same time, integrated into the total field of sociology of which it is a part. The catalogue of titles reflects the short span of American sociology in the classroom and easily points to the present as sociology's greatest opportunity up to now. In the *Library and Workshop* of the several chapters, have been included many items from the texts so listed, symbolic again of the need for sociology students to learn from the contributions of both the older and the contemporary texts.

The problem of how much to include and how much to omit has been a very difficult one. Consistently throughout the book we have emphasized the themes that sociology is sound theory and practical study; and that sound theory itself is essentially practical in that it lays the groundwork for enduring study and action.

Yet, this theory is posited always as the first essential to dynamic sociology, which in turn lays the basis for formulae of both interpretation and action. Consequently the range of references must be wide and the actual number of titles large. In this text, the effort has been made to include all the minimum essentials of elementary theory, with samplings of "problems" and corollaries of popular, non-sociological books that treat of contemporary scenes and of historical synthesis. The emphasis is always primarily upon the factual basis, but with the clear understanding that facts have to be measured, not only by statistical methods, but by description, analysis, and synthesis of much that has been written on the level of interpretation. The standard set for the book provides that, by selection, the student and teacher may utilize as much or as little as may best serve particular purposes or groups.

In the earlier manuscripts of *Understanding Society*, there were included in "The Library and Workshop" approximately 400 pages of source materials that had to be omitted in the published text. These were primarily in the form of full page exhibits of two sorts. One was the full page of quotations from selected authors and the other was in the form of full page statistics, such as samplings on pages 53 and 54, 328 and 329, 414 and 415, and 502 and 503. Three groups of authors were selected for quotation. First, there were the earlier American sociologists, Ward, Sumner, Giddings, Small, and Cooley. In each chapter of the text, there were offered in support of or in contrast to the treatment in the chapter, the definitions, or concepts, of the main themes discussed in the chapter. That is, there were full page selections from each of these earlier sociologists dealing with such elementary factors as nature, race, sex, work, war, culture, process, the city, the state.

Next, there were similar quotations and digests from selected authors whose works justified citation, either because of their specialized nature or of their general popular application. Such authors included Pareto, Spengler, Sorokin, Hitler, Freud, Mumford; and a considerable list from which definitions of special subjects were selected to make the total page of compilations on such subjects as the state, urbanism, culture, society, sociology, social planning, personality, and the specially designated forms of interaction, such as competition, co-operation.

The third group of source materials was a selected list of contemporary textbooks on sociology or closely related subjects. From these texts, annotations were made of the subject matter treated in each chapter, so that the treatment in other texts could be compared with the treatment in the present book. In this way the student has quick reference to evidence, both in support of and different from, that in *Understanding Society*. These texts are utilized also so that there can be placed on reserve what we call "Special Readings," in *The Library and Workshop*. These, of course, are to be supplemented by the "General Readings," from which there may be a wide range to select from.

For the compilation and synthesis of these special works, as well as for many citations that are included in the text, special acknowledgment is made to Melville Corbett Ivey, to whom the author is also deeply indebted for references on the American Indian and work on the general bibliographies. In the original manuscript, a special chapter was devoted to the American Indian, which had to be omitted out

of respect for the book's length. Consequently treatment of Indian culture has been distributed in several chapters in appropriate places. All this work was of such excellence and quantity as to justify further special study and publication.

The source materials for the study of the traditional civilizations were of several sorts, in addition to the bibliographies listed. In particular, in the search for uniformities in the "decay" of the classical civilizations, secondary sources were abundant. Of the later books, and in the last chapters of this text, special references are to such books as, Ralph Turner's *The Great Traditional Cultures;* Arnold J. Toynbee's *A Study of History*, with special reference to D. C. Somervell's one volume abridgment published in 1947; and of course Spengler's *Decline of the West.* But more comprehensively, the author is indebted to Margaret Edwards for several hundred pages of abstracts, quotations and digests, chiefly from the following sources: George Willis Botsford, *A History of the Ancient World;* James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Times: A History of the Early World* and *Records of Ancient Egypt;* Wallace Everett Caldwell, *The Ancient World;* Ernest Curtius, *The History of Greece;* L. Delaporte, *Mesopotamia: The Babylonian and Assyrian Civilization;* Adolf Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt;* Arthur Gilman, *Rome, from the Earliest Times to the End of the Republic;* Gustave Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization;* George Grote, *History of Greece;* H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East;* Charles Henry Hawes, *Grete: The Forerunner of Greece;* D. C. Hogarth, *The Ancient East;* Clement Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization;* A. Jarde, *The Formation of the Greek People;* Morris Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria;* Robert William Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia.*

For general readings and checking of bibliographies in the last chapters and for annotation of the special texts for new chapters arranged after the first manuscripts, the author is indebted to Anna Greene Smith. For work on the preliminary listing of the texts in the end papers and for the abstracts of *Recent Social Trends*, acknowledgment is made to Roslyn Ribner, and special acknowledgment is made to Edna Cooper for checking these and for typing a large part of the original manuscript; and to Margaret James, Louise Dalton, and Madeline Choplin for typing later chapters.

The source of statistics used for tables and maps giving regional distribution of various phenomena in the United States, except where otherwise specified are from the *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940.* See especially map and chart credits from Rupert B. Vance's *All These People.*

The source of statistics used by Alice Davis and Nadia Danilevsky in the world maps and tables on pages 34, 79, 91, and 720, are from the League of Nations *Statistical Yearbook*, 1930–1940; *Population Index*, American Population Association; *Statistical Activities of American Nations*, 1941; *Economic Almanac*, 1941–1942, National Industrial Conference Board; *International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics*, 1938, 1939; *Foreign Commerce Yearbook*, 1938; *Soviet Geography* by N. Mikhavlov. See also map credits.

The statistics for maps on pages 686 and 688 are from special research by Edith Webb Williams on "Research and Resources" to be published subsequently.

For credits and acknowledgments for photographs, maps, tables, charts, see especially catalogue and credit lines on subsequent pages.

Needless to say it is not possible to make adequate acknowledgment to colleagues and students over the years, because there is no way of measuring such assistance. First would be acknowledgment to the students at the University of North Carolina. But also I have been indebted to many students where I have taught in other regions, particularly at the Universities of Illinois, Southern California, Washington, Utah, Columbia, Yale. If only the author were competent to repay such assistance with an adequate text! But a considerable part of the indebtedness comes from the appreciation of the eagerness, criticism, and patience of students who give promise of developing sociology to its mature stature.

Chief acknowledgment must be made to Katharine Jocher for her consistent and unsparing efforts in the early stages of the preparation of the manuscript. The author is also indebted to other colleagues at the University of North Carolina for valuable suggestions; in particular Jesse F. Steiner and Lee M. Brooks who read many of the chapters as did Rupert B. Vance.

List of Maps and Charts

	Page
Growth of Population in the United States	16
Air Map of the World	20
Members of the United Nations	22–23
The Peoples of the World	34
Eight Divisions of the United States	35
Six-Fold Regional Division of the United States	36
The Youth Picture of the United States	53–54
Soil Erosion in the United States	74
Quality of Land in the United States	74
World Resources	79
World Distribution of Land	91
Industrial Strength of Nations	91
Federal Reserve Regions	111
The United States Census Divisions	111
Flexible Regional Delineations	115
River Valley Regions	115
European and Asiatic Culture Areas, 3000 B.C.	128–129
European and Asiatic Culture Centers, 500 B.C.	128–129
Church Membership in the United States	163
Church Edifices in the United States	163
Size of Farms in the United States	220
Value of Farms in the United States	220
Increase in Professional Persons	256
Women College Students in the United States	256
European and Asiatic Urban Cultures	300–301
The Great Empires, 2nd Century A.D.	300–301
Financial Ability of the States	315
Needs for Federal Funds	315
Trends in Urbanism in the United States	326
Changes in Size of Cities	326
The Great Change: From Rural to Urban — 1880–1940	328–329
Occupations in the United States	343
Gainful Workers, 1820–1940	343
Income from Manufacturing in the United States	347
Value of Minerals in the United States	347
Farms Buying Fertilizers	395
Farms Without Milk Cows	395
People at Work in the United States	411

	Page
Urban and Rural Wage Earners	411
Growth of Airways Employees	413
Regional Distribution of the People	414–415
Farm Income in the United States	439
The Mechanization of Farms	439
Deaths from Homicide in the United States	456
Deaths from Suicide in the United States	456
Unpaid Family Workers in the United States	472
Size of Families in the United States	472
Annual Cost per Enrolled Pupil	489
Average Salary of Teachers	489
Population Change, by Race, Due to Migration	502–503
Change in Colored Population, 1930–1940	502
National Super Highway System	555
Fertility Ratio in the United States	579
Birthrate per 1000 People in the United States	579
Per Capita Income in the United States, 1940	612
Per Capita Wealth in the United States	612
Distribution of Airplane Plants in United States	628
New Army Areas in the United States, 1946	632
Chronological Expansion of the United States	632
Regional Distribution of Ph.D. Degrees: Biology	686
Regional Distribution of Ph.D. Degrees: Chemistry	686
Distribution of Ph.D. Degrees: Social Sciences	688
Distribution of Ph.D. Degrees: Physical Sciences	688
Regions of the American Indians	711
Standard of Living by World Regions	712–713

