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AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY SERIES

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AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY SERIES

Edited by KIMBALL YOUNG

THE COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

By LORAN D. OSBORN

Los Angeles Institute of Family Relations,

and

MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

University of Southern California

CURRENT SOCIAL PROBLEMS

By JOHN M. GILLETTE

University of North Dakota,

and

JAMES M. REINHARDT

University of Nebraska

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY SERIES

THE COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

BY

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Community and Society
W. P. 1

MADE IN U. S. A.

PREFACE

The book is designed as a text for beginning students of sociology. It is divided into two parts: (1) the contemporary community, and (2) social processes and sociological principles. The treatment thus combines the two important phases of sociology—the concrete description and analysis of social life, and the interpretation of this life in terms of its inner processes.

The value of the current emphasis upon the group in sociological study is recognized. The authors believe, however, that the best approach for the beginning student to the study of society is through the contemporary community, which is composed of groups representative of society at large. The community contains to a remarkable degree the essentials of all social relationships. It is a rich field for the analysis of social life in all of its forms and manifestations. At the same time, it is sufficiently concrete and definite to be used as a laboratory for first-hand studies and personal observations. There is also the practical advantage of introducing the student to the various groups and the local area of which he is a part and in which he is already interested. The scientific study of the community makes it possible to achieve a social point of view and a more accurate method of studying and comprehending the more elaborate relationships of life.

The authors conceive of sociology as a scientific study of human associative life: the fundamental social processes that operate in it, the social products of these processes, and the principles of collective behavior. The data of sociology consist of human personalities and groups, including communal activities, social drives, social interactions, social organizations and institutions, human culture, and social values. To this is added an inquiry into the possibilities of human progress.

Each chapter contains suggested projects and exercises for investigation to aid in making class discussions more concrete and vital. Selected references are given for further reading.

Help has been received from many sources in preparing the present volume, and is gratefully acknowledged. Treatises on sociology have been widely consulted. An effort has been made to give credit whenever possible, but ideas come from so many sources that this cannot always be done. We wish to express special appreciation to Dr. Kimball Young, general editor of the series, for his assistance, and to the publishers of this volume.

LORAN D. OSBORN
MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

September, 1933

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PART ONE

THE CONTEMPORARY COMMUNITY

CHAPTER I

The Contemporary Community as the Unit of Social Study

Living in Groups. People live in groups. Every human being enters the world as a member of a family group. He receives his early education and training in the home and in the school group, and he plays with the children of the neighborhood. Later, in daily occupation, he works with others in economic groups to make a living for himself and his natural dependents. For religious inspiration and guidance he depends upon the church group. As a member of various political units he receives protection of life and property and the advantages of orderly social existence. In short, human life means group life. Society implies living and doing things together.

Coöperation in groups is as universal as human life itself. From the earliest known history people have lived together in families, clans, and tribes; have assembled in neighborhoods, communities, villages, towns, and cities; and have operated in gangs, clubs, unions, associations, congregations, and innumerable other groups. The number of these groups has increased during the course of history, so that today society is characterized by a multiplicity of such organizations.

Living together in groups is not only a human trait, but it is characteristic likewise of animals. Their group life, in herds and flocks, makes possible the production and care of offspring, and provides better protection against enemies and from the elements of nature. They coöperate also in gathering and storing their food. The beehive and the ant hill are good illustrations of coöperative work in the insect world. But the lower forms of life, as distinguished from man, coöperate instinctively. Man's superior intelligence and the accumulation of culture make human coöperation far more complex, variable, and purposive.

Just what would happen if an individual were deprived of all

human contact is not exactly known, but it is reasonably certain that he would perish. If he could continue to exist, his social nature and personality would disintegrate. A few cases of individuals, mostly children, have been known who have survived in isolation. Most of these cases were devoid of the usual traits of human personality. Some had lived with animals for a considerable period of time before they were found, and they had taken on animal ways. A few died untamed.

Thus, living together in groups is not only necessary for existence but essential for the development of personality. In fact, from one point of view, personality results from group relationships. The person is an individual who has acquired a rôle within the group. He has achieved a personality through his contacts and interactions with the groups of which he is a member. Personality, then, is a social product. An individual is born with a human organism and with many potentialities, but these remain unformed and undeveloped unless he has vital contacts with other human beings.

Group life has a molding and socializing effect upon the individual. Consciously and unconsciously one's wishes, likes and dislikes, attitudes and sentiments, habits and conduct, are to a great degree shaped by human associations. Where do we get our ideas of love, fair play, justice, honesty, truthfulness, goodwill, and service? Surely not from isolated living, nor chiefly from abstract philosophy. No, they come from our everyday experiences in fruitful contacts with others.

The person and the group are not separable phenomena, but are simply the individual and the collective aspects of the same thing. No one has seen this more clearly than Professor Cooley,[1] a pioneer sociologist and for many years a teacher of sociology at the University of Michigan. A separate individual, he maintains, is an abstraction unknown to experience and so likewise is society when regarded as something apart from individuals. The real thing is Human Life, which may be considered either in an individual or in a social aspect, but it is always both.

The Study of Contemporary Life. It is not necessary to go far afield in order to study social life, for there are many unexplored and unanalyzed areas in our own midst. We ourselves

[1]Charles H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (1902), p. 1ff., and *Social Organization* (1909), Chapter I.

have experiences in human associations which include practically the whole range of personal and social relationships. Through daily contacts with others we acquire a practical knowledge of group behavior. But commonsense information concerning human relations has its limitations. It often is founded upon relatively superficial and disconnected observations of experience, while the interpretations derived from them often are colored by personal attitudes and prejudices. Few have a scientific knowledge of the world in which they live, much less an appreciation of the importance of group life for their own well-being and success. It is difficult to understand the meaning and significance of daily events without carefully analyzing them.

A good starting point for students of sociology, therefore, is the study of groups of which they are a part, in order to ascertain and describe the interests, processes, structures, and functions of these groups. It likewise is important to study the persons of which the groups are composed, together with the traits of personality and the motives of their actions. Contemporary society is a fertile field for the study of group life in all its forms and manifestations. Part One of this course focuses the attention especially upon contemporary local life, and investigates the life of the groups in which we live.

The study of social life might be approached in another way. One could begin with the origin and development of society, and make a general survey of the life and thought of historical groups from the earliest times to the present. To trace the development of culture and civilization before attempting an investigation of contemporary life has its advantages, since no present situation can fully be understood except in the light of its development. For this reason many authors of textbooks of sociology place chief emphasis upon social origins and cultural evolution.

However, during the last few years sociological research has turned to the study of present-day group life, and a wide range of scientific material dealing with contemporary society is now available. As a result of this research there is justification for beginning the study of sociology with the analysis and description of contemporary social life, making the historical aspects incidental and contributory to the main purpose, and reserving matters of theoretical interpretation chiefly for Part Two of the present volume.

The Community as a Unit of Contemporary Life. What contemporary social unit shall be the basis of study? The many separate social groups of which the individual is a part are restricted and incomplete in themselves. The family, the most fundamental of all groups, contains to a remarkable degree the essentials of all social relationships. On the other hand, society in general is too vague, complex, and difficult to understand to be used as a unit of scientific study. Between the family and society there exists the local community, which includes other local groups and which is sufficiently concrete and definite to be studied scientifically.

The family, the play-group, the school, the church, the neighborhood, clubs and societies, economic and political groups are a part of the community. The study of the contemporary community has the practical advantage of introducing a person to the various groups and the local area of which he is a part and in which he is already interested. The scientific study of the community in which one lives not only makes it possible to attain a better knowledge and understanding of it, but to achieve a social point of view and a more accurate method of studying and comprehending the complex life of society as a whole.[2]

WHAT IS MEANT BY THE COMMUNITY?

It is necessary to define the fundamental unit which one uses as the basis of investigation. In order to visualize the meaning and nature of the community one also should have in mind concrete communities. On the basis of the analysis of concrete areas, it is possible to discern the several types of associative life which throw light upon the meaning and nature of the community itself.

A Locality Group. A community is composed of a group of people inhabiting a contiguous geographic area. It is a locality group. Other groups, such as various types of societies and organizations, are not necessarily limited to given areas, whereas territorial limitation is an essential element in a community.[3]

[2]For further discussion of this point, see article by Loran D. Osborn, "The Contemporary Community as Basis of the Introductory Course in Sociology," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XIV, March–April, 1930, pp. 365–372; also a subsequent reprint in the proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Association.

[3]Compare Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924), p. 161.

The boundary lines of communities are not permanently fixed but may change from time to time. However, it is possible to determine with a fair degree of accuracy the extent and size of many such units. Sometimes a community is definitely marked off by geographic barriers, racial or nationality groupings, cultural similarities, and political boundary lines. Any of these sets of factors may segregate people into differentiated areas.

Rural communities, centered in villages and hamlets, are good illustrations of communities. Here one can find a clustering of homes, business establishments, and social agencies within the village or hamlet, supplying the needs of its own people and of those living in the surrounding territory. Each village, together with its hinterland, constitutes a unit by itself.

Centers of Interests and Activities. Another common aspect of the community is the focalization of interests in certain centers, such as trade, educational, recreational, religious, and political. These centers represent focal points of communal activities. It must be remembered that not all the inhabitants of the community belong to the various agencies and organizations of the area, and not all trade at the same center. There are people in every community who are not really a part of it.

The centralization of interests and activities is a natural process of growth. A store is located at the crossing of roads or railroads; houses are constructed in the vicinity; churches are built to meet the religious need of the people; schools are established to teach the young; business establishments and social agencies are added, to make the community complete. The inhabitants carry on their communal activities more conveniently by concentrating their business and institutions.

Functional Unity. Another phase of the community, which is partly implied in the other characteristics, is the functional unity of the people. The members of the community coöperate in some way. At any rate, they are beginning to think and act together in the chief concerns of life. Furthermore, there is a *we*-feeling, a sense of unity and mutual responsibility, at least among the leading people of the community. This stimulates coöperation. There are also relatively permanent forms of coöperation and social organization, especially where there is a community council composed of representatives of the various organizations and

groups of the community, or if there is a form of local government.[4]

The Community Defined. Embodying, then, the essential aspects of community life which hold good in all situations, *a community may be thought of as consisting of a group of people living in a contiguous geographic area, having common centers of interests and activities, and functioning together in the chief concerns of life.* Thus a number of people living in a limited territory and carrying on the social functions essential to a relatively self-supporting and self-perpetuating existence may be regarded as a community, realizing, however, that under modern conditions no community is absolutely self-sustaining. Furthermore, communities tend to increase in size as the devices of transportation and communication are increased. The more mobile people become, the less they depend upon local institutions for the satisfaction of their needs. For instance, the automobile makes it possible for rural people to trade in the cities and also to participate in many urban activities.

Not all writers would agree with the above statements concerning the chief characteristics of a community. In fact there have been many definitions of the community, and there is no universal agreement as to the exact meaning of the term. Some stress the local social group and point out the spirit of unity and coöperation. Others emphasize that it is a natural unit bounded by natural barriers, or identify it with the neighborhood. Still others think of it in terms of a legal and political or administrative unit. The term has also been very loosely used as almost synonymous with society or an ideal unity.[5] The authors of the present volume, however, are using the term in the foregoing sense.

The Community and Neighborhoods. A community usually is composed of several neighborhoods. The latter may be

[4]For further analysis of the essential features of community life see Arthur Wood, *Community Problems* (1928), p 2; and John M Gillette, "Community Concepts," *Social Forces,* Vol. IV, June 1926, p. 677. Gillette points out six attributes of the community: (1) narrow territorial localization, (2) face-to-face contacts, (3) common interest or interests, (4) consciousness of kind, (5) permanent cooperative organization, and (6) the existence of a center or centers of interests.

[5]For various definitions of the community see, Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (1932); Jesse F. Steiner, *Community Organization* (1930); Bessie A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (1929); Arthur Wood, *Community Problems* (1928); Edward Lindeman, *The Community* (1921), or the sources referred to in these references.

distinguished from the former in that they as a rule do not have definite centers of interests nor formal organizations of activities, and they do not perform all the functions essential to communal life. A neighborhood is merely a group of people, usually several families, living within an area sufficiently compact to make intimate relationships possible. Neighbors visit each other, exchange goods and services, and in general recognize each other as neighbors.

The following quotation will serve to emphasize still further what a community is and how it differs from neighborhoods: According to K. L. Butterfield, formerly president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College,

"We must not confuse a 'community' with a 'neighborhood.' A neighborhood is simply a group of families living conveniently near together. The neighborhood can do a great many things, but it is not a community. A true community is a social group that is more or less self-sufficing. It is big enough to have its own centers of interest—its trading center, its social center, its own church, its own schoolhouse, its own garage, its own library, and to possess such other institutions as the people of the community need. It is something more than a mere aggregation of families. There may be several neighborhoods in a community. A community is the smallest social unit that will hold together. Theoretically, a community could live unto itself; though that would be actually impossible, just as it is impossible for an individual to live really a hermit. A community is a sort of individualized group of people. It is both the smallest and the largest number of people that can constitute a real social unit. It is a sort of family of families."[6]

The Changing Community. The discussion thus far has been confined chiefly to the local community. There has been a tendency on the part of writers, especially rural sociologists, to limit the concept "community" to a small and comparatively simple social unit. But it is not necessary to think of it in such a restricted sense. The term may be applied also to larger units provided they exhibit the essential characteristics of communal life. A city may be regarded as a community, especially if the people occupy a unique distribution of space and function together in the chief concerns of life. The current usage of the term is justified from the fact that community chests and welfare associations are city-wide. Underlying this application of the term, is

[6]Introduction to *Mobilizing the Rural Community*, by E. L. Morgan, p. 9. Extension Bulletin No. 23, Massachusetts Agricultural College, 1918.

the changing nature of the community itself. The range of contacts and social organizations has been extended by modern means of transportation and communication. Even rural areas and groupings are growing larger, and social life is becoming more complex.

The local community is a primary group,[7] that is, it is a group in which face-to-face association and coöperation are possible. Primary groups exhibit a unity, a *we*-feeling, not to be found in the larger relations. There is a fusion of individuals into a common whole by sympathy and mutual identification.

The larger community is far more complex and does not exhibit such unity and intimacy of relationship as found in a local area. Even local groups have become disintegrated and communal solidarity is breaking down. There is a tendency to form larger units of administration on the part of some of the essential organizations. But in spite of the change in organization and administration, there exist more or less definitely organized and differentiated units, especially if centered in hamlets or villages, or even in country towns. Such is not the case in larger cities. In fact the various areas in a modern city have a tendency to become differentiated. A city, and even a town, is divided usually into many local units. However, many of these units are neighborhoods rather than communities.

Many of the larger cities, although divided into differentiated areas, have city-wide activities and events. The North Shore Music Festival has been held in Evanston, Illinois, for many years, consisting of concerts and other musical events, which are attended and supported by the larger community. The Hollywood Bowl, located seven miles from the center of Los Angeles, California, is a beautiful natural amphitheatre where thousands of people gather to enjoy the "Symphonies under the Stars," the Easter Sunrise Services, and other public affairs each year. Athletic events, pageants, and many other occasions receive the united support of the larger communities in which they take place. Community chests and councils of social agencies, coördinating councils, and similar coöperative enterprises are further evidences of community consciousness and organization.

[7]Professor Cooley's masterly enunciation of the theory of primary group organization and idealism made this concept prominent. He, however, did not attempt an analysis of the community as a social unit.

THE COMMUNITY IN ACTION

The older type of community studies gave a cross section of conditions as they existed at the time of the survey. By this method it was possible to obtain a picture of the nature and extent of communal problems. While such a method of study reveals existing conditions, it does not throw sufficient light upon the dynamic aspects of social life. Frequently the findings of a survey are out of date before the study is completed. A structural and cross-sectional analysis must be supplemented by a moving picture of the community in action. Recognition must be given to the factors that make for social change. The natural history of a community involves a consideration of the interplay of forces operating within the area that lead to social change and development.

A community is thus not a static entity. It is dynamic in character and is teeming with life. The most essential characteristic of communal life is this activity and interaction of its members. The people are constantly adjusting themselves to changing conditions, new situations, and increasing demands. Even a casual observation of social life reveals the fact that people are continually doing something. Stand on a street corner, enter a store or an office building, attend the gatherings of organizations, drive down the streets or roads, and everywhere energetic and varied activities are apparent.

Thus, in analyzing a social group, the first question to ask is, What are the people doing? Also, What are their chief interests and the forms of their varied yet related endeavors? Some activities are relatively spontaneous and unorganized, while others are relatively fixed and organized. They are fixed by habits and customs, and tend to focalize and organize themselves around the major concerns and needs of life.

Satisfaction of Human Wants. While the activities of the people are the things most apparent to an observer, it is evident that these are not all haphazard. Some acts have no particular functions and do not satisfy human needs, but the significant acts are purposive and are motivated by human wants. Wishes, sentiments, attitudes, interests, and aims are at the root of such activities. People need food, clothing, and shelter, and desire security of life. They also desire fellowship and coöperation, recognition

and status, new and more satisfying experiences, and opportunities to participate in communal life. In fact, there are as many wants and interests as there are activities.

A further treatment of the motives of human activities must be postponed until a later chapter.[8] It is sufficient here to call attention to the importance of these drives and motives. Wants and interests are a part of the acts themselves. They give significance and meaning to activities.

Essential Forms of Community Activities. Further observation of communal life reveals that the activities of the people fall within certain basic groups. As people engage in social activities, impelled thereto by their various wants and interests, they begin to coöperate in their enterprises, and thus agencies are formed to accomplish the common ends in view to better advantage.

Various efforts have been made to classify the common forms of activities and agencies which represent centers of interests, but no adequate method or system of classification as yet has been devised. The grouping of the essential forms of activities in Part One of this volume is used as a convenient method of presenting the various aspects of associative life which are common to all communities regardless of size, and which represent fundamental human needs. The chapters which follow are designed to give the student a picture of community life in its fundamental aspects. (1) In every community the people live together in *families,* which involves marriage, home making, the building of houses, the rearing of children, and the various activities incident to these functions. (2) The *making of a living* is a dominant and necessary activity, which involves the processes of the production, exchange, and consumption of goods, and also a vast network of economic and occupational organizations. (3) *Acquiring an education* is more than a problem of training the young, particularly as this training is centered in the school; for people of all ages acquire knowledge and are being educated by means of the press, the radio, the library, and in many other ways. (4) *Play and recreation* are assuming large proportions, and many agencies have sprung up to meet these needs. (5) People always have engaged in *religious practices* and in establishing *moral standards* of action; but in recent years religion has been applied to a wider range of life, and morals have taken on a new social significance.

[8] See Chapter on "The Social Drives," Part Two.

(6) The community has always organized for the purpose of protection and orderly control, but the *machinery of government* is becoming more complex and the problems of control are much more intricate than ever before in the history of the world. The *planning and beautifying* of communal life is now being made to minister to the aesthetic interests which in many ways represent the culmination of all community effort. (7) There is also a greater concern for the care of the *abnormal* members who are failing to make adequate adjustments to their social situations. In brief form, these give the following analysis of community life:

Family Life
Making a Living
Acquiring an Education
Play and Recreation
Moral and Religious Life
Community Government, Planning, and Beauty
Care of the Maladjusted

The foregoing aspects of associative life are common to all communities and tend to become organized in special social agencies and institutions. The home, the economic system, the school, the church, and the state long have been recognized as major social institutions. There is now a tendency to consider recreation, health and welfare agencies as minor social institutions. The institutions and agencies taken together constitute the structure of the community.

Before the major social functions and agencies of the community are considered in detail, case studies of rural communities and a small city, and a description of urban areas, will be presented. The study of the various phases of community life can be carried on to greater advantage if a preliminary survey is made of such representative communities. These case studies may be supplemented by those of other authors.[9] Following such studies, attention will be given also to the physical and population bases of community life before proceeding further, since an understanding of these aspects is a prerequisite to a thorough comprehension of the more complex phases of the social life of the community.

The present treatment is not designed to deal with all the varied

[9]Compare Jesse F Steiner, *The American Community in Action* (1928); Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown* (1929); and Walter W. Pettit, *Case Studies in Community Organization* (1928)

details of communal life. But it is hoped that the salient factors will be so presented that they may be used as points of departure for more personal investigations and class discussions. Such studies should lead to a better understanding of the groups in which we all live. The contemporary community is used as the main unit of study because it contains to a remarkable degree the essentials of the modern social order. It is, in fact, a miniature world which contains the fundamental forms of social activities which operate the forces that shape the larger society.

TERM PROJECTS

1. It is suggested that students study a community throughout the term, following the outline of the text. Possibly the best starting point is to describe the physical features of the community, and then study the history of the region, noting particularly the significant events and personalities.

The major aim of the project should be to study the social life of the people. What is the nature of the population? What is the age, sex, race, and nationality composition, and how are these distributed? Does the population grow? What are the chief interests and activities of the people? What agencies and institutions meet their needs? What are the marital conditions? In what kind of houses do the people live? Is there family disorganization, such as divorce, desertion, and domestic discord? How do the people make a living? What are the chief occupations? What are the conditions of living and what is the standard of life? What are the chief types of contacts and the communicative devices? What are the educational facilities? How extensive is leisure and how do the people use their leisure time? What place has play in their life? What are the major recreational institutions and amusement centers? Are the people interested in beauty and art? What is the level of the moral standards and the condition of the religious life? Do the people function together in the chief concerns of life and is there community unity?

As the social life of a community is studied, various types of social maladjustment are apparent. How extensive are they? What are their chief forms? How many poor people, especially dependent ones, are there? How extensive are crime and delinquency? What kinds of crimes are committed? How are the criminals treated? Are there degenerate groups? How do they affect the quality of the population? Are there more people than the community can well support? With these and other social problems questions arise, such as: What are the causal and conditioning factors? How may conditions be remedied?

Other questions also may grow out of the study of a given community. The entire class may participate in the study of a selected community; this enables students to gather more extensive data and to exchange views and information. The work may be divided so as to make each student responsible for a certain part of the study.

2. The investigation of a social problem and the writing of a term paper afford an opportunity to go more deeply into a specific phase of the field covered in the course. An introductory course of necessity includes a wide range of subjects, which makes it impossible to treat any of the phases in detail unless certain topics are selected for special investigation. The topics chosen should reflect the interests of the students. Suggested subjects are given in connection with each chapter. The questions are designed to help students map out the problems and to focus the attention upon important aspects.

3. A series of brief reports illustrating the salient points of the various chapters will aid students in relating the class discussions to personal experiences and observations. The suggested projects and exercises may be used for purposes of class discussion. Teachers and pupils doubtless will plan projects of their own as experience and observation suggest them. Concrete illustrative materials from actual life situations clarify sociological principles. The treatment in this volume furnishes a background for the original work which may be done outside the classroom.

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CHAPTER II

Community Studies: Rural Communities

A case study of a community, if complete, reveals a cross section of existing conditions, and also gives a picture of the community in action. However, since a given community is not a simple social unit, it is difficult to ascertain the interplay of all its social factors and movements. A wide variety of elements and forces are involved in the make-up of a community. It is not the purpose of the following case studies to give all the diverse factors and ramifications of their communal life, but a brief presentation of several cases will suffice to indicate in outline some of the main features of the various types of communities.

Rural communities possibly are the simplest and most easily discerned and analyzed. They generally center in country towns, villages, and hamlets, which are the business and social centers. Farmers trade there, and many of the social institutions are located in or near these centers. The town or village may have also a telephone exchange, a post office, and a political organization.

The several institutions and agencies of a town or village community do not represent identical areas. There are various zones of influence radiating from the center, and from a composite of these zones it is possible to draw a boundary representing approximately the community area as a whole. The size of a community depends upon the extent of these zones. Hummel lists fourteen factors which determine the size and location of the boundaries of rural communities, namely: trade area, social area, distance from the center, high school, roads, shipping points, topography, telephone exchange, church affiliations, lodge memberships, mail delivery, political boundaries, prejudices and disputes, race and nationality.[1]

[1]B. L. Hummel, *Community Organization in Missouri*, Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, Columbia, Circular No. 183, p. 7. See also G. B. Manny, *Rural Municipalities* (1930), p. 207.

A SMALL COUNTRY COMMUNITY

The McKendree community, as an illustration, is a farming community centered in a little hamlet in the eastern part of Illinois, the heart of the great agriculture belt of the United States. The boundary lines of this community are fairly definite and its communal life is relatively simple. A river and a state highway form important physical boundaries on two sides, but the relative economic, social, and cultural isolation are the most important factors that differentiate this area from the surrounding areas and communities.

Geographic Setting. The community has important geographic features. The general topography is rolling and slightly broken, especially along the river. The western part is prairie and nearly level, some of which has artificial drainage. The elevation is from 500 to 700 feet above sea level. There are patches of woodland throughout the community, except the prairie section. A variety of soils may be found, the variation being apparently the result of glaciation as well as erosion. The soil is generally fertile. Strata of coal exist under most of the area. A large strip mine lies just south of the community, and the largest mine in the state is located one mile to the west. The climate varies with the seasons, as is typical of the central part of this country.

The People. All the inhabitants are whites and mostly of English descent. The first settlers came in 1821, stopping along the banks of the river because of easy access to water, timber, coal, and salt. Here they constructed a power mill, cleared away the timber, built houses, a church, and shortly thereafter a school. Roads were built, one of which was a plank road cutting diagonally across the community. Soon other people came into the settlement, and within a few years had become fairly well established. The original settlers and their descendants, however, have controlled the community continuously from its beginning to the present time.

Considering that it is a country district this area is not sparsely settled. But since there are no towns or villages within its boundaries, except the little hamlet, and since the families are small, the total population does not exceed 262 persons, of whom 42.3 per cent are male and 57.7 per cent are female. The population for the county is 93.7 per square mile, whereas the population of this

community is less than 50 per square mile. The age distribution of the population is as follows: 56 are from 1 to 10 years of age, 44 from 10 to 20, 36 from 20 to 30, 69 from 30 to 50, and 57 are 50 and over. There are no accurate records of population movements, but such information as could be obtained indicates that more than forty persons moved out of the community during the five-year period preceding the survey, while nearly sixty moved in during the same period, largely miners and their families. Of the unmarried people leaving the community, more than twice as many boys left as girls, most of them entering vocations other than farming. But three times as many girls as boys entered the community, most of whom married young men in the neighborhood. This partly accounts for the excess of girls in this area. There is very little shifting of population within the community itself, except among the renters.

Family Life. There are 77 families in the community at the present time, the average size being 3.4 persons, not including the married sons and daughters. The population does not increase very rapidly as can be seen by the small number of children and middle-aged persons. Children were found in only 49 of the 77 homes. A number of families are composed only of old people whose children are married; this accounts partly for the smallness of the present average family. The home life is generally wholesome and the people are congenial. The members of the family coöperate. They not only work together but spend much of their leisure time together. Family disorganization is practically unknown. The community has continuously maintained its traditions against divorce and desertion. Only one desertion and two divorces have occurred, all since 1920. The community church, which is a Methodist church, has occupied a central position since the earliest settlers established it, and has emphasized clean morals, and family religion and solidarity. There is very little discord in the families, although they are not completely democratic. The father occupies the central rôle. Women are subservient to their husbands and do not have equal authority and privileges with men, although there are exceptions. Most of the women are quite willing to have their husbands assume leadership in business and home matters.

There are 82 houses in the community, including a few shacks which are sometimes occupied by miners, but at the time of the

survey only 77 houses were occupied. The houses are large and well kept, most of them having two stories, but none exceed $5,000 in value. Very few houses have modern conveniences. Two are heated by steam; one, by a hot air furnace; one, by open fire places; and the others, by coal stoves. Two houses are equipped with electric lights; one has a gasoline system; and the others use kerosene lamps. One home has a fully-equipped bath room, but a few have water pumps and sinks. The homes of the renters and hired hands have practically no conveniences. The surroundings of the homes are well cared for, most yards having shrubbery and a lawn, with fruit trees and gardens near by. Most of the farmers have flowers in abundance. Nearly every home has extra buildings for storage, wash room, and summer kitchen.

Making a Living. Farming is the chief occupation, except for a few merchants in the hamlet and for occasional miners. The farming is of a general type, raising wheat, corn, and hay as the principal crops. The average size of the farms is 88.3 acres. Seventy per cent of the farms are owner-operated. The owners of nine per cent of the farms live on them, but rent the land. Most of the absentee owners live in the near-by villages or towns. Twenty-two of the farms were inherited outright without indebtedness, eighteen were inherited and purchased, five were inherited through marriage, twenty-nine were purchased, and the remainder were acquired in various other ways. Very few tenants and hired hands ever acquire a farm in this community. Most of the farms are well kept, but heavily cropped.

The farmers are hard-working people. While they are not required to struggle for mere existence, nevertheless it is necessary for them to labor unceasingly. The land does not have great value, and wealth is not in abundance. According to the assessor's report the total value of live stock is $33,946; implements, $14,366; and miscellaneous wealth, $30,040; making a total of only $78,352. This is the assessed value of property, and does not include the value of the land.

Coöperation in the community is practiced rather extensively. The farmers conduct an active farm and home bureau, buying and selling among themselves, and owning much of the machinery in common. The merchants in the little hamlet buy more than half the products of the community, and furnish a large proportion of the commodities purchased by the farmers. There is close co-

operation between merchants and farmers. The latter, however, buy some of their commodities in near-by towns and cities, and buy also from mail-order houses. Nearly every farmer has a catalogue from at least one mail-order house.

Transportation and Communication. There are no paved roads within the area, although the Dixie Highway is only a mile from the west boundary. Most of the roads are of loose dirt, except a few miles of main highways, which are graveled; but a bond issue was recently voted for the extension of graveled roads. The economic loss due to bad roads is difficult to estimate, but this loss is relatively great. The impassable roads also affect school attendance, church activities, and face-to-face contacts. The railroad that runs through the community is a freight road, and the trains do not stop at the hamlet station except for full-car loads of material. The interurban line follows the Dixie Highway. Most of the farmers use automobiles and horse-drawn vehicles for transportation. It is necessary to have both because cars frequently cannot be used on the muddy roads. Rural mail carriers deliver mail daily. It was found that, while the farmers are not great letter writers, nearly every farmer had a weekly or daily paper, a farm paper, and a church paper. The school libraries are very scanty and the city libraries practically are unused by the citizens of this area. Thirty-five homes are equipped with telephones; forty-two homes have none. Radios are becoming rather common.

Acquiring an Education. There are three school districts in the community. The main school, consisting of two rooms, is located near the hamlet. The total enrollment in the three schools is 72 and the average attendance is 59. The average enrollment is 18 per room, and the average daily attendance is less than 15 per room. The average salary of teachers is $630 for a term of eight months. The nearest high school is five or six miles away from the center of the community, the distance depending upon the road traveled. The country schools have meager equipment. A teacher's desk, old-fashioned seats for children, blackboards, a few charts and books, a cloakroom, and a furnace constitute the total equipment of a schoolroom. Each teacher has a series of classes; the one-room schools having approximately 25 classes per day, and the two-room schools having 12 or 15 classes in each room. The teachers are young girls who have completed the high school, but none had a normal school or college education at the time this survey

was made. One of the major needs of the community is a consolidated school located in the hamlet.

Leisure and Play. The farmers, because of their long working hours, as a rule do not have time for recreation and leisure activities, except during the winter months. And since the roads are usually in a bad condition during the winter, the farmers' recreation consists largely in talking over the telephone, reading papers, listening over the radio, and making trips to the store. When the weather permits, their chief recreation consists of neighborhood visitations, family reunions, and trips to near-by cities and to surrounding regions, especially to state parks. There are also occasional neighborhood or community parties, sometimes dances, weddings, sales, settlement days, and community reunions. Funerals are significant events in this region. The organized social and recreational life centers about the church, the schools, the farm bureau, the home bureau, and the women's social club. There are no lodges, although a few persons belong to the lodges in near-by towns. The church is the chief social center of the entire community. The church building is equipped with an auditorium, a recreational hall and banquet room, a kitchen, electric lights, and a furnace. It is the meeting place of nearly all of the organizations and group activities, except those that center in the schools. This building is looked upon as common property by most of the people, whether they are members of the church itself or not.

The children's play is largely unsupervised. Teachers give little attention to it, except to maintain order during the recess periods. Parents as a rule do not teach children to play, and seldom participate with them in their play activities. Home play is largely spontaneous and follows the direction of the chief interests of the children. Games and other play activities are repeated often, and limited to a few types. Hunting, skating, joy riding, trips to the city, and occasional parties occupy the attention of the boys. Girls also participate in these activities, except hunting, as well as in the more sedentary types.

Moral and Religious Life. The church has a membership of 102, of which 62 are women and 40 are men. Children are not counted as members. Thirty-five per cent of the members are over 50 years of age and 36 per cent are under thirty. Eighteen people are connected with churches outside of the community. The church has organizations for various age groups, and a women's social

club; and it also houses the local Farm Bureau and Home Bureau organizations. The expenditure for religious work equals the expenditure for education, but is exceeded by the amount of money spent for luxuries.

The people generally are religious, and maintain high moral ideals and standards. Church services are well attended and supported. Religious worship may be found in many of the homes, and much of the reading material is of a religious nature.

Local Government. The township road overseer is the only local office of any importance. The control of this office has been the source of much friction. The township is rather long and narrow, and originally was a part of another township. But the farmers, believing that their tax money was being used by the two small towns in the original township to pave their streets, succeeded in dividing the area lengthwise, making two long and narrow townships, the new one being an open-country area. Some years ago the citizens of the northern section of the new township succeeded in electing a road overseer; they had good roads for two years, while the roads in the southern section were neglected. The citizens of the southern section, resenting this injury, proceeded to elect an overseer for two years; however, at the end of this time the northern section again was victorious. Thus the control has shifted back and forth from one section to the other, each going through a cycle of neglect, protest, and then control, followed by good roads for a few years, only to lose control again and have their roads neglected.

Community Solidarity and Maladjustment. Excepting the conflict concerning the road overseer and minor personal disagreements, the community is characterized by a solidarity seldom found elsewhere. There is very little overt disorganization. No murders are known to have been committed in this section of the country. One person committed suicide. Larceny is practically unknown now, but was prevalent at one time. Many farmers do not lock their houses and other buildings. There is very little poverty, although a few farmers barely eke out an existence. At the time of this study only one family depended upon the public for support. There are no cases of insanity, feeble-mindedness, or epilepsy. One man has been a drunkard for many years, but has been drunk seldom since prohibition went into effect.

The homogeneity of the people, the high moral standards, the

religious idealism, and the firmly rooted mores and traditions are largely responsible for the solidarity of the community and the comparative absence of social maladjustment. The community is a primary group in the true sense of the term. The contacts are intimate and face-to-face, and the people identify themselves with the area. They are concerned about the welfare of their community and defend their institutions. When a former citizen of the area was invited as a guest speaker at an annual homecoming festival he took this occasion to point out the desirability of closing the country church. This statement was resented by the farmers; their pride was wounded. On another occasion when it became known that a poverty-stricken family lived in the community, no efforts were spared to give aid. They did not want it to be known that one of their families received outside assistance. The solidarity of their life makes for effective social control; the interests center in the hamlet, and the people are thinking and acting together in the chief concerns of life.

The community reveals some of the fundamental aspects of all communities and of social relations in general. Even though it lacks in complexity and in organization, as compared with other areas, yet the main outlines of communal life may be discerned quite distinctly.

Underlying the external aspects of life one can discern the major social processes. Even though there is a certain amount of isolation, the people have frequent contacts, and the interaction is of an intimate nature. Few conflicts have occurred, but there is a great deal of competition among the farmers to excel each other. The coöperation among them, either as a community or in neighborhoods, is striking. The community functions quite satisfactorily in controlling the behavior of the citizens. The people, although as a whole somewhat conservative, usually manage to adjust themselves to changing conditions. If this community is in any way unusual, it is because of the type of people that live in it, and because of their ability to control local affairs without undue friction and disorganization. The heart of a community is always its people; their interests and activities, and the nature of the agencies through which they perform their functions.[2]

[2]For comparative studies of rural social life consult the selected references at the end of the chapter.

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

There is no hard and fast line of demarcation between a village and a hamlet such as we have just been considering. They shade into each other. A village is here regarded as having from 250 to 2500 people, whereas a hamlet has fewer than 250. A place of more than 2500 is counted in the United States census as a city. Although the life of a small village does not differ particularly from that of a large hamlet, it differs from a large village which is characteristic of village life in general, and which is of sufficient significance to warrant special consideration.