List of Photographs

	Page
Symbol of Leadership	14
First Atomic Experiment	14
Moscow Airport	18
Holy Elephant	18
Statistical Laboratory	38
Making Moving Pictures	38
Game Sanctuary	70
Wild Life Resources	70
Soil Erosion	72
Scenic Resources	76
Nature's Endowment	76
Flying Forts	93
Master Formation of P-38's	93
Grandview, Grand Canyon	113
Down Canyon View, Grand Canyon	113
Students in Lecture Room, Moscow University	132
Students on Campus, Moscow University	132
American Indian, Pupils in School	143
American Indian, Tribal Herd	143
USSR, Crowd Cheering Agricultural Exhibit	147
State Defense Committee, Moscow	147
Skilled Worker in Steel	179
Women Workers in Steel	179
The Normandy Front in World War II	181
General Patton's Army on the Way	181
The Technicways of War	183
Children in War Drill	183
The Chairmaker of the Mountains	200
Workers in the Coal Mines	200
Man and Nature, Work and Play	202
Scenic Mountain Resources	202
Fishing, as Recreation	204
Hunting and Conservation	204
Tobacco Farmers at Work	218
Tobacco Warehouses	218
Rural Landscape and Culture	222
The Old Spinning Wheel	222
Frontier Personality	236

	Page
Social Change and the Railways	238
Social Change and the Airways	238
The Old in Agriculture	240
The New in Agriculture	240
A Governor Dedicates a Consolidated School	254
A Doctor Holds a Clinic	254
The Long Road of Tobacco Marketing	277
Night Work in Tobacco	277
The Nations at San Francisco	275
Only Yesterday: Mussolini at Rome	293
Only Yesterday: Hitler in the Lustgarden	293
Yakima Reclamation Project	297
The Grand Coulee Dam	297
The Conference of Governors	311
Bartlett Dam	311
The State House at Richmond	313
North Carolina's Capitol	313
San Francisco	330
Dallas	330
Iron in Pigs	345
Blast Furnace Plant	345
Oil Train on the Prairie	349
Laying a Cross-Country Oil Pipe Line	349
The Fontana Dam	358
Multiplying Water Resources	358
War and Technology: The "Duck"	360
War and Technology: Making the Amphibians	360
Wings over China	376
In the Substratosphere	376
Technicways of the Atomic Age	378
Task Force of a Great Nation	378
Frontier Farm Folk	393
Children on the Farm	393
The G. I. as America's Best	426
Quantity Production of Guns	454
The Challenge of Reconversion Psychology	454
Planning for the Community	470
County Land Planning	470
On the C. I. O. Picket Line	505
Fighting It Out on the Strike Front	505
The Jet Propelling Shooting Star	525
Parachutes at Work	525
The Makings of a Cigarette	540

	Page
The Inimitable Auction Sale	540
Grand Central Parkway, the New Highways	555
Flood Control Dams	557
Irrigation Aqueducts	557
The All-American Canal	559
A Tennessee River Dam	559
The Huey Long Capitol "Memorial"	575
New Conservation Programs	577
Old Waste Economy	577
A Paper Pulp Mill	592
A Morning Fish Catch	592
Teaching the Arts and Crafts	610
The Snake Doctor's Cabin	610
Super Fort over the World	628
A Grain Elevator in Nebraska	630
A "Syrup Mill" in North Carolina	630
A Sawmill in the South	651
Lumber Resources: Sawing Logs	651
What It Takes to Make an Automobile	653
River Valley Planning	653
Oil Refinery in Texas	684
Oil and Wheat in Kansas	684
Tools of Liberation in War	715
Bigness — The Making of a Gun	715
Theoretical Aspects of Planning	717
New York, Capital of the World	720
Chicago, Central Capital of the United States	720
Cities and Civilization	723

Picture and Map Credits

The credit lines authorized for photographic illustrations in the text are as follows: Acme World Photos, pages 181, 376, 426, 555, 628; Automotive Council for War Production, page 454; Automotive Manufacturers Association, page 653; Council of State Governments, pages 310, 313; Fritz Henle, bottom page 18; Farm Security Administration, pages 70, 200, 218, 240, 264, 277, 393, 470, 540, 577, 630; Grace Lines, page 14; Iron and Steel Institute, pages 179, 345; International News Photo, page 505; North Carolina Department of Conservation, pages 76, 592; Official United States Navy Photographs, pages 376, 378; Press Association, Inc., pages 275, 293; Science Service, page 14; Sovfoto, pages 18, 132, 147; Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, pages 349, 684; Tennessee Valley Authority, pages 317, 338, 358; United States Bureau of Reclamation, page 297; United States Air Forces Photo, pages 93, 378, 525; United States Bureau of Biological Survey, page 70; United States Department of the Interior, pages 113, 202, 557, 559; United States Defense Photos, page 360; United States Indian Service, page 143; Ward Allan Howe, *The New York Times*, page 238; Wide World Photos, Inc., pages 183, 330, 720, 723; Wootten-Moulton, pages 200, 222, 336, 610.

The world maps on pages 34, 91, 711, 712 were adapted by Alice Davis and Nadia Danilevski from "Two Billion People," *Fortune*, February 1944, and redrawn for uniformities in the text.

The world map showing members of the United Nations was adapted from the *The New York Times* map, by permission, and redrawn to include the three new members elected in the Fall of 1946.

The maps showing European and Asiatic cultures, peoples, and activities, with many variations in rural and urban patterns, have been redrawn in black and white and printed by permission of author and publisher, from Ralph Turner's *The Great Cultural Traditions*, published by McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. The maps are printed on pages 128, 129, 300, 391.

Maps showing regional distribution of cultural and economic traits in the United States are adapted and redrawn from Rupert Vance's *All These People*, except on the following pages: 36, 111, 115, 163, 413, 555, 628, 632, 686, 688. These were prepared especially for this text or adapted from *American Regionalism*, except those on pages 686 and 688, which were drawn from data prepared by Edith Webb Williams, to be published later in "Research and Resources."

The map showing regional cultures of the American Indians was redrawn from the map in Edwin Embree's *The Indians of the Americas*, published by Alfred Knopf.

Index

Abel, Theodore, 44, 187.
Abercrombie, Patrick, 654.
Abrams, Charles, 716.
Adamic, Louis, 150.
Adams, Brooks, 44, 205, 237, 299, 716, 720.
Adams, Charles C., 92, 96.
Adams, E. T., 716.
Adams, James Truslow, 110, 299, 633, 716.
Adaptation, 535, 536.
Administrative regionalism, 108.
AFGHANISTAN, 22.
AFRICA, 8, 34, 101, 389.
African Negro, 137. *See* Negro.
Agar, Herbert, 397.
Aikman, Duncan, 615.
Air distances to world cities, 20.
Air map of world, 20.
Airline employees, 413.
ALASKA, 101.
ALBANIA, 18.
Alexander, Franz, 44, 237, 299, 428, 716.
Alihan, M. A., 96.
All world society, 18, 20, 28.
Allee, W. C., 92, 96.
Allport, Floyd, 438, 457.
Amalgamation, 535, 536, 538, 539.
American civilization, 155, 156, 195, 290.
American Council of Learned Societies, 136.
American Council on Education, 52, 674.
American Country Life Association, 135.
American frontier, 106.
American Geographic Society, 96.
American history, 6, 10, 40, 41, 106, 274.
American Indian, 67, 137, 143, 144, 273, 389, 711.
American Journal of Sociology, 35, 391.
American labor chronology, 337–339.
American migration, 502.
American Negro, 148. *See* Negro.
American people, 406, 407, 408, 415; population by regions 1940, 412–413. *See also* People; Population.
American society, 10, 24, 36, 40, 41, 67, 88, 171, 195, 273, 274.
American universities, 480–483.
American Wests, 107.
Ammon, Otto, 694.
Anderson, Elin L., 615.
Anderson, H. Dewey, 348, 716.
Anderson, Nels, 318, 330, 416, 442.
Anderson, Sherwood, 201.
Angell, Robert Cooley, 716.
Anshen, Ruth N., 716.
Anspach, Charles L., 484.
Anthropology, 17, 702, 705.
APPALACHIANS, 6, 102.
Appel, Benjamin, 237, 716.
Applied sociology, 35.
ARGENTINA, 22, 101.
Armstrong, Louise V., 397, 615.
Arnold, Thurmond, 237.
Art, 130.
Artificial, 125, 513, 622.
Arts and crafts, 222, 224.
ASIA, 8, 34, 101, 389.
Asiatic culture, 128, 129, 422.
Assembly, General, U. N., 22.
Assimilation, 535, 536, 539.
Atomic Age, 19, 294, 378.
Atomic bomb experiment, 14.
Atomic energy, 14.
Atwood, Wallace, 112, 117.
AUSTRALIA, 22, 34, 100, 101, 389.
AUSTRIA, 7.
Axiom of societal survival, 272, 324, 511–513.

Babylonian culture, 268.
BACK BAY, 6.
Bagehot, Walter, 720.
Baker, Elizabeth Faulkner, 362.
Baker, O. E., 716.
Balance and equilibrium, 90.
Balanced culture, 621, 622.
Ballard, L. V., 258.
Barnes, Harry Elmer, 71, 473.
Barzun, Jacques, 205, 654, 716.
Bates, Ralph S., 716, 720.
Beach, Walter, 720.
Beals, Carlton, 44, 716.
Bear, Robert M., 484.
Beard, Charles A., 41, 299, 438, 578, 716.