Village life has always been important. Historically, people have lived in villages rather than in the open country or in cities. This still is true in the greater part of Asia and in sections of Europe. It is reported that India, which is 90 per cent rural, has over 700,000 villages. K. L. Butterfield estimates "that China must have not fewer than 100,000 (perhaps 125,000) farm villages containing 100,000,000 people; and 1,000,000 (perhaps 1,500,000) hamlets containing 200,000,000 people.[3] Although Europe is fast becoming urbanized, her rural population is centered in villages. The Swiss, French, and Italian communes, the English parish, the German dorf, the Danish sogn, and the Russian mir are outstanding examples of the village form of rural organization. The European village is relatively compact, stable, and self-sufficient.[4]

Villages in the United States. The United States is unique in that a large proportion of the rural people live in the open country on isolated farms. However, the farm population is declining, whereas the non-farm population is on the increase. On April 1, 1930, there were 30,447,550 people on farms, forming 24.8 per cent of the total population of the United States, but in 1920 the farm population amounted to 31,614,269, and formed 29.9 per cent of the total population. While the total population of the United States increased 16.1 per cent between 1920 and 1930, the rural farm population showed a decrease of 3.8 per cent, but the rural non-farm group increased 18 per cent. Since 1930 there has been a substantial increase in farm population due to the present economic depression.

[3]See Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (1932), pp. 170–171.

[4]For a description of European village life consult Walter Terpenning, *Village and Open-Country Neighborhoods* (1931)

The village population in the United States is undergoing changes. Incorporated villages have increased decade by decade both in number and in total population. Between 1920 and 1930 the number increased from 8,930 to 13,433, and their population from 6,301,533 to 9,183,453. However 46.1 per cent of the villages lost population during the same decade. The loss was heaviest (56.8 per cent) among the small villages under 500 population, less heavy (44.2 per cent) among those of from 500 to 1000 inhabitants, and lightest (28 per cent) among the larger villages of from 1000 to 2500 population. This accords with Gillette's[5] contention that the smaller the place, the more liable it is to decrease in population. Thus many of the smaller villages have passed out of existence.

It is unfortunate that we do not possess any very competent surveys of village life. As it is, we rely on observations, from which generalizations must be made cautiously. However, a series of recent studies[6] show certain salient characteristics. Instead of presenting a single case study of a village, it seems best to call attention to certain general features as revealed by these studies and by observation.

The Main Types of Villages. American villages differ in external appearance, in composition of people and institutions, and in general conditions. While they vary also in different sections of the country, they generally may be classified as *agricultural* and *industrial*. Most of them are of the former type, but there were some 4000 industrial villages in 1920. The agricultural villages are more or less evenly distributed throughout the country in proportion to the population; the industrial villages are located in manufacturing and mining centers. Eastern states, with a dense population, have the largest number of villages per 100 square miles of area, whereas the Pacific and Mountain states have the smallest number per 100 square miles. The average size of village communities varies from 47 square miles in the Middle Atlantic states to 240 square miles in the Western States.

There is a great difference between the agricultural and industrial places in their family life, institutional facilities, social and

[5]John Gillette, *Rural Sociology* (1928), Ch. XIX.

[6]See G. Luther Fry, *American Villages* (1926); Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agriculture Villages* (1927); E. de S. Brunner, *Village Communities* (1928); and Brunner, *Industrial Village Churches* (1930). These studies were made under the auspices of The Institute of Social and Religious Research.

recreational activities, cultural level, conditions of living, and in village-farm relationships.

The agricultural villages vary in size, composition of the population, appearance, and social conditions, yet there is a certain sameness which is noticeable as one travels from place to place. The villages usually are located at intersections of roads or along the main highways, railroads, and interurban lines. The boundaries usually extend beyond the area occupied by the inhabitants, even including farm land. The farm area surrounding a village is in many ways an integral part of the village proper. Within the area are neighborhoods, various economic, educational, and social factors contributing to their formation. They may be bound together by national, denominational, and service ties, as well as economic and educational ones.

The industrial villages are dominated by industry, inhabited for the most part by factory workers or miners, and have little in common with the rural areas surrounding them. There are many social and racial groups, the turnover is great, and there is considerable mobility since a large percentage of the people do not own their homes. There is a preponderance of young people, especially young men, and there are many immigrants with families. In these villages conflicts result largely from membership in or loyalty to labor unions and the employee-employer relations. Since the industrial villages are divided into racial, occupational, and social groups, it is difficult to maintain adequate institutions and to effect coöperation in the chief concerns of life. Families live unto themselves. Sometimes there are cliques and small social groups, but generally the communities lack organization.

A village dominated by a single plant, known as a company town, often is in a bad condition. Houses are dilapidated, streets are unimproved, and modern conveniences seldom are found. The buildings frequently are owned by the company and are marked by a sameness of architecture that makes them unattractive and monotonous. The local life is controlled by the officials of the plant. Some companies furnish coal and electricity at cost, and often operate company stores. When the factories are going or the mines open, the people being gainfully employed spend money freely. As soon as work is stopped, income ceases and disorganization follows. Brunner[7] cites the case of a unionized coal town which,

[7] *Industrial Village Churches* (1930), p. 49.

before a strike and depression, was a prize village. Rubbish was not allowed to accumulate. Flowers bloomed, yards were trim, and the houses were neat. Today rows of dwellings are badly in need of paint, windows are broken, fences have fallen down or are leaning, yards are choked with rubbish and overgrown with weeds, sidewalks have disappeared, homes lack furniture, social life is disorganized, and institutions have perished. However, due to the foresight and social-mindedness of some employers, a new type of industrial village is appearing in certain sections of the country. Even so, paternalism makes democracy, civil pride, and a sense of common ownership impossible.

As villages become urbanized and modernized, business differentiation takes place; chain stores come in, motion picture establishments and other commercial concerns tend to control recreation and amusements, modern conveniences are introduced, churches are combined and modern church plants are built, new school buildings are constructed, and streets are improved. Villages thus become semi-urban centers. Industrial and suburban villages frequently have urban rather than rural characteristics.

The Inhabitants and Their Activities. The population of the agricultural villages is composed largely of native Americans, with a preponderance of older persons. Industrial villages have a larger percentage of foreigners and children of foreign or mixed parentage; those in the South have the lowest rate, and those on the Pacific coast and in the west north central states have the highest rate of foreign and mixed population. There is a preponderance of young men and young married couples with many children, rather than of old people.

The more thrifty village people as a rule live in individual houses which they usually own. These houses are surrounded by plenty of yard and garden space, but are often unpainted and unattractive, and lacking in conveniences. The poorer people live in small and often dilapidated dwellings. A few citizens who are wealthy may have large and relatively luxurious homes. Yet the contrast here between the wealthy and the poorer classes is not so great as in the cities.

Villagers through their activities seek to satisfy the same fundamental needs that the people in the hamlets already considered seek to satisfy. The village, however, is somewhat further removed

from the life of the farm, and provides more centers of interest; it is the hub of communal activities and the service headquarters for the surrounding region.

As a means of livelihood villagers engage in retail trade, garage and gasoline service, professional and personal tasks, transportation, public work, and clerical and domestic activities. Household duties are the major occupation of the women. A number of active farmers, farm laborers, and retired farmers often live in the village. In industrial villages, a large percentage of the population may engage in manufacturing or mining, while business and professional people minister to the more personal needs of the inhabitants.

The stores, barber shops, garages, gasoline stations, eating places, churches, schools, lodges, moving picture houses, pool rooms, streets, a public square or a park, and possibly a library, are the centers for leisure-time activities. Saturday afternoons and evenings, crowds of people can be seen busily engaged in shopping, walking up and down the streets, chatting and gossiping, attending motion pictures, lodges and dances, or sitting on benches watching the crowds pass. Farmers come to the village with their families to trade and to attend the various activities. On festal days the village takes on new life. Buildings and streets are decorated, people come from near and far to see the sights, and various civic organizations provide programs of entertainment. During the winter months or on rainy days the men gather around the larger central stoves in stores or in barber shops where they talk, exchange greetings and jokes, discuss politics, and sometimes transact certain business. On Sunday, business establishments are closed, people attend the numerous small churches, and occasionally there are ball games and other forms of recreation in the afternoon. Neighborhood visitation and automobile riding are common forms of recreation, Sunday afternoon. The schools, in addition to routine activities, furnish entertainment for the community on special occasions.

The structural outline of a community is easily discernible. In the central portion, along "main street" or around a central square, are the business establishments; they sell everything that the people need, and, if there is a market for the produce, they buy everything that the farmers or inhabitants of the village have to sell. The offices of the local doctors, dentists, lawyers, insurance and

real estate agents, barber shops, banks, restaurants, lodge halls, and other establishments are also located in the central business area.

The churches and schools, club buildings, library, motion picture house, and gas service stations, usually are located somewhere near the business houses. In an industrial village the industrial plants are located farther from the center, probably near the border of the town. The residential section for the workers may be contiguous to the plants, while the business and professional people live in residential areas in other outlying parts of the village.

The solidarity of the community is maintained by traditions, customs, sentiments, prides, prejudices, public opinion, gossip, and the relative absence of occupational differentiation and class distinctions. The population is small enough to permit personal acquaintance, direct contacts, and primary group control.

The Village and Its Hinterland. There usually is a large degree of interdependence between an agricultural village and the rural territory surrounding it so that mutuality and coöperation are encouraged. Nevertheless, conflicts occur; some of these are due to inadvertent acts, but usually the actual sources of difficulty lie in the fixing of prices of commodities, credit and banking, school administration program, the use of the proceeds from taxes, politics, church control, racial invasion, and differences of outlook. Cliques and factions also stir up trouble. The villagers, or certain factions and organizations, either have a tendency to dominate the country people, or the farmers feel that they are being dominated. The inhabitants of the villages likewise have grievances against the farmers. In spite of these differences and conflicts, the agricultural village community is composed of both farm and village population. It is convenient for the farmers to buy and sell in the village, which, in turn, is dependent upon the patronage and supplies of the farmers.

There are few contacts and relationships between the industrial villagers and the farmers surrounding them except for trading and other business enterprises. They have little in common, seldom know each other intimately, and often are indifferent or even antagonistic toward each other. The foregoing contrast between industrial and agricultural villages represents an outstanding difference between these two types of villages.

Although sufficient studies are not available to warrant generalizations, it is safe to assume that village life at its worst indicates that its institutional, civic, and social life is at a low ebb, that the population is decreasing, the most promising and best educated persons migrate to cities, health and sanitary conditions are neglected and often menacing, recreational and amusement facilities are poor, or even detrimental to morals, schools are inadequate, and that other vicious and degrading conditions exist. It may be assumed also that a village at its best is a thriving place, has institutions that function adequately, has civic pride, wholesome recreation, modern conveniences, health facilities, talented leaders, and intelligent and progressive people.

Summary. The rural community, whether centered in a hamlet or a village, has a unity seldom found in city areas. It possesses the essential social and economic resources for possible independent existence if properly organized. However, modern conditions seldom permit a self-sufficient life. Rural communities with good schools, churches, recreation provisions, trade facilities, and the necessary governmental and welfare agencies can supply the main necessities of life and maintain the communal existence with little disorganization. The village is inseparable from the surrounding hinterland. It depends upon the farm territory for the raw material and for the market. On the other hand, the farmers depend upon the village as a service center, since most of the communal institutions are located there.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. In what way is the rural community a sociological group? Compare a neighborhood with a community, and compare both with a society. How may the boundaries of a rural community be discovered? Illustrate.

2. Trace the development of the rural locality group. How does a modern rural community differ from the primitive agricultural village?

3. Compare village life as found in different countries. How do villages in China and India differ from European villages? Contrast village life in other lands with rural local life in America.

4. Study a contemporary rural community from the point of view of physical setting, composition of population, health and sanitation, family life and housing, standard of living and the problems of making a living, transportation and communication and their effects upon social contacts and social organization, conditions of schools, rural press, li-

brary facilities, the status of religion and morality, churches, recreation facilities, farm organizations, and rural government. Compare this community with the case study cited in this chapter.

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CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY STUDIES: A REPRESENTATIVE SMALL CITY

The processes of community growth and expansion can be seen more fully in the transformations that take place as a frontier settlement develops into a city. The community under consideration here is that of a small city of 14,000 inhabitants, called Parvurbia, which is located in Southern California.[1] In it can be found the general types of factors characteristic of villages and towns; but its social life is more complex, and the city itself tends to split into smaller areas and neighborhood groups. It, however, has the essential elements of a community.

Historical Sketch. If its history were traced fully, it would take us back to the romantic story of the early settlement of California by the Spanish friars from Mexico in the 18th Century. Missions were established not only along the coast, but also inland across the mountain range. The latter were dependent upon the coastal missions for supplies and trade, but the journey was long and difficult. Hence, at the western foot of the mountains, an intermediate station was established in a broad valley that was productive during the rainy season, but at other times was a desert. At this station a building was erected, in 1819, for lodging and supplies; and cattle raising was begun in the valley with the help of the Indians who inhabited the region. Later the station was converted into a missionary outpost, or Assistencia, of the San Gabriel Mission.

The land around the station soon was irrigated by water brought from the neighboring mountains through a small winding canal that was dug by the padres and their Indian helpers. The missionaries lived here and labored among the Indians, until the Assistencia was deserted as a result of secularizing the California missions by the Mexican government in 1833. The ruins of this

[1]This is a fictitious name, although no serious harm would result from its identification.

place, now being restored, constitute an historical landmark of the pioneer period.

In 1842, the entire east-central part of the valley, consisting of 37,000 acres, was granted to a single family which dominated the area for many years. Nine years later, about 500 Mormons came from Utah and purchased a part of the ranch, but they returned to their former home after a stay of six years.

Parvurbia, which is now located about three miles east of the old Assistencia, always has been known for its picturesque surroundings. The coastal range of mountains at the east, rising in places to an elevation of 11,000 feet and often covered with snow during the winter months, gives the valley a beautiful and inspiring background. Though the region was a desert, the annual rainfall being only about 14 inches, the water supply from the mountains made it possible to irrigate the valley. The naturally fertile soil, together with the water supply, soon converted it into a productive area.

The community did not develop as a unified settlement, but three distinct centers were formed. One was located eastward nearer the mountains, where orange groves were planted and a health resort was established. Another center was situated about two miles to the north-west. A school was established here, in 1872; a church was organized three years later; a store was built, in 1881; and a post office was opened the following year. However, a third settlement, Parvurbia, located about a mile south of the latter settlement, made the most rapid strides. It occupied higher ground, supposed to be useless because it extended above the reach of water; but two enterprising men formed a water company, which was later enlarged and incorporated, to furnish an adequate supply of water. A town site was laid out, business buildings were erected, and schools and churches were established. Two railroads made connections with the growing community, and a street car line was built over which cars were drawn by mules.

Meanwhile, there was keen rivalry between this rapidly growing settlement and the earlier one to the north. The older center had the government post office, and according to federal regulations another one could not be located within two miles. This issue was finally settled by federal officials, who decided in favor of the newer settlement. The tide of population and business turned definitely in the direction of Parvurbia, and in 1887 it was in-

corporated, with a population of about 1500. Although rivalry and bitterness continued for some time, they eventually ceased. One of the older settlements was absorbed as a residence section, and the other remains as a small suburban hamlet. In recent years, however, the population and business interests of the city are pushing their way out toward the earlier places of settlement.

The growth of the city continued rapidly after its incorporation until 1913, when killing frosts almost destroyed the citrus fruit industry, and many people left the community. Smudge pots, however, solved the frost problem, and, the region recovering from its slump, soon surpassed its earlier record of population. It is now a growing and prosperous community engaged in the varied activities of a small American city.

The People and Their Homes. The population is composed overwhelmingly of native American whites. The early settlers came from a wide range of states, from California to Connecticut. They came, also, for a variety of reasons,—for health, for farming and horticultural opportunities, for commercial advantages open to investors of capital, for work especially in connection with the fruit industry, for excellent educational opportunities, and for the climate and surroundings that provided a pleasant place in which to live. This diversity of sources and of purposes has given to the population a cosmopolitan character, not always found in a community no larger than Parvurbia; at the same time the population is homogeneous in its make-up, because the people are, to a large degree, the same kind regardless of the source from which they came. Nearly 90 per cent of the inhabitants are natives of the United States; small groups are from Canada, England, and Germany. There exists, therefore, a strong predominance of characteristic American ideals and standards of living.

The most notable exception to this is found in the population of about 1200 Mexicans, who mostly are day laborers in the orchards, in road improvement work, and in the care of lawns and gardens. In the main, they live by themselves, with their own social and church life, in one section of the city. They furnish a large percentage of the pupils in two of the city schools, although free to enter any of them. Their contacts with the American element are chiefly industrial and in the schools. A similar condition exists, likewise, with the Negroes in Parvurbia; they number

about 150 and live chiefly by themselves in one neighborhood. There are also a few Japanese, Chinese, and Indians.

The females in the population are about 10 per cent in excess of the males. About one-third of the inhabitants are under 21 years of age. The average birth rate for the ten-year period from 1920 to 1930 was 19.19 per 1000, and the average death rate was 13.8 per 1000,[2] showing a birth rate slightly lower and a death rate slightly higher than throughout the registration area of the United States as a whole. During this decade there was a natural increase of 731 persons, as over against a net gain of 3832 due to migrations.

The inhabitants live in 2963 dwellings, and are grouped in approximately 4100 families, with an average of 3.4 members to the family. The houses vary from floorless shacks, in which some of the Mexican families live, to pretentious palaces, surrounded by elaborate grounds and gardens. The poorer dwellings are along the railroad tracks near the business district, and in the northwestern section of the city, and are occupied mainly by Mexicans and Negroes. The majority of the houses, however, are attractive and comfortable residences of the well-to-do families.

Community Activities. In the preceding chapter the essential interests and activities of community life, discussed in connection with rural and village communities, were seen in their simplest form, as if reduced to their lowest terms. The same fundamental interests and activities are found to exist also in Parvurbia. It will not be necessary, therefore, to repeat the phases of the subject which are no different in kind, and with which we are already familiar; it is advisable to touch upon the general phases of the subject briefly, and note some of the differences due to the larger aggregation of population.

In general, the most notable difference is that the range of interests is greater in Parvurbia than in a smaller community. Interests in Parvurbia take more varied forms; for example, the recreation interests of the rural or village community have a rather restricted scope of satisfaction, while in Parvurbia interests expand as the range of things that may be done for recreation enlarges. That is, wider opportunities create new and more diversified in-

[2] In a study of the Mexican population made by one of the sociology classes, a family was found in which 27 children had been born to the same father and mother, 20 of whom had died.

terests, yet they cluster about the same fundamental needs that exist in simpler form in the smaller community. In the city, the interest in recreation may be a desire to go to the theater, the concert, the football game, the tennis match, the country-club dance, the golf course, the weekly Rotary or Kiwanis Club luncheon, or to hear a great lecturer or other special recreational appeals.

A natural increase in the number of activities in which the people engage accompanies any enlargement of the range of interests. The presence of more people in activity gives new spirit and tone to the life of the larger community. This is one of the attractions that draw people to the city. Then, too, the structural agencies through which the increased activities operate become more numerous and complicated. There is now a multiplicity of stores of all kinds ministering to the diversified needs of the population, more banks, more schools and churches, more doctors and lawyers, more offices and clerks, a larger choice of occupations, than ever before. In short, the simple life of the small community has been converted into the complex life of increased interests, diversified activities, and more numerous and complicated structural social agencies. With all this, there is no essential change in the basic nature of the wants, or even in the general classes of activities engaged in for the purpose of satisfying the wants. The differences between communities are those arising out of the size and complexity of the community group.

The predominant *source of livelihood* in Parvurbia is the growing and marketing of horticultural crops. While the city is primarily residential, it has become the center of a great citrus fruit district devoted to raising oranges, lemons, and grape fruit. It is contiguous to an extensive apple area in one direction, to almond orchards in another, and it is only a few miles from the leading vineyards of the state. Olives and English walnuts are likewise raised throughout the region.

It is estimated that $25,000,000 is now invested in the citrus fruit industry of the community, with over 14,000 acres in groves. From 4500 to 7000 cars of citrus fruit are shipped annually, varying with the crop; this produces an aggregate income of from $9,000,000 to $12,000,000. There are 27 packing houses operating within the district, employing from 1500 to 2000 workers, about 40 per cent of whom are women. The fruit industry is sea-

sonal in character, and many of the workers are transients, known as "croppers." Other industries have come in to supplement the basic citrus fruit enterprises, giving employment to large numbers of workers. The unskilled labor is performed largely by Mexicans, whose wages are from $3.50 to $4.00 a day in normal times, but much less than that in periods of depression. There is very little child labor, only 16 working children being found under 16 years of age.

Groceries and meat markets form the largest single class of retail trade. Real estate establishments are next in importance, followed by automobile sales houses and garages, and so on throughout the long list of business enterprises ministering to the needs of the people. Parvurbia has been successful in coöperative marketing, in connection with the orange industry. One of the two mutual associations has its main office here, and practically all the growers and packers of the region are affiliated with one or the other association. This results in more efficient production, more careful grading of the fruit, less waste in distributing the product, wider markets, and better prices. The "sunkist" oranges of the region are known throughout the United States.

Parvurbia, like many cities similarly situated, affords inadequate employment opportunities for its young people. The orange groves are worked largely by Mexicans, there are few industrial enterprises demanding laborers, the openings in the field of business are limited, and professional services, not greatly in demand, are supplied by more experienced workers. The result is a loss to the community of most of its young people when they are ready to undertake the serious activities of life. They have little choice but to go to the larger cities where vocational opportunities are more numerous and offer greater promise of success. This condition is seriously felt generally in the life of the city, in business, as well as in its recreational, social, and religious activities.

The educational activities and advantages. Much of the life of the region centers about its schools which provide excellent educational advantages. There are six public elementary schools, having an enrollment of 1803 pupils; a junior high school, with 830 pupils; a senior high school, with 655 pupils, making a total enrollment of 3288. There are 122 teachers, 31 of whom are men and 91 women. The average annual cost of instruction per pupil is

$85 for the elementary schools, $140 for the junior high school, and $195 for the senior high school.[3]

Perhaps the most outstanding change in the public-school program of the community, aside from the expansion of the curriculum, results from the increasing enlargement of informal and extra-curricular activities. Pupils are allowed greater freedom to assume initiative and to give expression to their natural, wholesome impulses; at the same time their activities are guided into character-building channels. The high school of the city has become a center, perhaps *the* center of the social, recreational, intellectual, and moral life of its young people. Nearly 45 per cent of the graduates, in 1929, went to college.

A college was located in Parvurbia twenty-four years ago by one of the leading religious denominations. The assets, including a beautiful campus of a hundred acres and fifteen modern buildings, now exceed $5,000,000. The college has an enrollment of 600 and a faculty of 50 members. In addition to its regular educational functions, the college provides lectures, concerts, and various other activities for the people of the community, as well as for its own students. Members of the faculty are identified with many of the educational and civic organizations of the city, and give talent and time in furthering the interests of the community. The city, being a college town, has an intellectual atmosphere not to be found in any other average residential or industrial city of its size.

The city library occupying a building in a city park, centrally located, contains about 50,000 volumes that are utilized by a reading public of 7,000 patrons. There are also branch libraries at four of the public schools.

There are other educational advantages, in addition to the schools and the libraries. Besides the local daily newspaper, with a circulation of 3500, two metropolitan dailies and also the leading daily of the neighboring county seat are extensively read. Fifty-six different magazines, with a combined circulation of 3650, are read in the community. The best seller is a cheap-story magazine, whose circulation is now diminishing. The agent through whom all of the magazines are distributed comments as follows: "There undoubtedly is a very definite shift from trashy and cheap litera-

[3]The statistics are for the school year, 1929–30.

ture to the higher class of reading matter, on the part of the readers of the community."

At the post office, the investigator was informed that the receipts had doubled during the past ten years, from $39,697.24 in 1919, to $77,342.58 in 1929, with about 20,000 pieces of mail now being handled daily,—an interesting commentary on the growing outside contacts of the community through the mails alone. There are 1048 business and 2314 residence telephones in the city. It is estimated by radio dealers that at least 70 per cent, probably 85 per cent, of the families have radio sets. Automobiles and excellent roads, together with the two railroads, encourage extensive traveling and enlarged social contacts.

The use of leisure time is assuming a place of major importance in Parvurbia, which offers abundant opportunities for *recreation, amusement, and sociability*. There are nine city parks. One, in the center of the town, contains an outdoor amphitheater which is a popular place of assembly for community gatherings; and another provides an outdoor swimming pool, apparatus for children's play, grounds for adult games, and equipment for family and community picnics. There are also elaborate recreational facilities in connection with the public schools, the Christian Associations, and the college. These facilities consist of gymnasiums, playgrounds, tennis courts, ball fields, theatrical properties, a large new auditorium, physical training apparatus, athletics, entertainments, and social gatherings. Several musical organizations, a federated woman's club, a country club and golf course, six men's service clubs, and fraternal organizations, are successfully conducted.

The House of Neighborly Service, with a building and equipment of its own, is a community enterprise devoted to the social and recreational life of the Mexican population. This organization is having notable influence, especially over the Mexican young people.

Among the commercial agencies of recreation and amusement are an attractive new moving-picture theatre, five pool halls, and opportunities for dancing. The commercial amusements of neighboring cities are also extensively patronized.

The automobile has become a major means of social contact and recreation. The old-fashioned parlor "call" has become obsolete. Calling is done in the auto. The climate of Parvurbia, more-

over, makes the use of the auto and other recreations possible with comfort throughout the year. The radio, on the other hand, is a call back to the home, bringing within one's own doors the entertainment and informational resources of all the world.

Concerts, recitals, entertainments, dramatic performances, art classes and exhibits, and similar activities provide not merely enjoyment, but furnish opportunities for artistic expression. Through these activities the community is organized for the aesthetic satisfaction of the various interested groups.

The *religious interests and activities* of the city center in 24 church organizations, representing 17 different denominations. Twenty-three of these organizations own their own buildings. In addition to the Sunday services, all but one have mid-week meetings. Most of them also have sub-organizations for carrying on their work, such as men's and women's societies, young people's organizations, missionary societies and committees, and recreational and social gatherings. With all these opportunities, however, less than half of the population belong to churches, and less than a third are regular attendants at church services.

The local churches have been organized within the memory of men and women still living in the community. Interviews with the charter members and with the present pastors, and a study of the early files of the local newspaper, have brought to light several important changes during a generation. The preaching is less doctrinal and more practical and popular in character, than formerly. There is a growing liberalism among the membership of the leading churches and an increasing emphasis upon the practical application of religion.

There is an evident increase in the number of subsidiary organizations connected with the churches, and the activities gathering about them. The Sunday services do not have the relative place of importance which they formerly held. The emphasis upon church activities, however, is apparently in process of modification at the present time; this is due to the great multiplication of outside interests and attractions, which makes it increasingly difficult to maintain the social activities of the church.

There is a more evident spirit of fellowship and good will among the different churches and denominations today than formerly. This manifests itself not only in spirit, but in active coöperation in such directions as the ministerial association, union meetings

during the summer and on special occasions, the maintaining of a community board of religious education and a teacher training school, and in coöperative efforts for community improvement along all lines in which the churches can exert an influence.

These tendencies are not equally apparent among all the churches in the city. Two types are found. The half-dozen largest and most influential churches represent the attitudes indicated above. They have fairly comprehensive religious and social aims and programs of work. There is a large group of smaller churches, however, probably a majority of those in the city, whose work is carried on in an unorganized, haphazard way, often depending upon bursts of religious fervor unharnessed to the needs and burdens of modern life, alternating with discouraging periods of difficulty in keeping the church going.

The most comprehensive agency of public activity is the *political organization.* Parvurbia was incorporated under the laws of the state as a city of the sixth class, and has never changed its status in this regard, although it now would be eligible for the fourth class. The legislative and executive authority is vested in a board of trustees, or city council, composed of five members elected for a term of four years. One of their number is appointed by the others to act as chairman of the board and mayor of the city. The other members of the city government are appointed, and their duties and salaries fixed, by the city council, except the clerk and the treasurer, who are elected by the citizens.

The administrative work is divided into the usual departments of modern city administration, which do not need to be enumerated. Through these departments, the life, health, and property of the population are safeguarded, and the orderly processes of associative life are maintained. The city government is the ultimate official unifying agency of the community. It does not confine its activities to abnormal aspects incident to living together. It is the community itself officially organized in the interests of its collective welfare.

Conflict and Coöperation. The life of Parvurbia perhaps may better be visualized by calling attention briefly to a few of the *conflict* situations that have arisen from time to time.

Attention already has been called to the conflict between the three early settlements as to which should survive, and to the decision of the federal authorities to transfer the post office to

Parvurbia. A recent issue has arisen with reference to the location of the post office within the city itself. The federal government proposed to erect a post office building if the city would furnish an acceptable site. This led to seriously conflicting opinions and interests. Real estate men had their own interests to serve, and private individuals had locations to offer. A large and representative committee finally was appointed to consider the location in all its aspects. A site was chosen contiguous to the downtown park in which the public library and the outdoor amphitheater are located; thus, another feature was added to the developing civic center.

About 1890 a group of enterprising, wealthy people came to the city from the East, determined to make Parvurbia an aristocratic pleasure center. They spent their money lavishly to provide gaiety and thrills. After twenty years, however, these people began to lose their importance in the city. As the older people died, their large fortunes were divided and dissipated, until today hardly a remnant of this group is to be found. At various times, certain interests have attempted to go to the other extreme, and convert the town into an industrial center. But these efforts also have failed, and the city continues to be primarily a residence community, dominated by diversified educational and commercial interests.

For years there was controversy over the widening of Main Street. The street in the northern part of the city was wider than that in the southern part. To make things worse, the break came in the middle of one of the business blocks. After much argument, the remainder of the street in this block was widened on one side. Leases on the buildings on the opposite side of the street would not expire for a term of years. Eventually the owner of the buildings secured the return of the leases, and an agreement was reached with the city council concerning damages. Part of the buildings were then cut back, and the corner building was torn down and replaced by a new building conforming with the new street line.

A question arose over a bond issue to finance the enlarging of the junior high school building and to erect a much-needed high school auditorium. The high school district extends beyond the city limits, and includes several smaller towns. When the proposed bond issue came up, one of the towns argued that it had been

promised a junior high school of its own. The people of the smaller town accordingly worked against the measure, and defeated it by six votes. Later, when a second vote was taken, the people of the outlying town were persuaded that the passage of the bond issue would not be injurious to their interests, and therefore agreed to permit the buildings to be erected.

A dispute arose recently between the city council and the city-planning commission. The latter, appointed by the council, is responsible to it. Its function is to make an expert study of city planning and zoning problems, and advise the council with reference to them. Following the advice of this commission, the city had been carefully zoned and many improvements made; its recommendations had so long been followed, as a matter of course, that it had come to be regarded more or less as an independent body. But in this case, involving the location of a gas-service station in a residential zone, the council exercised its prerogative, and granted permission contrary to the recommendation of the commission. The latter body was much incensed, and the chairman and several others of its members resigned. However, because of their efficient service, pressure was brought to bear upon them, and they finally consented to remain in office.

A controversy, apparently over the pastor, arose in one of the prominent churches of the city; although other issues were doubtless involved, one faction demanded the pastor's resignation, and temporarily gained possession of the church property. The dispute was taken to court, which returned the property to the faction supporting the pastor. The "outs," constituting the more influential part of the membership, withdrew and erected a new edifice, leaving to the others the inferior wooden building that had been occupied. Temporarily there are two congregations, but eventually the new organization probably will absorb the older one.

Other illustrations might be given, but the foregoing suffice to show that in a city of the size of Parvurbia there are many men of many minds, and that the normal progress even of a homogeneous population has conflicts enough to give zest to the process of community development.

Nevertheless, underlying the conflicts, this city is characterized by an unusually strong spirit of civic *coöperation*. The various elements and agencies are drawn together by mutual interests, and work together to achieve their fruition. This spirit is

especially evident in the governmental activities, the churches, the various men's service clubs and women's organizations, the chamber of commerce, the realtors' and grocers' associations, the associated charities, and many other groups. The public school system and the college also have done more than to provide educational opportunities; they have helped to unify the community into a common whole.

The city has been fortunate also in its generous individual citizens. Many years ago, two wealthy brothers from the East bought the heights contiguous to the city, and, by planting them with trees and shrubbery suited to the region, converted them into an area of rare beauty. A drive passes through this highland park, open to the public, giving an outlook over the surrounding country in all directions. One of the brothers also donated a fifteen-acre park in the center of the city, and erected in it the library building. Another citizen has added to the building as the library has grown. Another has given a prosellis for the outdoor amphitheater in the park, while still another has provided a Lincoln memorial shrine near the library. These are illustrations of gifts and services on the part of many public-spirited citizens.

Maladjustment. Parvurbia has its share of maladjustment in those who fail to adapt themselves to modern conditions of community living. Of the 453 arrests made during the past year, 329 were for motor vehicle violations, 43 for burglaries, 17 for violation of liquor laws, and 64 were juvenile offenders. One of the authors supervised a study in 1928 of all cases of juvenile delinquency in Parvurbia during the preceding five years, with special reference to a comparison of its relative extent among Mexican children and American children. The result showed three times as much delinquency among Mexican children in proportion to population as among the whites; these results compare quite accurately with those of similar studies elsewhere, and show how difficult it is for the children of immigrants to strike a balance between their home life and modern American community relationships.

Poverty is less serious than in industrial cities and larger centers of population, and is found chiefly among the Mexicans and Negroes. Some charity work is done by individuals in the city, and by churches and fraternal societies; but the organized private agency for the care of the unfortunate is the associated charities.

This organization very generally is utilized by other agencies as a reference bureau and clearing house; it does also independent case work under the supervision of a trained secretary. The official public-charity agency is the welfare department of the county, under the auspices of the county supervisors, located at the court house in the near-by county seat. The more chronic and permanent cases of dependency, requiring larger expenditures, are turned over to the county department. A visiting nurse works in connection with the city associated charities. Eighty per cent of her cases are among the Mexicans, where the problems are chiefly those of babies' food and child care, due to the ignorance of the mothers. According to the head of the county welfare department, the difficulty in helping the Mexicans is that they cannot be brought above a certain standard. When they receive more than enough to maintain that standard, they send for some of their relatives to come from Mexico, or give their surplus to their neighbors.

No statistics are available for the extent of family disorganization. The divorce records are kept only for the county as a whole, and other means of estimating the amount of family difficulties are also lacking. A survey of Mexican families revealed the fact that in many cases the parents had never been formally married according to American custom, but this common-law marriage is not contrary to their ideas, and does not seem to affect family stability. The difficulty in these homes is, on the one hand, mainly one of adjustment of the children to the crude home conditions, and on the other hand, adjustment to the ways of American children and school conditions; these problems are as well not wholly absent in many American homes.

Social Areas in the Community. In accordance with the conception of a community and the plan of treatment adopted in this volume, Parvurbia hitherto has been regarded as a community unit. It already has reached a size and state of development, however, where social areas are developing, with their own respective characteristics. At least five such areas are fairly evident. One is the retail business district, occupying the lowlands in the center of the city. A second is the industrial district, in which the fruit packing houses are located, chiefly along the railroad tracks. A third is the poorer residential district lying north of the tracks, and extending into the northwestern section of the city.

This is occupied chiefly by Mexicans, with comparatively few Negroes living in the eastern part of the district, and, therefore, might be subdivided into two social areas. The fourth area is in the northeastern part of the city, where the college is located. It gradually is being built up by a college community, intermingled with other congenial residents. The fifth area is the wealthier region of pretentious homes in the southern part of the city. None of these areas is occupied exclusively by the types indicated, but characteristically enough so that the areas are evident.

In this situation, therefore, there begin to emerge the various types of social and ecological areas which become so clearly defined in great metropolitan centers, and which break up the community into communities, as discussed in the following chapter.

Other Types of Small Cities. In contrast with Parvurbia one might cite small industrial towns and cities in which are found a greater amount of disorganization and in some cases a lack of the essential institutions and agencies that make for successful coöperative living. The predominant interests of Parvurbia and its hinterland are agriculture and education. There is not only a unity of interests but a relative homogeneity of the people, as we have seen. In industrial cities one finds a heterogeneity and mobility of people. The main interest there is in the production and marketing of industrial commodities. Since the owners of such establishments frequently live elsewhere, and the workers have no direct interest in the industrial plants, there is a lack of attachment to the city. The changing nature of industrial cities, the heterogeneity and mobility of the people, poverty and the lack of home ownership, cultural variation, these and other factors make industrial centers less stable and unified than the more substantial residential cities.[4]

Summary. Larger in population than the rural and village communities considered in Chapter II are the small cities, of which Parvurbia is one type. The human interests and wants here are not different in kind, but they break up into more diversified forms and exist in greater number due to more numerous contacts and the more complicated demands of life. What is true of added wants is also true of the greater number and variety of

[4]For further comparisons consult Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (1929); Jesse F Steiner, *The American Community in Action* (1928); and Graham R. Taylor, *Satellite Cities* (1915).

social agencies working for the satisfaction of those wants. The community organization is still fairly simple as compared with large cities, but life is enriched by wider contacts than those of the hamlet and village. These interests and activities are traced in Parvurbia in the fields of business, education, recreational and social life, religion, and government. Conflict and adjustment are incidents of community development here, as in all human groups, and maladjustment exists, with its fruitage of crime, vice, poverty, and disorganization. In a small city like Parvurbia, however, with its homogeneous population and relatively stable conditions, these are not so aggravated as among more heterogeneous groups of high mobility. But even in Parvurbia signs begin to appear of a breaking up into different residential areas inhabited by different types of residents, prophetic of the heterogeneity, mobility, and disunity of other types of small cities and larger centers of population.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Would you prefer to live in a rural community, a village, a city the size of Parvurbia, or a large city? Why?
2. Study and write a report on one of the types of community activity, discussed in a chapter of *Middletown,* by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd.
3. Study the same kind of activity in your home community, so far as you can do so from memory.
4. List all the *types* of activity (not different activities) in your home community, and compare your list afterwards with those given in the present volume and in *Middletown.*
5. Read Chapters V (Roxbury) and VI (Ferrum) in *The American Community in Action,* by J. F. Steiner, and be prepared to report on them in class.
6. Why is social disorganization greater in a city with a heterogeneous population than in one where the population is homogeneous? Illustrate.
7. Give and discuss a situation of conflict in your home community, and its adjustment. Do the same for a case of maladjustment.

SELECTED REFERENCES

SEE REFERENCES AT END OF CHAPTERS II AND IV.

CHAPTER IV

Studies of Urban Areas and Communities

The importance of the contemporary community as a unit of social study is now apparent. Certain typical features appear in the case studies presented in the previous chapters. While there are differences, due largely to the variations in the degree of complexity, yet there are common interests, activities, and social organizations.

Do these same characteristic features exist in large and more complex communities? Whenever people live a common life together, are they engaged in the same essential activities regardless of the simplicity or complexity of the social life? Are the great differences between cities like New York and rural communities, those growing out of size and complexity rather than of basic needs and types of activities? These are important questions to bear in mind as the characteristic features of certain great urban centers are considered.

THE GROWTH OF CITIES

The concentration of people in urban centers is one of the very noticeable conditions in the more recent development of important countries. Historically the world has been predominantly rural; while still largely so, it is fast becoming urbanized, particularly in the Western Hemisphere. England is nearly 80 per cent urban; and Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, France, and other European countries are rapidly increasing their city population. London is probably 2000 years old, and yet four-fifths of its growth has taken place since 1800, and Paris has grown fivefold during that time. The most phenomenal city growth has occurred in the United States. In 1800, only 3.4 per cent of the people in this country lived in six cities with a population of 8000 and over. By 1900 nearly one-third of the people lived in cities, at which time the dividing line between rural and urban was fixed at 2500.

According to the 1930 census, 56.2 per cent of the inhabitants of this country are classed as city dwellers, as compared with 51.4 per cent thus classified in 1920, making an increase of approximately 5 per cent in the last 10 years. The total population is 122,775,046, of which 68,955,520 are classed as urban.

Although the process of urbanization is going on throughout the United States, the rate of growth varies with regions and states. Due to a change made in the classification of urban and rural regions, a comparison of city growth by states is impracticable. However, the percentage of urbanization in various regions may be ascertained. The New England, Middle Atlantic, Pacific, and East North Central regions are the most highly urbanized, whereas the South is largely rural. Florida is an exception, but her city growth is a recent trend. Apart from the District of Columbia, which is classed as 100 per cent urban, Rhode Island is the most highly urbanized state, with 92.4 per cent of her people living in cities; and Massachusetts is second, being 90.2 per cent urban. On the other hand, North Dakota is only 16.6 per cent urban, South Dakota 18.8 per cent, and Mississippi 16.9 per cent.

There are 23 cities in the world with a population of over a million each, of which five are in the United States. New York has nearly seven millions, Chicago three and a third millions, Philadelphia nearly two millions, and both Detroit and Los Angeles passed the million mark during the last ten years.

There are four sources of urban growth: rural-urban migration, immigration, natural increase, and the extension of city boundaries. The most significant of these is rural-urban migration. It is estimated that the net city-ward movement of people in the United States since 1920 has been in the neighborhood of a half million per year. The chief causes of city-ward migration are economic, together with mechanical conveniences and the cultural and social advantages of city life. Many farmers, not being able to make ends meet since the drop in the prices of agricultural commodities, have augmented the city-ward migration.

It must be remembered that, in spite of the rapid movement of the population to the city, the rural population is not declining. The natural increase of the population has compensated for the loss due to the migration to the city. The gain, however, has been slight during the past two decades and not to be compared with

the disproportionate, rapid growth of cities. Some states actually have lost in rural population.

THE COMPLEXITY OF CITY LIFE

The Great Size. The size of the city makes for increasing complexity and produces significant changes in community life. When people are crowded together in large cities it is impossible for them to live the local-communal type of life. There is a vast difference between a rural community, such as the one described in a preceding chapter, and a city like New York. The relative smallness and solidarity of rural communities make it possible for a person to include in his associational range the total population. In the large city a person can know and have personal contacts with only a small proportion of the inhabitants. The largeness of urban centers has made social control difficult, and has increased social disorganization.

Heterogeneity of the Population. Divergent racial and nationality groups find refuge in the large cities. The city has its rich people, many of whom manipulate and control business, politics, and social life. On the other hand, it also has its poor and socially rejected types of people. In fact the city harbors all kinds of people.[1] They come from all parts of the world with diverse cultural backgrounds and with a wide range of interests. They become stratified according to wealth and social prestige, or the lack of these. The diversity of heterogeneous groups makes it difficult to achieve unity and harmony in a modern city.

Mobility.[2] The constant circulation of the population gives zest to the city. In a way it represents its pulse. "In 1922, 15,331,000,000 passengers rode in electric vehicles and about 40 millions in busses operated by electric railway companies."[3] By 1930 the total passenger load had shrunk to a little over 13 billion rides. But the aggregate registration of passenger automobiles, cars for hire, taxicabs and busses in the United States exceeded the 23 million mark during that year, a large portion of which were

[1]According to Anderson and Lindeman, *Urban Sociology* (1928), Chapter XII, the great city teems with social types, such as the rich man, the philanthropist, the booster, the feminist, the club woman, the club man, the rebel, the Bohemian, and the various socially rejected types.

[2]For references see Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (1927); and Anderson and Lindeman, *op. cit.*, Chapter VII.

[3]*Recent Social Trends in the United States*, report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, Vol. I (1933) pp. 180–181.

in cities. These devices of transportation have revolutionized every phase of life.

The crowds in the city move by waves. During the early morning and late afternoon hours great masses of people move to and from work. Between these peak periods, waves of shoppers, night workers, and pleasure seekers can be seen. There is no period of the day, nor even during the night, which is relatively free from traffic. The constant stream of moving humanity gives the city a tonal quality and a hum not to be found in rural districts.

Not only do people travel from their homes to various places of interest, but they move from house to house and from community to community. Local migrations, especially the inter- and intra-community migration, have not adequately been studied, and the data are highly unreliable. Lind,[4] however, has made an interesting and quite accurate study of population mobility in Seattle. He investigated particularly three types of movements: international, inter-community, and intra-community. One-fourth of the population of Seattle is foreign born, and most of the others were born outside of the city. Only four cities[5] had a lower per cent of their population born in the state of their residence than Seattle. A study of 1800 school children with a median age of 13 revealed that the average child had lived in at least two communities. Adult inter-community movement is even greater. Forty-four per cent of the registered voters had lived in their precinct less than one year, and 79.3 per cent (including the 44 per cent) had lived in the same precinct less than five years. Lind found also that there is a considerable shifting around within the community itself. Advertising, the mobile character of industry, seasonal and periodic employment, unemployment, excessive rents, financial success, excessive distance to work, housing conditions, uncongenial neighbors or landlords, influence of relatives, health and climate, family disorganization, and the desire for travel are some of the factors which condition mobility. The effects of excessive mobility are so extensive that they can hardly be overemphasized.

Occupational Differentiation. In rural communities the predominant occupation is agriculture. In cities there is a minute division of labor and a variety of occupations. That importance is

[4]Andrew Lind, *A Study of Mobility of Population in Seattle,* Bulletin issued by the University of Washington, 1925.

[5]Long Beach, Los Angeles, and San Diego in California, and Tulsa, Oklahoma.

attached to occupations is evidenced by the fact that people are classified according to what they do rather than by families. One's occupation represents a criterion of status in the community.

A research worker listed the occupations that were found on the depositors' cards in a large savings bank,[6] among which appeared such unusual ones as: carillon player (chimes), eye setter (in doll's heads), dandelion picker, cork screwer, lion tamer, hedge trimmer, checker player, coffin designer, door knob polisher, liquor taster, grave liner, smell man, flea trainer, and hole painter (in dominoes).

Not only is there an increase of specialization and occupational differentiation, but occupational groups tend to become segregated in specific areas. Certain types of business establishments, professional groups, and social institutions tend to cluster together. Every city has its retail, wholesale, manufacturing, and recreational areas.

Possibly the most important factor to note in this regard is that occupational differentiation creates a diversity of occupational interests, habits, attitudes, and social values. Psychologically an occupation represents a specialized form of behavior and conduct. The diversity of occupations and the corresponding diversity of occupational patterns of behavior make it difficult to organize the people on a community basis.[7]

Anderson and Lindeman[8] present a partial list of social groups in modern urban communities. The groups are classified as: functional, occupational, philanthropic and reform, religious, nationality, memory, symbolic, service-recreational, political, feminist, and atypical. The atypical groups represent departures from the norm, such as gangs, criminals, bohemians, intellectuals, and many others. All of them, whether typical or atypical, represent special interest groups, each with a specific purpose and function.

Cultural Variation. Divergent culture traits result in conflicts, social change, and frequently in disorganization. They make the urban environment complex and social control difficult. The differences in culture in large cities are due not only to the

[6]Harriett K. Burton, "Specialization in Occupation," *Sociology and Social Research*, January–February, 1931, pp. 250–254.

[7]A further treatment of occupations may be found in Chapter VIII.

[8]*Urban Sociology*, Chapter XIV.

difference in racial and national backgrounds and social stratification, but the diversity of interests and social groupings also make for cultural variation.

In addition to the size, heterogeneity, and mobility of the population, the occupational differentiation and diversity of special interest groups and cultural variation, urban life is still further complicated by *excessive competition and conflict* of business and social institutions and interests, by the constant *activities to supply the necessities of life and to remove the waste,* and by the *mechanization of the urban environment.* The machine and the movement toward standardization of every phase of life's activities have made for a mechanized society, especially noticeable in the large cities.

The complexity of urban life thus differentiates the city from rural communities. The people in rural localities know each other, have frequent contacts,[9] and coöperate in the chief concerns of life. As the community increases in size, spreading over a larger area, it breaks up into smaller units and the person's associational range is restricted more to a particular locality or neighborhood. The beginning of the localized areas can be seen in the country town and the small city. The large city, however, has many more functional areas. Racial and nationality areas emerge. The residence region becomes differentiated into the exclusive residential districts, the region of single homes, various grades of apartment house areas, and tenement areas. The urban environment is thus highly segmented into natural areas and divergent groups of people. In some, the associations are very intimate, whereas in others they are more remote. While in a way a person may include the total population in his associational range, yet many of his contacts are of a secondary nature. His more intimate contacts are restricted to a number of particularized associational groups and areas.

It must be remembered, however, that the basic interests, activities, and agencies remain essentially the same, though they are altered and become more complex as the city grows larger. The home, and the economic, educational, recreational, religious, and political institutions are maintained in the city. They perform

[9]Compare H J. Burt, *Contacts in a Rural Community,* Research Bulletin, 125, Agriculture Experiment Station, University of Missouri, 1929.

the same general functions that they do in rural communities, but they tend to adjust themselves to the urban situation.

Disintegration. The structural and functional changes which are occasioned by the rapid urban movement and the increase of the complexity in urban life are important characteristics of modern cities. The city is in a constant state of flux.[10]

The term "social change" has been applied to the various forms of transitions which take place in human society and which alter the social life. Social change occurs in every phase of life and in all kinds of communities, but cities are the centers of great variations and revolutionary innovations. Rural society changes slowly, especially as compared with city life.

Disintegration occurs wherever there is rapid transformation or whenever the transitions are uneven. The disintegration of communal life is a natural consequence of the various structural and functional changes which take place in the city. The increase of mobility and communication made possible by the devices of transportation and communication, together with the rapid social mutations and the fusion of culture, have upset local social life.[11]

CHARACTERISTIC URBAN AREAS

While it is true that local communities are disintegrating in modern cities, yet it is possible to find certain more or less clearly differentiated areas and communities. The decentralized business centers, for instance, are characterized by a certain life of their own, and represent regions of social contact and interaction. Frequently social agencies cluster in these areas, such as churches, schools, recreation and amusement places, and other centers of activity.

Possibly the most clearly differentiated sections of the city are the immigrant and racial areas, the slum areas, and various specialized localities. These are areas in transition and tend to move farther and farther from the center of the city. A certain amount of disintegration accompanies the changing character of these re-

[10]The structural changes will be more fully treated in connection with the discussion of ecological areas and processes This is more properly a part of the treatment of the physical basis of community life. See next chapter. Consult also *The City*, by Park, Burgess, McKenzie and Wirth (1925), particularly Ch. III.

[11]Community maladjustments, also social change, will be treated in later chapters, and consequently a further discussion of disintegration is unnecessary at this point.

gions. It is possible to discern certain more or less clearly differentiated lines of transition in passing from one area to another.

Space does not permit the presentation of extensive case studies to illustrate the various types of regions. A citation of a few examples will serve to indicate the nature and characteristics of some of these areas.

The Gold Coast. Zorbaugh[12] describes a number of areas in the lower north side of the city of Chicago. First, he gives a description of the Gold Coast, an exclusive area. This is the area of the élite. He says in part, "They (people) live in a totally different world from that of the great city of which they are a part. Within this world they lead a life of kaleidoscopic activity, centering about the fashionable hotels along the Drive, fashionable resorts, 'pet charities,' the golf club, and the bridle path, to say nothing of the bridge and dinner table, nor the occasional trips to LaSalle Street. And of the prerogative of this world they are jealous."[13] However, he calls attention to the fact that the area is changing. It has been invaded by various classes of people, thus breaking up the original set. Yet the Gold Coast has a common background of experience and tradition. "Society" implies a separate region of residence and a certain amount of exclusiveness. This in turn makes for a more or less common body of traditions, conventions, attitudes, and experiences. The group becomes class conscious. Its solidarity is based largely on wealth, success, and social position. The people consider themselves as superior to other groups in the city.

Rooming House Area. In sharp contrast to the exclusive areas, are the "world of furnished rooms" and the slum region. The rooming house district in Chicago is directly west from the Gold Coast. It is marked by a sameness of buildings and streets. The houses are old and many are soot-begrimed. People live in furnished rooms and are not bound by traditions or conventions. While there are certain common characteristics in this area, there is no community solidarity and unity. "The constant comings and goings of its inhabitants is the most striking and significant characteristic of this world of furnished rooms. This whole population turns over every four months. There are always cards in the windows, advertising the fact that rooms are vacant, but these cards

[12]H Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, 1929.
[13]*Ibid*, p. 46

rarely have to stay up over a day, as people are constantly walking the streets looking for rooms. The keepers of the rooming-houses change almost as rapidly as the roomers themselves. At least half of the keepers of these houses have been at their present addresses six months or less."[14]

The Slum. Still farther west from the Gold Coast, but adjoining the rooming house area is the slum. "The slum is a distinctive area of disintegration and disorganization. It is an area of freedom and individualism. Over large stretches of the slum men neither know nor trust their neighbors. Aside from a few marooned families, a large part of the native population is transient; prostitutes, criminals, outlaws, hobos. Here, too, are the areas of immigrant first settlement, the foreign colonies, and here are congregated the 'undesirable' alien groups."[15] In this region are ramshackle buildings in which live the various types of submerged humanity. Many of the families are broken, poverty is rampant, and all kinds of human derelicts find their way into this deteriorated section of the city. The region is cosmopolitan, lacks convention, has a polyglot culture, and is so disintegrated that it cannot meet the ordinary crisis situations which arise. And yet the community, if it can be called such, displays characteristic attitudes and social patterns which differentiate it from adjoining areas. But in the rigid sense it cannot be called a community at all, at any rate it is far from being a normal community.

The Ghetto. Another very interesting natural and cultural area in a large city is the region of the Jewish community, known as the Ghetto. Wirth, in describing the Chicago Ghetto, says: "West of the Chicago River, in the shadow of the Loop, lies a densely populated rectangle of three and four story buildings, containing the greater part of Chicago's immigrant colonies. Among them is the area called 'the Ghetto.' This area, two miles wide and three miles long, is hemmed on all sides by acres of railroad tracks. A wide fringe of factories, warehouses, and commercial establishments of all sorts, enclose it. It is the most densely populated district of Chicago, and contains what is probably the most varied assortment of people to be found in any similar area of the world."[16]

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp 71–72. [15] *Op cit*, p. 128.
[16] Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (1928), p. 195.

Not only is this area hemmed in by physical barriers, but on all sides there are various other areas; Italian and Greek settlements, Hobohemia (the "main stem" of the migratory workers), and lesser groups of Turks, Gypsies, and Mexicans, while on the west there still linger a few Germans and Irish.

Probably the most outstanding characteristic of the Ghetto is its culture; it is preeminently a cultural community. Its life is so distinct that a person cannot help noticing the sudden transition as he enters it. The chief institution is the synagogue, around which centers not only the religious life but many of the social and cultural activities. The Yiddish newspaper, the theater, the Jewish language, and many other cultural features give the region a distinctive color. There is also great mobility of the population. The business establishments and activities, however, represent the most clearly discernible features of the region. The outdoor market is full of color and activity, as well as dirt, odors, and noises. Wirth describes a typical street scene as follows:

"The noises of crowing roosters and geese, the cooing of pigeons, the barking of dogs, the twittering of canary birds, the smell of garlic and of cheeses, the aroma of onions, apples, and oranges, and the shouts and curses of sellers and buyers fill the air. Anything can be bought and sold on Maxwell Street (which is the central business street of the Ghetto). On one stand, piled high, are odd sizes of shoes, long out of style; on another, are copper kettles for brewing beer; on a third are second-hand pants; and one merchant even sells odd, broken pieces of spectacles, watches and jewelry, together with pocket knives and household tools salvaged from the collection of junk peddlers. Everything has value on Maxwell Street, but the price is not fixed. It is the fixing of the price around which turns the whole clock of the drama enacted daily at the perpetual bazaar of Maxwell Street."[17]

Ganglands. Thrasher,[18] who has made the most extensive study of gangs, mostly boys' gangs, says that ganglands represent geographically and socially interstitial areas in the city.[19] By interstitial area is meant the region that intervenes between more or less normal areas. Purely residential and well-organized suburbs of the better type are practically gangless, for the activities of the children are well provided for in family, school, church, and

[17] *Ibid*, pp. 232–233.

[18] Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 gangs in Chicago* (1926).

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

other established institutions. But along the borderlands of these areas are found gangs. Gang activity in fact is rather definitely correlated with life in the slum areas. In Chicago, according to Thrasher,[20] the empire of the gang divides into three great domains: the "North Side jungles," the "West Side wilderness," and the "South Side badlands," which in turn break up into smaller kingdoms. These major areas constitute the poverty belt of the city. Gangs congregate on certain streets, in alleys, along rivers and canals, in junk yards, and other deteriorated regions.

In these ganglands are enacted the continuous drama of gang activities. "Gangs represent the spontaneous effort of boys to create a society for themselves where none adequate to their needs exists."[21] Their activities depend upon the felt needs and opportunities. Play, adventure, sheer physical activity, commercial amusements, loafing, conflicts with other gangs or with citizens and law enforcing officers, gambling, drinking, smoking, stealing, and talking occupy the attention and time of gang boys. No two gangs are alike in organization, purpose, or activities. Some last only a short time, while others are well-organized and have a continuous existence. Some gangs are of the conventional type, such as athletic clubs, whereas others are of the criminal type. Gangs are composed mostly of adolescent boys. They select natural leaders, have their own universe of discourse with many peculiar names and expressions, a code of morals, and other distinctive characteristics.

Hobohemia. The district into which the homeless types gravitate is known as "Hobohemia." It is the home of homeless men, the haven of the down-and-out. The central district in which they live is called the "main stem." Here one can find the hobos (migratory workers), tramps (migratory non-workers), bums (stationary non-workers), and all forms of submerged humanity and those preying upon them. These foot-loose, homeless, and many of them hopeless men, become segregated into regions. Cheap movies and burlesque houses, dance halls, dime novels, inferior restaurants and rooming houses, sometimes called flop-houses, missions, employment bureaus, and similar institutions are found in Hobohemia. Some prey upon the various types of men that

[20] *Ibid*, pp. 6–7.
[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

congregate in the district, while others endeavor to minister to their needs.

Chinatown, Little Mexico, Little Sicily, and the Black Belt all represent interesting culture areas. The regions already described illustrate sufficiently the exceedingly heterogeneous and polyglot character of the population of our large cities. All of these racial and nationality areas are more or less clearly differentiated from the other regions by the physical and cultural characteristics of the people and the unique institutions. So also are the slum regions, ganglands, and other disintegrated sections. These areas in a way are atypical rather than typical, yet every large city has them and they are characteristic of city life. They add color and variety to the metropolitan area and constitute a considerable part of its social problems.

Residential Zones. Every city has relatively stabilized residential zones. These areas are rather clearly differentiated in cities where there is a definite zoning plan. Apartment houses and residential hotels are located conveniently to the trade centers and main thoroughfares. Into these multiple-dwellings are herded together a variety of families, especially transient families and childless couples, usually of the middle and professional classes. Single family residences of various grades are located farther from the center of the city. The gradation is usually based upon the size and cost of buildings, the number of stories, and the like. Then there are the outlying districts characterized typically by bungalows and large yards, known as the area of commuters. The suburban families are usually fairly large, and the homes are owned by the occupants.

These various residential zones, occupied by the upper and middle classes, exhibit characteristics quite different from the physical and cultural features of immigrant colonies, racial districts, and other segregated regions. Although the communal lines are not clearly marked, it is nevertheless possible to locate relatively homogeneous areas. Traits indicative of economic status differentiate the various areas, rather than those of race or nationality.

The natural areas of cities, however, constitute the most unique and characteristic forms of subcommunities, each of which exhibits unique features of its own, distinguishing it from other areas. A certain amount of social life and functional unity exists

even in the somewhat deteriorated regions. The better residential districts frequently are geographically and physically isolated, with centers of interest and unity of their own. Others are characterized by cultural features or social life which make for relative isolation.[22] Many areas, however, are not so integrated.[23]

The city may thus be divided into many of these areas, sometimes called communities. The University of Chicago Department of Sociology has divided the city of Chicago into territories, representing natural areas, for the purpose of study.[24] Miss Palmer, who has been one of the chief directors of the studies, says that "it is not by accident that Chicago is divided into seventy-five local communities. During a century of progress it has developed into a complex metropolis, a mosaic of incorporated residential villages, industrial suburbs, immigrant colonies, business and commercial zones, and hotel and apartment-house areas. In this city we have found seventy-five of these areas, each a miniature society, with its own history and traditions, its own individual problems, and its own conception of the future. Hyde Park, Northcenter, Bridgeport, South Chicago—these are not just names on the map. They represent distinct units within the city, each an integral part of it to be sure, but each playing its own peculiar rôle in Chicago's destiny."[25]

The territorial group constitutes the social environment within which numerous other groups exist. The community in so far as it constitutes a natural area, being relatively isolated from the surrounding territory because it is a world in itself, represents a logical unit of study. Within it one can see vividly many social processes in operation and gain a first-hand understanding of social interrelationships.

Summary. It can be seen from the foregoing that city life is vastly more complex than that of a rural community or that of a small urban center. This complexity is due not only to the great size and congested conditions, but also grows out of the heterogeneity and mobility of the population, the occupational differentiation and cultural variation, the changing social life and dis-

[22]Compare R. D. McKenzie, *The Neighborhood* (1923), pp. 352–54.
[23]See B. A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (1929).
[24]See Vivien M Palmer, *Field Studies in Sociology* (1928).
[25]Quotation taken from *Social Backgrounds of Chicago's Local Communities*, prepared by Vivien M. Palmer, (Mimeographed, 1930).

integration. The differentiated urban areas show unique characteristics. Areas as distinct as the exclusive "Gold Coast" and the slum may be found close together. The variation and differentiation, as well as the zest and rush, give exuberance of life and make for dynamic social changes.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Describe an urban community. Compare the area with a rural community.

2. Differentiate between urban and rural life. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?

3. Trace the growth of cities. Why have American cities grown so rapidly? What are the sources of urban growth? Why do people migrate to cities? What factors make for extensive mobility within cities?

4. Why is it that some cities grow more rapidly than others? Compare New York with Boston, Los Angeles with San Francisco.

5. Analyze the structure of a city, especially the areas and regions, the streets and buildings, and the physical appearances.

6. What are the main functions of the city? How does it supply the needs of the people, remove waste, and control its life?

7. Classify the various groups that may be found in a city. How does occupational differentiation affect the life of the city?

8. Why is there extensive disintegration in modern cities? How do social changes and mobility affect the stability of urban life? In what sections of the city is disintegration most prevalent?

9. Compare the Gold Coast with the slum, as described by Zorbaugh. Why are slums conducive to the forming of gangs and to the committing of crime? What is meant by Hobohemia?

10. What are the different types of residential areas in a city? What natural factors help to produce differentiated residential areas? How does zoning help to control city life?

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CHAPTER V

The Bases of Community Life

The forms of communal activities and the problems of social maladjustment will be considered in the remaining chapters of Part One. Without activity there is no community. The various needs and interests are the centers of activity. The functional unity of the people brings about solidarity, and makes it possible to identify the community. That the community is a locality-group, composed of a number of people living within a contiguous geographic area, is evident from the discussion and from the illustrative case studies, thus far.

The drama of activities, however, cannot fully be understood without considering the physical setting and the nature of the social actors. An analysis of the physical and population bases of community life is a prerequisite to the understanding of the life scenes which are enacted upon the stage. But the background is complex and the influences emanating from it are difficult to measure. Therefore, at the outset it is necessary to understand clearly what is meant by the environmental background of community life.

The term "environment" may have many meanings. It frequently is thought of as the sum total of external factors and influences that come from the physical and social situations.[1] First of all, a community has a physical setting, including primarily the natural resources, climatic conditions, topography and elevation contour, and the location with reference to water bodies, mountains, and so forth. These natural physical agencies and the mechanical processes that emanate from them constitute the inorganic factors. The physical environment, however, includes also such organic and biological factors as plants and animals, insects and parasites, as well as the natural biological processes. Carrying the analysis farther, we may include also the physical objects created

[1]Compare L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (1926), pp. 75–76.

by the hand of man. Man has made tools to work with, weapons to hunt and fight with, and ornaments and clothing to wear. He has also built houses to live in; factories, shops, stores, and offices to work in; and has constructed a vast network of devices of communication and transportation. All the physical objects and influences with which man comes in contact represent elements in the make-up of the physical environment.

The social environment includes also elements made by man as a member of society. Tools, weapons, clothing, buildings, and machines, are not only a part of the physical environment, but of the social as well. They represent physico-social factors. The same is true of domesticated plants and animals, which may be called bio-social factors. But the main aspects of the social environment are the people; their attitudes and interests, beliefs and traditions, customs and mores, language and inventions, and the network of social institutions and human associations,—economic, political, recreational, educational, religious, social, esthetic, and many other special kinds.

It is neither possible nor necessary to treat all of these environmental factors in a single chapter. Only a few major ones need be singled out for special consideration to show the importance of the stage setting for the understanding of the drama of life. These factors are for convenience subsumed under: (1) the physical basis, and (2) the population basis.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS

The physical environment is only a phase of the total environmental situation, and yet it exerts an important influence. The community case studies, considered in the previous chapters, show the effects of the geographic factors upon the density and movements of the population, the economic resources and occupations, the physical energy and mental alertness of the people, and the whole system of cultural traits.

There are at least four groups of geographic factors which have significant influence: (1) soil and other natural resources, (2) climatic conditions, (3) topography and elevation contour, and (4) location, or geographic position. These four types of conditions constitute the major factors of the physical basis of community life.

Natural Resources. The fertility of the soil and the oil, coal, mineral and other natural resources are largely responsible for the growth of the community and the general limits of its size and development. The ambitious promoters of a little inland prairie town posted as their slogan, "Watch us grow into a Chicago." Such an aim is absurd in view of the fact that the resources of the small agricultural village preclude the possibility of its rivaling the metropolis that, situated at the head of an inland sea, is the gateway to the central and most fertile portion of the United States.

Steiner[2] cites a country town which was expanded beyond the resources of the surrounding region and became economically saturated. The town grew very rapidly during a boom period, but lacking in resources it soon suffered deterioration.

It is evident that the natural resources of a community condition the size, structure, culture, wealth, and practical prestige of a people. Soil is one of the basic natural resources of the earth. The early human groups seem to have centered in the fertile valleys, such as those of the Ganges, the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates, and others. People are dependent upon the fertility of the soil for their sustenance. If the soil is neglected it will affect the prosperity of the people. Thus the conservation of the soil has been one of the chief problems of the agricultural peoples.[3]

Climatic Conditions. Changes in climate produce changes in the life of the people.[4] The effects of the seasons are obvious. Summer months tend to retard activity, whereas winter months require greater energy. It is a custom in such countries as Spain for stores and business to take a siesta just after the noon hour because of the excessive heat. The energetic Germans become inert in the warm climate of Brazil. Certain diseases are common during the summer, others are frequent only during the winter. Changes in humidity and temperature affect the physiological processes, mental vigor, and health of the people. Weather also affects work.[5] There are different opinions as to what constitutes an ideal climate. Southern California, Florida, Switzerland, and certain other portions of the world are advertised as having the best climate. Huntington maintains that "on the basis of both

[2]Jesse F. Steiner, *The American Community in Action* (1928), Ch. II.
[3]See L. H. Bailey, *The Holy Earth* (1923)
[4]Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, 3rd edition (1915).
[5]See E. G Dexter, *Weather Influences* (1904).

work and health, the best climate would apparently be one in which the mean temperature rarely falls below the mental optimum of perhaps 38°, or rises above the physical optimum of about 64°. From this point of view the most ideal conditions would seem to be found where the temperature for the year as a whole averages not far from 51°, as at London, Paris, New York, and Peiping (Peking)."[6]

It has been found that too even a climate is not stimulating. Historically, civilization has made the most rapid and extensive advance in the temperate zone. The torrid zone retards activity and demands less of the people. The frigid zones stimulate people to activity, but the struggle for existence is greater than in the other zones. The rigors of the colder climate rendered human life impossible until man learned how to protect himself from the cold. The excessive rigors of the far north or south are as non-conducive to the highest development of human life and culture as the exhausting heat of the torrid regions.

Topography and Elevation Contour. The density and movement of the people, the routes of transportation, the urban sites and the outlines of cities, and the location of communal agencies, are conditioned largely by the topography and the contour of the region. The surface of the earth is divided into mountains, valleys, plains, plateaus, deserts, streams, lakes, and oceans. These determine in the main where and how people shall live. Only about one-tenth of the earth is fitted for habitation and social life, and even this varies greatly in fertility and environmental influences.

The human race has lived for the most part in valleys and plateau regions. Here the soil was relatively fertile, water plentiful, and nature provided an abundance of plants and animals. The limits of their habitat were fixed, however, by the richness of the soil and natural resources, by climatic conditions, and by topography. The tribes in mountainous regions live there largely because they have been forced to do so by enemy tribes. Mountain tribes are usually small and eke out a meager existence with considerable difficulties. Tibet is known as the "roof of the world." Its elevation is so high and the topography so rugged that only a small population can make a living. Great civilizations have existed in regions which were favored by nature.

[6] *Op. cit*, p 220.

Population movements and the migrations of tribes have followed the paths marked out by topography. Not until recent years has man learned how to cross mountains or deserts, rivers or oceans, with relative ease and speed. But even today the main routes of transportation follow nature's paths. Natural resources and climate, of course, are also factors which condition migration. Certain parts of the earth are much better than others as places in which to live. As people have progressively learned the location of regions that are more advantageous than the ones that they are already occupying, it is natural that they should desire to migrate to the new land, if it is within reach. It may be a more fertile country, or offer better harbors, or be richer in minerals, or have a better climate, or afford more adequate protection from enemies.

High elevations or low elevations are usually unfavorable for human occupation; so are mountains and rugged regions, deserts, and dry regions, swamps and low regions. Altitude, the distance above or below sea level, affects the composition of air and water and their pressure on the bodies of organisms. Temperature, sunlight, and consequently plant life, are all affected by altitude.[7] If a person were to make an ascent in an airplane he would find his breathing, heart action, hearing, sight, and mental perception affected. If he were to go below sea level, the increase of pressure would produce effects just as marked. Imperial Valley and Death Valley in California are illustrations of this since they are both below sea level.

Water, properly a part of the topography of the earth, calls for additional comment. Settlements have nearly always begun on the banks of streams or on the shores of lakes and oceans.[8] Water sheds affect habitation. The water currents of oceans also affect temperature and rainfall, and habitation. Moreover, water is essential to life, and people located on the shores of water bodies are assured of the necessary supply. It is also an important source of food, particularly fish. Then, too, water makes it possible to reclaim arid regions by irrigation. Water is also a highway of travel, both between different parts of the same country and between different countries.

In their international aspects, rivers, lakes, and oceans have

[7]Compare Carl Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society* (1928), pp. 40ff.
[8]See cases of representative communities previously cited.

formed important boundaries between nations, and barriers to encroachment upon territorial rights. Still more important, they have constituted the great highways of international communication and world-wide intercourse. Nations have ruled the seas. Harbors have been the gateways through which the commerce of the world has crossed the oceans from the great centers of industry. The importance to a nation of access to the ocean highways can hardly be overemphasized.

Geographical Location. The economic prosperity and the status of a nation, city, or community are greatly affected by the geographic position. Nations which are strategically located with reference to other nations and to the markets of the world have a better chance to develop than isolated nations. Historically, cities have sprung up and developed at the points of transportation, generally where there are breaks in lines of transportation. Communities which are favorably located as to natural resources, climatic conditions, and topographic factors have a geographic advantage which goes far to make for prosperity and success.

In summary, we may conclude that geographic factors have a tendency to affect the community life in a number of ways. (1) The density and movements of the population are conditioned by the natural resources and topography. People drift into the regions most favored by nature, and as they migrate from place to place they follow the natural and easily traversed routes of transportation. (2) The economic resources and the occupations of a people likewise are conditioned by nature. (3) The biological and psychological processes are stimulated or retarded by climatic conditions and altitude. Unfavorable weather conditions make for illness and loss of vitality, and at the same time require more of man. (4) Finally, the system of culture, the social organization and institutional life, as well as social activities, are subject to geographic influences. The customs and ways of living, particularly clothing, styles of dress, the architecture of houses, food and its mode of preparation, hours of rest, forms of recreation and amusement, methods of work, differences in speech, even forms of government and religion—these and many other characteristics of culture are influenced by the physical setting.

In the warmer climate, clothing is lighter in weight and usually more colorful. Southern California has developed a unique type of architecture of houses, due partly to the Spanish and Mediter-

ranean influences, but mostly to the sunny and mild climate. In the colder regions people eat more meat than in the warmer zones, where vegetables and fruits are in abundance throughout the year. People in regions with long twilight have much of their recreation in the evening hours. Differences in speech are exemplified by the southern and eastern brogues.

Having stated the various types of geographic factors and influences, we are now in a position to appraise more accurately the place of geography in human society. Is geography a determining factor, or does it exert merely a conditioning influence?

There is considerable disagreement as to the exact nature and influence of the physical environment. Some[9] claim that human society and the varied efforts of man are largely determined by the physical setting, whereas others,[10] minimize its importance. Ellen Semple,[11] a pioneer authority on human geography in this country, contends that man cannot be scientifically studied apart from the ground which he tills, or the land over which he travels, or the seas over which he trades. The geographic element in the long history of human development, she says, has been operating strongly and persistently. Her contention is that man has been too noisy about the way he has conquered nature. Man is the product rather than the master of nature.