Beard, Mary R., 41, 187, 299, 578, 716.
Becker, Don, 718.
Becker, Howard, 720.
Beers, Clifford, 457.
BELGIUM, 7, 22, 79, 388.
Bell, Clive, 286, 399.
Bell, Howard M., 442.
Benedict, Ruth, 131, 135, 362, 716.
Beneš, Eduard, 580.
Berdyaev, Nicholas, 362.
Berle, Adolf A., 314.
BERLIN, 20.
Berry, John R., 580.
Beveridge, Sir William, 595.
Bews, J. W., 96.
Biology, 17.
Blackmar, F. W., 71, 344.
Blatz, William E., 436.
Boas, Franz, 133, 135, 149, 150, 164, 184, 702.
Bogardus, Emory S., 428, 687, 720.
Bohn, 362.
BOLIVIA, 101.
Bolton, Frederick E., 484.
BOMBAY, 20.
Bond, Beverly W., 633.
Bond, Horace Mann, 490.
Bonnet, Henri, 716.
Booth, Edward T., 716.
Borg, C. O., 633.
Borsodi, Ralph, 716.
Borth, Christy, 367, 595.
BOSTON, 6.
Botsford, George Willis, 727.
BOULDER DAM (Hoover, 1947), 356.
Boutwell, W. D., 716.
Bower, W. C., 473, 490.
Bowman, Isaiah, 96, 117.
Brandeis, Louis D., 527.
Branford, Victor, 135, 633.
BRAZIL, 7, 22, 79.
Breasted, James Henry, 727.
Breckinridge, S. P., 187.
Brickner, Richard N., 716.
Britt, Steuart H., 450, 452, 457.
Brodie, Bernard, 716.
Bromley, Dorothy D., 397.
Brooks, Collin, 299.
Brooks, Lee M., 728.
Brooks, Robert R. R., 348.
Brooks, Van Wyck, 117.
Brown, Earl, 716.
Brown, F. J., 146, 416.
Brown, Harrison, 716.
Brown, S. G., 716.
Brunner, Edmund de S., 165.
Bryan, W. J., 6.
Buck, Pearl S., 716.
Buck, S. J., 224.
Buddhism, 155, 160.
Bunyan, Paul, 192.
Bureau of Intercultural Education, 151.
Burgess, Ernest W., 43, 86, 96, 187, 442, 531, 532, 535.
Burlingame, Roger, 299, 362.
Burtt, E. A., 165.
BYELO-RUSSIA, 22.

CALCUTTA, 20.
Caldwell, Wallace Everett, 727.
CANADA, 7, 22, 24, 101.
CANAL ZONE, 101.
CAPETOWN, 5, 20.
Cargill, Oscar, 299, 617.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 188.
Carpenter, Niles, 318, 330.
Carr, Albert, 44, 314, 617.
Carr-Saunders, A. M., 416.
Casson, Stanley, 716.
Caste, Class and Race, 397; caste in India, 603; the Negro in the U. S., 602; minority groups, 605; in the United States, 605, 606; in California and the South, 607. *See also* Class; Race.
Catholics, 158, 159, 160.
Caucasians, 389. *See* Race.
Census, The, 42. *See* U. S. Census.
CENTRAL AMERICA, 7, 101.
Centralization, 11, 13, 292.
Ceremony, 130.
Chaddock, Robert E., 687.
Chamberlain, James F., 96.
Chapin, F. Stuart, 135, 258.
Chase, Stuart, 44, 80, 362, 527, 654.
Cheyney, Alice S., 473.
CHICAGO, 5, 6.
CHILE, 101.
CHINA, 8, 79, 100, 376.
Chinese, 7, 137, 387.
Choplin, Madeline, 727.
Christianity, 32, 152, 153, 155, 157.
Chronology of organized labor in U. S., 337–339.

Chugerman, Samuel, 73.
Circumstantial pressure, 71.
City, The, 317–330; as civilization, 317; megalopolitan culture, 320; urbanism, 320; as centralization, 320; concentration, 320; industry, 321; problems, 321; city planning, 322; American cities, 324.
Civilization, 10, 11, 12, 21, 262, 263, 264, 281, 302; defined, 283–284; as State society, 262, 282, 283, 287; as urban, 222, 284, 286; as technical, 263, 284, 286; as artificial, 264, 284; the great civilizations, 268; and culture, 281, 285, 286, 697, 698; as European culture, 284; as totalitarianism, 284.
Clarkson, Jesse D., 716.
Class, 392.
Class and caste in American sociology, 609–611; Park and Burgess, 611; Ross, 611; Ogburn and Nimkoff, 611; Cooley, 613; Young, 613.
Class, caste, race, 598–600; sex classes, 601; age groups, 604, 605; minority group, 605, 606; aristocracy of blood, 606–607; intellectual classes, 607; labor classes, 607; military classes, 608. *See also* Caste; Race.
Classical culture, 268, 602.
Clements, F. E., 96.
Clinical work, 27.
Coal mines, 200.
Cobb, John C., 687.
Cochran, Thomas C., 716.
Coghill, Oscar, 290.
Cole, G. D. H., 654.
Cole, W. E., 654.
Collective bargaining, 194.
Collins, Henry Hill, 716.
COLOMBIA, 22, 79.
Commons, John R., 437.
Communication, 536.
Community Chest, 466.
Competition, 199, 534–538.
Comte, Auguste, 180.
Conditioning, 13.
Conflict, 9, 534, 539.
Confucianism, 155, 160, 706.
Consciousness of kind, 691.
Cooke, G. W., 165.
Cooley, C. H., 35, 255, 344, 426, 427, 428, 542, 613, 699, 720, 726.
Coon, Carleton S., 140, 150.
Cooper, Edna, 727.
Co-operative research, 681, 682.
Corbett, P. E., 44, 718.
COSTA RICA, 22.
Cowdry, E. V., 397.
Coyle, Grace, 542.
Crampton, H. E., 73.
Crawford, M. P. C., 135.
Crosser, Paul K., 718.
Crowe, H. P., 654.
CUBA, 22.
Culture, 10, 11, 13, 21, 121–136; meanings, 122–126, 285, 286; elements of, 130, 167, 168; culture area, 125, 126; culture areas of North America, 135; cultural lag, 131; culture and personality, 122; as measure of society, 122; and civilization, 123, 127, 285; as high achievement, 123; and institutions, 124, 214; as individual attainment, 124; as heritage, 124; as tool for study, 125; and regions, 126; traits, 124–126, 285, 286.
Curtius, Ernest, 727.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 8, 22.

Dahlberg, Gunnar, 718.
Dalton, Charles, 193, 701, 702.
Dalton, Louise, 727
Darwin, Charles, 193, 701, 702.
Darwinism, 158.
Dashiell, J. F., 449, 457.
Daugherty, C. R., 348.
Davidson, Donald, 117, 633.
Davie, Maurice R., 187, 718.
Davis, Alice, 237, 379, 380, 527.
Davis, Darell H., 44, 75, 718.
Davis, Jerome, 71.
Davis, Katherine B., 187.
Davis, Maxine, 206.
Day, Clive, 718.
DAYTON, 6.
Decay of civilization, 269–271; decay of the folk, 271; external conquest, 271; internal weakness, 272; heterogeneity of cultures, 270; civil war, 270; exploitation, 270; artificial demands, 272.
de Koven, Anna, 239, 718.
de Kruif, 397, 718.
Delaporte, L., 727.
DENMARK, 7, 22, 388.

Democracy, 247–249; definitions, 26, 33, 35, 69, 90, 110, 127, 145, 146, 160, 178, 283, 293, 501; as a societal order, 364; democracy and equality, 563–583; institutions of, 565; and the family, 566; and education, 568; American democracy, 568; institutional democracy, 571–573.
Deuel, Wallace R., 718.
Deutsch, Albert, 442.
Deutsch, Babette, 718.
Dewey, John, 238, 484.
Diet, 130.
Dixon, Roland B., 135.
Dollard, John, 276, 615.
Doman, Nicholas, 314, 718.
Domination, 635.
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, 22.
Doreman, Joseph, 718.
Dorsey, George A., 286.
Douglas, H. Paul, 165, 595.
Dow, Grove S., 504, 508.
Downes, J. E., 719.
Drake, St. Clair, 716.
Dress, 130.
Drinkwater, John, 299.
Dublin, Louis I., 397.
Dunn, Marshall, 718.
Durkheim, Emile, 165, 687, 694.
Dust Bowl, 75, 86.
Dynamic sociology, 15, 17, 19.

East, E. M., 422.
East, the world culture, 161, 162.
Ecology, 15, 69, 82–91.
Economic adjustment and security, 581–595; economic control, 581, 582; in labor, 581; economic foundations, 582; in the depression years, 582, 587; economic liberalism, 584; economics and government, 586; social planning, 586; economic problems, 587; distribution of wealth, 588.
Economics, 17.
ECUADOR, 22, 101.
Education and social development, 475–490; as the epitome of man's experience, 476; as the history of culture, 477; and support by the people, 477; complexity of, 478; educational sociology, 478, 484; in American society, 479; from private to public education, 480; universities, 480; books on, 484.
Edwards, Margaret, 727.
EGYPT, 22, 127.
Elements of culture, 130.
Ellis, Havelock, 187.
Ellwood, Charles A., 33, 35, 43, 687, 720.
Elmer, M. C., 687.
EL SALVADOR, 22.
Elton, Charles S., 82, 83.
Ely, Richard J., 362.
Embree, Edwin R., 150, 428.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 702.
Empires, classical, 300, 301.
Epstein, Abraham, 595.
Erman, Adolph, 727.
ESTONIA, 8.
Ethnic groups, 140, 148, 389, 392. *See* Race; Folk.
Ethnic groups in U. S., 407, 408; from northern Europe, 408; Southeastern Europe, 408–409; Asia, 408; Slavic, 408; East Europe, 408; Middle or Far East, 408; Jewish Americans, 408–409.
Eubank, Earle E., 720.
Eugenics, 394.
EUROPE, 34, 101, 106, 388, 389.
European culture, 7, 106, 127, 128, 129, 282, 290, 295, 300–301.
European migration, 194.