It has been held by many that man is the creature, if not the victim, of the geographic (physical) environment. This theory is sometimes called geographic determinism. In recent years, however, the theory has been severely criticized. One reason why there has been such opposition to certain theories of geographic influences is because some writers have made extravagant claims. It is obviously very difficult to get at all the actual facts for they are so complex. It is in connection with the remoter influences that false generalizations have been made.

The geographic theories usually are oversimplified, and do not allow for the operation of many other factors which play a signifi-

[9]For presentations of the earlier views of geographical factors consult C. L. Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws* (1900); H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England* (1874); F. Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie.*

[10]See F. Thomas, *The Environmental Basis of Society* (1925), and P. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (1928), for a review of the many theories of the relation between the physical environment and society. Also consult C. O. Sauer, chapter on "Cultural Geography" in *Recent Trends of the Social Sciences* (1927), edited by E. C. Hayes.

[11]*The Influences of the Geographic Environment* (1911), pp. 1–3.

cant part. The single-cause theory is for the most part erroneous. During the early stages of mankind the physical environment no doubt played a very important part. However, man increasingly has become master of his environment. He has irrigated deserts, drained swamps, developed artificial heat in cold climates, produced ice in hot climates, stored food and transported food from one region to another, tunneled mountains, built bridges across rivers, and in many other ways has conquered nature. Distance is annihilated or reduced by the telephone, telegraph, radio, automobile, railroad, and airplane.

In a certain sense the relation of the geographic environment to culture hardly can be exaggerated. Man may be more or less cunning in finding out what he can get out of nature, but he can secure nothing which nature does not afford. Furthermore, certain regions afford more than others. On the other hand, culture and society tend to take on the same general pattern everywhere. In every human group can be found certain fundamental institutions, such as the family, religion, property systems, and so forth.

Lowie[12] contends that environment cannot explain culture because identical environments are consistent with distinct cultures, and different environments may have the same culture. Certain culture traits may persist in an unfavorable environment, whereas others do not develop where they would be of distinct advantage. Yet he emphasizes that geography cannot be banished from cultural considerations. It represents a limiting condition. Man both adapts himself to nature and adapts nature to his own needs

Thus while geography conditions human society, the activities and culture of man cannot fully be explained by reference to the physical setting. The wishes, attitudes, wants, and choices of the people determine many of their acts. The social environment also plays a significant part in stimulating and giving direction to human activities. Culture has a tendency to spread in spite of geographic limitations. Man is gradually understanding the forces of nature, and is learning how to master them to his own advantage

The study of human geography has thrown light upon the relation between nature and human activities, both as to the influence of the physical environment upon human life and as to the modifi

[12]R. H Lowie, *Culture and Ethnology* (1917) pp 61ff. Compare C. M. Case, *Outlines of Introductory Sociology* (1924), Chapter VI. Also W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins* (1909).

cation of nature by the efforts of man. Geography began as a study of the earth's surface, but soon advanced to a consideration of the territorial aspects of social as well as of natural phenomena. As such it deals with the interaction between man and his social environment in so far as this is tied up, in turn, with the physical situation.

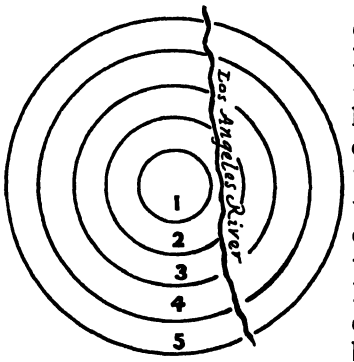
The Ecology of the Community. The study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings and their institutions, especially as these are affected by the physical setting, is known as human ecology. It developed out of a number of tendencies coming from various sciences, notably geography and biology. The importance of the ecological approach to the study of the community is obvious. The community, as distinguished from society, is a locality group. As such, the location and spatial distribution of the people and institutions is significant, not only for an understanding of local life but also from the point of view of social efficiency.

The community, from an ecological point of view, simply means a distribution of people and service institutions whether shops, stores, offices, schools, churches, play centers, or others, which have a unitary character sufficient to differentiate the area from the surrounding districts. If a number of people are spatially separated from other groups of people so that they may be thought of as belonging together, they constitute an ecological community.

Institutions and business establishments have a tendency to cluster together. Department stores are placed as close together as possible. So are other business establishments, such as automobile sales rooms and garages, filling stations, amusement facilities, chain and independent grocery stores, and markets. Professional people, such as lawyers, doctors, and dentists, crowd together on certain streets or in certain office buildings. Even churches cluster together. This clustering together is due largely to the keen competition that exists among the various types of service agencies. In towns and villages the merchants endeavor to locate their stores around the public square or close to the business center. A store that is a great distance from the center usually does not succeed.

The recurrent changes involved in the temporal and spatial distribution of people and institutions are known as ecological processes. The processes are especially discernible in a growing city.

For instance, the expansion of a city can be illustrated by means of a series of concentric circles representing the successive zones of urban extension and the various types of areas differentiated in the process of expansion. A growing tree adds a layer to its size each year. The age of a tree can be estimated by the number of rings (layers) it contains. A growing city pushes out in waves, periodically adding layers to its size. A large city is like a giant tree, only its growth is much more rapid. To illustrate, the following diagram shows the ecological areas in Los Angeles, California.



1. In the center of the city is the central business area, in which are located the main retail business establishments, office buildings, large hotels, amusement places, civic center, and social institutions. This is a region of heavy traffic, where the lines of transportation converge. 2. Encircling the central section is a zone in transition. Rapid changes have taken place due to the expansion of the central business area. Just north from the civic center is the old plaza which is occupied for the most part by Mexicans. Immediately west and a little south is Bunker Hill, an old residential section. On the west side are hotels, apartments, rooming houses, old residences and some business houses; this is true also on the south and east sides except that there are more business houses, especially wholesale, and some light manufacturing. The Negro area is to the south and slightly to the east of the central business area. A small Chinatown is just south of the Mexican center. Other racial and nationality groups may be found in this zone, although such groups are scattered rather widely throughout the city. Social disorganization is the natural result of transition in this zone. 3. The next zone is the area of workingmen's homes for the most part. Many of the houses are old and constructed of wood or brick. There are also small hotels and many apartment houses. The most deteriorated regions are east and west of the Los Angeles River. These are regions of poverty, delinquency, and disintegration. The manufacturing district is southeast from the heart of the city. The west and south sections

of the third zone are the better residential regions. 4. The next zone is an area of single homes of various grades and types, with the exception of the manufacturing section which extends through and beyond the fourth area. 5. Still farther out is the commuters' zone, the suburban area. This zone extends westward and southward to the Pacific Ocean, and in the other directions it extends into the valleys.

To illustrate further what is meant by the ecological distribution of people and institutions, and the ecological processes involved, a city may be compared with a volcano. The lava comes from the central crater and flows out toward the periphery. It flows out in waves; the densest being near the center, with minor congested regions all around the center and with eddies between the congested portions. The waves roll out toward the edge, much in the same way that waves of water roll out toward the periphery of a pond if one throws a rock into the center of it.

Certain more or less definite processes operate in a city to produce these areas. These processes go in pairs. First, there is a tendency for people and institutions to concentrate in the center of a city. The larger the city, the greater the congestion in the center. Paralleling this centralization process is the tendency to push out. Cities spill over into the surrounding territories. People and institutions move out to the periphery of the city and into suburban cities and areas. The second pair of processes may be termed invasion and succession. As the people push out from the center to the periphery, one area and zone invades and then finally succeeds another. As soon as business invades a residence area, the people move out, and in a few years business occupies the entire area. Another process, already discussed, is that of segregation of business, racial and nationality groups, slum regions, and residential districts. Some of these segregated regions are definitely created by city planning and zoning, whereas others develop naturally as a result of racial factors, attitudes of the people, and conditions which arise in the normal growth of the city. Paralleling the process of segregation is the tendency to break up these areas into smaller ones, or to discontinue them entirely. Underlying or accompanying these processes are those of integration and disintegration; that is, tendencies and forces that build up or break down the structure and functions of the city.

These same processes may be seen in smaller cities and even in

country towns and villages. In fact all growing communities, especially those that center in a town or city, exhibit some of these traits, only the tendencies are not so pronounced. No community can fully be understood without a consideration of the spatial and temporal relations of the people and the various ecological processes involved in its growth.

The ecological study of a region might seem at first glance as unduly preoccupied with the analysis of the physical forms of community existence. On the contrary, it aims at an extensive study of the total situation. It is true that human ecology focuses the attention upon the spatial relations of people and institutions in a limited area or region, but with a view to throwing light upon the whole network of social units and processes of interaction.[13]

THE POPULATION BASIS[14]

The physical environment, including biological and organic factors as well as the geographic, represents a basic prerequisite of community life; however, there can be no community without people. The real character of community life depends upon the kind of people who compose it, and how they carry on their collective activities. A consideration of the size and density, the distribution and composition, and the interdependence of the population is important for an understanding of the life of a community. These factors constitute phases of the environmental basis of social life, although they are also an integral part of society itself.

In order to visualize the significance of the population basis of the local area, let us consider the larger aspects of population. A community must be interpreted in the light of conditions prevailing in the entire country, and to some extent in the entire world. By comparing the local situation with larger units, it is possible to gain a broader perspective of the nature of local life itself. This method of procedure will be followed in succeeding chapters

[13]For further discussions of human ecology see, R. D. McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1925, pp. 287–301. Reprinted in *The City*, by Park, Burgess, McKenzie, and Wirth (1925). R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, 1926, pp. 141–154. Consult also R. Mukerjee, *Regional Sociology* (1926), Chapter V.

[14]The discussion of the major population problems will be reserved for a separate treatment in connection with community maladjustment Other phases of the social environment will be treated also in subsequent chapters.

Community activities, interests, and problems will be interpreted in the light of the larger relationships.

The Size and Density of the Population. The word "population" has reference to the total number of people inhabiting a given area, namely, the world, a continent, a nation, or a smaller district. A population group means any group of people somewhat permanently bound together in time and space. Population groups are variously formed, as by natural increase, compounding of several groups, and migration, or a combination of these.

The size and density of a population group precondition the social relations and cultural life of the people. It must be remembered, of course, that these factors reciprocally influence each other. A small group cannot adequately maintain the diversified life that is required in a thoroughly progressive society. A sparsely settled region renders communication difficult and makes for isolation. A large population has within it the manifold interests, creative ideas, inventive genius, and division of labor which make progress possible. A relatively dense population makes communication easy, and intensifies contacts, even though the contacts may be somewhat superficial and the social life disorganized.

People are found all over the habitable earth. There are millions and, possibly, billions of people on this globe. Just how many there are we do not know. Estimates vary all the way from 1,700,000,000 to 2,000,000,000. On the assumption that there are nearly two billion people on earth, it would take those now living nearly twenty-five years to pass a given place at the rate of five abreast and marching two seconds apart. By that time another generation can be born, and then another, and so the procession could be kept up indefinitely. Those now living on the earth are only a handful as compared with those who slumber in its bosom.

Distribution and Composition. The distribution and composition of a population, as well as its size and density, precondition the social relationships of the people as well as their cultural possibilities. Geographically, while people are found everywhere on the habitable earth, they are not equally distributed. They tend to cluster in the more favorable regions where the struggle for existence is not so intense. Communities likewise vary in size, density, distribution, and composition of people. In country communities it is possible to travel great distances without meeting people, but it hardly is possible to find a city block

in which the sound of a human voice is not heard. There still are remote regions which are sparsely inhabited, but there are other regions in which there is a concentration of people amounting to congestion.

Authorities differ as to the distribution of the *population of the world.* Kelsey gives the following table:[15]

Continent	*Area in square miles*	*Population*	*Density of population per square mile*
Africa ..	11,760,567	135,000,000	11 5
Asia ..	16,997,639	1,120,740,000	66 0
Australasia ..	3,317,762	8,606,000	2 7
Europe ..	3,833,567	571,311,000	148 9
North America ..	8,631,657	148,273,000	17 1
South America ..	7,184,021	67,045,000	9 5
Totals ..	51,725,335	1,940,975,000	37 5

In 1930 the United States had a population of 122,775,046, which makes an average density of 40.9 per square mile. Europe has more than three times and Asia has more than twice as dense a population as the United States.

The peoples of the earth not only are unequally distributed, but the internal distribution takes on different forms in the various countries. In the United States the densest population is in the eastern section of the country, particularly in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and New York. In Europe, and recently in the United States, people concentrate in cities; the other continents and countries are largely rural. In rural countries, and also in rural sections of Europe, people live in villages; even the farmers live together in villages, and cultivate the surrounding regions. The United States, on the other hand, has individual farmsteads, which is a unique feature of rural America.

The *racial* distribution of people is difficult to ascertain. There is no universal agreement as to the meaning of "race," although, in a general way, a race may be defined as a division of mankind possessing constant traits, largely color and features, which are transmitted by descent. Races are so intermixed that it is often difficult to distinguish one race from another. Pure racial stocks can scarcely be said to exist.

A *nationality,* as distinguished from a race, has reference to a group of people belonging to, or being connected with, a nation

[15]Carl Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society* (1928), p. 68. Compare E. B. Reuter, *Population Problems* (1923), p. 18, and other books on population or the latest edition of the *World Almanac.*

or state, as by nativity or allegiance. The Germans, the French, the Italians, and the English, represent nationality rather than racial groups. They are characterized by certain physical and cultural traits. These traits frequently are discernible several generations after migrating from the native country.

According to the 1930 census report, the population of the United States comprises 108,864,207 white persons; 11,892,143 Negroes; 1,422,533 Mexicans; 332,397 Indians; 74,954 Chinese; 138,834 Japanese; 45,209 Filipinos; 3,130 Hindus; 1,860 Koreans; and 780 persons of other races. Of the white population, 13,366,408 were foreign born, and 25,361,186 have foreign or mixed parentage.

The racial and nationality groups are not equally distributed throughout the United States. Negroes are largely in the South and in certain cities of the North. Many communities can be found in which there are few or no Negroes. The Chinese and Japanese live for the most part on the Pacific Coast. Recent immigrants are located in cities, especially on the Atlantic coast. The American Indians are located almost entirely west of the Mississippi River.

The *sexes* are about equally divided in the population. At birth there seems to be an excess of males over females, the ratio being about 105 to 100; but the male death rate is higher than the female, which tends to equalize the sexes. In the United States, however, there are 102.5 males to 100 females. The preponderance of males is due largely to the influx of an excess of male immigrants. The ratio varies with states and racial or nationality groups. Among the Filipinos in the United States there are 1,437.7 males per 100 females and the Chinese have a ratio of 394.7 males per 100 females. The Mountain and Pacific states have an excess of males, the rates being 111.3 and 108.7 respectively per 100 females. New England, on the other hand, has only 97.2 males per 100 females. This rate is significant in view of the fact that the ratio of masculinity is greater in the rural than in the urban population.

The *age* distribution also varies with countries and communities. In European countries approximately one-third of the people are under 15 years of age, nearly one-half are from 15 to 45, and one-sixth are 45 and over. In the United States there are fewer children, but more young people and adults, except among the Negroes. In the newer countries and in cities there is an excess

of young and middle aged people, except in cities in which there are many retired older people, such as in the cities of Southern California. For the United States as a whole, there is an excess of children under 15 years of age in rural sections (36.0 per cent of the rural-farm and 31.4 per cent of the rural-nonfarm population are under 15) as compared with urban areas, in which only 25.8 per cent are of that age group. But there are more young and middle aged people in cities than in the country, 50.9 per cent of urban population as compared with 42.3 per cent of the rural-farm and 45.2 per cent of the rural-nonfarm population being from 15 to 45 years of age. There are nearly as many people 45 years of age and over in rural sections as there are in urban sections.

The population composition by color, age, sex, and nativity, is important from the point of view of community life. The activities, interests, and agencies of a locality are conditioned by the make-up and the distribution of the people. Cases of typical communities[16] have already been cited. Rural communities are characterized by an extraordinary homogeneity of population which simplifies social life. The open-country community cited in Chapter II is composed almost entirely of native Americans of English descent. Thus no social or nationality problems have ever arisen. The studies of the American villages, especially the industrial ones, have shown that the racial and nationality complexion presents a serious problem. Nowhere, however, is the problem as serious as in our cities. Even small cities like Parvurbia (Chapter III) have segregated racial regions. This city has a Mexican colony of about 1200 people, a Negro group of about 150 people, and a few Japanese, Chinese, and Indians. The larger cities have not only racial segregation, but many have divergent social and cultural groups.[17] The heterogeneity of the population affects the entire social organization and life of the city. Thus, in order to understand communal life, it is necessary, at the beginning of such a study, to ask what kinds of people inhabit the area. Is the population homogeneous, or is it composed of divergent racial and nationality groups? Are the sex and age groups evenly distributed or is there a maladjustment of such groups?

[16]See Chapters II, III, and IV.

[17]See Chapter IV.

The Interdependence of People. As an observer studies community life, one of the first things to impress him is the remarkable extent to which the members are dependent upon each other. Regardless of race, sex, or age, each person is dependent upon others for his existence. Strictly speaking "no man liveth unto himself," although relatively he may isolate himself for the time being. People are mutually dependent upon each other for nearly everything which they possess, and are bound together by all sorts of interrelationships; this is what is meant by society. Our whole social order rests essentially upon the interaction and interdependence of people.

This network of interrelation and interdependence makes society exceedingly complex. In the simple life of primitive times individuals were much more self-sufficient and independent, supplying their modest needs largely by their own efforts; but such is not the case in our modern industrial society. Today a man may not at all use the products of his own labors in any direct way.

Association is the dominant element in the social world. Human association manifests itself in several forms, notably in conflicts and in coöperative efforts. From these, in turn, result the establishment of the institutions and agencies of society.

Summary. It is evident from the foregoing that the physical setting and the population situation condition community life. The various geographical and ecological factors condition social activities and institutions. There can be no activities nor organization without people; the size and density, composition and distribution, and interdependence of the population have a more direct influence in shaping the forms of association and the character of human activities than have the natural resources, climate, topography, and location.

The significant phases of institutional and organizational life of the community will be considered in the succeeding chapters. A community cannot be understood without analyzing its structure and the activities of the people. In every region, regardless of size and complexity, typical forms of activities can be found. Family life, making a living, acquiring an education, play and recreation, moral and religious life, organizing the community, and community planning and beauty are the essential phases of local life. In each of these fields of endeavor the local situation cannot be clearly understood apart from the social conditions as they

prevail throughout the country. Thus, both general and local material will be presented in each succeeding chapter.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Analyze the relative importance of the various geographic factors and the influences which they exert upon society.

2. Illustrate how the fertility of the soil affects the economic and social life of a community. Why did the early civilizations develop in river valleys?

3. Show how the discoveries of coal, oil, gold, and other natural resources condition social life. Describe a mining town. How did the California gold rush affect America?

4. Why is climate an important topic of conversation? What is the relation between climate and the physical health and mental attitude of a people? Compare the life of Eskimos with the Negroes in Central Africa.

5. Describe the social traits of mountaineers; of desert people. How does physical isolation influence the behavior and attitudes of a people?

6. How does the geographic position affect the growth of cities? Compare New York with Boston, Los Angeles with San Francisco, with regard to the advantages and disadvantages of geographic locations. How does the topography of a region condition the physical arrangement of a city?

7. What is human ecology? What are the major ecological processes? Study your community from the point of view of ecological areas.

8. Assuming that there are 2,000,000,000 people in the world, how long would it take them to pass a given place five abreast and two seconds apart? If each person were to occupy a space six feet tall, a foot and a half wide, and a foot thick, how large a box would be necessary to contain the entire human race?

9. What is the difference between a race and a nationality? Are racial traits, such as color and physical features, largely biological in nature, or are they cultural? Do Jews constitute a racial or nationality group?

10. Contrast rural and urban life as to age composition? What problems are created by the excess of children in the country? What problems are created by the exodus of young and middle-aged people from the country?

11. Cite concrete cases showing the influence of population composition upon the activities, interests, and institutions of a community.

12. List the things that you could achieve without the aid of other people. Can a man exist in complete isolation?

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CHAPTER VI

Family Life: Historical Backgrounds

The preceding chapters discuss communal life in its more general aspects. Beginning with this chapter and in following chapters we shall examine typical forms of activities and centers of interests which one can find in all communities. In order to perform the major functions of life, man has established certain fundamental institutions, such as, the family, the school, the church, and various economic, political, and recreational agencies. Each of these has evolved gradually out of early folkways and mores, and is designed to meet specific human needs.

Folkways are the characteristic ways of doing things that are current in a group. When the group sees a relation between these forms of action and the welfare of the group then the folkways become mores. Thus, mores are folkways plus a philosophy of welfare. Ways of eating and dressing are folkways. The Jewish taboo of pork or Catholics' refraining from eating meat on Friday, requiring people to wear clothes in public, and monogamic marriages are mores or tend to become mores. The ten commandments are brief statements of standards of conduct that have grown out of and are a part of mores. Folkways, mores, and institutions are closely related. In some respects they represent stages of the same process.

An institution has at least two phases: (1) a central concept, idea, notion, doctrine, purpose and function; and (2) a structure, which implies an organization and sometimes a building or some other physical accompaniment. Communities are a composite of institutions. The primary purpose here is to study community activities rather than institutions; however, a study of the community in action is not complete without considering the established agencies in which many of the activities center.

At the heart of the community are its families, in which are found to a large extent the motivations and the influences that uni-

versally seek expression. It is a primary group not only in the sense that it is the first group in which children live and in which the relations are of an intimate face-to-face nature, but it is one of the most important agencies for the development of personality.

The family may be characterized as a group of relatives, by blood, marriage, or adoption, constituting a household and maintaining a cultural organization. It is a group of intimately interacting personalities that are related to each other. The traditional family includes parents and children in certain interactional patterns that are transmitted from one generation to another. The modern family is usually smaller. It may or may not include children. In all communities, and in society as a whole, these basic units can be found. With few exceptions, members of society are, or have been, members of some family. People everywhere, so far as is known, have lived in groups, the family being the basic group. Families vary as to size and form in different countries, but they are essential to all kinds of societies.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

An analysis of the family reveals that it has a structure of its own, and performs certain functions. The structure consists of father, mother, children, and sometimes near relatives and adopted persons. The family also performs certain main functions, such as biological, socializing, and economic functions.

The Biological Functions. The family is an agency provided to continue the population by bringing children into the world. The biological function, however, requires also that these children be well-born and cared for during the early years of life. Child-welfare movements are not intended merely to prevent the birth of defective children, but to assure a normal development of the child's life. Society is not interested solely in the perpetuation of the race, but also in the kind of a race that it perpetuates. Progress in knowledge of heredity and eugenics already has thrown much light on the possibilities of improvement in the race stock. Physical and mental examinations before marriage are designed to prevent the birth of defectives, to improve the human stock, and to decrease family disorganizations. No agency has been devised to take the place of the family in producing and rearing children.

The family has also a tendency to control sex life and sex

relations. Promiscuity and prostitution prevail in all societies, but the stability of the family reduces the amount of abnormal and socially disapproved forms of sex relations.

The Socializing Functions. The family is a primary group, and as such, it provides companionship and fellowship. It is one of the most important socializing agencies in modern society in that its members acquire a "we" feeling; they learn to help and serve each other, and they also recognize a responsibility and duty to the group. The contacts are intimate and the social influences are far reaching. Husband and wife are companions in the common tasks of life. Parents and children have many bonds which bind them into a united whole.

The child is born with certain potentialities, impulses, tendencies, incomplete muscular coördination and reflex mechanisms, but is utterly devoid of knowledge of the social world. The early movements are loose, undirected, and not well organized. He is not moral or immoral, but unmoral; he is morally undetermined. His behavior is of a nonconscience type. He knows nothing of customs, traditions, standards, ideals, and ways of behavior. Yet he is born into a world which is a going organization. As soon as a child acts, those about him react. They shower encouragement, approval, and praise upon him; or they bestow rebukes, frowns, blame, and even punishment. The reactions to his actions are largely in terms of the customs and standards of society. These in turn are the outgrowth of a long race experience.

The family has the first opportunity with the child. Since many of the fundamental conceptions and ideals of life are acquired during the first few years, the family shapes the child's direction of life. Then, too, most of the essential relationships that exist in society at large exist also in the family. The child cannot escape these relations and influences. The family is a little world through which the child enters into the larger world.

Many of the fundamental attitudes, sentiments, and habits of life are acquired under the tutelage of the parents and the experience of family situations. The family affords an intimacy and fusion of personalities one seldom finds elsewhere. The members have an experience of social unity which is relatively permanent. Participation in the family gives rise to ideas and sentiments of love, freedom, justice, fair-play, loyalty, and the like. A congenial family life affords many opportunities for the ex-

pression of brotherhood and kindness. The lessons of industry, economy, thrift, respect for authority, obedience, and mutual helpfulness are invaluable for citizenship in the larger groups. Personality freely unfolds under the influence of active participation in the affairs of a congenial family group.

The Family as a Carrier of Culture. As a part of its socializing task, the family passes on to the new generation the knowledge, ideas, ideals, customs, mores, and traditions of past generations. Thus it is a very important agency in transmitting the cultural heritage. Language, games, religious practices and ideals, moral standards, social patterns, and many other things are transmitted through the family. The family is thus an educational, religious, moral, and recreational institution. It has many functions which are performed in part also by other established agencies.

The Economic Functions. The family fulfills also an economic need. The rural family, in particular, functions as an economic unit. Father, mother, and children work together in the task of making a living. A farmer cannot easily get along without a wife and children. They are important assets rather than liabilities. The economic functions of the urban family are not as clearly discernible. Hotels and kitchenette apartments, with modern conveniences, laundry service, eating provisions, and a near-by market full of ready-made commodities, have reduced the labor of women to a minimum. For "society" women, marriage often represents simply a means of obtaining a "meal ticket," a means of livelihood, and the luxuries that they crave. However, if there are children, the wife and mother is obliged to stay at home while the husband and father earns a living. This division of labor has an economic advantage. In certain professions marriage is an asset. Then, too, marriage has a steadying effect, and provides an incentive to work, achieve success, and accumulate property. Private property is transmitted through the family, and the wife and children often assist a man in accumulating it. In the rôle of housekeeper and homemaker, the great majority of wives are as truly economically productive as are their husbands, even though the United States census does not list them among the gainfully employed.

Changing Functions. It must be remembered, however, that the family has lost or changed some of its functions. For instance, it is no longer the center of economic production. The

factory has taken the place of the home in producing goods. The family has fewer economic functions now than in any previous period in the history of the world. Yet food is still served in the home, and to some extent prepared there. The family budget takes care of the various economic needs of its members, and children are there taught the lessons of industry and thrift.

The family has declined in other respects; or possibly better, it has lost some of its traditional functions. The schools have extended their functions far beyond the traditional educational program, and have reached into the home through visiting teachers, school nurses, day nurseries, twenty-four hour schools, and in many other ways. Likewise, churches have cared for the religious and moral education of the children through the various activities. Public and commercial recreation agencies have taken the members of the family away from the home for their play life. The family has also apparently been declining as an agency of social control.

Changes have taken place in recent years. Will the family continue to exist? Or, will the functions diminish until finally it will cease entirely? This is a serious problem. Some believe that the family, particularly the traditional family, is already out-of-date. Others doubt that the family will continue as an important social institution. It is more probable that the changes pertain to external aspects only, and that the family is fundamentally sound. No other institution can take its place in providing intimate companionship, in rearing children, and in performing certain other major functions.

In order to visualize the present family situation it is necessary to consider briefly the historical background. A complete history of the family will not be given here, but rather the significant stages in its development and particularly the more recent changes will be pointed out.

THE EARLY FAMILY

The Origin of the Family. There are many views concerning the early family, just as there are many theories of primitive human society in general. There being few relics and remains of early man, it is very difficult to know what early life was like. One can study preliterates of today, namely, people without a written language, but it is not known to what extent early society was like the simple life of present-day preliterates. Nor can

one gain reliable information concerning the traditional family, by studying the biological and psychological nature of man. Just when, where, and how the systems of marriage and family life emerged will probably always remain somewhat a mystery. They are lost in the prehistoric obscurity of early human life. It took a long time for family practices to develop out of the folkways, and become institutionalized. In all probability the ways of living together in families developed gradually. Then the early tribes established rules and systems of regulation designed to perpetuate and control the tribal ways. As the family ways developed they became more fixed both as to purpose and form. In this manner the family became an institution. The conditions of early man, however, were much more flexible and unsettled than they are at the present time. It is probable that the family did not develop in the same way among different peoples.

Types of Marriage and Family Relations. While the whole matter of the primitive family is obscure, yet certain forms of family life emerged, and may still be found in various parts of the world. Primitive marriage, particularly the marriage ceremony, probably grew out of more elementary family relations instead of being the first step in the creation of a new family as in later times. An agreement or tacit understanding of relations between a man and a woman may be regarded as an elementary form of marriage without a definite ceremony. Ceremonies were doubtless of a very simple kind, perhaps the performing of some act together, such as eating out of a common dish.

Whether accompanied by ceremonies or not, marriages and family relations are well nigh universal today, although the form varies from group to group. Anthropologists have discovered various kinds of marriage and family systems.

Sexual communism and *group marriage* are alleged to exist in such places as Australia, Queensland, Melanesia, Western Islands of Torres Straits, and among the American Indians. Lowie[1] contends that sexual communism as a condition taking the place of normal family life does not exist anywhere in the world today, and he rejects the arguments for its former existence. Promiscuity or the exchanging or lending of wives may not be more common among savages than prostitution is in modern society.

[1]H R. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (1920), p. 62. Compare E. R. Groves, *Social Problems of the Family* (1927), p 20

Polygamy is quite common in certain sections of the world. By polygamy is meant "many marriages," which takes the form of one man marrying several women, or one woman marrying several men, known as polygyny and polyandry respectively. If a combination of the two forms occurs the marriage system is sometimes designated as group marriage.

Polygyny, the marriage of several women to one man, is found in Africa and elsewhere. Some argue that the reason for its existence is that there are more women than men. This is not necessarily true. In some polygynous groups a few men have many wives and others do without. The capture of women in warfare, the passions of men, the economic ability to support several wives, the desirability of having several women to do the work, and similar factors may cause this type of marriage, which is not necessarily unpopular with women. They may even desire it. If a wife is overworked with household labor she may welcome other wives. When existing at all, it is usually of a patriarchal type and among the well-to-do classes.

Polyandry, the marriage of several men to one woman, is very uncommon. Cases of this type have been found among the Todas in South India and in Tibet. The marriage may be either of a fraternal or non-fraternal type. If fraternal, the woman marries several brothers. If non-fraternal, she marries men who are not brothers. Polyandry has been regarded as the result of oppressive poverty or an unnatural shortage of women due to female infanticide. But these may not be the only reasons.

Monogamy, the type of marriage which unites one male and one female, is almost universal. In a monogamic system there is room for the dominance of either male or female, and descent may be traced through either line. The kinship system may thus be either metronymic or patronymic.

Kinship Systems. The *metronymic or matriarchal* systems of family relations go far back in history. Metronymic means "mother name," matriarchal has reference to "mother rule." The tracing of descent through the female line does not necessarily mean that the mother ruled. In the metronymic family system the husband, upon marriage, entered his wife's kinship group, the children took the mother's name and became members of her clan, the care and education of the children devolved upon the mother, and she exercised general control over them.

The *patronymic* system is just the opposite of the metronymic. Here descent was traced through the father. When the father assumed control not only over his immediate family but also over his son's wives and children it was properly called *patriarchal.* The gradual development of man's supremacy in the home probably goes back to the fact that man became the protector and provider. Also he purchased or captured wives, or had concubines. Ancestor worship made the husband the priest and a family deity to be worshiped after death. This gave man power and authority and his control was almost absolute. Women hold a subordinate position in a family of the patriarchal type. Yet women often make themselves felt by virtue of striking personality or character traits.

Exogamy and Endogamy. Two sets of customs and rules have developed to control the sphere of marriage, namely, *exogamy* and *endogamy.* Exogamy has reference to the taboo of marriage of near kin, whereas endogamy refers to marrying within a designated group, such as a certain tribe or clan. A clan (or sib) represents a large family group whose members are united by blood, by a kinship name, by rules for the inheritance of property, and by residence.

Exogamous customs are still quite extensive. Marriages between mother and son or father and daughter are most generally prohibited. Restrictions are also extended to marriage of brothers and sisters, cousins, second cousins, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, and sometimes to members of the clan or even to "spiritual" relationships.[2]

Endogamy is less common. In a broad sense it is common, for the most comprehensive endogamous group is the human species itself. In a more restricted sense it has reference to marriage within a prescribed group, such as a racial or nationality group, a certain class or caste, or a religious group.

The Marriage Contract. Marriage customs may be classified not only according to the number of parties to the union (group, polygamy, monogamy); or on the basis of descent, status, power, and responsibility (metronymic and patronymic, or matriarchal and patriarchal); or according to the restrictions on marriage

[2]For theories concerning the origin of exogamy, and also cases, see Frazer, *Exogamy and Endogamy* (1910), also books by Westermark, McLennan, and Morgan.

(exogamy and endogamy); but also according to the method of obtaining a husband or wife, such as capture, purchase, and free contract.

Methods of obtaining wives and husbands and the forms of marriage contracts vary greatly with different groups.[3] Men like McLennan regard capture as the first form of securing a wife. Men captured or stole women they desired to have as their wives. In some cases it is alleged that men tried to capture women from other tribes, thus increasing the size of their own tribe. Such marriages, however, have usually been tabooed as tribes have become more civilized[4] and there is some doubt among modern anthropologists as to their existence in the past. Certain marriage customs seem to be remnants of wife capture in form at least. Among African Bushmen it is a custom for the groom to suddenly snatch the bride during the ceremony and to run away with her, supposedly symbolizing capture.

A more common early form of securing a wife was by means of purchase. Marriage by purchase implies that a woman is more or less the property of the man. The man, or his family, either pays for the bride or works for her. In some tribes, in order to avoid the appearance of a purchase, there is an exchange of goods. The father of the bride returns one-half of the amount presented to him by the groom's parents. The practice of selling their daughters still persists among Gypsies. Cases have also been found of exchanging persons instead of gifts. A family may offer a daughter to a son of another family in exchange for a daughter who in turn becomes the wife of one of the sons of the first family. A certain amount of wooing and courting may take place even though in the end the wife is purchased.

Although marriage has historically been arranged by the elders, a certain amount of free-choice no doubt existed in many sections of the world. Howard says, "In the 'natural history' stage of human existence marriage rested on the free consent of the man and the woman. It was an informal agreement. The man was the wooer, and to the woman belonged the first place in sexual choice."[5] Historically and biologically, he thinks, monogamy and self-betrothal are simply two aspects of one institution.

[3]See G. E. Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions* (1904).
[4]Example: Early Hebrews.
[5]*Op. cit.*, pp. 222–3.

Free-choice, a legal contract, followed by a marriage ceremony, are the important features of marriage in democratic countries. But even so, men are supposed to be the aggressors and women are given the right to accept or reject the suitors, although in actual practice it may be the opposite. Parental consent, if not choice, was long regarded as a prerogative of parents and a necessary phase of marriage, but parental authority in this matter is gradually diminishing. Many marriages are now consummated without the consent, or even the knowledge, of parents.

The Marriage Ceremony. Underlying the widely differing marriage ceremonies of savages are certain common ideas, such as that the bride and groom must perform some act together, as eating out of a common dish, for example, and that the ceremony must in some way signify the status of the contracting parties, usually giving the man control over his wife. The rise of the ecclesiastical marriage, although the church in some instances accepted lay contracts and ceremonials, has given marriage a spiritual significance. At first it was simply the priestly benediction, usually in connection with the betrothal and probably with the nuptials. Howard[6] considers the bride-mass as the second phase or stage in the history of clerical marriage. During the tenth century the third stage was reached, namely, the ecclesiastical ceremony, and in the twelfth century marriage became a church sacrament.

The religious sanction of marriage, together with the ecclesiastical ceremony, added much to the stabilizing of marriage by making it a sacred act. In recent years, in the United States, marriage has become a civil ceremony and has lost some of its religious significance.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE MODERN FAMILY[7]

The modern family, especially the American and European type, can be traced back to the early Hebrew, Greek, and Roman patriarchal family systems, which were modified and changed throughout succeeding centuries. A brief treatment of the salient features of family life in different periods and in various countries

[6] *Op. cit*, Chapter VII.

[7] For historical treatments of the family consult: W. Goodsell, *The Family as a Social and Educational Institution* (1923); G. E Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions* (3 vols, 1904), E. A Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (3 vols, 1894), or *A Short History of Marriage* (1921); R. Briffault, *Mothers* (3 vols., 1927).

later than primitive times will give the background of the modern family as we know it.

The Hebrew Family. The early Hebrew family, as described in the Old Testament and the Talmud, was largely patriarchal in character, although not as perfect an example as the old Roman family. The power of the Hebrew patriarch steadily increased until finally he had control not only over his wife and children, but over all members of the household, including his sons' wives and the children's children, as well as the servants and slaves. Reverence for parents, especially the father, coupled with the most scrupulous obedience, was exacted of all Hebrew children. The Hebrew family constituted a religious group. Religious observances and instruction were important aspects of family life. Marriage was a family rather than an individual affair. The religious sanction, as well as the blessing of parents, was considered necessary for successful marriage. During the early days polygyny and the system of concubines were tolerated, yet these practices were gradually discontinued and later tabooed. But a large family was considered a blessing. The rules of marriage were rigidly defined, as well as the rights and duties of parents and children, in order to assure stability of family life.

The Greek Family. The Greeks during the historic period traced kinship almost exclusively through the males. The power of the Greek father as head of the family not only grew out of his functions as a provider and protector, but was enormously enhanced by the system of ancestor-worship. Membership in the family was based both upon blood relationship and upon sharing in the worship of the family gods and coming under the control of the family head. The father governed the affairs of the household. He controlled his wife and children, he administered property, and he had the right to have concubines and own slaves. The household was the industrial center. The home was also the chief center of education and nurture of the children.

The Roman Family. The early Roman family was a legal, economic, religious, and social unit. The husband and father had almost complete control of his wife, children, grandchildren, concubines, slaves, and others connected with the household. It was the most outstanding example of the patriarchal system of family relationship found anywhere in Europe. The solidarity of the family group, however, later declined, divorce became frequent,

the birth rate lowered, and even childlessness and celibacy were common, particularly during the later years of the Roman Empire. Sex immorality became common. This disintegration was not checked until the Christian religion pervaded Rome.

The Hebrew, Greek, and Roman families were all patriarchal in character. An element in the persistence of this system of family relationship was ancestor worship and the religious sanction. However, the great power of the patriarch was not only due to the religious element, but went back to the folkways and mores of primitive groups as well as to the fact that man was the fighter, protector, and provider. Wherever the patriarchal family prevailed, marriage was held in high esteem and regarded as a cardinal social duty. The patriarch often was autocratic, harsh, and repressive. Yet there were many advantages in the patriarchal system. The strong family type made for endurance and stability. It had great coherence and unity. It was the nursery and training school of children. It was an economic unit, for most of the commodities were produced within the domestic circle. Many public laws grew out of the rules of the home. Religion had one of its chief sources in the family ceremonial. It transmitted the cultural heritage of the race. In short, the patriarchal family was an educational, legal, economic, religious, and cultural unit. But as conditions of life changed, especially as the spirit of democracy and freedom grew, this form of domestic life was ill-adapted to the changing conditions of the time. Its very stability and persistence tended to stand in the way of a successful adaptation to the new demands made upon it.

The Early Christian Family. Christianity has been a tremendous force in changing the family life as developed by the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, although in many ways the Christian family was based upon the earlier type. The influence of early Christianity may be summarized as follows: (1) The early church leaders regarded marriage as a sacred event. The marriage forms and customs of the time were accepted but the union was hallowed by religion. Many taboos were set up to control marriage, forbidding marriage of near kin, and also marriages outside of the Christian fold. Divorce was definitely tabooed, as was second marriage. An effort was made to maintain a single standard of morality, all of which put marriage on a high level. (2) Women were given a better status and opportunity, both in the family and

in the church, although this was not always apparent until later. But the Christian attitude toward women has been a significant influence in emancipating women. (3) Children likewise were given a better opportunity. The church leaders stressed that children be instructed in Christian virtues and ideals. Infanticide, abortion, and child exposure were forbidden, although these practices did not entirely disappear. In fact abortion is still very common. (4) The insistence upon chastity had a tendency to purify the marriage relation. Human personality and Christian virtues eventually were accorded a greater importance. It must be remembered that the early Christian family remained patriarchal, although in a somewhat modified form. Yet it had within it the seeds of democracy which were to bear fruit in later years.

Later Changes in the Family. Great social changes have taken place since the days of the ancient civilizations. The Middle Ages were characterized by a fusion of cultures, social disorganization, and the establishment of new institutions. The Roman culture fused with the culture of the Germanic tribes. Christianity had become an important element in the Roman culture, and the leaders of the church endeavored to Christianize the Germanic tribes and to force upon them the canonical rules concerning marriage. The barbaric practices, however, made inroads into Christian practices. The taboo of divorce was loosened, marriage was regarded by some as an individual or a civil contract rather than a sacrament, and other changes followed. Gradually the church gained authority and power to regulate marriage and the family.

The Middle Ages have sometimes been regarded as a dark period in the history of the world. Undoubtedly it was a period of disorganization and human misery, but it was also a period of great social change, out of which developed significant social movements.

Chivalry, and later the Renaissance, made a very significant contribution to the family in that romantic love was made the basis of marriage, rather than considerations of social status, economic condition, political policy, or the will of parents, which in the past had been so influential in marriage choices.

Two other important historical changes in the family, destined to have far-reaching results, were introduced by the Protestant Reformation, at the beginning of the modern era. One of these shifted marriage from a church sacrament to a civil ceremony.

Marriage was still regarded as a sacred union, ordained of God, but it was to be performed by the State as the most inclusive social authority. The second contribution of the Reformation was the new emphasis upon the importance and rights of the individual, which may be said to have inaugurated the democratic movement that has so profoundly influenced not only the family, but all phases of modern social life.

The Industrial Revolution of the closing years of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th century, introduced new economic conditions that literally have revolutionized human life. Here, and in the preceding Protestant Reformation, we already have entered the era of the modern family, to be considered in the next Chapter. An adequate understanding of the modern family, however, requires some retracing of steps for a brief consideration of the early American family.

The Early American Family.[8] The early colonial and frontier family in America cannot be understood apart from the European setting, nor apart from the motives of those settling on the untried shores of America. The colonists desired to free themselves from political oppression, religious persecution, social inequality, and economic dependence. This desire for freedom from European restrictions likewise affected the family. Yet the early family was not free from the old world standards and customs.

Much has been written about the courage of the men who left their native land to plant new homes in an inhospitable wilderness. They endured hardships and strenuous daily toil; but the unflinching loyalty and courage, the crushing hardships and the enervating disappointments which the wives and mothers experienced, constitute a chapter in American history worthy of note. Colonization could not have been carried on successfully without their assistance.

Necessity and circumstances soon made changes in the early American family. The closeness of the family ties was an outstanding feature, and the family was largely a self-sufficient unit. Food, clothing, shelter, education, religion, recreation, social life, and even medical care had to be provided by the family working as a unit. The severity of life and the scattered condition of the

[8] *A Social History of the American Family*, by A. W. Calhoun (3 vols., 1917) is the most important treatment of this subject. See also W Goodsell, *The Family as a Social and Educational Institution* (1923) or *Problems of the Family* (1928); and E. R. Groves, *Social Problems of the Family* (1927).

people reinforced the bonds of the family. Women occupied a higher status and enjoyed more rights than the European women.

Most of the people were married; this was particularly true of women since there were fewer of them. Old maids and bachelors were looked upon with decided disfavor. Early marriages and the almost immediate re-marriages of widows and widowers were common. All of which stimulated the birth rate, making the Colonial fecundity one of the highest on record. The infant mortality rate, however, was also high.

Courtship had to be adjusted to the environmental conditions. It was frank and usually brief. That a certain coarseness prevailed cannot be denied. The rugged life, the lack of education, and the free spirit, all contributed to a certain uncouthness of manners.

The household was regarded as the proper sphere for women, although they had a new freedom and status. Marriage was held in high esteem, and home life was considered as most important. The marriage laws and banns, and the laws and sentiments tabooing divorce all tended to weld the family together and to control the sphere of women. Many of the old world customs concerning the position of women were enforced in spite of the new freedom.

Family discipline was severe and repressive. The father's reputation depended upon his control over his children. There was great confidence in the rod. Respect for authority was taught and practiced. Religious instruction and family worship were almost universal.

The frontier family was somewhat similar to the colonial family, but it varied with nationality and environmental conditions. Marriage was held a necessity, and the birth rate was still very high. There was, however, an unsettling of old foundations and a greater freedom from dominance of traditions. Marriage was more or less independent of economic considerations, social gradation, and parental constraint. Marriage ceremonies became simple.[9]

There was a trend toward the emancipation of childhood and womanhood, and a loosening of social control. Parents were so occupied with the struggle for existence that they neglected the training of children. Necessity and utility rather than tradition

[9]A. W Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family* (1917), Vol. II, Chap. II.

seem to have dominated family relations. Children had a certain freedom as a result of parental laxity and the frontier conditions. The labor of women was needed for existence. Women did not enter business or the professions, but they assumed a new importance as companions of the men and their co-workers. The law of supply and demand affected the status of women. In spite of all these changes, domestic relations had the appearance of being formal and cold.

The white family in the Old South was in many ways unique. Courtship among the southern aristocrats was reminiscent of the age of chivalric gallantry. Women were the mistresses of the plantation homes. Being relieved of the burden and drudgery of housework by the slaves and servants, they had time for education and culture. The Civil War broke up the old plantation homes and necessitated readjustments.

The Negro family was also unique. Before the Civil War sex relations were somewhat promiscuous, and family life unstable, being controlled largely by the masters. Released from slavery, the Negro family was greatly changed, passing through a period of disintegration, but in the end resulting in a new type of family life. Modern Negro families are more integrated and more in accord with other American families. Frazier's study reveals that the present day Negro families, especially those in cities, are not of one type with exclusive characteristics but that they vary almost, if not quite, as widely within the Negro group as within the white group.[10]

Summary. The modern family has emerged out of the past. Its origin is lost in antiquity, its development has been slow and gradual. In recent years family life has undergone significant changes both as to functions and in structure. The biological functions have not changed to any appreciable extent, and the family is still the primary unit for the production and rearing of children. It perpetuates the race, and it is one of the major agencies for the transmission of culture from one generation to another. It has a socializing influence in that it develops personalities and through interaction merges the individuals of a group into a social unity. Other groups and institutions, however, have encroached upon the family, and are now performing some of the functions which formerly were almost exclusively performed by the family. The

[10]C. F. Frazier, *The Negro Family in Chicago* (1932).

greatest change has occurred in the economic functions, particularly as a unit of production.

The structure of the family has changed also since the early days. Polygamy has practically disappeared. The patriarchal type of family organization is fast disappearing, and there are few evidences of the matriarchal system of family relations. The exogamous and endogamous rules have changed, and the marriage contract has evolved from the purchase of wives, or possibly even the capture of brides, to the more democratic and free-choice system of selecting wives and husbands as found in the Western Civilization. The marriage ceremony has likewise been simplified and there is a drifting away from the ecclesiastical marriage.

The early American family can be traced directly to its European background, which in turn goes back through the Middle Ages to the early Christian family, and still farther back to the ancient Hebrew, Greek, and Roman patriarchal systems.

The extensiveness of marriage and the high birth rate, the unsettling of the old foundations, especially in the frontier sections and throughout the south, the emancipation of childhood and the emergence of a new status of women constituted some of the essential characteristics and changes in the American family up to and through the Civil War. The one outstanding factor, or rather group of factors, which have had the most profound effect on the family since that time, are economic changes which were ushered in by the Industrial Revolution, but which were not extensively felt in America until the middle of last century. The modern family is so complicated and has undergone such tremendous changes that a separate chapter needs to be devoted to it.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the social significance of the family? What functions does the family perform? Is the family necessary for human existence and progress?

2. Describe the primitive family. What are the main theories as to the origin of the family? What are the arguments for and against these theories? Describe the characteristics of the family life of present day preliterates, such as found among the African Bushmen or the Australian tribes.

3. What is polygamy? Contrast polygyny with polyandry. What are the alleged reasons for the existence of each? How does polygamy

differ from monogamy. Defend the thesis that monogamy is the best type of family life that has yet been evolved.

4. Compare and contrast the patriarchal and matriarchal family systems. Using the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman families as illustrations, what are the chief values and defects of the patriarchal family? Compare these types of patriarchal families with the traditional Chinese family.

5. How do exogamous and endogamous rules control marriage? Trace the different types of marriage ceremonies since ancient times. In a like manner trace the courtship systems. In what ways do the marriage ceremony and contract control family life?

6. Is the modern marriage system democratic? Is the free and uncontrolled choice of marriage partners desirable? Is parental consent necessary for a successful marriage?

7. Describe the early Christian family. What contribution has Christianity made to stabilize and improve family relations? What are the values of an ecclesiastical marriage?

8. Describe the Colonial family. What changes have taken place in the American family since the Colonial time? Contrast the Southern White with the Negro family as found prior to the Civil War. What changes have taken place in the Negro family since the Civil War?

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CHAPTER VII

Family Life: The Modern Home

A cross section of home life in the United States reveals over twenty-five million family units, of which more than fifty-six out of every hundred live in urban centers, one-fourth live in the country, and nearly one-fifth live in villages and hamlets. Of every one-hundred families, approximately eighty-eight are composed of whites, nine of Negroes, and the others of various racial groups. Nearly two-thirds of the members of the white families are native born of native parents. If all the people in the United States belonged to families, the average family would have about five members instead of a little over four, which is the actual figure. There are larger families, but there is a growing proportion of families with few or no children. There is an increasing tendency also to dissolve marriage by divorce. About one out of six marriages ends in the divorce court.

A home at its best is economically sound, mechanically convenient, physically healthful, artistically satisfying, mentally stimulating, morally wholesome, spiritually inspiring, socially responsible and democratic, and is founded on mutual affection, respect and good will. A home without these qualities is at its worst. Tenement houses which are dilapidated and lacking in conveniences and beauty, are unhealthful to live in. Usually the occupants of such houses are ignorant and poor people, and find little to stimulate the mind or the spirit. Also, very often, families living under such conditions have disintegrated relations. Such conditions are not conducive to the development of wholesome personalities. There are few American homes that measure up to the best, but fortunately the great mass of people are not living in the worst type of home.

The census enumerator's picture of a family is about as follows: the husband and wife are of middle age, white, native-born of native parents, literate, married and still living together. They

have from two to four children. Those of school age are attending school fairly regularly. Possibly a surviving grandparent lives with the family. They live either in an individual home or in an apartment. Originally they lived in the country, but now they live in a city, suburban town or village. The husband works and supports the family. Sometimes the wife and older children are gainfully employed. While this may not be a typical family, the type is quite common; it and its variations make up the sum total of American family groups.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE FAMILY

The modern family, though having its roots in the past, has deviated from the traditional one. The most casual observer can recognize the fact that the family is in the process of change. The family is changing today largely because society in general is changing. Conversely, also, the current changes in the family are reacting upon other phases of society. An understanding of the modern family situation, therefore, requires a consideration of other phases of social life.

Some of the historical changes which have affected the family and those within the family itself, have already been noted. Many factors and changes in recent years have altered the family system. Only a few of the main groups of factors can be noted here, but these are indicative of the far-reaching effects of social change upon the modern family. The factors which will be mentioned are not mutually exclusive. In fact they are in a way phases of a complex of social change. The titles of the subdivisions are intended to emphasize important factors.

From Domestic Industry to the Factory System. The rapid changes in the economic world have had a great effect upon family life. The transition from domestic industry to the modern factory system has revolutionized the entire social order. The invention of power machinery made possible large-scale production and the increase of wealth and luxury. Women are being employed increasingly in industry and other vocations, which has made them economically more independent and has liberated them from the domination of the home. It has been asserted that one of the chief causes of divorce is the typewriter, which is a symbol of opportunity outside of domestic activities. Women are not tied to the home by economic necessity as they once were. The em-

ployment of both women and children has disintegrated the economic unity of the family. Being engaged in different occupations leads to a variation in interests. There has been also a steady decline of the economic need and function of the family.

Urbanization. The cityward movement, which has accompanied the growth of industry, also has had a tremendous effect upon the family. The herding together of people in urban centers, the mobility of city people, the division of labor and occupational differentiation, the rise of divergent social groups, multiple dwellings, women in industry, child labor, and many other urban factors have resulted in domestic discord and family disorganization. Divorce and desertion are more prevalent in cities than in rural areas. On the other hand, the city has produced the most democratic families and modernized homes.

Not only has the urbanization process resulted in the growth of cities, but also urban changes have affected rural people. The simple and unsophisticated rural atmosphere in which the older type of family flourished has given way to a new situation in which the traditional family seems out of date, and finds increasing difficulty in maintaining itself.

From Paternalism to Democracy. A patriarchal family, such as found among the ancient Greeks and Romans, in which the father had almost unlimited control, could not exist long in a democratic social order; however, many phases of the patriarchal family persisted long after democracy was achieved in other fields. Finally, the anomaly of an autocratic family intrenched in a democratic world came to consciousness. The result was inevitable. In spite of long tradition and powerful sentiment, the situation was untenable and the patriarchal family was doomed, along with political monarchy. Thus after many years of dominance, the traditional family is being transformed into a more democratic one. Yet the patriarchal family is still in existence in such countries as China. Among certain peasants in Europe also a modified form of the ancient family type is to be found. Then, too, there are remnants of at least certain phases of the traditional family in modern democratic countries.

The Emancipation of Women. Women have gained a new freedom. They have been given legal rights and political suffrage, social equality, cultural opportunities, and freedom in thinking and self-expression. The wife has gained a new status and has

assumed greater responsibilities both in the home and in the community. The new freedom and opportunity of women is a far cry from conditions in the old patriarchal family before the Industrial Revolution, when the home set the limits of her activities and marriage was the only career open to her.

Modern Individualism and Romantic Love. Possibly the greatest single factor which has undermined the stability of the family is individualism, especially the exaggerated spirit of individualism which leads a person to find the guide to his actions in his own wishes and whims and the pleasure philosophy of life, and which results in an attitude of carelessness concerning social welfare. Individualism means a personal schematization of life and tends toward complete freedom of the individual from social restraint. The elevation of the spirit of individualism tends to cause the decline of the family as a social unit.

Economic independence, the restlessness of the age, and the romantic complex are phases of the trend toward individualism. Young people are taking life increasingly into their own hands. They choose their own life partners, their own work, the community in which they desire to live, and the type of family they wish to establish. A shift has been made from marital compulsion to romantic love. The introduction of romantic love into the marriage relationship represents tremendous new values for the family in congeniality, and intellectual and spiritual fellowship. The democratic ideal of marriage has reference to choice in marriage, which is unhampered by external authority. It also implies independence and freedom to construct one's marriage relations.

The Secularization of Marriage. Since the days of the Reformation the control of marriage has gradually shifted from the church to the state. Luther endorsed civil marriage, although he looked upon marriage as a spiritual union. The Protestant reformers repudiated the sacramental conception of marriage, and held that, while ordained of God, it was a civil contract. Although religious sentiment may be attached to the wedding ceremony and marriage may be thought of as a sacred relation, the civil status of marriage is prevalent throughout the modern world. Religion is being disassociated from marriage and the family. Ecclesiastical control has diminished. The Roman Catholic Church has made no fundamental changes in its ecclesiastical law since the establishment of the theory of the sacramental character of

marriage and the consequent doctrine of indissolubility, but in practice its members have deviated from this standard. It is in Protestantism, however, that the greatest changes have taken place. Not only is religion and the church losing control of marriage, but public opinion and moral standards are changing. Traditional marriage is being liberalized. Attitudes toward marriage functions are being altered. The romantic conception of marriage, voluntary parenthood, the demand for compatibility and freedom, the right to secure a divorce in case of incompatibility, and other modern tendencies have upset the traditional form of family life. The stigma has been taken out of divorce. People no longer are ostracized for breaking marriage ties.

The Decline of Primary Group Control. By primary group control is meant the formal and informal influences of such groups as the family, the church and the school, and the community. These groups have lost their grip upon the family situation. Local face-to-face groups formerly played a more dominant rôle in moulding personality and character and in regulating conduct. There still are rural communities in which family life is well controlled, but in our modern cities the controlling influence of neighbors has been reduced to a minimum, especially in the areas in which the population is transient and where community life itself has become disintegrated.

Conflicting Behavior Situations. The modern world is becoming exceedingly complex. The fusion of cultures and the consequent diversification of standards, conflicting interests and attitudes, as well as individualization and divergent experiences, have separated married couples. They have drifted apart because of different religious views and moral standards, differences in cultural background, and in life-patterns. Many conflicting tendencies are surging through our experiences and we face new situations for which we have no definitions or solutions. While the popularization of education has equipped individuals better to cope with new and difficult situations, it has also created new conflicts and problems. It is among the educated people that the liberalized attitude toward marriage and innovations in family relations are found. Equal educational opportunities make for greater sociability and equality, but they also develop sophistication and independence of action.

Temperamental tensions and sexual incompatibility have al-

ways existed, but now they find free outlets. The tendencies already enumerated have released the individuals. During the early days couples remained married even though incompatible. Now couples secure divorce on the ground that they cannot easily get along together.

HOME MAKING IN THE MODERN COMMUNITY

The building of homes in modern communities, whether urban or rural, has both advantages and difficulties. Houses are becoming more convenient, healthful, and artistic. And as previously indicated, marriage is founded on romantic love, family life is becoming more democratic, the members are better educated, and in many instances moral and spiritual improvements have been made. The new democratic family allows for greater freedom and equality in family relations. Husband and wife are equal partners in the home enterprise. Marriage in many instances means the establishment of a new home and a faithful, lifelong companionship. Children are given more rights and opportunities. The newer status and opportunity for self-expression of both women and children have promoted greater initiative and a freer development of personality.

The modern family, however, has failed in a number of ways. The failure to a large extent has been due to the increasing difficulties of home making, which have grown out of the rapid social changes already enumerated. The passing of masculine authority has been conducive to greater democracy, but it has not lessened responsibility. The husband and father must meet the economic and social needs of the family, and must win and hold the respect and love of the members of the household. The maintenance of family discipline and the preservation of order and stability are often more difficult to achieve in a democratic than in the older type of family. Domestic discord has added to the difficulty. The wife and mother has experienced a new freedom and status, but has more duties and responsibilities. The added demands require greater ability and education. And like her husband, she too must win and hold the respect and love of the family. The modern child meets complex and unique situations unheard of during former days. Although equipped with a better education and a more varied experience, he has larger responsibilities. External formal control is replaced or supplemented by the necessity

for internal moral control and individual self-direction. To complicate the situation still further, social conditions and standards are in a state of flux. This is a period of social unrest and disintegration, which makes it unusually difficult for children to adjust themselves to life situations.

Marital Conditions.[1] Before considering further the conflicting and disorganizing tendencies in the modern home, let us examine the present marriage situation. How extensive is marriage? Is marriage on the increase? What are the sex differences with regard to marriage? How do such factors as age, color, nativity, and place of residence affect marriage?

There were 1,232,559 marriages performed in the United States during the year 1929. A few months later (April 1, 1930) when the census was taken there were 52,497,865 married persons, which represented an increase of 9,329,666 over 1920. There was both a numerical increase and an increase in the percentage married in the population fifteen years of age and over. The percentage of married persons in the male population increased from 59.2 to 60.0, while the percentage of married women increased from 60.6 to 61.1 during the past ten years. Since 1900 the proportion of married persons increased about 5 per cent, except for the period of the depression. Some 172,464 fewer people married in the year 1931 than during 1929. Some 4,734,207 women and 2,024,936 men reported in 1930 that they were widowed, but only a little over a million men and women reported that they were divorced, which figure is undoubtedly too low. Divorced persons do not always give their status. It must be remembered that many divorced and widowed persons remarry, which increases the total number of marriages per year, but which does not necessarily increase the percentage of married in the population.

Even though a higher percentage of women are married than is true of the men, yet there were 146,353 more married men than there were married women in 1930. There are, however, 102.5 males for every 100 females. While this situation affects the ratios of married men and women, it does not explain the greater number of married men, which is due largely to a group of immigrant men whose wives are in the old country.

[1]For fuller treatments consult the census reports on marital conditions and Groves and Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships* (1928)

The 1930 census revealed that only 1.7 per cent of the males and 12.6 per cent of the females from 15 to 19 years of age inclusive were married, yet studies of child marriage indicate that a large number are under 20 years of age at the time of marriage. Richmond and Hall[2] estimated that between 1890 and 1920 over 343,000 women and girls who are living in the United States today began their married lives as child brides. Early marriages are especially common in rural sections and in certain racial and nationality groups. The minimum legal marriageable age varies all the way from 12 to 18 in the different states. It is usually lower for girls than for boys.

Possibly even more important than the numbers and ratios of marriages and of married people is the condition under which marriage takes place and the form which it takes. The system of courtship, and the conditions under which it is carried on, have a tremendous effect on family life. What kind of a marriage relation exists? How do the couples get along? How often is marriage broken by divorce? Why do couples get divorces? How do children fare in modern homes?

Family Disorganization and Domestic Discord. Family disorganization may be thought of in a broad or in a limited sense. In a broad sense it has reference to an inadequate or improper functioning of family life such as domestic discord. In a more limited sense, family disorganization has reference to actual breaks in family relations, such as divorce, separation, desertion, and other overt forms of rupture. These are the most tangible manifestations of family disorganization. Yet it must be kept in mind that these explicit forms are only overt expressions of inner discord or disintegration, and evidence a changed attitude toward family relations. Family disorganization is not a static affair; it is dynamic. The actual break is the culmination of a process of disintegration. Disorganization may be partial or complete. Divorce is really the climax of a disintegrating process which has been going on for some time. It represents a release from tension.

In recent years there has appeared the *arrested family*,[3] sometimes called the companionate family. The term "companionate family," or possibly better "companionate marriage," has a variety of meanings. Originally it had reference to a state of lawful wed-

[2]*Child Marriages* (1925)

[3]See Ernest R Groves, *Social Problems of the Family* (1927) Chap VI.

lock which was entered into solely for the purpose of companionship and not to contribute children to society.[4] Thus it means a marriage for mutual advantage, possibly for pleasure, without the responsibility connected with children. This is the true meaning of companionate marriage.

The idea of the temporary character was added later.[5] Many have thought of the companionate as trial marriage. This is not properly true. The companionate may be temporary, but is not entered into as an experiment. Trial marriage implies experimentation.

The arrested family represents a serious deviation from the orthodox family. It, however, is not always the result of selfish intent, as some have supposed. Back of the companionate marriage there are certain social and economic factors which have produced it. The high cost of living (or possibly better, the cost of high living), late start in life, living conditions, extension of leisure, new status of women, increased knowledge of birth processes and birth control, chronic illness, and professional interests are some of the conditioning factors.

Divorce.[6] The most important symptom of family disorganization is divorce. It is not a cause nor a process; it is rather an effect of a process which has preceded it. It is an evidence of family disorganization in a process of transition. Adultery, cruelty, desertion, drunkenness, incompatibility, the loss of affection, individualism, economic independence, restlessness, the diffusion of culture, loss of social control, and the like, destroy the marriage relationship. Divorce occurs after the marriage has been wrecked.

The United States has the highest rate of divorce in the civilized world, with the possible exception of Russia. Japan[7] had the highest rate up to about fifteen years ago when our rate exceeded theirs. In 1890 Japan had 269 divorces per 100,000 people, but the an-

[4]M. M Knight, "The Companionate and the Family, the Unobserved Division of an Historical Institution," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Vol. 10, May, 1924, pp. 257–267 Professor Knight coined the term "companionate"

[5]Ben Lindsey, *The Companionate Marriage* (1927).

[6]For comprehensive treatments of the divorce problem consult J. P. Lichtenberger, *Divorce* (1931 edition), E Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (1927); E. R. Groves and W. G Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships* (1928); W Goodsell, *Problems of the Family* (1928); and M. C Elmer, *Family Adjustment and Social Change* (1932); Alfred Cahen, *Statistical Study of American Divorce* (1932).

[7]For the latest available statistics see Yasu Iwasaki, "Divorce in Japan," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1930, pp. 437-46.

nual averages show an unbroken downward trend since that time. By 1920 the rate was only 94 per 100,000 people, as compared with 139 for the United States, 71 for France, 63 for Germany, 51 for Switzerland, 49 for Belgium, 42 for Denmark, and only 17 for England and Wales. The decline of divorce in Japan is explained by the influence of the Code of 1897 which made divorces more difficult to obtain than formerly.

In 1867, the United States had only 9,937 divorces, or about 28 per 100,000 people. In 1929 we had 201,468 divorces, the highest rate in our history, which meant nearly 166 per 100,000 people, provided the population at that time had exceeded the 120,000,000 mark. During 1931 there were 183,695 divorces. Nearly five million divorces have been granted in this country since 1867, the period for which we have statistics. The divorce rate has been increasing entirely out of proportion to the marriage rate and the increase of the population. In 1900 there were 12.6 marriages per one divorce, now the ratio is nearly 6 to 1. But the rate of divorce is not uniform throughout the country. In 1929 the rates per 100,000 people varied from 62, 97, and 98 in the Middle Atlantic, New England, and South Atlantic states respectively, to 301, 284, and 280 respectively in the Mountain, Pacific, and West South Central states. The rates by states vary all the way from none in South Carolina, which state does not grant divorces, and 24, 41, and 55 in the District of Columbia, New York and North Carolina respectively, to 2813 in Nevada, 348 in Oklahoma, 338 in Texas, 320 in Wyoming, and 315 in Washington. The divorce rate is higher in cities than in rural sections. In 1924 San Francisco had only 14 per cent of the population of California and 12.3 per cent of the marriages, but 19.8 per cent of the divorces of the state were granted in that city. During the same year Cook County, Illinois, which includes Chicago, had 48.8 per cent of the population of the state but 59.8 per cent of the divorces. Sorokin and Zimmerman cite figures to show that the divorce rate in practically all countries is higher in the urban than in the rural population.[8]

Not only are there differences in the divorce rates of various sections of the country and in various states, and also a higher rate in the city than in the country, but there are also variations in divorce rates within cities. Mowrer[9] made an ecological study of

[8] *Principles of Rural-Urban Relations* (1929) p. 334ff.

[9] E R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (1927), Chapter V.

family disorganization in Chicago. He divided the city into five types of areas and 70 different communities: (1) The non-family areas are largely one-sex areas, i.e., predominantly male, such as the Chicago Loop, Greektown, Chinatown, Hobohemia, Bohemia, and the areas of hotels which cater to transients. (2) The emancipated family areas are the rooming house and the residential hotel districts in which the members of the family feel themselves freed from conventions and often there are no children. (3) The paternal family areas are those of the immigrant and the proletarian class in which the husband occupies a superior position. (4) The equalitarian areas are those of the middle professional classes. (5) The maternal family areas are largely the commuters' zones where the wife and mother assumes the position as head of the house. Divorce and desertion vary widely by communities, ranging from none at all to 680 per 100,000 people. The average of the city is 250 per 100,000 persons.

There is a correlation between divorce and such factors as the duration of marriage, children, and occupation. In 1924 nearly two-fifths of the divorces were granted to couples who had been married less than five years, two-thirds had been married less than ten years, four-fifths less than fifteen years, and nearly nine-tenths of the couples had been married less than twenty years. In 1929, 57.1 per cent of the divorces were granted to couples who reported no children, 5.7 per cent did not report as to children, and the remainder of the couples reported children. Thus it is safe to say that over 60 per cent of divorced couples had no children. The relation between occupation and divorce is not easily ascertained but it is a well-known fact that the divorce rate is relatively high among actors and actresses, musicians, traveling salesmen, and certain other professional classes. On the other hand, the rate is relatively low among clergymen, teachers, farmers, and certain classes of laborers.

Women applied for 71.3 per cent of the divorces in 1929. The rate fluctuates slightly from year to year. This does not necessarily mean that the husbands are the chief offenders. In some circles it is customary for the wives to ask for the divorces although it is by mutual agreement.

The chief *legal grounds of divorces* are cruelty, desertion, adultery, neglect to provide, and drunkenness (the percentages for 1929 were respectively 40.8, 29.6, 8.3, 3.9, 1.8). Some states

also grant divorces on such grounds as separation, imprisonment, vagrancy, conviction of felony, bigamy, lewd behavior, impotency, fraud, incompatibility, and insanity. A number of other reasons are cited in states which grant divorces on a variety of grounds. The greatest increase has been for cruelty, the number being 47 times as great in 1924 as the average between 1867–71.[10]

It must be remembered that the legal grounds may not be, and usually are not, the actual reasons for divorce. Mowrer[11] studied a series of cases of divorce records in Chicago and found that suits brought on the charges of desertion, cruelty, and adultery, which constituted about 86 per cent of the total, show a variation between legal and "natural" causes. The case records under each heading revealed other factors which played an important if not predominant part. In some states divorces are granted on only one or a few grounds, no matter what the actual causes may be. Legal grounds thus are blanket terms to cover a variety of causal factors.

Marriage annulments, which mean that marriages are declared null and void instead of being legally dissolved by divorce, are not very extensive and yet there were 4,255 in the United States in 1927. Most of the annulments are granted on the grounds of bigamy, under legal age, and fraudulent representation.

Desertion.[12] It is fairly common for one of the parties to desert the other, and, like divorce, it seems to be on the increase. This problem has not been sufficiently studied, nor are there adequate statistics concerning the matter to warrant extensive treatment. Desertion is one of the main legal causes of divorce; however it represents also a problem by itself, and has its own causes. It has much in common with divorce, both as to causes and as to results. Desertion is largely a problem of the city. Husbands desert more frequently than do wives. The phenomenon is found among all races and nationalities, and is not limited to any religious sect or social group, except that it is more common among the poorer classes, although desertion is not due primarily to economic conditions. Desertion, like divorce, breaks up the home in an overt way.

[10]See Groves and Ogburn, *op cit.*, p 347.

[11]*Op cit*, Chapter III

[12]Consult, Lillian Brandt, *574 Deserters and Their Families* (1905); Earle F. Eubank, *A Study of Family Desertion* (1916); Joanna Colcord, *Broken Homes* (1919); and E R Mowrer, *op cit*, especially Chapter IV

Widowhood. Homes are also broken by death. This has always been a problem and need not be especially emphasized. If the wife and mother dies it is largely a problem of keeping the home going and rearing the children. If the husband and father dies, it frequently creates a problem of support. Disintegration occurs when the members of the family are unable to adjust themselves to the new situation. In some instances, remarriage makes for a readjustment, but frequently the newly formed group does not become any too well integrated.

Social Effects of Family Disorganization. The consequences of family disorganization are manifold and often seriously harmful. Divorce, particularly, reveals a wide-spread disruption of the family in modern society. Since society depends upon the family for the biological perpetuation of the race, for the care and socialization of children, and for the transmission of culture, any disruption of the family or its dissolution deprives society of the invaluable services of its most fundamental group. The purposes of the family institution are frustrated, either wholly or in part.

Severing of the marriage relation always means pain and sorrow. The integrated family is based on love and affection, which if broken causes grief. Even if genuine affection remains only on the part of one spouse, the break invariably leaves a scar, perhaps even a wound that cannot entirely be healed. At any rate, hopes and ambitions are blasted. Members of the marriage contract are disillusioned, and not infrequently develop skeptical and cynical attitudes toward life and even a hatred toward others, especially those of the opposite sex.

The children of the broken home undoubtedly suffer the most, and altogether unjustly. If the physical, mental, and moral training of children is one of the main functions of the family, then a broken home invariably must fail in this task, for children cannot be trained adequately by a disorganized family. Even if there is only friction and discord, the sensitive child is affected by this friction or even by differences in attitudes and ideals. Even a difference in temperament or culture on the part of parents may prove harmful to the children. Any tension may lessen the effectiveness of family control and wholesome influence.

The Child in the Home. The rearing of children in the modern community is a complicated affair. Childbearing is less empha-

sized than formerly, but childrearing is receiving greater attention. The education of the child will be considered in later chapters. It is the purpose here simply to call attention to certain phases of the child's relation to the home and problems of child welfare.

The parent-child relationship is very significant. If mutual respect and love exist between parents and their children, and if parents are successful in caring for their offspring, very few problems of children arise. Unfortunately there are many parent-child conflicts and family discord is all too prevalent.[13] Social conflicts manifest themselves in the opposition of activities and attitudes between parents and children. A child becomes disobedient and does not acknowledge the parents. The parents, on the other hand, punish, scold, nag, and neglect the child. Children often become detached from the home, due to parental neglect or dominance. Parental favoritism may spoil the children. Disharmony in the home may be due to a lack of affection, or it may grow out of an unfavorable social situation in which a family finds itself. Abuse, drunkenness, immorality, irregular or vicious habits, bad housekeeping, nagging, uncontrolled temper, jealousy, extreme extravagance or stinginess, cultural differences, the problem of child discipline, adopted children and outside influences may produce discord.