Fabricant, Solomon, 348.
Fairchild, Henry P., 397, 416.
Fairgrieve, James, 718.
Family, The, 246–247.
Faris, Ellsworth, 80, 442, 457.
Far West, U. S., 37.
Federal Aid, 315.
Federal Constitution, 157, 158.
Ferrero, Guglielmo, 187.
Fichte, J. G., 694.
Film Strips, 57.
FINLAND, 8.
Finney, Ross L., 484.
Finot, Jean, 150.
Fishing, 204.
Fiske, John, 383.
Fleure, H. J., 96.
FLORIDA, 96.
Folk, 12, 13, 260; as race, 137, 138, 141; as culture, 207; folk art, 207–212; and nature, 209; in rural America, 210; nature of the folk, 261, 384, 385, 706, 707; decay, 271.

Folk culture, 11, 13, 130–260, 278, 707, 708; nature of, 260; and historical civilizations, 268, 288; cycles of culture, 268; and civilization, 269.
Folk music, 209; in rural America, 210; of the western United States, 210; of the southern United States, 211; fiddling, 211.
Folk regional society, 13, 99.
Folk society, 6, 7, 11, 13, 130, 133, 260–278; nature of, 260; as natural, 261; and civilization, 262; decline, 269; in the United States, 272–273; in contrast to state society, 282.
Folk sociology, 267.
Folkways, 11, 15, 39, 91, 235–240; Sumner's folkways, 225; nature of, 225; Giddings' classification, 226; hierarchy of processes, 227; in American society, 231; in Hitler's Germany, 232–234; defeat the stateways, 234.
Folsom, Joseph K., 135, 654.
Ford, Guy Stanton, 44, 428.
Ford, James, 448, 504.
Foreign born in U. S., 389–390.
Foreign Policy Association, 42.
Forrestal, James V., 49.
Fouillee, Alfred, 694.
Fourier, François, 340.
Fox, Dixon Ryan, 42, 633.
FRANCE, 8, 22.
Franklin, Benjamin, 196.
Frazier, E. Franklin, 473.
Freeman, Otis W., 78.
Freud, Sigmund, 44, 187, 276, 438.
Frontier, 6, 699, 700.
Fry, C. Luther, 687.
Furnas, C. C., 362.

Gabriel, Ralph H., 158, 580.
Galloway, George B., 314, 562, 718.
Gallup, G. H., 580.
Galpin, C. J., 508.
Gamow, George, 718.
Garth, T. R., 150.
Geddes, Patrick, 135, 627; Place-Work-Folk, 680.
Gelber, Lionel, 718.
Gentile, 9.
Geography, 15, 83; geographic factors, 86, 87; geographers, 628, 629.
Geopolitics, 618, 627.
George, Henry, 702.
GERMANY, 8, 79, 140, 232, 272.
Gerth, H. H., 720, 721.
Gessell, Arnold, 258.
Gestalt, 33.
Giddings, Franklin H., 35, 43, 71, 80, 186, 227, 298, 344, 447, 448, 486, 613, 687, 706, 725–726.
Gilfillan, S. C., 362, 707.
Gillette, John M., 718.
Gillin, John L., 43, 73, 344.
Gillin, John P., 43, 73, 344.
Gilman, Arthur, 727.
Ginsberg, 33.
Ginzberg, Eli, 595.
Gist, Noel P., 318, 330.
Global society, 5, 6, 17.
Glotz, Gustave, 727.
GOLD COAST, 79.
Goldenweiser, Alexander, 687.
Gooch, R. K., 117.
Goodrich, Carter, 416.
Goslin, Phyllis, 428.
Gosney, E. S., 397.
Government research, 668–670; food and health, 668; agriculture, 668; Library of Congress, 669; states and municipalities, 670–671.
Graham, E. H., 654.
Grand Coulee dam, 104, 356.
Graphic presentation, 50.
GREAT LAKES, U. S., 6, 102.
GREECE, 8, 22, 338.
Greek culture, 127, 155, 156, 268, 477, 602.
GREENLAND, 101.
Gregory, Cecil L., 416.
Grote, George, 727.
Groves, E. R., 43, 75, 94, 114, 133, 149, 164, 203, 219, 239, 257, 276, 298, 310, 327, 344, 359, 396, 412, 427, 440, 455, 471, 486, 526, 560, 568, 593, 631, 652, 686, 702, 718.
Grzesinski, Albert C., 44.
GUATEMALA, 22.
Gumplowicz, Ludwig, 187, 691, 706.
Gustafson, A. K., 654, 718.

Hacker, Louis M., 508.
Hackett, John A., 508.
Hagood, Margaret J., 687.
HAITI, 22.
Halbert, S. A., 318, 330.

Haldane, J. B. S., 442.
Hall, Daniel, 362.
Hall, G. Stanley, 448.
Hall, H. R., 727.
Halle, Fannina, 187.
Hamilton, Alice, 40.
Handicrafts, 200.
Hankins, Frank H., 71.
Haring, Douglas G., 542.
Harris, Herbert, 206, 348.
Harrison, Shelby, 40.
Hart, Hornell, 71, 359, 654.
Harvard University, 6.
Hausleiter, Leo, 362.
Hawley, G. G., 718.
Haydon, A. Eustace, 160.
Hayes, E. C., 35.
Hazard, Lucy L., 718.
Hegel, Curt, 694.
Heiden, Konrad, 44, 428.
Hemleben, S. J., 718.
Henderson, Fred, 348.
Herring, Harriet L., 348, 654.
Herskovits, Melville, 150.
Hertzler, J. O., 118, 654, 720.
Hinduism, 155.
Hirshman, C. F., 721.
Historic cultures, 32.
History, 17.
Hitler, Adolf, 44, 187, 228, 239, 718; Hitler's Germany, 229, 230–236; folkways of, 233–234.
Hobbes, Thomas, 694.
Hobhouse, L. T., 165, 206.
Hogarth, D. C., 727.
Holy elephant, 18.
HONDURAS, 22, 101.
HONGKONG, 20.
HONOLULU, 20.
Hook, Sidney, 428.
Hoover, Calvin B., 580.
Hoover, Herbert, 40, 718.
Hopkins, E. W., 165.
House, Floyd, 720.
Howes, Charles Henry, 727.
Huart, Clement, 727.
Hubbard, George D., 96.
Hudson, Jay W., 580.
Hughes, E. J., 768.
Hulbert, A. B., 117.
Human resources, 61–63.
HUNGARY, 8.
Hunt, J. McK., 442.
Hunting, 204.
Huntington, E. C., 96.
Huxley, Julian, 49, 718.

ICELAND, 22.
Idea forces, 691.
Illustrations, 61. *See Library and Workshop.*
Imitation, 536.
INDIA, 8, 23, 79, 100, 143, 159, 327, 387.
Individual, 12, 32; individualization, 12, 504; balance between society, 90; and socialization, 504; individual differences, 12; the individual and society, 418–438; and the common man, 419; differences, 420, 421; and leaders, 420; American individualism, 423; in the army, 426; and personality, 430–443; and psychology, 444–458.
INDO-CHINA, 100.
Industrial research, 675–676.
Industrial revolution, 334–336.
Industrial strength, 34–91.
Industrialization, 11, 13, 283, 292, 364.
Industry, 332–346; and technology, 332; complexity, 333; money as credit, 333; organized labor, 334, 387; factory system, 336; chronology, 337–339; co-operatives, 340.
Intellectualism, 11, 13, 283, 292, 364.
International Labor Organization, 206.
Institute for Research in Social Science, 51.
Institute of Ethnic Affairs, 136.
Institute of Human Relations, 131, 198, 705.
Institutional resources, 61–64.
Institutions, 241–259; as measure of culture, 241; sixfold classification, 242; Panunzio's traits, 242; and nature, 244; as buffer between the individual and change, 244; of democracy, 245; the family, 246; and civilization, 248; and totalitarianism, 250; in American life, 251–252.
Intellectualism, 130, 281, 282, 364.
Inter-American Statistical Institute, 75.
Interests, 691.
Invention, 37, 39.
IRAN, 22.
IRAQ, 22.
IRELAND, 8.
Isolation, 536.
ISTANBUL, 20.

ITALY, 7, 8, 79, 159.
Ivey, John E., Jr., 80, 490, 687.
Ivey, Melville Corbett, 723, 726–727.

James, Harlean, 655.
James, Margaret, 727.
James, Preston E., 44, 718.
James, William, 201, 702.
Janowski, Oscar I., 615.
JAPAN, 8, 79, 100, 159, 352, 387, 389.
Japanese, 7, 137, 140, 387.
Jastrow, Morris, 727.
Jefferson, Thomas, 324, 702.
Jennings, H. S., 443.
Jewett, Frank B., 49.
Jewish Americans, 408–409.
Jewish culture, 5, 7, 9, 30, 136, 144, 160.
Jocher, Katharine, 680, 687, 719, 728.
Johnson, Alvin, 44.
Johnson, Charles S., 150, 718.
Johnson, Eric, 655.
Johnson, Gerald W., 80, 428, 718.
Judaism, 155, 160.
Judd, Charles H., 258, 490.
JUNEAU, 20.
Jurisprudence, 17.