The size of the family and living conditions also affect children. Large families, especially among the poor, result in neglect of the children. The one-child family, or families living in hotels and small apartments, frequently result in spoiled children, even though they may otherwise be well cared for. Foster children or children without parental care suffer even more than the others. The adopted child frequently causes family conflict. Orphanages and children's homes cannot take the place of normal family care. Children born out of wedlock are socially ostracized and do not have a normal chance of development. Neglected and abused children may become anti-social in behavior if they succeed in living at all. Problem children may be found in every community, especially in disorganized urban areas, such as the slums, immigrant colonies and factory zones. Sick and defective children are handicapped in that they are unable to function normally. Child

[13]Consult E. R. Mowrer, *Family Discord* (1928); M. Nimkoff, "Parent-Child Conflict," *Sociology and Social Research*, May-June and November-December issues, 1929, pp 446–458 and 135–150.

labor thwarts the natural growth of the child and prevents him from acquiring the education necessary for successful living.[14]

Controlling the Family and the Home. It is clear, then, that the family situation is inadequately controlled. The treatment thus far has dealt largely with the problems of the modern family in order to point out the underlying needs. What may be done to improve the situation?

Many efforts have been put forth either to reconstruct broken families or to control family relations so as to avoid disorganization. Mowrer[15] points out the failure of primary-group control, the inadequacy of social-work technique, the decline of church control, and the lack of a scientific basis for control. He suggests that a concrete method of approach suitable to the demands for control will be concerned chiefly with social coördination. This can be achieved only by many particular investigations, dealing with such phases of the subject as population movements, immigrant adjustments, changed status of sex, sex relations, individual differences, economic adjustment, selection of mates, and other aspects of the problem of control. Obviously one of the greatest needs of today is a thoroughgoing and detailed study of all phases of family relations and environmental conditions which affect the home. There is a woefully incomplete knowledge of these conditions. A successful solution never can be achieved unless the movements of readjustment and control are based on facts.

Many efforts, successful and feeble, have been put forth and proposals have been made to reëstablish the family on a new and integrated basis. Movements to secure better legal control, more uniform marriage laws, sex education, mental hygiene, social hygiene, education for marriage, and various clinics and institutions which have for their purpose the adjustments of family relations, have all made contributions towards the solution of this problem.

Social conditions have changed too radically to try to return to the older types of families. The problem is that of the preservation of the social values inherent in the family and that of adapt-

[14]Delinquency, defectiveness, poverty, child labor, education and religious instruction, recreation and other child welfare problems will be treated in subsequent chapters The housing of the poor will be treated in the chapter on "Poverty and Dependency."

[15] *Family Disorganization,* Chapter XIII, "The Control of Family Disorganization," and his later book on *Domestic Discord* (1928).

ing the home to the changing conditions of the time; this is largely a process of education, using the term education in its broadest sense. Education is far more important than legislation, for the ultimate adjustment and stability must come from within the family and from favorable social conditions. The complex society of today and the rapid changes which are taking place require a new type of preparation and education for marriage. Physical education, domestic science and household administration, knowledge of sex and family relations and child care, and moral and religious training, are all part of the broader educational program.

There is need for a new family pattern to take the place of the old. The family should be made a permanent democratic partnership, with intelligent and sympathetic adjustment of the partnership relations, and considerate coöperation in living together.

Finally, to repeat, the reëstablishment of the family cannot stop with the institution itself, but requires also the reëxamination and readjustment of the social environment. The family is interlinked so intimately with other social institutions and with the whole social fabric, that it cannot be integrated permanently without a corresponding integration of the environment.

The consideration of the problems of the family should not blind us to its worth as a social group. The family is a basic social institution. It has functions vital to the welfare of society. A nation of people with happy homes is based upon a firm foundation. No country can succeed without stable and efficient family life. While family disorganization is a cause for great concern, it is to be remembered that there are many normal homes of which little is heard, but which render a vital service to society. No nobler work is done anywhere than that done by the men and women, high or humble, who set themselves to fitting their children for life's tasks, equipping them with principles and habits upon which they may fall back in trying hours, and to making homes the most helpful and most enjoyable places on earth.

Summary. The far-reaching social changes during the modern era have affected every phase of family life. The greatest change has been occasioned by the social upheaval produced by the Industrial Revolution. Urbanization has been made possible by the industrialization process. The rise of democracy, the emancipation of women and children, modern individualism and

romanticism, and the secularization of life are closely related to each other. These have made for a more wholesome family life, but have made also for conflicts and disintegration of the family structure as well as for a decline of the family as an agency of social control. They have contributed both to the advantages and to the difficulties of home making in the modern community.

There has been a general increase of marriages during recent decades, except for the period of the depression; this is partly due to the increase in divorces and remarriages. Divorce is the chief evidence of family disorganization and has far-reaching social consequences. All efforts to check the ever-rising tide of divorce have not prevented its increase. The children of broken homes are undoubtedly the chief sufferers. Rearing children is a complicated and difficult task even in normal homes.

The constructive movements to readjust broken homes and to control family relations need to be encouraged. However, the most immediate and fundamental need is a thorough understanding of the family situation, as well as of the forces and trends in modern society that operate to change the structure and functions of the family itself. The readjustment and control of the family cannot be achieved apart from a corresponding adjustment of the entire social environment in which the family must live.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. What social changes in recent years have profoundly affected the family? Which of these has exerted the most pronounced influence?
2. What are the elements that make for a good home? State the essential qualifications of an ideal husband; an ideal wife; an ideal parent. How would you characterize a normal home?
3. Is marriage increasing or decreasing? How do such factors as age, color, nativity, and place of residence affect marriage? What are the motives of marriage?
4. What is family disorganization? What are the different forms of broken homes? What conditions in modern society make it difficult to maintain good homes?
5. Study the comparative divorce rates in different countries, in different states of the United States, and in rural and urban communities.
6. What is the correlation between divorce and such factors as the duration of marriage, children, and occupation? Who call for divorces for the most part, men or women?
7. What are the legal grounds for divorce? What are the actual

causes? List the causal factors, both legal and actual, in the order of importance.

8. Compare the marriage and divorce laws of your state with those of other states of the Union. Should we have uniform marriage and divorce laws in the United States? What are the chief weaknesses of our present system of legal control?

9. Suggest a program for the control and improvement of the modern home. How may divorce be prevented? What contributions may be made by social research, education, religion, recreation, and social work in improving family life?

10. Outline a speech on "The modern family, its organization and disorganization," and give the main facts that you would present.

11. The problem-child and the home. How does a broken home affect the child? Show the relation between neglected, abused, and deficient children and juvenile delinquency.

12. Debate or discuss the question, "Can the modern family have two heads?"

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CHAPTER VIII

MAKING A LIVING

The people of a community constitute the conscious and creative element in its life, without which no development is possible. However, there must be an economic support of the population. While "man shall not live by bread alone," he cannot live without bread. It is the function of the economic system to make material provision for life's needs.

The welfare of the community is bound up with its commercial prosperity. If business prospers, the community prospers; if it fails, the community fails. Economic goods make other things possible. On the crest of the San Juan mountains in southwestern Colorado is a deserted town. Only a filling station remains. Why? The minerals that formerly made it a prosperous mining camp gave out, and industry disappeared. Everything else connected with community life ceased also, except the replenishing of automobiles exhausted by the long climb up the mountains.

HISTORICAL METHODS OF MAKING A LIVING

The efforts of human groups to make a living have taken many different forms since primitive times. A brief review of the characteristic forms and the changes involved will throw light on the nature of social processes and relations, which constitutes the special field of sociology. The form of the economic organization of a people, or of an age, exerts great influence on all other phases of its social life.

Early Methods. The various types of economic life are sometimes called stages of industry. It should be understood, however, that these stages have not had a clear-cut, chronological development, after the same patterns in all groups. Human life has not universally followed uniform lines of emergence, but men and women especially in early times lived largely as they had to in order to survive, rather than by definite plans of organization.

Under the most primitive conditions, where the artificial devices of production were undeveloped, human groups satisfied their needs in the crudest ways by *direct appropriation* of the resources which nature provided, such as berries, fruits, nuts, roots, and herbs. *Hunting and fishing* added meat to this meager vegetable diet, and made it possible for the group to wander over a wider area. This required the development of devices for hunting and fishing. The domestication of animals changed the mode of living, and under *pastoral conditions* it was possible to range still farther afield, wherever pasturage could be found for the flocks and herds. The food supply was made also more secure. But the *agricultural type* of production marked one of the greatest advances in human development. Heretofore, groups had led a nomadic life, wandering where they could find food for themselves or pasturage for their domesticated animals. Now they tilled the soil and raised crops for their own food and for their flocks and herds. This made the food supply still more secure, extended the range of human existence, and tended to provide a more permanent place of residence. People built dwellings, localized home life, and lived together in communities.

Hand manufacturing of goods by craftsmen and guilds of skilled artisans, known as the *handicraft type* of industry, marks the beginning of a more complex civilization. There was an extension of production and an increase in the exchange of goods, which in turn made it possible for the development of cities. The increased contacts and fusion of cultures that resulted paved the way for the modern industrial era. All these types of making a living are still in existence, although many of them have been superseded to a large extent by machine production.

The Industrial Revolution. The growth of commerce and the expanding markets made the handicraft system of manufacture wholly inadequate to meet the enlarging needs of the world. The frontiers of life were pushing out in every direction, even across the seas to the Colonies in the newly discovered lands. This was true not only geographically, but there was also a rising standard of living that made ever increasing demands upon production.

The new needs could be met only by better methods of manufacture. The transformation began in the clothing industry in England. Improvements in the hand loom earlier in the 18th Cen-

tury had made it impossible for spinning to keep pace with weaving. The supply of yarn must be increased. This led to the invention of the spinning-jenny (appropriately named after his wife) by James Hargreaves, in 1767. The following year Arkwright invented a roller machine for spinning, driven by water power, the first power machine ever used in the textile industry. Improvements in weaving were now required to utilize the increased supply of yarn, and the power loom was invented by Cartwright in 1787. The supply of cotton then fell behind the increasing demand, since the seeds still had to be removed by hand, until in 1792 Eli Whitney, a young American, invented the cotton gin, a mechanical device that could be operated by one man and clean a thousand pounds of cotton in a day.[1]

The interesting story of the further invention of machinery, which gradually took the place of hand labor, the substitution of steam for water power, and then of gas and electricity for steam, cannot be followed here. Little by little, first in England and then on the continent and in America, in the face of opposition on the part of workers and skepticism in the minds of the public, the use of power-machinery was extended from the textile industry to all other lines of manufacture, to railroad and steamship transportation, to automobile and airplane travel, to new devices of long-distance communication, until it has taken possession of industrial life everywhere, and created a new economic and social world.

The Present Economic Order. A brief summary of the present economic system which has grown out of the Industrial Revolution will help further to reveal its significance. Power machinery is the starting point; hence the new industrial system is known as the "machine age." The factory is built to house the machinery, whose multiplied units could not be kept in private homes; hence the designation, "factory system." Capital has been accumulated to provide the machinery, build the factories, and meet the increased costs of production, which have now become too expensive for the worker; hence it is the "capitalistic system." The workers have therefore lost control of the tools of production, and now work for wages paid by the capitalistic owners of the industrial enterprise, which has therefore become a "wage system." Between the workers and the owners is the manager or entrepreneur, who has

[1]See J. H Robinson and Charles A. Beard, *The Development of Modern Europe* (1907–08), Vol. II, pp. 30-44.

the active running of the business, either directly responsible to the owners or to a board of directors appointed by them.

Under this system, production is no longer for the personal use of the producers, nor merely for local consumers, but is undertaken for profit, and appeals to a constantly expanding market, necessitating an adequate system of transportation and communication, and world-wide commerce. The enlarged market leads, in turn, to new demands upon capital, increased output, more elaborate organization of industry, and what is known as standardized mass production and big business. The entire process involves increasing division of labor, industrial conflict, economic interdependence, and organized coöperation.

Meanwhile, the factories have been placed in advantageous locations, and the workers in accelerating numbers have come from the country and villages, and even from across the seas, to crowd about the factories to live, thereby augmenting the growth of cities and congested living conditions. As production has been removed more and more from the home, women and children have gone into industry and business as they have followed their work to the factory and store. The entire process has introduced new conditions and standards of living, and has established new attitudes and social values.

Such in briefest outline are the outstanding characteristics of the economic system which forms the background or framework of modern life, has thoroughly transformed men's ways of making a living, and has given rise to our most significant social problems.

SOCIAL PHASES OF MAKING A LIVING

There are many features of this economic system which have special social significance.

Central Place of Economic Interests. One is impressed immediately with the large place that getting a living occupies in the life of the community. It lies at the very heart of the people's interests. The business district is the center of the town, not merely geographically but likewise in the activities of its citizens, which revolve about it as the wheel about its hub. The census of 1930 shows that 39.8 per cent of the population of the United States are gainfully employed. The fact that two-fifths of all the people devote so much of their time and energy to making a living indicates the dominating place which it occupies in modern life.

An average eight-hour work-day for all of those engaged in gainful occupations means that half of their waking hours and nearly all their daylight time, except Sundays, are devoted to their occupation. Many also give much thought to business problems outside of office hours. Half of the time not spent in sleep is thus given by nearly half of the population of the community to economic endeavor. This seems too large a proportion of a man's life, and accounts for the persistent efforts on the part of workers to shorten the work-day, especially since it has become evident that under modern methods of production the population could be supported without such long hours of labor. Indeed, there are present indications that a shorter working day and working week may be necessary if widespread unemployment is not to be a permanent result of the speeding up of production through the increasing use of machinery.

The many workers and the long work-day, however, are not the only indication of the central place of economic activities in the community; for practically all other aspects of its life are greatly influenced by the economic aspect. Income may be only an instrumental value, but it is an indispensable instrument in our modern life. The entire family is interested in making a living. Housewives must see that household expenses do not exceed the income, children must be supported in school on the same plane as their fellows, and the younger children and the aged must be cared for. The economic interests of the family thus occupy a central place in its thinking and planning, and in its conversation, anxieties and conflicts.

This is why people work so hard; they are spurred on by the financial necessities of modern life. A limited number are so fortunate as to be able to work for love of their task or of the game. But the mass of the toilers work because they and those dependent upon them must live, and, under our present economic system, most of the things that minister to life must be bought with money.

The influence upon the development of personality is still another reason for the social importance of this phase of community life. Occupational types of influence are easily recognizable in attitudes and outlook on life, in class feelings, in estimates of social values, and in personality and character. *Middletown* divides its gainfully-employed into the working class and the business class.

"It is after all this division that constitutes the outstanding cleavage in Middletown. The mere fact of being born upon one or the other side of the watershed roughly formed by these two groups is the most significant single cultural factor tending to influence what one does all day long throughout one's life; whom one marries; when one gets up in the morning; whether one belongs to the Holy Roller or Presbyterian Church; or drives a Ford or a Buick; whether or not one's daughter makes the desirable high school Violet Club; or one's wife meets with the Sew We Do Club or with the Art Student's League; whether one belongs to the Odd Fellows or to the Masonic Shrine; whether one sits about evenings with one's necktie off; and so on indefinitely throughout the daily comings and goings of a Middletown man, woman, or child."[2]

One only has to pass from the meeting of a coal miners' union on one side of the street to a teachers' convention on the other side, and mingle with the two groups, to realize something of the influence of occupation on personality and the development of class attitudes toward life and estimates of social values.

How the Community Makes Its Living. As one watches the ceaseless activity of men and women in a busy city, one may ask where they are going and what they are doing. In Middletown it was found that out of every hundred people, 43 were making the living for the entire group; 23 were engaged in caring for the homes; 19 were boys and girls in school or other preparatory training; and 15 were under the age of six or were very old.[3] This was a somewhat larger percentage of gainfully employed than exists in the United States as a whole, the census of 1930 showing that 48,832,589, or 39.8 per cent of the population, were so engaged. Seventy-one per cent of those gainfully employed in Middletown were found to be in the working-class group and twenty-nine per cent were in the business-class group.

Eighty per cent of all the workers were males and twenty per cent females.[4] The United States census of 1930 shows that throughout the country as a whole at that time 76.2 per cent of the male population and 22.1 per cent of the females, ten years old and over, were gainfully employed. Thus nearly one-fourth of the nation's workers were women and girls, of which between a fifth and a fourth were married women or had been married. Housewives are not reckoned by the census among the gainfully em-

[2]Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (1929), p. 24.
[3]*Ibid.*, p. 21.
[4]*Ibid.*, pp. 22, 24.

ployed. The census figures show a considerable percentage of increase in female workers since 1920, and a much greater corresponding change since 1910.

The gainfully employed male workers in the United States in 1930 may be listed, in the order of numerical importance, with percentages of each: manufacturing and mechanical industries (31.3), agriculture (25.1), trade (15.3), transportation (10.5), professional service (4.4), and miscellaneous occupations (13.4); while among the women 29.2 per cent were engaged in domestic and personal service, and the others in manufacturing and mechanical industries (22.4), professional service (16.4), trade (15.9), transportation (4.2), and miscellaneous occupations (11.9).

Thus approximately 40 per cent of the people of the average community are occupied during the working-day in making a living for themselves and for the remaining 60 per cent of the population. The specific things that they do will vary in different communities, depending partly on location, partly on opportunity, and partly on personal preference.

Mothers Who Earn. The employment of women and girls in such large numbers as indicated above is one of the most significant results of the Industrial Revolution. Under the domestic system of industry, women and girls made large economic contribution to the support of the family. The Industrial Revolution took much of this work out of the home into the factory, and the factory-made products had to be purchased with money. If women were to make their economic contribution under the new conditions, they would be forced to follow the industries to the factory. Moreover, the new machinery could be operated by unskilled women and children, who could be hired for lower wages than can men. The general effect has been to bring female labor into competition with male labor rather than being supplemental thereto, as in the domestic system of industry, involving problems of the lowering of wages and the unemployment of men.

The consequences of the new situation are serious, not only for working mothers, but for the home and especially for the children. Studies have shown that the number of gainfully employed women in certain cities constitute over 38 per cent of the entire female population 14 years of age and over. In one of these cities the percentage was as high as 45, and in another, 46.

Approximately 55 per cent of these were married women. Nearly 53 per cent of these were mothers and 40 per cent of them had babies under 5 years old. About four-fifths of these married working-women were trying to maintain their homes in addition to their gainful employment. The infant death rate in some cities was 199.2 per 1000 births in case of bread-winning mothers as compared with a rate of 133.9 in case of unemployed mothers. All the studies have revealed the harmful effects of the employment of mothers upon the care of the home, the training of the children, and the rate of infant mortality.[5]

The employment of women extends far beyond the limits of industry, in the narrow sense, and has become a characteristic feature of the entire business organization. It is said that there is not an occupation in the United States today in which women are not found. In the case of business and professional employment, the effects are not so serious upon the care of the home and the health of children as among industrially-employed mothers, and of course the effects in the case of unmarried women are different from those among married women. For women dependent upon their own resources, moreover, especially for those having others dependent upon them, the opportunity to earn is a great boon, marking the difference between a life of charity and despair and a self-respecting life of hope and worthwhile interests.

Children Who Work. The new conditions ushered in by the Industrial Revolution with their opportunities for child labor, were hailed as a great blessing for children, both economically and morally. It was not until the evil effects of children in industry became apparent, first in England and later in America, that public sentiment began gradually to change, until today child labor is recognized as a menacing social problem. The recognition of the detrimental effects of child labor has been the chief factor in its reduction, largely through legislation. The census of 1930 showed that there were 667,118 persons 10 to 15 years of age who were gainfully employed as compared with 1,990,225 in 1910. However, there were 4,021,054 boys and girls 16 to 19 years of age (in 1930) who were gainfully employed. Doubtless many children who were at work in 1930 have now lost their jobs. On

[5]For fuller discussion, see Goodsell, *Problems of the Family* (1928), Chapter X, from which the above figures are quoted. See also the publications of the Women's Bureau and of the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor. Many authors have discussed the subject.

the other hand, during the depression economic necessity has driven many children—how many no one can say—to seek employment.

Childhood is the strategic time for the education and training of those who are to be the citizens of the next generation, and child education and child labor cannot go together. As the realization of the importance of education has grown and opportunities for it have multiplied, compulsory education laws have been passed in the several states. These laws were supplemented by laws forbidding child labor that will interfere with education until the child has reached a certain age, in most cases not less than fourteen years, and in many states higher; or until the child has completed a certain grade in school, usually not lower than the eighth.

Moreover, child labor has been found to be less advantageous economically than was at first supposed. Those who begin to work while physically immature exhaust their vigor and "burn out" at an earlier adult age. Children do not have adequate control over their motor processes and are more careless; this condition results in less efficiency and more industrial accidents. Child labor often displaces adults, or lowers their wages, and demoralizes industry. Children who begin to work at an early age usually become and remain unskilled laborers.

Child labor also interferes with the wholesome life of childhood, deprives children of their normal development, and increases juvenile delinquency. Play and recreation are natural to the child; in them he acquires certain qualities, learns certain lessons, and finds ways of expressing himself, that cannot be gained otherwise. On the other hand, by never learning how to work children may be injured as seriously as by being set at the wrong kinds of work in wrong ways and to an excessive degree. The child who never outgrows the kindergarten idea of doing only the things that he can convert into play, enters greatly handicapped into adult workaday responsibilities.

Wages and Budgets. The many studies that have been made of wages and budgets reveal only too clearly that the modern economic system has been much more successful in production than in distribution. That is, the system has succeeded better in making goods than it has in equitably dividing the wealth that has been created in the processes of production.

Such a study was made in Middletown in 1924. The minimum

cost of living for a standard family of five was found to be $1920.87. On the basis of income tax returns for 1923 from "85 to 88 per cent of those gainfully employed received less than $1000 if single or less than $2000 if married, or failed to make income tax returns." Of 100 families studied, 42 per cent received[6] less than the standard of $1920.87, and 35 per cent in families of three or four members failed to reach the standard. The median income was $1494.75. In a characteristic plant, the average hourly wage of female workers was 31 cents, and of males 55 cents (not counting office force and foremen in both cases). On the basis of 55 hours per week steady work for 52 weeks in the year, this would give an annual income of $886.60 for females, and $1573.00 for males.

From the results of studies that have been made,[7] it is certain that the families of at least one-third and possibly one-half the wage earners employed in manufacturing and mining earn in the course of the year less than enough to support them in anything like a comfortable and decent condition. This lack of adequate income is not only a chief cause of the great amount of pauperism in the United States, so economically costly and personally disastrous, but it keeps the families of nearly half our industrial workers so close to the poverty line that wholesome and planned living is impossible. The situation is accentuated by the demoralizing effects of irregular employment and unemployment.

The detrimental effects of an inadequate income on the mortality of babies can be seen in many instances. There is a regular decrease in the death rate of babies from families whose fathers earn $500 or less a year to those in which they earn $1200 or more. A similar relation exists between the infant mortality rate and the number of rooms in which the family lives. The death rate decreases steadily from one-room, two-room, three-room, four-room, up to five-room living quarters.

Such conditions, and the well-known inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income in general, constitute a serious indictment of the efficiency of our industrial system in its distribution aspects. Production has been increased marvelously in our

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 84–89.

[7] Many reports have been made. See Fairchild, Furniss, and Buck, *Elementary Economics* (1926), pp. 277–88; W. Goodsell, *Problems of the Family* (1928), pp. 113–18; Davis, Barnes, et al., *Introduction to Sociology* (1927), pp. 784–88; and government reports.

modern machine age. It is generally considered to be adequate for a reasonable and wholesome standard of living on the part of the entire population. But economic distribution of income, and our social and personal adjustments, have not kept pace with increasing goods. The net result of machine industry has not been to free workers from excessive toil, as was anticipated, or at least to the extent that was expected, nor has it given them a sufficient share of the great profits involved to rear their families under wholesome conditions. Eventually industry must find a way to provide an adequate support for its workers as a part of the cost of production.

The Fear of the Job. One of the most significant results of the Industrial Revolution is the workers' loss of ownership and control of the agencies of production. Doubtless this was inevitable, but it creates a cleavage in industry between employers and employees hard to bridge, and gives rise to some of the most persistent problems of current social life.

Perhaps most unhappy of all is the situation in which it leaves the working man. He has no control over the tenure of his job. A board of directors of ten men can throw ten thousand men out of employment overnight, and there is no redress. Economic conditions may be such that the board of directors has no choice in the matter; that makes the situation so much the worse, and fixes the difficulty more deeply in the industrial system itself. The situation has been characterized as the "new feudalism," in which the masses of workers are dependent upon the overlords of business and finance, but in which, alas, the overlords do not assume the old-time responsibility of feudalism for those dependent upon them as workers.

Unemployment, sickness, and old age are known as the three fears of the working man, and the greatest of these is the "fear of the job." For with assured tenure of work and adequate wages he could make provision for the other two fears. The wish and struggle for security are parts of the elemental struggle for self-preservation and liberty. Economic security is as necessary as is political security, if not more so. Indeed, the current interests and issues for human safety and freedom have shifted from the political to the economic arena. A way must be found for every man to work who needs to work.

These statements are not intended as criticisms of individuals,

but as indicating an industrial situation that is unsatisfactory, and that works great hardship. In the midst of the present economic depression and widespread unemployment, it is encouraging that the question of assured tenure of employment is receiving serious attention on the part of all thoughtful people, of industrial leaders in particular. It is primarily a problem for the industrial system itself to work out, as it has done so successfully in the efficiency of production. Indeed, it is possible that the permanency of the present economic order depends upon a more stable tenure of employment, together with a more satisfactory solution of the problems of economic distribution of wealth and income.

Standardized Production. Another important social result of the shift from tools to machinery is the standardization of the output; this is important as a great convenience to the consumer. When buying an automobile, one of the points to consider is whether the parts are "standard"; that is, whether they can be replaced in case of need by the ordinary garage along the route, because they are like the parts of other standard cars. If a housewife breaks a sewing-machine needle, must she send for a special make, or can she buy a standard make at any dry goods store? Standardized production was not possible when parts were made by hand; there were unavoidable variations which prevented the new part from fitting. When a machine, accurately adjusted, makes hundreds of thousands of mechanical parts exactly alike, they have to fit. Machine standardization is one of the chief factors in making possible the unprecedented large production of the present day. The output can be increased indefinitely by the simple expedient of multiplying the number of machines.

Standardized production is not socially advantageous, however, when the worker himself becomes standardized. Instead of an individual making a product that is a work of art in which he takes creative interest and pride, he runs the machine, and the output is produced mechanically. The difference is the same as between playing the piano and operating the pianola, between painting a picture and printing a chromo, between making a cabinet and mechanically gluing together parts constructed by machine. For millions of workers the task has become a mere job, repeating today what they did yesterday, and doing the same thing again tomorrow. This mechanical, monotonous, impersonal, uninteresting type of labor for nothing else than a daily wage, is one of the

penalties of mass production by machine, for which no relief has yet been found.

Division of Labor and Social Conflict. The elaborate division of labor is a marked characteristic of the present economic order. People no longer attempt to make or do all the things essential to their own needs. In the community's industrial life, each man finds his special task which he has chosen and prepared himself to do, or which circumstances have forced upon him, and to this task he devotes his time and energy. The specialized interests and activities of a man often come into conflict with those of other men. Competition is keen, and all are trying to get ahead. One result of the division of labor, therefore, is social strife and conflict.[8]

This divergence of interests is especially acute between the two great wings of the present industrial system—capital and labor, or employer and employee. "The Industrial Revolution shattered employer-employee unity. Owner and worker, accustomed to labor side by side and to know each other's problems, flowed apart. . . . Strikes and lockouts, boycotts, picketing, and bloodshed, expanded the chasm."[9] To these two groups may be added a third group, the consumer class, whose interests seem to be necessarily at variance with the others. High prices are the hope of the producer, but the despair of the consumer. Capital wants as much work as it can get for as little as it must pay. Labor seeks as large a wage as possible for as little as it must do. Meanwhile, around the two chief agencies of production gather class attitudes and antagonisms and social cleavages that accentuate the conflicts, until the modern industrial world is separated into two great groups that find it difficult to understand each other and that are often actively at strife.

This condition of things is not all loss, however, for it contains the seeds of change and therefore the possibilities of progress. Conflict is a necessary factor in the social process, both for individuals and for groups. The clash of opposing interests calls insistently for reconciliation in a new social order, better adapted to satisfy the needs of all the elements constituting the community.

[8]For fuller discussion of conflict, see Chapter XX.

[9]E. S. Bogardus, in preface to *The Accommodation Process in Industry* (1930), by M. J. Vincent.

Coöperation and the Accommodation Process. The other side of the picture reveals our industrial system as a great coöperative enterprise. One man can give all of his time to making shoes, another to making watches, another to raising wheat, another to selling groceries, another to teaching school, another to preaching the gospel, only because other men are doing all these other things that are essential to the satisfaction of human needs, and each man knows that he can depend upon the others for the things which he is not making for himself. Division of labor would be impossible without coöperative exchange of products. The one is the necessary complement of the other. The same principle holds as between capital and labor. Capital would be helpless without labor to put it to profitable use, and labor would be idle without the accumulated wealth that is willing to finance the enormous costs of industry. Considered broadly therefore, the various elements of the social order constitute necessarily a great cooperative enterprise, all parts of which are dependent upon the others. They are basically one, like the underlying body of water in the sea, while the clashing interests are only waves upon the surface.

Nevertheless, the waves are real and do clash, and their clashing brings disaster and destruction. The conflicting interests of our economic system are not make-believe. They are vital, and constitute some of the most difficult problems of modern life. Relatively permanent tenure of the job, adequate wages, safe working conditions, reasonable hours of labor, wholesome standards of living, fair profits to capital and management, these are of pressing importance for personal development and social well-being. Serious efforts are being put forth therefore by thoughtful persons to secure an adjustment of these antagonistic interests that shall be founded in justice and good will and that will be workable.

In sociological terms, these adjustments are being worked out through a process of accommodation,[10] by which is meant a progressive policy of mutual understanding and adjustment between conflicting interests and groups. There are indications that workmen are assuming more tolerant attitudes as they gain better knowledge of the problems of business through closer contacts with management and through study. The employers are coming

[10]See Chapter XXI. Also, M. J. Vincent, *The Accommodation Process in Industry* (1930), to which this discussion is indebted.

to regard labor less as a commodity, to concede the importance of wholesome working conditions and reasonable hours of labor, and to recognize that workers are entitled to the satisfaction of human interests and needs.

Workers are resorting to strikes, boycotts, picketing, and violence, less than formerly. A greater reliance is placed now upon collective bargaining and the trade agreement, in which labor leaders are finding more hope for the constructive solution of their problems. Workers are not seeking to do away with the employer interests, but rather to deal with employer methods. Employers realize that they are dependent upon the efficiency of their employees, which involves reasonably satisfied and contented men. They therefore are seeking to reduce the tension in the employer-employee relationship, and to seek methods of closer cooperation with their employees, even to the extent of some representation in management, especially in matters pertaining to working conditions.

As yet, little has been accomplished toward eliminating the distinction of position and of attitudes between employer and employee, those who own and those who work for the owners. However, as the result of experience between two coöperating parties which still recognize their divergent interests, the process of accommodation seems to be ameliorating antagonisms and bringing saner and more harmonious working conditions. Perhaps this is as much as may reasonably be expected at this state of development; but a "process" is continuous, and "accommodation" involves the progressive adjustment of situations as they arise.

Social By-Products of the Economic Process. Without going as far as those who claim that methods of making a living determine all other phases of life, it is evident that the form of the economic organization in any given period has very great influence upon the social life as a whole, of which it constitutes, more or less, the framework. Around this, the other social processes cluster into complexes of living. The direct appropriation way of getting a living, the hunting and fishing method, the agricultural method, the domestic system, and the machine industrial order, each becomes the nucleus of the social ways of life suitable to it.

In the present economic order, power machinery applied to industry, and the commercial system thereby developed, have introduced the most far-reaching and sudden changes in human

culture and associative living that the world has ever known. They have created an entirely new background of life, which must be understood and reckoned with in all present-day relationships and social thinking. This was not intended by the inventors of power machinery, and only vaguely foreseen by them. It is a by-product of their efforts to meet their new economic situation. Nevertheless, a new social age also was inaugurated. The world is now wide open. An unlimited arena for human action has resulted, not only with almost boundless possibilities of production and exchange of goods, but with world-wide contacts and inescapable international and interracial situations. Man now can live anywhere he pleases and in great aggregations of population. A long road truly has been traveled from the situation of the limited primitive group that depended upon direct appropriation of nature's voluntary gifts for its food supply.

Summary. Great changes have taken place in the methods of production since primitive times. The early methods of making a living were crude, and the people depended largely upon the direct appropriation of the resources of nature. The domestication of animals and the cultivation of plants made great changes in production and social life. The most revolutionary change, however, came as the result of the invention of machinery and the establishment of the factory system. The present economic order is the direct outgrowth of the Industrial Revolution.

Economic interests and activities occupy a central place in modern society. Practically all other aspects of community life are influenced by economic factors. Four out of ten in the general population are engaged in various gainful occupational pursuits, to make a living for themselves and their natural dependents. Nearly one-fourth of the gainfully employed are women and girls, some of whom are working mothers. While only a small group of children 10 to 15 years of age were gainfully employed during 1930, yet nearly one-twelfth of the total gainful workers were young people from 16 to 19 years of age. Low wages and the fear of the job are further defects of our present economic situation. Standardization of production has made for greater efficiency, thereby increasing production and decreasing work; yet it has had a tendency to reduce the worker to a mere machine and to impersonalize industrial relations.

The division of labor which the industrial process has brought

about is one of the outstanding characteristics of modern life. While it has made for excessive competition and social conflict, nevertheless our economic order represents a great coöperative enterprise. Many of the conflicts are being worked out through a process of accommodation, by which is meant a progressive mutual understanding and adjustment between conflicting groups and interests. The welfare of the human race depends to a large extent upon the success or failure in solving our economic problems.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Trace the development of the methods of making a living as outlined in this chapter. Contrast the economic development of England with that of the United States.

2. What is meant by the "Industrial Revolution"? What were the underlying conditioning (causal) factors? How has it affected society? Indicate the good and bad results.

3. What are the essential characteristics of the present economic order? Indicate its values and advantages. Indicate its defects. Enumerate side by side the credit and debit elements. Contrast the "capitalistic system" with a "socialistic system."

4. How many people are gainfully employed in the United States? What proportions of these are women and children? Why does the making of a living occupy a central place in modern society?

5. Why do women work? Why do they get lower wages than men? What are the effects of women in industry? Should married women be gainfully employed?

6. What is child labor? Why do children work? How do gainful occupations affect children? Trace the development of child labor legislation. Compare the child labor laws of your state with those of other states. What essential features should a child labor law contain?

7. What are the effects of the following upon the workers: low wages, long hours, standardization of production, and the fear of the job?

8. Show how an occupation influences personality. What is an occupation? What is a profession? How has the extensive division of labor affected modern society?

9. Show how the processes of competition and conflict, coöperation and accommodation, operate in modern industry. Is competition the life of trade? What are the different forms of industrial conflicts? How may they be reduced?

10. Discuss the present tendency of the government to extend its functions into the economic field. Show how government ownership of property is increasing. Should public ownership of property be extended to

include the means or agencies of production and distribution? Should the public assume more direct control of the economic process?

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CHAPTER IX

Acquiring an Education

COMMUNICATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

Making a living to sustain the physical man is not his only obligation, or even his ultimate goal in life. Man has a mind, and has developed a culture which has accumulated throughout the centuries, meaning by culture the sum total of man's achievements as a member of society. One of the great tasks of the community is to pass on the cultural heritage to each new generation, so that its members may begin life on the basis of all that the past has achieved. Through education we acquire the knowledge, technique, ideals, and social experiences of the past. To develop personality and to prepare the individual for successful living requires a knowledge of past experiences and accomplishments.

The discussion of culture is reserved for a later chapter,[1] but a recognition of the importance of the cultural heritage is necessary in order to visualize the educational task of the community. Man has traveled a long trail, beginning in antiquity and winding through the ages over untried paths, to reach the present state of civilization. Through endeavor and experience he has developed his physical powers, enlarged his brain capacity and enriched his mind, achieved success in conquering nature and in developing techniques and material objects, and has attained spiritual and moral heights unknown to primitive man. In acquiring an education, it is necessary to utilize this fund of human knowledge and experience; otherwise each new generation would have to start all over again by the trial and error method.

The Communication of Knowledge. Communication and education are not separate and distinct; they are interdependent. The continuity and renewal of social life depend upon communication. Without it the human race would degenerate and perish. Each generation inherits the knowledge and achievements of the

[1]Chapter XXIV.

past, and transmits them, as well as its own experiences, to the succeeding generations. Progress is made as the result of this inheritance, and culture is thus stored and accumulated. Furthermore, by communication we learn from others, exchange ideas, and keep in touch with what is going on in the world. Dewey maintains that "society not only continues to exist *by* transmission, *by* communication, but it may fairly be said to exist *in* transmission, *in* communication. There is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication. Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common."[2]

A number of persons do not become a social group merely by living in close proximity. A group implies social interaction, and communication is the medium of interaction. Thus it emerges in communication and perishes without it. The boundary lines of any group, not of a community only, cannot extend beyond the limits of social interaction. Communal life is built up on the basis of knowledge as well as on the basis of the ability to communicate ideas. Family life could not be carried on, education would not be possible, business could not be conducted, and human beings could not function together in any elaborate and efficient manner without the ability to convey knowledge and ideas. The interchange of thoughts and ideas, purposes and hopes, joys and sorrows, constitutes the larger part of social life.

We communicate with each other and with the past by means of gestures, symbols, and language. Language represents the most common means of communication. Oral speech is used most extensively in face-to-face groups and was the chief form of communication during primitive days. Much of our knowledge is obtained by means of conversation, which implies the use of oral language. Written language has produced tremendous changes in human associations; it makes distant communication possible, it represents a convenient and possible way to store knowledge and culture, and it links the past with the present in a more accurate way than does oral speech.

The difference between civilized and preliterate society is largely a matter of knowledge and means of communicating ideas. As soon as a group acquires a written language, knowledge is greatly

[2]John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (1916), p. 5.

increased, and a higher degree of culture is attained. The relative absence of knowledge and of communicating devices accounted for the slow progress during the early stages of human existence. It is hardly possible for us to visualize a society in which there is an absence of written language, and in which culture is very simple and knowledge limited. Contrast modern society with preliterate groups, such as those found in the heart of Africa, and it becomes evident that progress depends on the method of communication and the accumulation of knowledge and culture.[3]

The Extension of Communication. The social structure of modern communication includes a network of mechanical devices that have been invented to extend the range of language, such as writing, printing, the telephone, the telegraph, the phonograph, the radio, the motion picture, and the elaborate postal system. Conveying ideas by means of gestures and exclamations, sign and vocal language, has given way in a large measure to the artificial devices of communication which are so much in evidence in every community. It is a far cry from the face-to-face intercommunication to which primitive man was limited, to the complex communicating system of modern times, when spoken words can be carried across the seas and when one can receive ideas from the distant past or far off regions and send them into the distant future by means of the printed page.

A few statistics will suffice to give a picture of the modern communicating system.[4] The figures given pertain to the United States only. The radio has made the most rapid strides. In 1921 there were only 60,000 homes equipped with radio sets in this country. On July 1, 1930, there were 13,478,600 radio sets, or one set for every 9.1 persons of the population. On January 1, 1932, according to an estimate, there were over 16,000,000 radio sets.[5] In addition, the radio has stimulated letter writing. The National Broadcasting Company alone received over 2,000,000 letters in 1930. On January 1, 1931, there were 20,365,000 telephones in use and the total calls per year had exceeded the thirty billion

[3]For further discussion of communication see Chapter XIX.

[4]For annual summaries of communication consult the *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1928, and May, 1929, 1930, and 1931. Also see *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (1933).

[5]*Recent Social Trends* (1933), Vol I, p. 211.

mark. Since 1930 there has been a slight reduction in the number of telephones.

Newspapers and magazines, books and pamphlets, motion pictures, and similar media of communication furnish many opportunities for the conveyance of ideas and messages. The circulation of copies per issue of newspapers and periodicals (daily, Sunday, weekly, monthly, etc.) amounted to over 278,000,000 in 1927. Since then there has been no significant gain. In 1925 some 433,211,253 copies of books and pamphlets were published, which averages 3.8 per capita. In 1930 there were 22,731 motion-picture houses in the country, seating 11,300,000 and with a daily attendance in excess of 15,000,000.

Many contacts are made possible also by means of devices of transportation. The steam railways carried only 707,987,000 passengers in 1930, as compared with 1,269,912,881 in 1920, but other forms of transportation have increased. In 1930 there were 48,251 motor busses in operation for revenue, and 47,150 for non-revenue purposes.[6] Electric railways carried 15,331,000,000 passengers in 1922, since which time there has been a gradual reduction due to the inroads made by busses and automobiles. In 1929 there were 23,121,589 passenger vehicles, and it is estimated that the Americans traveled over 389,000,000,000 passenger miles, which was the highest mark ever reached by any country. A total of 522,345 persons traveled by airplanes during 1931.[7] All of the above figures are for the United States only. Other countries have also made progress in transportation.

Add to this the other means of transportation and communication, such as letters and telegrams, and one can get a picture of the rapid extension of social contacts. No other factor has been so effective as these in extending the range of knowledge.

The Meaning of Education. Although the acquisition of information and knowledge is an important phase of education, the educational process is far more inclusive. The chief purpose of education is to develop personalities and to prepare persons to function usefully in society. Mere knowledge is not enough. An education that does not develop and equip an individual to meet life's situations effectively is inadequate. An educated man is one who has developed his potentialities, who can think clearly,

[6] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 174.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

who has an understanding and appreciation of social values, and who has acquired skill in achieving results. If one were to express the function of education in a few words, knowledge, appreciation, and skill in thinking and doing would rank high.

In the widest sense, education is the totality of one's experience; for every occurrence and event in one's life add to the fund of knowledge and wisdom, influence personality, and tend to prepare one to meet new situations. It is not only a preparation for life, but is life itself. In a more limited sense the term education refers to the training of individuals in a particular way; this sometimes is called formal education. Most of the discussions of the aims of education, together with the methods to be used, have centered around the problem of what should be stressed. Educators have been concerned with the transmitting of knowledge and with the shaping and defining of the social forms and patterns to be imposed upon each new generation. As a consequence, the present has been sacrificed often at the expense of either an exaltation of the past or an undue emphasis on preparation for the future.

Primitive instruction was of a practical nature, and dealt largely with such matters as securing food, shelter, protection against enemies, and fulfilling the simple tasks of family and tribal life. Primitive man, however, soon developed an elaborate system of customs and traditions, positive and negative, which had to be propagated. Each newcomer had to be fitted into the scheme of society which had developed. Even today the transmitting of beliefs, standards, traditions, and customs is regarded by many as the chief task of education. As society has become more complex, the task of education has become more difficult; this has resulted in a confusion of the aims and methods of education. But attention is centering gradually on the development of well-balanced, wholesome, and efficient personalities. Education is being thought of in terms of personalities and existing needs. The object is to train the person to take care of himself and to function usefully in the group, so that society may be perpetuated and social welfare and progress may be achieved.

A SOCIALIZED PROGRAM OF EDUCATION

There are certain movements to expand and socialize education. After all, education must be interpreted and appraised in terms of results. The process and the products of education are inseparable.

How does the educational process tend to socialize personalities? How does it make for social welfare?

Developing the Body. A number of movements have been started which have for their main object the development of strong bodies and sound health. Physical education, social and mental hygiene, sex instruction, the play movement, the public health movement, school nurses and doctors, and various clinics represent efforts to improve health and to educate people in caring for their bodies. These improvements have grown out of a new appreciation of the importance of the body as the physical basis of effectiveness in life. To train the mind and leave the body weak is to handicap the child in the adequate utilization of acquired abilities. Tremendous physical energy is required to bear the strain of modern life and drive through to successful achievement. Fortunately the child begins this development unconsciously in play, and the growing boy continues it in sports. Schools have become awakened to the physical needs of the child, and through physical education and sane sports they are rendering an invaluable service to youth.

Equipping the Mind. Along with acquiring knowledge and entering into the inheritance of culture it is equally important to possess ability to think clearly and accurately. One of the greatest functions of educational institutions, especially colleges and universities, is to stimulate students to think accurately and independently. Certain recent educational movements are stressing the development of abilities and aptitudes. Activity programs are being instituted and students are being brought face-to-face with life-situations, with a view to stimulating the pupil and thus preparing him to meet the more difficult problems of life. An educated person is presumed to have sufficient knowledge of nature, human experience, and history to understand the achievements of man and the main processes upon which human life depends.

Appreciation of Beauty. An educated person should have also ability to appreciate the beauties of the world about him, to understand the culture in which he lives, to recognize significant social values, and to live on a higher plane of social enjoyment. He is acquainted with the major resources of intellectual and aesthetic enjoyment, and his interest is in the higher forms of events and pursuits. The development of an aesthetic appreciation of art and of social achievement, now recognized as an objective of education,

involves more than knowledge and understanding; it necessitates training of the emotions and experience in judgment. Education should give students a basis for an intelligent estimate and enjoyment of painting, sculpture, architecture, music, poetry, and other arts; an acquaintance with world masterpieces of art and literature; and a foundation for the enjoyment of human relations and the nobler forms of activities. Educational institutions are now making use of art galleries and museums to acquaint students with the achievements in the field of art. The study of literature gives the student an opportunity to know the various forms of literary accomplishments that have been contributed by the nations of the world. Music is possibly the most generally known and enjoyed art. From the kindergarten children are taught to know and appreciate good music, notwithstanding the prevalence of jazz. The study of the cultural achievements of the peoples of the earth gives pupils an understanding and appreciation of social values and of civilizations. In fact the study of any subject leads to a better understanding of relative values in the respective fields.

Character Education. Character building has received special attention in recent years, particularly by public school teachers and administrators. Religious education has been regarded as a special function of the church. Through the church schools, week-day religious education and vacation schools, as well as by means of the regular church services, churches have endeavored to instruct their members and constituents in the nature and function of religion and its effect upon character. The public school has done very little in this field, which goes back to the conviction in America that the Church and the State should remain separate and distinct. Since most of our schools are supported and controlled by the public, teachers have given little religious instruction. Still the public schools and the churches have joined hands in moral instruction and character training.

If the development of personality is the chief function of education, then the attainment of moral attitudes and habits is an important phase of the educational process, for character is the heart of personality. Since many of the external and formal means of control have broken down, society must rely increasingly upon the moral character of its citizens. Thus moral and religious education assumes a significance heretofore unrealized. The emphasis is upon motivation rather than upon formal standards of action.

It stresses the development of attitudes and habits of honor and honesty, helpfulness and goodwill, coöperation, loyalty to the important organizations and institutions of society, and a reverence for spiritual values.

Education for a Livelihood. Thus movements in education have been considered which in one way or another have for their chief objective the development of personality. However, if an individual is not fitted to make a living, to use his leisure to the best advantage, and to be a responsible citizen, he cannot claim to be fully educated.

From the standpoint of existence and of social welfare, education means preparing the individual to support himself according to a standard of living which provides at least the minimum of decencies and comforts that will enable him to function in the society to which he belongs. Vocational education and guidance have assumed importance during recent years. Vocational education is designed to instruct and train people for specific types of work. Any course or phase of the educational program that prepares the individual for a vocation may thus be classed as vocational education. There are hundreds of vocations and occupations, all of which require specific preparation. Most of these are economic in character. Approximately 1,000,000 boys and young men and nearly half that many girls and women in the United States each year face the problem involved in entering wage-earning occupations. There are also many labor turnovers which frequently require additional training. Nearly half of the population is engaged in remunerative labor.

The fitting of this vast group of new and old workers into new jobs is a complex task. Not only are the occupations varied and complex, but the recruits come to these jobs with qualifications that differ greatly. Furthermore, there is no adequate social machinery to assist them to find work. Thus, many enter blind alley jobs or become misfits. The economic waste and personal and social disorganization involved in this hit-and-miss process is beyond comprehension. Those who have a knowledge of their chosen field of labor, and have attained certain skills in that direction, or at least have the background training, can be fitted more easily into the proper occupations. Many young people, however, have the unfortunate experience of being trained for certain vocations, but are unable to find work in them.

Some progress has been made in recent years with vocational training and vocational guidance. There are many full-time and part-time trade schools. Vocational subjects have been introduced into public school programs. The Smith-Hughes Act, in 1918, provided federal aid for education in agriculture, home economics, and industrial pursuits. The apprenticeship system has not completely gone out of existence; many business establishments and professional organizations have apprentice schools.

Preparation for the Use of Leisure. The early institutions of learning emphasized cultural education; this was intended for the leisure class only, who were chiefly interested in cultural achievements. As soon as the masses were given educational opportunities there was a gradual shift to vocational education. Since the opportunity for leisure is being extended to the entire population, there is a definite need of education and training for its proper use. Leisure, as yet, has not become an art with us. Part of the leisure time is being used for further vocational training. There is still a need for a type of education which fits an individual to use his leisure time adequately.

A portion of the leisure time is devoted to reading. The provision of wholesome reading material is partly the function of the community as a whole. Libraries are being enlarged and extended to meet this need. Nearly every city of considerable size and importance has a public library. In addition there are county and state libraries. Extension and traveling libraries have been established to supply reading material for the people in remote and isolated communities, largely in rural regions; certain sections of cities also enjoy these facilities.

Training for Citizenship. Education is necessary for a democracy. Citizens should be able to read and write, and to participate intelligently in the government of the society in which they live. We are not only citizens of a nation and other political units, but of the social institutions and agencies of the country as well. Thus education for worthy home membership and participation in community activities is a part of citizenship training. The educational program includes a fitting of learners for the type of society in which they live.

Voting is an important duty of a citizen, but no one has discharged his whole responsibility by casting an intelligent and disinterested ballot. Efficient and loyal membership in a group,

such as a community or the nation, implies performing the vital functions necessary for the welfare of the group. This cannot be achieved by mere knowledge of governmental processes and the affairs of the community, but requires a socialized personality. The organization of a we-feeling and sense of responsibility to the community is one of the essential qualifications of wholesome citizenship.

The school is by no means the only institution that has for its objective the training of people for worthy group membership. The home, the church, and many civic organizations are making significant contributions in this direction. But the school is now recognized as being peculiarly fitted for the task.

Adult Education. Education is a continuous process. Formal school instruction may cease at graduation, but there are many other ways to learn, depending largely on the initiative and ability of the individual. The adult-education movement consists of formal and informal courses which are vocational and cultural. University extension courses, night schools, trade classes, lyceums, Chautauquas, institutes, museums, reading circles, and library reading courses, are being formed for adults. Courses and lectures are given in household work, art, music, literature, philosophy, religion, languages, and the various physical and social sciences. These represent the more or less formal efforts to bring educational opportunities to the mature members of the community.

The Place of the Social Sciences. Social science subjects are being studied in high schools, and even in the grades, as well as in universities and colleges, with the view to giving pupils a better understanding of the political, economic, and social life of which they are a part. The communities in which people live are throbbing with life, and there are many intricate and complex relationships. Successful adjustments to the changing social life require a knowledge of the social processes and factors involved in the various social situations which must be met. A socialized person has a knowledge of social conditions and needs, and has a consciousness of belonging to the community and a sense of obligation to the people of the community.

AGENCIES OF EDUCATION

There are many educational agencies. The home, the playground, the public and private school system, the church, the

library, the press and the theatre, the radio, and many organizations and clubs are all educational institutions and agencies. In a limited sense, the school has become the chief public agency for the training of the young.

The School as an Institution. The school, as compared with the home and the church, is one of the newer social institutions, at any rate in its more developed form. It now carries on many of the duties and functions that formerly were performed almost entirely by the family group and by the religious organizations of the community. It consists primarily of teacher and pupils with their respective rôles and activities. It is, however, more than an educational group; it has become one of our leading institutions, with fairly well-defined objectives and purposes, and with an established structure of organization and equipment.

The public school system is the chief agency of public instruction in the United States. Its development represents one of the most interesting chapters in our history. There was a time when education was not free, nor was it very extensive or efficient. During colonial times there were many who could not even read or write. Unwilling to let such an important matter as education be neglected in any community, the colonial legislature in Massachusetts as early as 1647 passed a law requiring every township containing as many as fifty families to appoint someone to teach the children. The teacher was to be paid by tax money and tuition charges. Other colonies followed with similar laws. Then free public schools were established, at first for the common school subjects only. Later the secondary-school system was added, and still later kindergartens were established in some places. State universities and colleges, and many professional schools, are also a part of the public education system.

The school system has grown in scope and organization, and in variety of means for educating the citizens, until every state in the Union now has public elementary and high schools open to the boys and girls of the community. In these schools a wide choice of subjects is offered.

The structural organization of this institution is too familiar to require more than a brief summary. The local unit is the school district, which may be a rural neighborhood or community or a section of a town or city. Contiguous districts may unite into a "consolidated school," or rural districts may combine with city

districts. Several districts may combine to form high school and junior college areas. The districts in a city unite to form a city school system, controlled by a common school board. The various schools, urban and rural, form a county school system, directed by a county school superintendent, and if the county is large the county organization is divided into several units. The counties in turn are under state organizations. The state departments of instruction represent the chief superorganizations in the educational system of the United States. They correlate the educational work of the state, recommend policies, supervise courses of instruction, and control the state institutions of learning. There is no national department or board of education, but the United States Bureau of Education, in the Department of the Interior, serves as a federal agency of coördination. Various other federal departments, bureaus, and organizations are interested in certain phases of education.

The public school system is supported by taxation. The total cost of public school education in continental United States for the year 1930 was $2,316,790,384[8] with an enrollment of over 26,849,639,[9] which is 69.9 per cent of the 38,387,032 persons from 5 to 20 years of age in the population. This represents a gain of nearly five and a half millions since 1920. In addition, over a million children are enrolled in private schools. These figures do not include enrollments in colleges, professional schools, and many other specialized schools under public and private auspices.

The reduction of illiteracy is another index of our educational accomplishment. On April 1, 1930, there were 98,723,047 persons 10 years old and over in the population of the United States, of which number only 4,283,753, or 4.3 per cent, were returned by the census as illiterate, that is, not being able to read or write, either in English or in other languages. The percentage of literacy varies with racial and nationality groups and by states, but the American people as a whole have at least the rudiments of education.

To accomplish this end nearly a million persons are devoting their lives to the task of teaching. In 1930 there were 854,263 public school teachers alone. In our modern schools the teacher is a leader, guide, adviser, and inspirer, as well as an instructor.

[8]Statistical report of the United States Bureau of Education.

[9]Figures by the U. S. Census Bureau for 1930.

However, with the increase of specialization, the teaching staff is divided into many groups, each of which has a special task to perform. Curriculum changes, the expansion of equipment, improvement of instruction and administration, and the development of specialized schools have greatly expanded and varied the educational system.

The local school is a neighborhood or community institution. It usually is centrally located and accessible. While the equipment, curriculum and program are all constantly being expanded and improved, yet the possibilities of the school as an educational and social institution have not been fully realized.

The School as a Community Center. The wider use of the school plant movement is worthy of consideration.[10] In a way it represents an expansion of the social settlement and the play movements, as well as an extension of the school program. According to the traditional opinion, the school house was to be used only for formal instruction of the children. After the routine was finished, the buildings were supposed to be locked and the grounds deserted. Evening schools were started in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Rochester, and other centers during the early part of the present century. Gradually recreational activities for adults were added, as well as a more extensive play program for school children. Now one can find school plants which are used for civic occasions, educational occasions, entertainments, handicraft, mental contests, neighborhood service, physical activities, social gatherings, club and society meetings, and voluntary classes.

The movement itself has been promoted by such organizations as the National Education Association and the National Recreation Association. The object is to open schools plants throughout the year, on Sundays and holidays as well as week days, and to provide educational and cultural, recreational and social, and civic activities for all ages. The financial problem, the difficulties in securing efficient leaders, the architecture and equipment of buildings, and the indifference of the people have thus far militated against the movement.

Other Educational Agencies. The other social institutions

[10]See E. J. Ward, *The Social Center* (1913); E. T Glueck, *Community Use of Schools* (1927); L. J. Hanifan, *The Community Center* (1920); C. A. Perry, *Wider Use of the School Plant* (1910); J. F. Steiner, *Community Organization* (1930).

and organizations which have educational features are treated elsewhere and need not be considered here, except to say that there are many other social centers besides the school which have extensive educational features. The churches which have church schools, week-day religious education, and community center activities as a part of the church program, make an educational contribution to the community. Play centers and private agencies, such as the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., Women's Clubs, and many other organizations likewise are educational agencies. Libraries, museums, and art galleries in many ways have become educational and social centers. The theatre, especially the cinema, which will be treated later, has also become an agency of education.

The newspaper and the radio are devices of communication that reach into the home and bring the news of the world and many other things to enlighten the people. Many individuals depend on these two agencies for practically all of their contacts with the outside world.

The newspaper has become a powerful agency for creating public opinion. People frequently base their judgments on the news items that are presented. It either emphasizes or ignores certain facts, or gives a particular version and interpretation of a situation, in order to shape opinion. This is known as news coloration. The editorials, as well as the news items, are written with the view of promoting certain things desired by the owner, the editor, or the advertisers.

The commercializing of the press has produced large financial returns; this has resulted in the expansion of the newspaper both in size and in circulation. The great metropolitan dailies require an enormous financial backing. A large portion of the income, more than half, comes from advertising; herein lies a great danger.

Magazines and journals are published in great numbers with extensive circulations. Commercial magazines contain considerable advertising, while the scientific journals are devoted to inventions, discoveries, and general scientific knowledge. Nearly all institutions, especially the church, publish papers and bulletins for their own constituency.

The radio has developed so rapidly that its educational value is difficult to estimate. Ten years ago there were only a few thousand radio sets, with imperfect reception and inadequate pro-

grams. Now three-fifths of our homes are equipped with radios, with a net-work of powerful stations and varied programs,—music, sports, plays and varieties, including lectures, instruction, and many other educational features.

Summary. Education is a complicated process. It involves more than the transmission of culture and the communication of knowledge. Communication is essential in education and for the existence of society itself. It has been widely extended in recent years due to the increase of mechanical devices which make up our modern communicating system. The main function of education is to develop personalities and prepare persons to function usefully in society. This involves a development of body and mind, the acquisition of an understanding and appreciation of the beautiful and good, the building of character, the preparation for earning a livelihood, the proper use of leisure, and the training for citizenship. The social sciences are particularly helpful in achieving these ends.

There are many agencies of education, but the school is regarded as the chief institution for the training of the young. In the United States the public school system occupies a central position, and is responsible for most of our educational achievements. The growth of the public schools is an important chapter in our history. While the school has been used primarily for the education of children, in recent decades progress has been made in extending the scope of activities to include various educational and recreational activities for the entire community. The wider use of the school plant is a movement worthy of note and should be encouraged. A greater integration of all educational agencies would be desirable, with the school as the central institution to coordinate and direct the education program of the community.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the various means of communication? What is the function of language? How has the development of the written language changed communication? Show how the printing press has revolutionized society. Trace the development of printing.

2. Contrast modern society with preliterate groups, such as those found in the heart of Africa. Show how the modern devices of communication have been instrumental in producing a new type of social order.

3. What do you regard as the aims of education? What do you expect to get out of college? To what extent does our present school system make it possible to achieve those ends?

4. What are the essential features of the public school system? Trace the development of public instruction in the United States. What changes would you suggest to make for improvements in our schools?

5. What is meant by a "community center"? What are the advantages of the school as a community center? What are the difficulties? What activities may be carried on legitimately in a school plant?

6. Debate: Resolved, that the radio is more influential than the newspaper in educating the people. List the effects of radio broadcasting. What is meant by news coloration? Give examples.

7. In what ways does the public school shape public opinion? Compare the public school with the newspaper and the radio in influencing public opinion. Give concrete cases of each.

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CHAPTER X

Play and Recreation

LEISURE AND RECREATION

There probably never has been a time when people did not have some leisure. Leisure was first experienced and enjoyed in warm countries, where the struggle for existence called lightly upon man's physical and mental resources. Periods of leisure and idleness also accompanied bad weather conditions or followed successful hunting expeditions. Infancy and early childhood always have provided opportunities for leisure and play. The discovery of fire and the improvement of tools and utensils made possible an additional amount of leisure. Play activities, arts and sciences, and other products of civilization date to leisure time enjoyed by ancient peoples. Leisure not always has meant idleness; it has meant opportunity to improve the artifacts and conditions of life and to build institutions. Regardless of how leisure is used, it is the time left over after the necessities of life have been attended to.

Recent Extension of Leisure. No period in the world's history has afforded so wide an extension of leisure as the present age, especially in the western world. A number of factors have brought this about. Probably the most important factor is the introduction of the machine, which has increased production and intensified mobility, thereby extending leisure. The eight-hour day, the five-day or five and a half-day week, with a vacation period each year and days off for holidays, are becoming common practice. Unemployment is widespread in certain communities, causing temporary spare time. Modern conveniences and the reduction in the size of houses have diminished the physical labor of women, especially in the cities. The educational period of childhood has been prolonged. Child labor laws and compulsory education laws have freed the child from remunerative and often injurious work. People retire earlier in life.

The sudden acquisition of leisure has found us unprepared for an adequate use of it.[1] If properly utilized, leisure may become a valuable asset; if abused, it may represent a great liability.

Social Uses of Leisure. How are people using the increased leisure? This is an important question. It has been argued that if workers were given shorter working hours, they would become more interested in the cultural development of their lives. The increased interest in adult education, the use of libraries, the extensive publication of books, pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers, and the many other cultural and recreational activities,[2] indicate that large numbers of people are utilizing their extra leisure time for educational and wholesome recreational pursuits. However, when the hours of work are shortened, workers do not rush to libraries, schools, museums, operas, or other centers of culture. On the other hand, the attendance is greatly increased at motion picture theatres, dance halls, pool and billiard halls, ball fields, boxing and prize fighting, playing cards, listening to radio programs, reading the funny pages of newspapers, joy riding, and many other commercial and semi-commercial amusements and recreational activities. Cutten says that, "More money is spent in this country on commercialized leisure than on anything else except food, and more is invested in this enterprise than in anything except land."[3]

Educated people and those having special hobbies usually find interest in many things and are likely to use their leisure time wisely. Those in the lower intelligence groups frequently are content to spend their spare time indulging in simple routine activities. It is the great middle class who are inclined to be bored with leisure and do not know how to employ their time; they are intelligent enough to desire new experiences, but they are not sufficiently educated to select wholesome activities or to do creative work. The people of the latter class therefore turn to commercial amusements which provide means for entertainment.

It must not be inferred, however, that all the added leisure time is spent indulging in various forms of amusements. If a man works 40 to 50 hours during a given week, how does he utilize the 118 or 128 remaining hours? Even a casual study of the time budgets of

[1]See G B. Cutten, *The Threat of Leisure* (1926)
[2]See previous chapter.
[3]*Op. cit*, p. 70

a number of people reveals that an average person spends about as much time sleeping as he does working; that from two to five hours a day are consumed in eating, getting ready for and going to and from work, and in other necessary duties. This leaves a few hours each day, not including week-ends, holidays and vacations, for various types of special leisure-time pursuits, such as play, recreation, and amusements. It is this extra time, and the use of it, that needs special consideration.

Need of Play and Recreation. There are many reasons for the increasing demand for play and recreational activities besides the increase of leisure time. The industrializing of labor, with the attending monotony in many occupations, and the high degree of specialization required for certain professions, have driven people to seek relaxation and diversified activities after a hard day's work. The restlessness of the age has intensified the desire for new and fresh stimulation and excitement. The increase of the amount of money available for leisure-time activities has made it possible for commercial amusements to capitalize the situation and build up extensive recreation institutions. The desire for amusement has been stimulated artificially by advertising. The living quarters of the average home are becoming smaller, especially for those living in apartments and hotels; these cramped conditions have forced people to go outside the narrow confines of the home to get recreation. Crowd stimulation and fads have lured many to seek the popular forms of amusement.

Moreover, the value of play is gradually being recognized. Play contributes to the development of a wholesome and well-balanced personality and is conducive to a better type of social life. A sound body and good health are essential for efficiency and happiness. Play develops muscles, tends to aid digestion, strengthens the heart and lungs, stabilizes nerve action, and in other ways contributes to the development of a healthy body. It likewise aids mental growth, and its educational value is generally accepted. Associated with play is the spirit of joy and optimism which results usually in a more wholesome disposition. Play likewise furnishes an outlet for pent-up emotions, gives expression to wishes, and results in the creation of beneficial attitudes, sentiments, and habits. It tends to develop such qualities as courage, confidence, initiative, self-control, enthusiasm, fair play, honesty, loyalty, coöperation, and obedience; it affords an opportunity for

self-expression. If not properly directed, however, play may produce effects just the opposite of those qualities mentioned above.

THEORIES OF PLAY

The earlier notions of play were somewhat crude and indefinite. The military conception of play was advanced by the ancient Greeks and Romans. As an outgrowth of this conception, the notion of art was developed. In opposition to certain excesses in play and amusements. particularly in Rome, there emerged a negative and somewhat puritanical attitude. In recent years educators have gained a more scientific and social view of play.

The main theories of play may be classed as physical and biological, psychological, and sociological. This classification not only indicates the types, but the historical development of the theories of play.[4] However, it must be remembered that there is considerable overlapping and a given author cannot be wholly classed under a given heading. Groos, for instance, stressed both the biological and psychological factors, and later added certain social aspects. Thus it is necessary to classify theorists according to the major emphasis.

Physical and Biological Theories. Friedrich Shiller, a famous German poet, and Herbert Spencer, a prominent English philosopher, each developed a similar notion, though independently of each other, known as the *surplus energy* theory. They conceived of play as the "aimless expenditure of exuberant energy." Not all of one's excess energy finds expression in play. Play is "blowing off steam."

According to Groos,[5] play is a *preparation for life* and is rooted in instincts. The instincts ripen before they are needed, and play exercises them for the more serious activities of life. There is no instinct of play, but various instincts form its basis. Later he also stressed that play is a pleasurable activity and releases pent-up emotions.

G. Stanley Hall[6] explained play as an inheritance of abilities and instinctive desires, known as the *recapitulation* theory. Man

[4]For treatments and summaries of theories see, Karl Groos, *The Play of Animals* (1898) and *The Play of Man* (1901), Bowen and Mitchell, *The Theory of Organized Play* (1927); Lehman and Witty, *The Psychology of Play Activities* (1927); *The Normal Course in Play*, edited by Joseph Lee (1926).

[5]*Play of Animals* (1898), and *Play of Man* (1901).

[6]*Adolescence*, Vol. II (1904).

rehearses in play the activities of his ancestors, back we know not how far, and one repeats the history of his race stage by stage. Appleton,[7] somewhat later, has restated this view.

Karl Groos, G. Stanley Hall, William McDougall, and many others assume that play has an instinctive basis. There may not be an instinct of play, they claim, but play is nevertheless rooted in instincts. The whole question of instincts is now in doubt, especially as applied to play. The play activities of man are so complex and varied that they cannot be explained by reference to an instinct of play or even a group or a series of instincts. This does not mean, however, that it has no inherited basis. Various impulses, reflexes, emotional tendencies, and innate desires no doubt have a part in play.

Psychological Theories. The theorists who have stressed the biological and physical aspects of play have been led to consider various psychological factors also, particularly those who have stressed the instinctive basis of play. The psychologists, with few exceptions, have not dealt extensively with play. However, one psychologist may be mentioned in this connection. Patrick has emphasized that play is a form of *relaxation*. The stress of life requires a let-up. Since play is free and spontaneous, and pursued for its own sake, it supplies that need. Play thus is re-creative.[8] His theory applies largely to adults, whereas the other theories apply chiefly to children.

Sociological Theories. The sociologists have not developed systematic theories, but a number of them have stressed the group aspects of play. Gillin[9] called attention to the fact that the crowd stimulates play life. One cannot fully understand present-day play without a consideration of the psychology of the crowd.

The most elaborate sociological treatment of play is found in Rainwater's treatise on the play movement.[10] He not only traces the development of play but projects a comprehensive view of it which takes group as well as individual factors into consideration. According to Rainwater, "play is a mode of human behavior,

[7]L. Estelle Appleton, *A Comparative Study of the Play Activities of Adult Savages and Civilized Children* (1910).

[8]G. T. W. Patrick, *The Psychology of Relaxation* (1916)

[9]John L. Gillin, "Sociology of Play," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XIX, pp. 825–34.

[10]Clarence Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States* (1922).

either individual or collective, involving pleasurable activity of any kind not undertaken for the sake of a reward beyond itself and performed during any age period of the individual, the particular action being determined at a given time by the somatic structure and social attitudes of the agent in conjunction with the life of the group or groups of which he is a member."[11]

With the exception of the notion that there is a play instinct, the various theories of play are incomplete rather than inaccurate. Each constitutes a partial explanation. Interpreting play in terms of a single factor results in an overemphasis of one element to the exclusion of other important phases and functions. The theories taken together have given a better, though not complete, understanding of play.

Meaning of Play and Recreation. Rainwater's definition of play may be used as a convenient summation of its various elements.[12] *Play* is a form of collective behavior, as well as of individual behavior, which involves pleasurable activity and which is not undertaken for any reward beyond itself. It may be performed during any age period. The particular form is determined by the physical structure and the attitudes and habits of the person in conjunction with the life of the group of which he is a part and in which the activity takes place. The play group, then, is composed of interacting personalities and the activities are of a spontaneous and pleasurable character. A person seldom plays alone. Most games are group games.

Play is distinguished from work in that play carries its own drive and does not have a goal beyond itself. As soon as an activity is carried on for a reward beyond itself it ceases to be play and becomes work. However, the line of demarcation between work and play is not rigid. Sometimes activities which are regarded as play for a person may at other times become work for him. On the other hand, if work is greatly enjoyed it may be looked upon as play. The logical antithesis of play is the type of work which is regarded as drudgery.

The terms "play" and "recreation" have been used sometimes as synonymous. While perhaps alike in many respects, they

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[12] See Rainwater, *op. cit.*, pages 4–8, for a more complete summary of the various views.

apply to different ages. *Recreation* is, as the word implies, the re-creation and restoration of nervous and bodily tissues which have become exhausted in the performance of the serious tasks of life. It more generally applies to adult activities, although it is also applied to childhood. Play has reference to more active participation. In recent years, however, the term "recreation" has gained currency. It has become a rallying word for such activities as sports, athletics, swimming, music, drama, art, entertainments and the like, which re-create and refresh mind and body.

Amusements are intended to entertain and please the spectator rather than the participant. Amusements are largely exterior to the person and come to him from without, although they may involve some participation and be classed as forms of recreation. Commercial amusements are those which are conducted for profit.

Play and recreation vary with age, sex, season, geographic location, and cultural background. Childhood and youth is the time for play, particularly the active and energetic types of plays and games. Children are interested in a great variety of play activities. As one grows older the variety and scope of play interests diminish. Boys are more interested in vigorous and adventurous types of activities, whereas girls are inclined to be more interested in sedentary activities. The play life in the frozen north differs from the play life of the torrid and temperate zones. Rural play differs from city play. If the climate changes greatly either seasonally or from day to day, the play life must be adjusted to the climatic variations. Athletic games follow seasons; football in the fall, basketball and volley ball during the winter, baseball and track-meets during the spring and summer. Summer is the time for water sports. Then, too, the cultural and traditional background of a people condition play interests and habits.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAY MOVEMENT

Attention has already been called to the values of play. The full advantage of this, however, does not appear in undirected play. Indeed it is possible for play without guidance to develop unsocial qualities, such as bullying, cheating, and destructive activities. Children have the interest of play but do not possess the knowledge of what to play. Herein lies the importance of organized and supervised play, which leaves spontaneous initiative as much

as possible with the child, but gives the leaders an opportunity to direct play into wholesome channels.

Stages. The development of organized community recreation and play, which has been designated as the "play movement," has taken on large proportions. According to Rainwater,[13] this movement started with the sand gardens in Boston in 1885. Since that time it has gone through about seven more or less distinct stages. (1) Sand garden stage (1885–1895), during which the small playgrounds, consisting mostly of sand boxes, were opened in Boston and other cities during the summer for small children. (2) Model playground period (1895–1900), started in Hull House, and represented an expansion of the program of activities, and also more definite supervision. (3) Small park stage (1900–1905), during which open spaces in the congested regions were converted into park areas with supervised play. (4) Recreation centers (1905–1912) were opened, especially in connection with schools, and social, aesthetic, and civic activities were added. (5) The civic art and welfare stage (1912–1915) was characterized by both constructive and restrictive legislation, powers being granted to cities to expand the play facilities and also to restrict unwholesome commercial amusement. (6) The neighborhood organization (1915–1918), and (7) the community service (since 1918) stages represented periods of increased local organization and control and an expansion of community service activities.