Kahler, Alfred, 187.
Kant, Immanuel, 694.
Kantor, J. R., 438, 442, 449.
Kardiner, Abram, 718.
Keesing, Felix M., 718.
Kellett, E. E., 428.
Kelsen, Hans, 73, 80, 718.
Kelso, Robert W., 473.
Kemler, Edgar, 718.
Keppel, F. P., 206.
Key, V. O., Jr., 718.
Kirkpatrick, Clifford, 44, 165, 184, 187.
Kiser, Clyde, 330.
Kizer, B. H., 117.
Klineberg, Otto, 438, 443, 458.
Klingberg, Frank J., 718.
Kohler, Wolfgang, 276, 720.
Kolb, J. H., 219.
Kolnai, Aurel, 44.
Kroeber, A. L., 73, 100, 702, 720.
Kropotkin, Peter, 206, 720.
Krueger, E. T., 451, 455.

Labor Movement, 194. *See also* American Labor; Industry.
Labor, S. H., 348.
La Farge, Oliver, 718.
Lamont, Corliss, 718.
Land resources, 74, 91.
Landauer, Carl, 655.
Landis, Paul H., 219, 416.
Landon, Charles E., 96.
Landtman, Gunnar, 73, 80, 398, 615.
Laski, Harold J., 718.
Laswell, Harold, 187.
Latin America, 388, 405, 406; Latin American Republic, 24, 102.
Lawrence, Frank K., 530.
Laws of imitation, 691.
Lazarsfeld, Paul F., 595.
Leaders, 420, 429. *See also* The Individual.
LEBANON, 23.
Leighton, Joseph A., 500, 580.
Leiserson, William, 206.
Le Play, Frederic, 680.
Leuba, J. H., 166.
Lewis, Homer M., 330.
Leyburn, J. G., 117, 135, 278.
Liberalism in American democracy, 573; economic liberalism, 584; political liberalism, 584–585, 622; intellectual liberalism, 622.
LIBERIA, 22.
Library and Workshop, 13, 25, 27, 28, 38, 44, 45, 127. *See also* last pages of each chapter.
Lichtenberger, J. P., 720.
Lief, Alfred, 718.
Lilienthal, David E., 78, 117, 718.
Lindeman, E. C., 318, 330, 333.
Link, Henry C., 527.
Linton, Ralph, 73, 77, 114, 133, 135, 149, 150, 164, 185, 203, 219, 237, 257, 276, 298, 312, 327, 344, 359, 377, 412, 427, 441, 455, 486, 506, 526, 542, 568, 576, 593, 614, 631, 652, 687, 702.
Lippert, Julius, 135.
LITHUANIA, 8.
Lively, C. E., 416.
Locke, Alain, 615, 719.
Locke, John, 701, 703.
Lombroso, Gina, 206, 239, 655.
LONDON, 5, 20.
Lord, Russell, 80, 633, 719.
Lorimer, Frank, 398, 719.
Lorwin, Lewis, 562, 595, 655.
LOS ANGELES, 5, 6, 7.

Lotka, A. J., 397.
Lowenstein, Karl, 719.
Lowie, Robert H., 79, 94, 134, 149, 163, 185, 219, 298, 344.
Ludwig, Emil, 192.
Lumley, F. E., 43, 344.
Lundberg, Ferdinand, 428.
Lundberg, George, A., 43, 77, 94, 116, 164, 185, 203, 219, 221, 237, 257, 310, 344, 359, 687, 719.
Lunden, Walter A., 490.
LUXEMBOURG, 22.
Luzzatti, Luigi, 160.
Lynd, Helen, 542.
Lynd, Robert S., 542.

MacCurdy, John T., 187.
Machiavelli, 8.
Machine, the, unchained, 362; mechanized agriculture, 240.
MacIver, R. M., 33, 43, 719.
MAINE, 6.
MALAYSIA, 100.
Malinowski, Bronislaw, 187.
Malthus, Thomas Robert, 702.
Man-Land Ratio, 75.
Man-Woman Ratio, 169.
Mangus, A. R., 221, 633.
MANILA, 20.
Mannheim, Karl, 278, 719, 720.
Maps, 20, 22, 23, 34, 36. *See* list, page 728.
Marett, R. R., 166.
Marginal Survival, 272, 511–514.
Martin, Howard W., 78, 117.
Marx, Karl, 193, 701, 702.
Masters, Dexter, 719.
Maurois, André, 719.
May, Mark A., 542.
McAdie, A. G., 80.
McCormick, Thomas C. T., 44.
McDougall, William, 239, 359.
McIlwain, Charles H., 314.
McKenzie, R. D., 86, 96, 318, 330.
McWilliams, Carey, 278, 615.
Mead, George H., 428.
Mead, Margaret, 187.
Meade, James Edward, 595.
Means, Gardiner C., 314.
Mechanization of agriculture, 220, 240, 441.
MEDITERRANEAN, 34.
Megalopolitan culture, 697.
Meiklejohn, Alexander, 110, 117.
MELANESIA, 100.
MELBOURNE, 20.
Merriam, C. E., 40, 580.
Merton, Robert K., 49.
Metropolitan regions, 106.
MEXICO, 6, 7, 20, 23
Mezerick, K. E., 719.
MICRONESIA, 100.
MIDDLE STATES, U. S., 6, 37, 102.
MIDDLETON, 6.
Migration in the U. S., 1930–1940, 502.
Mikhaylov, Nicholai N., 44.
Mill, John, 719.
Miller, Herbert A., 150.
Miller, William, 716.
Mills, C. Wright, 720, 721.
Mills, John Stuart, 701.
Minority peoples, 146, 605, 606. *See also* Race; Problems of Peoples and Regions.
Missouri Valley Authority, 81.
Mitchell, Wesley C., 40, 437.
Mohammedanism, 155, 160.
Money and capital resources, 61–63.
MONGOLIA, 100.
Moore, Harry Estill, 43, 44, 75, 94, 112, 117, 134, 298, 359, 396, 427, 486, 526, 542, 560, 576, 593, 614, 631, 652, 686.
Moore, Jane, 330.
Moore, Wilbert E., 348.
Morale, 32, 33.
Mores, 15, 228, 240, 363; stabilized in institutions, 362; and stateways, 366.
Morgan, Lewis Henry, 702.
Mormon Settlers, 89, 157, 160.
MOSCOW, 18, 20; University, 132.
Moving pictures, 51.
Mowrer, Edgar A., 44.
Mukerjee, Radhakamal, 80, 85, 96, 117, 633.
Mumford, Lewis, 43, 44, 77, 94, 116, 117, 134, 164, 185, 186, 203, 221, 257, 276, 298, 310, 327, 344, 361, 377, 396, 412, 427, 441, 457, 471, 486, 507, 526, 542, 560, 576, 593, 614, 631, 652, 687, 720.
Muntz, Earle, 150, 318, 330.
Murphy, Gardner, 458.
Myers, James, 206.
Myrdal, Gunnar, 146, 580, 615, 719.

N. A. A. C. P., 135.
Nash, Arnold S., 719.
National Conference of Christians and Jews, 136.

National Geographic Society, 96.
National Research Council, 49.
National Resources Committee, 80, 330.
National Resources Planning Board, 115, 651, 652, 674.
Natural, 69, 264, 265; natural rights, 73, 266, 306; natural law, 266.
Nature and her resources, 10, 11, 13, 57–72; of five sorts, 57, 58; elements of life, 58; human nature, 58; as natural science, 59; power of, 59; natural resources, 61, 62.
Nature gods, roll of, 154–155.
Nazi, 7, 140.
Nef, John U., 290.
Negro, 6, 14, 130, 142, 144, 146, 309, 380; Negro culture, 130, 138–139. *See also* Race, Africa, American Negro.
NETHERLANDS, 23, 388.
NEVADA, 6.
New England, 6, 7, 157.
New England Council, 117.
NEW HAMPSHIRE, 6.
NEW MEXICO, 14.
NEW ORLEANS, 6.
NEW YORK CITY, 5, 722.
NEW ZEALAND, 101.
Newman, H. H., 73.
NICARAGUA, 22.
Nienstaedt, L. R., 595.
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 703.
Nimkoff, Meyer F., 43, 135, 150, 165, 204, 221, 257, 276, 299, 312, 346, 361, 379, 397, 428, 442, 471, 488, 507.
NORMANDY, 181.
North, The, 9, 144.
NORTH AMERICA, 7, 34, 100, 101, 102, 125, 389.
North, C. C., 504, 508.
Northeast, U. S., 37, 101, 104.
Northrop, F. S. C., 719, 720.
Northwest, 6, 11, 100, 104.
Northwestern Planning Board, 117.
Norton, Henry N., 187.
NORWAY, 3, 23, 388.

OCEANIA, 101, 118.
Odum, Howard W., 40, 43, 77, 78, 80, 95, 116, 117, 134, 149, 151, 164, 186, 203, 221, 257, 298, 312, 346, 361, 373, 397, 412, 413, 427, 471, 594, 614, 633, 654, 719.
Ogburn, W. F., 40, 43, 44, 78, 95, 116, 134, 135, 150, 165, 186, 204, 221, 257, 276, 278, 299, 312, 346, 361, 362, 379, 397, 416, 428, 442, 471, 488, 507, 578, 594, 614, 631, 654, 687, 719.
OHIO, 6.
Ohio River Valley, 105.
Oldham, J. H., 160.
Old South, 130, 284.
One World, 28, 44, 161, 407.
Opportunity, 42.
OREGON, 6.
Organic, 69, 648.
Organized labor, 196.
Orient, 142, 389.
Oriental Society, 7, 8.
Osborn, Frederick, 443.
OSLO, 20.
Ottley, Roy, 278.
Overstreet, H. A., 362.
Owen, Robert, 340.

Pacific Northwest, 104.
Paine, Thomas, 702.
PALESTINE, 7, 622.
PALM BEACH, 6.
Pan American Airways, 49.
Panunzio, Constantine, 43, 78, 95, 134, 135, 150, 164, 186, 205, 221, 237, 257, 298, 310, 346, 361, 397, 416, 428, 442, 457, 471, 488, 527, 542, 561, 578, 594, 615, 633, 654.
PARAGUAY, 22.
Pareto, Vilfredo, 692, 720.
Park, R. E., 43, 531, 532, 535.
Parrington, Vernon L., 40, 700, 701, 720.
Pasteur, Louis, 193.
Patterson, S. H., 348.
Payne, George E., 484.
Pearl, Raymond, 398, 443.
Pearse, A. S., 96.
Pearson, Karl, 687.
PEIPING, 20.
People, the new vitality of, 383–399; creators of society, 383; the folk basis, 384; and war, 385; levels of study, 385; in world society, 386; of China, 386; the Japanese, 387; of India, 387; of Russia, 387; of Africa, 388; of Latin America, 388; of Europe, 388; of continents, 389; and religion, 390; distribution, 390; migration, 400; too many people? 404. *See also* Caste; Class; Race.

Peoples and classes, 596–616; problems of race, 596, 597; a world of differentials, 597; class, caste, race, 598–600; social classes, 599; occupational classes, 599; ruling classes, 599; natural classes, 601; slavery, 601, 602; in classical cultures, 602. *See also* Caste; Race.
Personality and individual differences, 430–443; areas of study, 431; universality of differentiation, 432; organic differences, 433; sex differences, 433; age differences, 433; race and nationality, 434; hazards and accidents, 435; explanation of differences, 440.
PERU, 22.
Peters, Charles C., 484.
Peterson, Elmer, 719.
Phelps, H. A., 508.
PHILIPPINES, 22.
Pitkin, Walter B., 428.
Play, 130, 197–207; and culture, 197; art and recreation, 197; in industry, 198.
POLAND, 8, 22.
Political Science, 17.
POLYNESIA, 100.
Pomfret, John E., 96.
Popenoe, Paul, 397.
Population, 383–399; growth of, 16; density, 34; world, 34; defined, 392; caste, 392; class, 392; minority group, 392; nationality, 392; policy, 392; growth and distribution, 399–417; theories of, 400–401; children, 402; increase, 402–403; regional balance, 404; migration, 406; of the United States, 399–410, 413–414; estimates, 409.
Population Association of America, 394.
Population studies, 392; ways of studying population, 403; the need for study, 404; too many people? 404; population estimates, 409–410.
PORTLAND, 6.
PORTUGAL, 8.
Portuguese, 7.
Pound, Roscoe, 314.
Power, 11, 13, 292, 537.
Primary occupations, 199, 204, 214.
Primary to secondary occupations in U. S., 347.
Princeton University, 480.
Problems of survival and progress, 493–508; of technological civilization, 510–528; of social process and interaction, 529–543; of social organization and control, 544–560; of democracy and equality, 563–583; of economic adjustment, 581–595; of people and classes, 596–616; of peoples and regions, 617–635; of social progress and planning, 635–658.
Process, 71. *See* Social Process.
Progress defined by sociologists: Ward, Spencer, Comte, Kidd, Kropotkin, Condorcet, 655, 656.
Progress, tragedies of, 519–520. *See also* Dilemmas of Technological Civilization.
Protestants, 159, 160.
Pruitt, Lorine, 187.
Psychology and social psychology, 444–458; the field, 446; and the behaving individual, 445; studying the individual, 446–447; and human nature, 447; the deviate from type, 448; child psychology, 448; special field, 448; basic studies, 448.
Public Administration Clearing House, 316, 464.
Public Affairs Committee, 42.
Public welfare, 464–465; governmental services, 464; and social work, 464, 469; social welfare, 465.
Puritan, 157.

Queen, Stuart A., 330.
Questions and answers, 3, 4, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32; questions, in general perspective, of time, of place, of problems, of values, 28, 29.

Race, 130, 137–151; meaning, 139–141; and culture, 137; and folk, 137, 138, 141; as cultural conditioning, 138; differentials, 138, 139; and German folk, 140; and ethnic groups, 141; and the individual, 142; and problems, 142. *See also* Caste; Class.
Race, Caste, Class, 598–600; race struggle, 604; caste in India, 603; caste in the United States, 603; minority groups, 605, 606.
Radin, Paul, 151, 166.
Rajchman, Marthe, 44.
Raper, Arthur, 615.
Rapport, W. E., 580.
Rassenkampf, der, 691, 706.

Ratzenhofer, Gustav, 706.
Recent Social Trends, 40, 41, 78, 95, 116, 135, 150, 164, 187, 205, 257, 330, 346, 361, 397, 416, 457, 473, 488, 527, 561, 578, 594, 614, 631, 654.
Red Man, 144.
Redfield, Robert, 133, 135, 278, 702, 720.
Regional balance, 6, 79, 85, 90, 91; of man and culture, 620–625; balanced economy, 621; integration of culture, 622; balanced culture, 627.
Regional loyalties, 108.
Regional planning, 60, 79, 85, 90, 622, 625.
Regional planning charts, 656, 657, 658.
Regionalism, 15, 35, 37, 98–115; regions and people, 617–635; as goal for decentralization, 623; and planning, 623, 624; and world society, 624–625; and American government, 625–626; as goal for planning, 628–629; as method of study, 629–630.
Regionalism and world order, 48, 49, 624, 625.
Regions, 35, 36; world regions, 99; Pacific regions, 100; American regions, 100–124; metropolitan regions, 106; in American history, 106; administrative regions of the United States, 111; of American Indians, 126; cultural regions, 187; of Europe, 622, 623.
Regions and peoples, 617–635; regionalism and economic problems, 617, 618; regions, peoples and classes, 618–619; and democracy, 619.
Reid, Ira de A., 615.
Reinhardt, James M., 438, 455, 457, 458, 718.
Reiser, Oliver L., 290, 719.
Religion, 130, 152–166; and nature, 153; nature gods, 153, 154; world religions, 155; and cultures, 155; and civilization, 156; and the individual, 156; and American culture, 157; in American institutions, 158; world religions, 160; organizations in the United States, 163.
Renner, George, 44, 92, 96, 719.
RENO, NEVADA, 6.
Research, 12, 17, 26, 34, 44, 45, 81.
Research and society, 661–689; bridge between theory and problems, 662; social research defined, 662, 663; social study, 663; sociology and research, 664; levels of research, 666–670; research foundations, 670.
Research Committee on Social Trends, 40. *See* "Special Readings" in each chapter.
Research levels, 664–675; government research, 665–672; university research, 672–674; industrial research, 674–675; and regional imbalance, 688.
Research training, 675–680; minimum requirements, 675; scientific methods, 678; case method, 679; survey method, 679; historical method, 679, 680; regional laboratory, 680.
Resources, 60, 61; five types, 61, 62; use, 64, 65; American endowment, 66; and American Indian, 68.
Reuter, Edwin B., 151, 398.
Ribner, Roslyn, 727.
Richardson, R. N., 117.
Riggs, Arthur, 135, 655.
River valley regions, 104, 105, 115.
Rivers, W. H. R., 166.
Rivers of America, 105.
Rochdale, 340.
ROCKY MOUNTAINS, 102.
Rogers, Agnes, 719.
Rogers, Robert William, 727.
Roman culture, 127, 153, 156, 268, 477, 602.
Rosen, S. M., 362.
Ross, E. A., 35, 43, 182, 451, 453.
Ross, Nancy W., 719.
Roucek, Joseph S., 416.
ROUMANIA, 8.
Rourke, Constance, 719.
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 71, 703.
Rural life, 130, 212–225; primary occupation, 214; effect on the individual, 214; problems, 215.
Russell, Bertrand, 44, 490, 719.
RUSSIA, 8, 79, 159, 387.

Saarinen, Eliel, 330, 719.
ST. CHARLES AVENUE, NEW ORLEANS, 6.
SAN FRANCISCO, 5, 7.
Sandburg, Carl, 22.
Sanderson, Dwight, 224.
Sargent, Porter, 719.
Saturday Review of Literature, 357.
SAUDI ARABIA, 22.
Sauer, Carl O., 96, 100.
SCANDINAVIA, 5.
Scenic beauty, 76.

Schäffle, Albert, 694.
Schanck, Richard, 438.
Scheinfeld, Amram, 73, 80, 443.
Schlesinger, Arthur M., 41, 42, 701.
Schmalhausen, Samuel D., 359.
Schreiner, Olive, 187.
Schrieke, B., 278.
Science, 4, 15, 17, 19, 37, 39; and social science, 17, 19; science and invention, 350–362; defined, 350; characterized, 351; and nature, 352; and race, 352; and religion, 353; and the family, 353; and war, 353; and industry, 354; and urbanism, 354; and education, 354; and government, 355; and technology, 355; field of study, 365.
Science and technology, 350–362; defined, 350–351; implication of technology, 351.
Sectionalism, 700.
Security Council, U. N., 22.
Segregation, 535, 536.
Semple, Ellen C., 634.
Sensate culture, 368, 699.
Sex, 130, 169–172; and nature, 169; and society, 169, 170; and change, 170; and problems, 170; and institutions, 170; and the individual, 171.
SHANGHAI, 4, 20.
Shelter, 130.
Shepherd, Walter, 362, 719.
Shotwell, James T., 166.
SIBERIA, 100.
Simmel, Georg, 694.
SINGAPORE, 20.
Skinner, Constance Lindsay, 105, 108, 634.
Small, A. W., 35, 43, 297, 310, 706, 726.
Smith, Anna Greene, 727.
Smith, J. V., 580.
Smith, J. Russell, 80, 117, 634.
Smith, T. Lynn, 223.
Smith, Walter R., 484.
Social change, 12, 225, 238, 240; social theory, 12, 706; and social research, 12, 27; and social processes, 12, 28, 46, 47, 71; tempo of modern, 532; approaches to study of, 533; technicways, 533; technological order, 533.
Social Forces, 42, 49, 110, 114, 117, 118, 379, 452, 527.
Social institutions, 459, 474; and the individual, 459; social agencies, 460; meet needs of individual, 462; meet needs of agencies, 462; government, 462; institutions need help, 463; functions, 464; labor, 463, 464.
Social justice, 620–621.
Social laboratory, 24, 27, 38, 46, 47, 48.
Social organization, 12, 28, 45; as social control, 12, 544–560; as social action, 12, 28, 45; product of social process, 544; and civilization, 545; and democracy, 545–546; in American society, 549; in religion, 550; in labor, 550; in education, 552; learned societies, 552; in textbooks, 554–560; Sumner and Keller, 554; Blackmar and Gillin, 554; Lumley, 554; Kimball Young, 554; Cooley, 556; Ogburn and Nimkoff, 556; Wright and Elmer, 556; Davis, Barnes, *et al.*, 558; Park and Burgess, 558; Ross, 558; Giddings, 558; Carr, 558, 560; Dawson and Gettys, 560; catalogue, 206.
Social planning, 90; and social progress, 635–638; assumptions of planning, 637; as social theory, 637; resources and regions, 638; sees society as a whole, 639; three levels of planning, 640, 641; planning as academic, 642; functional planning, 642, 643; physical planning, 643, 644; economic planning, 644; cultural planning, 645.
Social problems, 6, 493–508; ameliorative, 29, 497; scientific, 29, 497; survival and progress, 493–508; problems of democracy, 494, 563–583; problem of balance, 494; problem of race, 495, 596–616; institutions, 495; individuation and socialization, 495; not pathology, 496; social pathology, 500, 501; textbooks, 505–506; of social organization, 544–560.
Social process and interaction, 529–543; a problem of reality, 529; and several institutions, 530; general process, 531; and problems, 534; Park and Burgess, 531, 532, 535; Cooley's processes, 535; E. A. Ross, 535; Kimball Young, 536; Wright and Elmer, 536; Lumley, 536; Dawson and Gettys, 536.
Social progress and social planning, 635–658; social problems, 635; theories of progress, 636; meaning of progress, 637;

levels of progress, 636; meaning of planning, 637; the new planning, 639; economic and administrative, 646, 647; planning in the universities, 647, 648; towards social progress, 648, 649.
Social Science Research Council, 362, 674.
Social sciences working together, 444, 445.
Social Technicways, 294. *See* Planning.
Social telesis, 691.
Social theory and the science of society, 690–710; theory is practical, 690–691; "systems" of social theory, 691–696; metaphysical theory, 692; as factual blue prints, 693; tested in crisis, 693; catalogue of "Theories," 693, 694.
Social work, 464–468; and public welfare, 464–465; meaning of, 466; and sociology, 466–467; public social work, 467–468.
Socialization, 535.
Societal pressure, 71.
Societal survival, 272.
Society, definitions, 4, 5, 33, 34, 200; nature of, 5–10; systematic study of, 10.
Society for Ethical Culture, 135.
Sociological Review, 33.
Sociology, and literature, 4; and social science, 4, 17, 19; definitions, 5, 9, 10, 11, 17, 19, 35; nature and fields of, 10–19, 25, 493; dynamic, 17, 33; task of, 30, 31, 32, 493; and social theory, 704.
Sociology and Social Research, 42.
Soil erosion, 72. *See* maps and photographs.
Somervill, D. C., 727.
Sorokin, P., 133, 135, 299, 368–369, 527, 696, 721.
Soule, George, 44, 582, 720.
South, The, U. S., 144, 146, 516.
SOUTH AMERICA, 7, 34, 100, 101, 125, 143, 144, 389.
Southeast, U. S., 6, 37, 130.
Southern Regional Council, 117.
Southwest, U. S., 37, 130.
SOVIET UNION, 588.
SPAIN, 8, 159.
Speier, Hans, 187.
Spencer, Herbert, 123, 693, 701.
Spengler, Oswald, 131, 135, 268, 269, 696, 720, 727.
Spiegel, H. W., 720.
Sprague, W. F., 258.
Spykman, Nicholas J., 44, 314, 720.
Staley, Eugene, 555.
Standard of living, 472; world regions, 712–713.
Starbuck, E. D., 166.
State, The, 303–316; beginning of civilization, 303; in early culture, 304; as total society, 305; rule by birth, 305; rule by wealth, 306; rule by intellects, 306; nature myths, 306; origin of, 307, 308; purpose, 308.
State civilization, 707, 708.
States of the United States, 326, 327, 648. *See* maps.
Stateways, 11, 12, 228, 230–240, 366, 367.
Statistics, 16, 27, 34, 44, 45.
Stegner, Wallace, 44, 146.
Steinbeck, John, 49, 278.
Steiner, Jesse F., 206, 728.
Steiner, Richard, 151.
Stern, Bernhard J., 719.
Sterner, Richard, 720.
Stewart, Maxwell S., 615.
Stimson, Henry L., 49.
Stolberg, Benjamin, 206, 348.
Stonequist, E. W., 278, 542.
Storck, John, 299.
Stouffer, Samuel A., 595.
Straight, Michael, 720.
Stratification, 535, 536.
Stratocruiser, 376.
Strausz-Hupe, Robert, 44, 654, 719.
Strong, Sidney, 314.
Struggle for survival, 199.
Subordination, 535.
Sullivan, Jean, 362.
Sumner and Keller, 76, 427. *See also* Sumner, William Graham.
Sumner, William Graham, 43, 80, 130, 135, 149, 150, 164, 182, 186, 191, 205, 223, 225, 237, 239, 257, 278, 298, 299, 312, 344, 346, 361, 386, 721, 726.
Survey, The, 43.
Survival, 12; defined, 501; margins of, 511–513; when demands exceed capacity, 512, 513; theory of marginal survival, 513, 514; tragedy of bigness, 513; how much can society stand? 514; in institutions, 514–515; war, 516; capacity for, 517; dilemmas of the intellectuals, 517.
Sustentation area, 71.
Sutherland, R. L., 43, 443.
SWEDEN, 8, 22, 388.

Sweezy, M. V., 720.
Swift, Arthur L., 473.
SWITZERLAND, 8, 388.
Symbol, 69.
SYRIA, 22.

Taeuber, Conrad, 416.
Tarde, Gabriel, 278, 694.
Task Force, 378.
Taylor, Carl, 219.
Technicways, 11, 13, 29, 131, 183, 225–240, 294, 363–380; as way of studying modern society, 363; parts of civilization, 364; in contrast to folkways and mores, 365; and stateways, 366; have no tradition, 368; make a new world, 368; explain civilization and folk drama, 372–373; of sex, 372; of urban life, 372; growth of, 374; of war, 374; of parenthood, 378.
Technological civilization, dilemmas of, 510–528; current dilemmas, 510–511; survival margins, 511–526; excessive demands, 511–512; war as dilemma, 516.
Technological resources, 61, 62, 63.
Technology, 37, 39, 350–362; defined, 350; in modern society, 350, 355; effects of, 355; and resources, 358; accelerated progress, 359. *See* Science and technology.
TENNESSEE, 6.
TENNESSEE RIVER, 358.
Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 81, 104, 108.
Tennyson, Alfred, 4.
Thomas, Dorothy Swaine, 417.
Thomas, W. I., 43, 182.
Thompson, Warren, 44, 398, 417.
Thorndike, Edward L., 330.
Thornton, Jesse, 379.
Thorp, Willard L., 595.
TIBET, 100.
Time and the technicways, 379, 380.
Tobacco: farmers, 218; warehouses, 218.
Todd, Arthur J., 655.
TOKYO, 20.
Toleration, 535, 536.
Tolischus, H. D., 188.
Tönnies, Ferdinand, 706.
Totalitarianism, 292.
Toynbee, Arnold J., 698, 699, 707, 721, 727.
TURKEY, 18, 22, 388.
Turner, Frederick Jackson, 41, 106, 107, 117, 127, 131, 135, 258, 278, 634, 699, 700, 721.
Turner, John K., 720.
Turner, Ralph, 42, 128, 129, 131, 135, 278, 698, 699, 721, 727.
Tyler, E. B., 73, 133.

UKRANIAN, SSR., 22.
UNESCO, 49, 132.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 22.
UNITED KINGDOM, 22.
United Nations, 5, 14, 22, 23, 49; general assembly, 22; security council, 23; international court of justice, 23; United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, 23; Food and Agricultural Organization, 23; International Labor Organization, 23; Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization, 23; International Monetary Fund, 23; International Bank, 23; International Refugee Organization, 23; Secretariat, 23.
UNITED STATES, 5, 6, 11, 22, 24, 79, 101, 102, 110.
United States Census, 53. *See* maps.
University research, 672; size of, 672; institutes, 673; foundations, 674; Social Science Research Council, 674.
Urbanism, 11, 13, 132, 320.
Urban populations, U. S. 1880–1940, 328.
Urban-rural employment, U. S., 411.
Urban-rural population, U. S., 411.
Urban trends in U. S., 326.
URUGUAY, 22, 101.
U.S.S.R., 22.

VALPARAISO, 20.
Vance, Rupert B., 41, 78, 95, 220, 394, 398, 417, 634, 720, 727–728. *See also* credit lines for maps in *Library and Workshop.*
Van Doren, Mark, 490.
Van Kleeck, Mary, 655.
Van Sickle, John V., 655.
Van Valkenburg, Samuel, 720.
Veblen, Thorstein, 135, 140, 379, 380, 595, 615, 707, 721.
VENEZUELA, 22.
VIENNA, 20.
Visual aids, 51.
von Beckerath, Herbert, 720.
von Wiese, Leopold, 278, 721.

Wagner, Richard, 193, 703.
Waller, Willard, 188, 720.
Wallis, Wilson D., 135.
War, 130, 170–178; causes of, 172–173; folkways of, 173–174, 183; technicways of, 174; and civilization, 174–175; and the individual, 175; in American culture, 175–176; modern war and science, 360.
Ward, Lester F., 35, 43, 73, 123, 180, 191, 298, 447, 701, 725–726.
Warden, Carl W., 126, 135.
Warner, W. Lloyd, 151, 443.
Wealth, 60, 61, 71. *See also* Resources.
Weaver, F. E., 96.
Webb, A. P., 96, 117, 634.
Weber, Alfred, 278, 693, 697, 698, 707, 721.
Weber, Max, 166, 693.
Wecter, Dixon, 720.
Weigert, Hans W., 44, 314, 634, 721.
WELLINGTON, 20.
Wells, H. G., 720.
Weltner, G. H., 721.
West, U. S., 9.
WEST INDIES, 101.
Westermarck, E. A., 188.
Western Civilization, 7, 9, 127, 137, 152, 160, 162, 282.
Whelpton, P. K., 417.
Whipple, George C., 398.
Whitbeck, R. H., 96.
WHITE MOUNTAINS, 6.
White, William Allen, 701.
Whitman, Milton, 80.
Whitman, Walt, 80, 284, 702.
Willey, Malcolm M., 126.
Williams, A. R., 720.
Williams, Edith Webb, 727.
Willkie, Wendell, 44.
Wilson, M. L., 716.
Winston, Ellen, 719.
Wissler, Clark, 73, 80, 125, 126, 131, 135, 702.
Wissler's culture areas, 123, 126, 702; culture traits, 124, 129.
Withers, William, 508.
Witmer, Helen, 473.
Wittke, Carl, 720.
Wolff, Werner, 443.
Wolman, Leo, 206.
Woman, 179, 701.
Woodbridge, Frederick J. E., 73, 80.
Woodward, Julian L., 43.
Woodworth, Robert S., 443, 449.
Woofter, T. J., 146, 151.
Woolston, Howard, 38, 330.
Wootten-Moulton. *See* credit lines.
Wootton, Barbara, 655.
Work, 130, 190–197; organic nature of, 141; romance of, 143; and culture, 143; early romance of, 143; and culture, 143; early folkways of work, 191; and the industrial revolution, 193; and the labor movement, 193; and the individual, 193; in American culture, 193.
Workers, U. S., Census classification, 201.
World geography, 93, 99.
World regions, 99, 100.
World religions, catalogue, 160.
World resources, 79.
World War I., 177, 185, 235, 362.
World War II., 177, 187, 217, 294, 388, 389, 394, 425, 426.
Wright, Frank Loyd, 330.
Wright, Quincy, 172, 184, 187, 379, 687, 719.
Wundt, Wilhelm, 239, 278.

Yale University, 480; Institute of Human Relations, 705.
Young, Kimball, 43, 427, 438, 457, 458.
Young, Pauline, 687.
Youth picture in the U. S., 53, 54, 55.
YUGOSLAVIA, 8, 18, 22.

ZANZIBAR, 20.
Zimmermann, Eric, 80, 348.
Znaniecki, Florian, 706.

1883 · LESTER F. WARD · *Dynamic Sociology* · · · 1894 · A. W. SMALL and G. E. VINCENT · *Introduction* · · · 1898 · J. H. W. STUCKENBERG · *Introduction* · · · 1898 · LESTER F. WARD · *Outlines* · · · 1898 · C. R. HENDERSON · *Social Elements* · · · 1899 · FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS · *Elements* · · · 1898 · FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS · *Principles* · · · 1900 · HERBERT SPENCER · *Principles* · · · 1902 · A. FAIR *Introduction* · · · 1901 · FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS · *Inductive* · · · 1902 · CARO *Outlines* · · · 1903 · LESTER F. WARD · *Pure Sociology* · · · 1905 · F. W. F 1905 · J. Q. DEALEY and LESTER F. WARD · *Textbook* · · · 1905 · E. A. F SMALL · CHARLES A. ELLWOOD · *General Sociology* · · · 1906 · LESTER F. WARD · *Applied Sociology* 1910 · *Introduction* · · · 1914 · FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS · *Sociology and Social Problems* · · · 1912 · E. C. HAYES · *Introduction* · · · 1916 · H. P. FAIRCHILD · *Inductive* · · · 1915 · F. *Introduction* · · · 1918 · E. C. HAYES · *Sociology* · · · 1919 · FRANKLIN H. GI *Introduction* · · · 1920 · G. S. DOW · *Introduction* · · · 1920 · J. J. FINDLEY · *Intr Sociology* · · · 1921 · R. E. PARK and E. W. BURGESS · *Introduction to the Scie Principles* · · · 1923 · R. L. FINNEY · *Elementary* · · · 1924 · FRANKLIN H 1924 · H. P. FAIRCHILD · *Elements* · · · 1924 · H. B. HAWTHORNE · *Introduction* · · · 1927 · JEROME DAVIS and H. E. BARNES · *Introduction* · · · *of Social Relation* · · · 1927 · HOWARD W. ODUM · *Man's Quest for Social Guidanc* 1928 · F. E. LUMLEY · *Principles* · · · 1929 · C. A. DAWSON and W. E. GETT and F. W. BLACKMAR · *Outlines* · · · 1930 · R. L. FINNEY · *Elementary* · · · 19 R. M. MacIVER · *Society: A Textbook* · · · 1932 · EARLE E. EUBANK · *Concept and Society* · · · 1932 · J. M. REINHARDT and G. R. DAVIES · *Principles* · · · 1933 · E. B. REUTER and C. W. HART · *Introduction* · · · 1933 · E. A. ROSS *General* · · · 1934 · KIMBALL YOUNG · *Introductory* · · · 19 F. H. HANKINS · *Introduction* · · · 1935 · F. E. LU KULP · *Introductory* · · · 1936 · HAROLD PH *Introductory* · · · 1937 · L. D. ZELE VERNE WRIGHT and M BIDGOOD · 1939

RIGHT · Elements · A. W.
AR · Foundations ... 1905 · Sociology
09 · J. Q. DEALEY · Elements ... 1913 · A. M. LEWIS · Outlines ... 1913
LIN · Elements ... 1913 · E. S. BOGARDUS · J. Q. DEALEY
CKMAR and JOHN L. GILLIN · Fundamentals ... 1917 · E. S. BOGARDUS
KIRKPATRICK · Elements ... 1920 · F. H. CLOW · Principles ... 1920 · J. Q. DEALEY
... 1920 · FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS · Principles ... 1920 · E. A. ROSS
ety ... 1922 · E. S. BOGARDUS · Introduction ... 1923 · F. A. BUSHEE
NGS · Scientific Study of Human Society ... 1924 · C. M. CASE · Outlines
... 1925 · W. G. BEACH · Introduction ... 1926 · T. R. WILLIAMSON
· H. P. FAIRCHILD · Foundations ... 1927 · HORNELL HART · Science
927 · W. D. WALLIS · Introduction ... 1928 · R. M. BINDER · Principles ...
troduction ... 1929 · F. H. HANKINS · Introduction ... 1930 · J. L. GILLIN
G. DUNCAN · Backgrounds ... 1931 · E. R. GROVES · Introduction ... 1931
932 · FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS (HOWARD W. ODUM, ed.) · Civilization
OOLEY and others · Introductory ... 1933 · E. T. HILLER · Principles ... 1933
es ... 1934 · E. S. BOGARDUS · Sociology ... 1934 · H. P. FAIRCHILD
L. FINNEY · Elementary ... 1935 · M. GINSBERG · Sociology ... 1935
· Principles ... 1935 · R. W. MURRAY · Introductory ... 1936 · D. H
Principles and Laws ... 1937 · R. L. SUTHERLAND and J. L. WOODWARD
Practical Sociology ... 1938 · L. A. BOETTIGER · Fundamentals ... 1939
L C. ELMER · General Sociology ... 1939 · G. E. GREGORY and L. M.
ctory ... 1939 · R. E. PARK and others · Outline of Principles ...
A. LUNDBERG · Foundations ... 1940 · E. R. GROVES and H. E.
RE · Introduction ... 1940 · W. F. OGBURN and M. F. NIMKOFF ·
Sociology ... 1941 · E. B. REUTER · Handbook of Sociology ... 1941
E. S. BOGARDUS · Sociology ... 1942 · JOHN L. GILLIN
and JOHN P. GILLIN · Introduction ... 1942 · L. L.
BERNARD · Introduction ... 1946 · RICHARD
LA PIERE · Sociology ... HOWARD
W. ODUM · Understanding
Society · 1947