Transitions. Certain changes and transitions have taken place since the beginning of the play movement. Rainwater notes the following changes: "(1) from provision for little children to that for all ages of people; (2) from facilities operated during the summer only, to those maintained throughout the year; (3) from outdoor equipment and activities only, to both outdoor and indoor facilities and events; (4) from congested urban districts to both urban and rural communities; (5) from philanthropic to community support and control; (6) from 'free' play and miscellaneous events to 'directed play with organized activities and correlated schedules;' (7) from a simple to a complex field of activities including manual, physical, aesthetic, social, and civic projects; (8) from the provision of facilities, to the definition of standards for the use of leisure time; (9) from 'individual' interests to 'group' and community activities."[14]

[13] *The Play Movement in the United States* (1922).

The play movement is gradually becoming institutionalized. The purposes and standards are becoming fixed; the organization, equipment, schedules and techniques are becoming standardized; leadership has become specialized; and the play institutions are taking their place among the other major institutions of the community.[15]

RECREATION RESOURCES OF THE COMMUNITY

Public and Semi-public Recreation. The play movement, as we have seen, pertains largely to public and semi-public forms of play activities which are for the most part of a non-commercial nature. A guiding influence during the development has been the National Recreation Association which was organized in 1906. This organization has done more than any other to set up play standards, to stimulate public recreation, to aid various municipalities in establishing playgrounds and recreation centers, to secure needed legislation, to disseminate information concerning play developments, and to educate the public concerning the needs of play.

Public recreation is the most highly developed form of play promotion in this country, except the commercial amusements. The latter are not wholly recreational. The purpose of public recreation, on the other hand, is to invite universal participation in wholesome play with a minimum expense. The public supports the play centers, the control is democratic, and the program of activities is varied.

One of the problems of public recreation is the provision of play space and facilities. Every city should have its neighborhood and community playgrounds sufficiently close together so that the children can walk to them. These play centers should also have provision for adults. The crowded sections of the city are especially in need of play centers. Cities are providing play space, such as small "in-town" parks, large parks, reservations outside of the city limits, restricted play fields, and specialized play centers.[16] Rural community recreation is also making considerable progress.

[15]For a comparison of the play movement in the United States with other countries see H. L. May and Dorothy Petgen, *Leisure and Its Use* (1928) and the *Proceedings of the First International Recreation Congress* (1933).

[16]See J. B. Nash, *The Organization and Administration of Playgrounds and Recreation* (1927); Hubbard and Hubbard, *Our Cities Today and Tomorrow* (1929); L. H. Weir, *Park Manual* (1927); L. F. Hanmer, *Public Recreation* (1928); Arthur Wood, *Community Problems* (1928).

The recreation center, strictly speaking, is a place in which community recreation facilities are provided. However, the term has also been applied to the school playground and building, the church-centered recreation, private agencies providing community recreation, and such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, various athletic and social clubs, lodges, and similar organizations. Thus any institution, which has recreation as an important part of its program, and which serves the people of a community, may be regarded as a recreation center.

The recreation center movement originated with the early playgrounds and the social settlement.[17] Social settlements are located in congested regions of the city and supported, for the most part, from without. The first social settlement was established in London in 1885, the same year that the play movement originated in America. The movement has closely paralleled the play movement, and recreation activities have always been an important phase of settlement work. The idea of a social center soon spread.[18] Now one can find social centers in the normal communities of cities and also in the open country.

The programs of community recreation centers include many types of activities; such as athletics, sports, games, dancing, music, drama, parties, socials, swimming and the like.[19]

One of the chief problems of a recreation center, in addition to equipment, is that of leadership. The public and semi-public recreation centers usually do not have sufficient resources to pay the kind of salaries and wages that would attract efficient leaders. Voluntary leadership cannot be depended upon to devote sufficient time and energy to the work required, nor to have adequate training.

Commercial Amusements. Commercial amusements are intended to entertain and please the spectator, and are promoted for economic gain. If properly controlled, they may be an asset to

[17]Woods and Kennedy, *The Settlement Horizon* (1922); Jane Addams, *Twenty Years in Hull House* (1910) and *The Second Twenty Years in Hull House* (1930).

[18]E. Ward, *The Social Center* (1913); E. Glueck, *Community Use of Schools* (1927); J. L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency* (1926), Chapter on "Socialized Neighborliness."

[19]A. Perry, *Community Center Activities* (1916); J. Lee, *The Normal Course in Play* (1926); Bowen and Mitchell, *The Practice of Organized Play* (1927); J. C.

the community. The chief problem from the point of view of the public is that of social control.

The available statistics of the extent of commercial amusements and their attendance are meager and incomplete; but such as are available indicate their popularity. Millions of people are interested in baseball and football, prize fighting and boxing, races, card playing, pool and billiards, tennis and golf, dancing, and many other similar forms of amusements which have largely been commercialized.

To visualize the popularity and importance of commercial amusements it is necessary to take into consideration all the types provided by commercial concerns. The *movies* serve to illustrate the point. Approximately 15,000,000 people attend motion pictures every day in the United States, and the annual expenditure exceeds a billion dollars. In 1930 there were 22,731 motion picture theatres in the United States alone. The weekly attendance at motion pictures is nearly one-half as great as the total annual attendance on the 7,680 playgrounds which reported attendance to the National Recreational Association.[20] The American people spend nearly thirty times as much for movies as 945 cities expend for public recreation.[21] It must be remembered, of course, that cities, counties, states, and the national government provide recreation facilities which are not included in this tabulation. Furthermore, many semi-public organizations provide recreation. But the fact remains that commercial amusements combined attract more people than both the public and semi-public forms of recreation.

Who attends the movies? Nearly everybody does. Children are the most enthusiastic movie fans. Some attend only occasionally, others go regularly, but all go as a matter of course. Alice Mitchell[22] reports that of 10,152 children studied there were only 168 or 1.7 per cent of them who reported that they did not go to movies. Only two did not go because they did not like movies. Nine out of ten attended movies at regular intervals. Boys, especially of the early adolescent age, attended more frequently than girls. The price of admission is obtained in many instances from lunch money, allowances, earnings, and even begging.

Various efforts have been put forth to control commercial amuse-

[20]See *Playground*, May, 1931, which gives the summary of recreation for 1930.
[21]*Loc. cit.*
[22]*Children and Movies* (1929), p. 18.

ments by means of legislation, public opinion, and through various organizations. The lack of standards of play and recreation, the indifference of the public, and the power and influence of commercial concerns make effective control difficult. Insufficient public and semi-public recreation facilities have been provided to take the place of commercial amusements.

Every community has its public, semi-public and commercial forms of recreation. These activities have certain cultural as well as recreational values. Yet many citizens do not take stock of the varied opportunities for recreation offered by their own communities.

Sociability and Neighborliness. People do not always attend the movies or go to other commercial amusements or public recreation places to use their leisure. Much of the spare time is spent in association with others, which may be called sociability and neighborliness. Frequently it takes the form of friendly visiting, or simply gossiping. Man is naturally a gregarious being. He is of necessity a social being. Born in a social group, he acquires his personality through fruitful interaction and expresses himself in group relations. Human association has been in existence from the beginning of time.

With the increasing complexity of society, social intercourse in the narrower sense of "sociability" has changed its form and manifestations. Under simple conditions of life all ages and classes of people mingle in their sociability in the ordinary relations of community living. As social life becomes more complex, they tend to separate into groups along the lines of age, sex, status in life, occupation, congenial tastes and common interests. This makes neighborhood sociability more difficult, or even impossible. A person in a large city may not even know his next-door neighbor, while his friends and associates live at the other end of town. Then, too, there is emerging a stratification of our society which makes neighborliness more difficult. The chief reason, aside from this, for our lack of neighborliness is the excessive mobility.

Sociability increasingly centers in specialized groups. A number of people having certain things in common become vitally interested in each other, or they are drawn together by certain common interests. Modern society provides many opportunities for individual friendships and innumerable clubs and societies.

the opportunities for sociability in connection with business, commercial and professional life, and various other occupational activities, have increased very extensively in recent years.

The influence of sociability in a person's life is so great and so intangible that one hardly realizes the full import of it. It provides enjoyment and is a source of information, it stimulates to action and spurs ambition, it stirs the imagination and sharpens the intellect, it furnishes the delights of friendship and the consolations of sympathy. The world without sociability and friendships would be barren and dreary.

Summary. The extension of leisure represents one of the most important phases of modern life. Leisure represents time surplus after necessities of life have been attended to. No generation of people has had as much surplus time as the present, especially in the Western world. The use of leisure has far-reaching significance. Civilization can be made and unmade by the way people use their leisure.

Leisure is not synonymous with play, recreation, and amusement, though the latter are significant forms of leisure activities. In order to judge the place of play and recreation in the community it is necessary to understand what they mean. Play is a spontaneous and pleasurable type of activity which has its own drive, and recreation, includes a wide range of activities that recreate and refresh mind and body.

One of the most interesting recent chapters in American history is the play movement that is hardly a half century old, and yet it has gone through many stages and transitions in its evolution. The modern community has many recreation resources, both public or semi-public and private or commercial. The development of the recreation center, regardless of what institution may sponsor it, is assuming importance. Commercial concerns have, in many ways, forged ahead of community enterprises, and to some extent have capitalized the situation. There is a tendency, however, toward greater control of commercial amusements.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Time-budget. Tabulate how you spend the time each day for one week. At the end of the week summarize the amount of time devoted to play and recreation; also the time wasted. Work out a time-budget for one week.

2. How extensive is leisure? Note the increase of leisure. What factors condition leisure? What are the social uses of leisure? What provision should the community make for the use of leisure? How may we be educated for the wholesome use of leisure?

3. State the main theories of play, and give at least one exponent of each. In what ways are the theories inadequate? Define such terms as leisure, play, recreation, amusement, and work.

4. What is meant by the play movement? According to Rainwater, what have been the main stages and transitions in the play movement of the United States? Compare the play movement in this country with similar movements in other lands.

5. Study the distribution of all play and recreation facilities in your community. Make a map showing their distribution. In a like manner, plot the distribution of participation in any one recreation center.

6. What is meant by a recreation center? What activities may be carried on in such a center? State the advantages and disadvantages of using the following institutions as community recreation centers: the school, the church, the playground, or the park.

7. What is a commercial amusement? How extensively do people indulge in commercial amusements? What are the values and problems of motion pictures and dance halls? How may they be controlled?

8. Study a play group or a recreation institution. Classify the different types of activities that the people engage in. Is there a need for recreation guidance?

9. How have recent social changes affected recreational activities? How has social mobility influenced recreation?

10. Why should there be play leaders? What are the qualifications of good play leaders?

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CHAPTER XI

Moral and Religious Life

All communities must have standards of conduct. Just as football cannot be played without rules of the game, so group life cannot be carried on without rules of behavior. Religion, likewise, is well-nigh universal. Moral standards and religious activities are among the chief differentiating characteristics of man. Animals do not possess them: they have no conscience, nor do they practice religious rites. One of the greatest human achievements is the development of moral and religious idealism and conduct.

It is not our purpose to treat the origin, development, and interrelationships of morals and religion. The aim is to ascertain their place in the communal life. Both morals and religion are concerned with conduct and have social derivations and consequences. They are not identical, but are closely related to each other. Morality may be possible without religion, and among the more primitive peoples religion apparently is not closely identified with moral conduct, but the more advanced religions give due recognition to ethical ideals and forms of human behavior and relationships. Certainly today morals and religion are sufficiently related to each other to be treated together.

Many efforts have been made to define religion and morality and to show their relations. Both have subjective and objective phases. From a subjective point of view, religion means simply a system of beliefs, attitudes, sentiments, desires, and hopes which have reference to a spiritual or divine being or some sacred object. Morality implies ideals of conduct and a system of moral attitudes and sentiments. From an objective point of view, religious life involves a system of rites, practices, activities, and institutions. Moral life involves overt conduct, habitual behavior, and the customs and mores of the group. Moral and religious standards are cultural patterns. The object of both is to control human behavior and to enrich life.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MORALS AND RELIGION

Neither morals nor religion can be said to have a single origin or source. Both have many aspects and their beginnings are unknown. From earliest human history man has been governed by rules of conduct, and he has been found bending his knees in supplication to unknown powers and practicing religious rites to achieve his ends. The sources of man's moral and religious attitudes must be sought in a variety of experiences and aspects of life, for they are the outgrowths of many factors and situations. They involve the entire personality and are related to nearly every phase of group activities.

The physical environment has exerted an influence upon religious beliefs and practices and the moral behavior of people. Many of the earlier divinities were nature gods, and moral codes clustered about them. The wonders of nature, such as earthquakes, lightning and thunder, sunshine and rain, have aroused the sense of awe and wonder, adoration and reverence; or the emotions of fear and the feeling of dependence. These in turn have called forth religious beliefs and practices. But nature represents little more than a conditioning factor. The same religious beliefs and moral practices may be found in distinct geographic situations, and distinct traits may be found in the same physical environment.

Certain biological and psychological factors are involved in man's religious and moral make-up. He does not inherit religion, nor is moral knowledge innate, but he has potentialities for both. Man's intellectual and emotional faculties are tied up with every phase of religious experience. All moral conduct involves a consideration of right and wrong, which in turn involves moral judgment and emotional reactions.

The Group Factor and Cultural Heritage. The most important source of moral and religious ideals is the group. In the case of morality, this is evident, for its origin goes back to the experiences and customs of primitive groups and it has been maintained and enlarged by group experience since the early days. Religious ideals and systems likewise grew out of definite social situations and are rooted in the past through customs and traditions. Both are a part of our cultural heritage.

Not all customs are moral in nature. The group does things in certain ways to meet situations of need, which if repeated become

customary. Sumner calls these folkways. When it is discovered that certain folkways are more desirable than others and a relation is seen between them and societal welfare, then the elements of good and right are raised to another plane and folkways become mores. Thus mores are folkways plus a philosophy of welfare.

The customs, folkways and mores, are of two types, positive and negative. The positive types prescribe what must be done. Ceremonials and rituals are examples of positive customs, and so are other required forms of behavior. Taboos are the great negative customs; they cluster around the chief desires and concerns of life, such as sex, birth, marriage, disease, death, and certain persons.

Religious ideas and ideals likewise grow out of the group process, particularly out of the primary face-to-face groups. Cooley says that "it will be found that those systems of larger ideals which are most human and so of most enduring value are based upon the ideals of primary groups . . . Christianity as a social system is based upon the family, its ideals being traceable to the domestic circle of a Judaean carpenter. God is a kind father, men and women are brothers and sisters; we are all members one of another, doing as we would be done by and referring all things to the rule of love."[1]

"Family patterns are often projected into the heavens and the gods assembled in family groups," says Kirkpatrick.[2] Expressions like "the Fatherhood of God," "the Mother Church," and the conception of people as God's children, as well as the family virtues extolled by religion, point to the intimate identification of religion with family life. Ancestral worship is perpetuated particularly in the patriarchal type of family organization.

Religion has also been perpetuated through the community. The church in a way is a beloved community. People with like beliefs and purposes assemble in common places for worship and fellowship. They face the joys and sorrows of life together.

It is obvious that the state, as well as the family and the community, is reflected in religion. Every student of the Bible knows that in the Old Testament the Jewish state is a theocracy, that is, it heads up in God as supreme ruler, and in the New Testament the phrase "Kingdom of God" is used time and again. The early

[1]C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (1909), pp 51–52.
[2]Clifford Kirkpatrick, *Religion in Human Affairs* (1929), p. 87.

Hebrew religion was an ethnic or tribal religion. In many tribes the rôles of king and priest are merged in one person. In Tibet the king is the spiritual head of the country as well as its ruler. Shintoism is a state religion in which patriotism is recognized as an important religious virtue. Shintoism is not only a religion, but a political system.

The supernatural element in religion represents its central core. Even in the relatively primitive religions, the belief in spiritual beings constitutes the essential aspect. Religious practices cluster around this belief. In the more highly developed religions, the worshipers believe in and recognize a deity or deities. The heart of Christianity is the belief in God as a kind Father as revealed through Jesus. The Christian faith, according to Jesus, is the belief in the Fatherhood of God. The Christian life is a life of sonship and brotherhood. Furthermore, Christianity implies the hope for a progressive realization of the Kingdom of God and for eternal life.

The Social Influences of Religious Values. Perhaps even more important than the social derivation of religion and religious systems is the constant influence which they exert upon group life and its individual members. Religion unites the group and makes for continuity and stability. As a cultural pattern it is thoroughly embedded in the structure of social organization. The individual, from early childhood, appropriates the religious ideals and practices of the group. Kirkpatrick says, "If we knew completely the subtle psychological process by which a child appropriates the beliefs, sentiments and habits of his culture, the story of religion would, for the most part, be told."[3] Religion is an intimate part of many groups. The church is essentially a religious institution, representing a community of like believers and a medium for the transmission of religious faith. But religion also plays a part in the family, the state, and other social institutions. It likewise exerts an influence upon art. Painting, sculpture, architecture, the drama, and other phases of art show evidence of religious inspiration. The elaborate ceremonials and rituals have aesthetic as well as religious values. Furthermore, religion is closely interwoven with technology and economic life, with science and education. Religious and moral education are assuming an important place in the educational process.

[3]Clifford Kirkpatrick, *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Changing Moral Standards. As one observes the course of history, nothing is more evident than the changing standards of morality among different peoples, and among the same people in different periods of their development. One of the chief transitions in morals has been the change from external formal control to internal moral control. The individual in primitive society was largely under the dominance of the customs of the group. Very little deviation from these was permitted. As the various groups became more complex, particularly after some fusion of cultures had taken place, group control and influence broke down to a certain degree.

The extent of the present departure from conventional morality and practices cannot be determined. It is safe to say, however, that there is a marked increase in sex freedom, divorce, crime and delinquency, and other forms of deviation from traditional conventions and mores. Conduct is increasingly regarded by many as an individual matter.

The diversification of moral standards and the individualization of moral conduct have resulted in considerable confusion. In the simpler societies the major social situations which people meet during the course of a life time are pre-defined for them by the group. Parents and community leaders usually know how and what to advise. In our modern complex society, in which many new situations arise for which there are no ready-made solutions, individuals are frequently puzzled as to what to do. Others are indifferent to the traditional ways of doing things, and some are even hostile to the prevailing standards. These attitudes are to a considerable extent responsible for moral decadence.

Paralleling the movement toward individualism is the emphasis on social responsibility. The appeal is made to the consciences of the people, which is productive of many socialized persons who feel and discharge their obligations to society. The ideals of righteousness and justice have permeated modern society sufficiently to produce a considerable group of people who regard themselves morally responsible for the welfare of the group. Social righteousness finds expression in community relations and activities.

Religious Changes. There are many changes in conceptions of religion and religious practices, as well as of morals. Kirkpatrick[4]

[4] *Op. cit*, pp. 286ff.

points out that there are at least five outstanding characteristics of the present religious situation: growing secularization, materialism, individualism, differentiation in religion, and the decline of supernaturalism.

Durkheim divides the world of objects into sacred and profane. The usual division is into sacred and secular, although they are not wholly mutually exclusive and the line of demarcation is not rigid. By sacred is usually meant that an object, place or act is set apart or dedicated to religious use, such as an altar, temple, ceremony, priesthood, and the like. These are hallowed and consecrated by love or reverence and pertain to some deity or supernatural being. The secular pertains to the present world and life, has the implication of being worldly or material, as contrasted with the spiritual and religious. With the advancement of civilization the province of the sacred tends to be progressively swallowed up by the secular, although there is an effort to permeate the secular with the religious spirit and attitudes. At any rate, less distinction is now made between the sacred and secular. Likewise, the increase of material wealth has diverted attention away from sacred things. Material possessions, the manifold amusement and recreational opportunities, and the diversity of interests, all compete with the churches for the time and energy of the people. The pursuit of wealth and pleasure tend to draw them away from religious life.

The struggle for the emancipation of the individual from political autocracy, religious intolerance, social stratification, and economic inequality represents one of the great movements of history. As a result the average person, at least in the more advanced countries, has more freedom. Individualism means a personal schematization of life. In religion this has expressed itself in the emphasis upon individual salvation. While there are many values in the individualization of religion and of morals, yet an extreme individualism often results in pleasure seeking and quite often in anti-social behavior. Religious ideals and moral standards are interpreted in the light of self interest. Closely associated with individualism is the differentiation in religion. Religious people are divided into many denominations and sects, and these are again divided into many other groups according to fundamental beliefs or forms of religious practice. Slavery, race prejudice, national sentiments, types of personalities and interests, rituals and dog-

mas, organization and leaders, and environmental circumstances are the chief causes of religious differentiation.

The other-worldly emphasis has somewhat subsided and there is a decline of supernaturalism. Many have attributed this change of attitude to the growth of science. Religion and science are not necessarily antagonistic, but certain religious beliefs and interpretations are in conflict with the findings of science. Then, too, there are differences in their functions. The main objective of science is to describe observable facts and conditions. It is a method of procedure and a body of organized knowledge. Religion goes beyond the realm of science in that it evaluates, seeks to grasp more ultimate realities, and represents a way of life.

Religious and Moral Conflicts. The various changes noted have occasioned conflicts of religious beliefs and attitudes and have resulted in a confusion of moral standards. The attitudes toward religious and moral values range all the way from extreme reactionism to extreme radicalism. The reactionary group desires to return to a previously current mode of thought and action. They are dissatisfied with things as they are and have a tendency to exalt the past. The conservatives differ from the reactionary group in that they accept with equanimity and approval the established order of things.

Opposite these there are a number of groups deviating from that which is established and traditional. The progressives welcome and favor gradual, continuous, and evolutionary change. They feel that things cannot remain as they are, yet they do not approve radical changes. Another group, which may be called liberal, is not bound by authority or the established standards and forms of religious beliefs and practices. They believe in independence of thought and freedom of action. The radicals desire speedy and thoroughgoing changes or innovative reforms. They are extremists. Psychologically there is a similarity between the radical and the extreme reactionary, although they are at opposite ends of the scale.

The Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy in religion is largely a conflict of attitudes. Fundamentalists are reactionary or conservative in outlook, literalists in interpretation of the Bible and creeds, positive in conviction, and dogmatic in utterances. Modernists are progressive or liberal, and in some instances radical in outlook, and they believe in the historical and scientific methods

of thinking about the Bible and religious creeds. They endeavor to live in harmony with the spirit of the age. A closer examination of this controversy reveals not two opposing groups but rather a series of groups ranging from reactionism to radicalism. Many, of course, are not interested in the controversy and assume an indifferent attitude.

The range of attitudes and beliefs may be placed in a series, as follows:

Reactionary—Conservative—Indifferent—Progressive—Liberal—Radical

It must be remembered that a given individual may not belong exclusively in any one of these categories. He may be progressive or liberal in most things but have conservative or even reactionary tendencies, or vice versa, in other matters. In fact a person may hold extreme attitudes, radical and reactionary, but toward different problems. Although a person may have attitudes characteristic of various groups, he usually belongs predominantly to one group.

The same range of attitudes may be found with reference to morals. There are various grades of traditional moralists, and opposite these there are the various grades of deviators. The lack of uniformity of standards makes for confusion and conflict, which in turn has a tendency toward social disorganization and personal demoralization.

The results of moral and religious conflicts and differentiations are not wholly bad. They not only create interest but have a tendency to stimulate social change and progress. Then, too, they call forth emotional responses which are of great value to society. Crises have a tendency to make people think more seriously about religion and moral conduct. Often religious beliefs and attitudes emerge in critical situations. Ideas and acts in a crisis take on a worth which often becomes embodied in religion. It must be remembered, however, that greater values come from coöperation than from conflicts.

THE CHURCH AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

The greatest single force to promote religious and moral values is the church. A church is a religious institution, first of all. Its primary purpose is to minister to the spiritual needs of the people. It also involves many social activities and represents a social in-

stitution alongside the school and the other social agencies which may be found in a community.

Just as there are two aspects of religion, the subjective and the objective, so there are two phases and functions of the church. The subjective aspect consists of the central idea or principle, the purpose and aim, which represents the core of the church. Embodying this subjective idea is an objective structure, which consists of the formal organization, building, leadership, and activities.

The church as a social institution has a natural history. It has taken a long time to develop it to its present status. The early churches had their roots in the Hebrew religious institutions. Many of the members were Jewish people, and they naturally continued some of their religious practices after they accepted Christianity. From the beginning the Christians regarded themselves as a brotherhood of like believers. There were no fixed creeds nor an established form of organization with an institutional hierarchy. These developed later.

It is not the purpose here to trace the history of the Christian churches. The development of religious concepts and creeds, as well as the organization of religious institutions, took centuries of time. The Catholic Church had a continuous historical development throughout the Middle Ages following the fall of Rome, both as to its organization and its beliefs. The Protestant Churches are of comparatively recent origin, while claiming to return to the simplicity and spirit of Early Christianity. The differentiation of churches into Catholic and Protestant, beginning at the time of the Lutheran Reformation, has occasioned profound changes in religious beliefs and organizations, since the beginning of the Modern era, especially as different denominations and sects were formed, but the major patterns remain the same. Now one can hardly find a community in the Christian countries without churches, and usually there are those representing at least the various major denominations. This is particularly true in the United States. Before we analyze the religious situation in this country, it will be desirable to state briefly the status of the great religions of the world. This will make it possible to visualize the rise of Christianity as compared with the other religions.

Present Status of Religions. There are a number of ***world religions***. Christianity has the largest number of adherents, total-

ing over 600,000,000. Christians are to be found in every country, especially in Europe and North and South America. While Christianity has its roots in the Hebrew background, it was founded by a historic leader, Jesus Christ, who proclaimed the "Fatherhood of God," the "Brotherhood of Man," the progressive realization of the "Kingdom of God," and the hope of an eternal life. The Bible is the sacred book of Christians. Judaism, which can be traced back to the early Hebrew people, likewise is widespread, having 11,100,000 adherents. Mohammedanism, with its 230,000,000 followers, is the youngest of the great religions of the world. Like Christianity it goes back to a single founder, Mohammed, and is rooted largely in the Hebrew background, including Jesus, who is recognized as a Hebrew prophet. Next to Christianity it is the fastest growing religion in the world and numerically it stands next to Confucianism as the largest non-Christian religion. Islam, which means the body of Mohammedan believers or the countries under Mohammedan rule, originated in Asia Minor, but has since been extended throughout the world, especially in Asia Minor and Northern Africa.

The other religions are largely oriental. Hinduism is possibly the oldest great religion, dating to about 1500 B. C. This religion centers in India with over 217,000,000 adherents. Hinduism has been an hereditary system and is unique for its system of caste. Its main theological doctrine is the belief in an omnipresent divine being named Brahma. Shintoism, the religion of Japan, also goes far back in history. It is a patriotic cult as well as a religion in that it includes patriotism and stresses the worship of the emperor. Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Zoroastrianism originated during the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. The first two are largely in China, having a total of nearly 300,000,000 adherents. Confucius was a literary genius. His body of writings have virtually been made the "sacred scriptures" for Confucianism. Taoism was founded by Lao-tze, but is not as widespread as Confucianism. Buddhism, with nearly 150,000,000 adherents, originated in India but is stronger in China and Japan. Buddha, its founder, whose main emphasis was on saving oneself from a world of misery, has been deified and worshiped by his followers. Jainism and Zoroastrianism are less significant than the others.[5]

[5]For historical sketches of these religions consult R. E Hume, *The World's Living Religions* (1929), or E. D. Soper, *Religions of Mankind* (1921). It must be remembered that the above figures are estimates and not to be taken too literally.

The Status of Churches in the United States. What is the *religious situation in the United States?* Christianity is the predominant religion in our country. The only other group of any significance is the Jewish. The United States Government takes a census of religious bodies every ten years in order to secure basic facts about the churches—Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Mormon, and all others except the oriental religions. According to the 1926 census,[6] there are 212 separate denominations having 232,000 churches and 44,380,000 members over 13 years of age, which is about 55 per cent of the country's adult population. The total value of church edifices, exclusive of pastors' residences, school buildings, hospitals, etc., is reported as $3,800,000,000, and the total annual expenditure is $817,000,000. There are 125 female members to every 100 male members. Of the adult church-members, about 16,500,000 or 37 per cent, fall into the rural class. Thus 52 per cent of the rural population belongs to churches as compared with 58 per cent for all cities. Three out of ten church members are Roman Catholics. The protestant churches by families of denominations rank as follows: Baptist, 17.7 per cent; Methodist Episcopal, 16.3 per cent; Lutheran, 6.4 per cent; Presbyterian, 5.6 per cent; Protestant Episcopal, 3.1 per cent; other protestants, 12.4 per cent. Only 1.9 per cent are listed as non-protestant. The Jewish church membership is 6.6 per cent of the total adult church membership in the United States.

The churches are not equally distributed throughout the country, some regions being overchurched and others underchurched. "For the United States as a whole there is a church for every 344 inhabitants over 13 years of age; but this ratio varies locally depending upon such factors as the region and the size of the community involved."[7]

Contrary to popular impression, churches are growing. The number of denominations increased from 186 in 1906 to 212 in 1926, which means a 9.4 per cent increase. During the first decade of the 20th Century the church-members increased 18.6 per cent, and 17.3 per cent the second ten years; whereas the adult population increased 19.0 and 17.2 per cent respectively.

[6]See C. Luther Fry, *The U. S. Looks at Its Churches* (1930), for a summary of the census data.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 26.

The *rural churches* are facing many problems,[8] due largely to the economic crisis in the country districts, the exodus of the people to the city, and the devices of transportation and communication. The percentage of church membership is lower in the country than in the city, especially where tenancy is high. The rural churches lack trained and full-time ministers. The programs are usually meager. It is estimated that there are at least 10,000 closed country churches in the United States and many in addition with only occasional religious services. Yet there are some outstanding rural churches with splendid equipment, trained leaders, and effective programs of activity.

Village churches[9] are becoming more important due to the villageward movement of the rural population and the increasing importance of villages as economic and social centers. The 1930 census shows that there are 13,433 incorporated places having fewer than 2500 inhabitants.

Of the two kinds of villages, the agricultural and the industrial, the church faces a different situation in each type. The agricultural villages are composed mostly of native whites, except in the South where the Negro population is extensive. The industrial villages have a larger percentage of foreigners. The agricultural villages have a large group of older people, of whom many are retired farmers; whereas the industrial villages have many young married people and children. While the agricultural villages are more definitely tied up with the surrounding country than is true of the industrial villages, nevertheless there are many conflicts between the villagers and the country people. The village churches on the whole are not adequately reaching the country people. There is considerable competition and overchurching in agricultural villages. The churches usually outnumber the schools. But church

[8]See *Town and Country Church* series, based on studies made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research and edited by Edmund de S Brunner. Summary data in Brunner and Morse, *The Town and Country Church in America* (1923), and C. Luther Fry, *Diagnosing the Rural Church* (1924). Also Brunner's two books, *Tested Methods in Town and Country Churches* (1923), and *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country* (1924). See also books on the country church by Warren Wilson, Kenyon Butterfield, C J. Galpin, Edwin O'Hara, and chapters on the rural church in rural sociology texts, especially those by Vogt, Gillette, Phelan, Lundquist and Carver, Sims, Taylor, Hayes, Hawthorn and Hoffer.

[9]The Institute of Social and Religious Research has recently made studies of American villages. See C L Fry, *American Villagers* (1926); Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (1927); E. de S. Brunner, *Village Communities* (1928), and *Industrial Village Churches* (1930).

union is in process and the trend in American protestantism is definitely villageward. There are many prominent and successful village churches. The industrial villages, usually dominated by industrial plants, do not fare so well. There are about 4,000 such villages with a total population exceeding 4,000,000. The economic uncertainty, the conflicts between employers and employees, the differentiation of races and nationalities, the mobility of the population, the diversity of religious interest, and the lack of adequate leadership militate against success in church work.

The *city churches*[10] are the largest in membership, equipment, and program. In the city people live closer together, which makes large churches possible. There are, of course, many small churches also. A church usually reflects the fortunes of the people living within the community. If a community is prosperous one can expect a prosperous and growing church. Churches in the poorer communities, especially in the zones which are undergoing rapid transitions and change, usually have a hard struggle to exist and not infrequently are supported from without.

The constant and rapid movement of individuals to different habitats and different localities is characteristic of city life and causes serious concern on the part of church leaders. The nomadic character of the city population not only makes for a continuous turnover of membership in churches but also for a migratory attitude of mind with no permanent interest in communal life. If there is a shift of large groups of the population, especially if this involves a change in the racial and nationality composition, churches frequently are unable to adjust themselves to the new situation. The shift of population usually results in a lapse of membership and church interest. The rural migrant represents one of the largest elements of lapse from previous church connections. But possibly the most serious problem relating to a special population is that of Americans of foreign or mixed parentage. There is a tendency for the second generation immigrants to lose contact with the church, drifting away from the foreign language churches and not identifying themselves with other churches.

[10]The best studies of city churches have been made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research under the direction of H. Paul Douglass. See especially his books on *The St. Louis Church Survey* (1924); *The Springfield Church Survey* (1926); *1000 City Churches* (1926); and *The Church in the Changing City* (1927).

It frequently happens in a city that the members of the churches are widely scattered. Sometimes few members live near their church. Some churches do not regard adequate service to their neighborhoods as a primary aspect of their responsibility. Frequently a down town church regards itself as a city-wide church. However, there are many churches which depend upon the residents of the locality in which they are located and represent a community type of institution. The churches which have adapted their programs to meet the needs of the people of the community and have altered the activities in accordance with the changing city life are rendering an effective service. The static churches eventually die or barely exist.

Church Coöperation and United Churches. Overchurching and excessive competition among the churches is a serious menace to the effectiveness of the church as a community institution. However, an important change has taken place in recent years. Not only is there an increase of inter-denominational friendliness but various coöperative movements have gotten under way.

Church federations are relatively common and church comity is beginning to be practiced.[11] The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America with its many commissions is the most important organization of church coöperation. In addition there are state, county, and city federations. "All cities of over a half million have federations; nearly all cities of 300,000 have them. But less than half of the cities of from 150,000 to 300,000 population have federations, and a mere fraction of those below 150,000."[12] Through the federations churches are finding many ways of coöperation, especially along the lines where this is an advantage to the denominations and churches concerned.

The union of churches is largely a phenomenon of the present century, although a small beginning was made earlier.[13] Changes in the environment which financially forced churches to unite or perish, together with the changed attitude toward neighbors of other denominations and the coöperative spirit, are largely responsible for the new movement. Church union of whatever type

[11]Consult H. Paul Douglass, *Church Comity* (1929), and *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities* (1930); F E. Johnson, *Social Work of the Churches* (1930), and S M. Cavert, *Twenty Years of Church Federation* (1929).

[12]Douglass, *Protestant Cooperation in American Cities* (1930), p. 3.

[13]See Elizabeth Hooker, *United Churches* (1926), D. R. Piper, *Community Churches* (1928); and Johnson, *loc. cit.*

is predominantly rural. According to Johnson,[14] of the 1,296 united churches reported in 1927, over a thousand are located in villages or the open country. Five years before this there were only 713 united churches. The united churches are, in the main, of three types—denominational, undenominational, and federated.

These churches are sometimes called community churches, although this name is usually reserved for an undenominational type of church, but the title has also been given to united churches of denominational or federated types, to the only church in a community, or to any church serving the religious needs of the community, and sometimes it is used for advertising purposes.

According to Holmes[15] the Community Church is undenominational, public, free, social, and democratic. It corresponds somewhat to a public school, except that its functions are religious and social and it is supported in a different way.

The Church and Social Welfare Work.[16] Churches not only have learned to coöperate and to unite, but many have extended their program of activities. Historically the church has always been interested in various kinds of social work: ministering to the sick, the aged, the poor, the crippled, and caring for the orphans and widows. The church originated many of the social agencies. Most of the denominations have hospitals and sanatoria, old people's homes and orphanages, homes for the poor, and many other social agencies. In a number of cities more than half of the community chest money goes to agencies under the auspices of the church.

In addition to these social agencies dealing with the unfortunates, churches have established and are supporting educational and reform institutions and activities. Most of the denominations have social service departments and organizations. Furthermore, churches are supporting or coöperating with other religious agencies, such as The Young Men's Christian Association, The Young Women's Christian Association, The Religious Education Association, The International Council of Religious Education, and many others.

In order to set forth the attitude of the church, various church

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54.

[15] J. H. Holmes, *New Churches for Old* (1922), pp. 337–41.

[16] See Johnson's handbook of information, *The Social Work of the Churches* (1930), for a recent summary.

bodies have issued social pronouncements. The most widely known and endorsed of these are commonly called "social creeds." The Federal Council of Churches, as well as the several denominations, and the Catholic clergy and Jewish rabbis, all have pronouncements pertaining to family life and child welfare, the toil of women, poverty, health, wages, hours of work, working conditions, old age of workers, organization of employers and employees, one day of rest in seven, and other social problems.

From the community angle, possibly the most significant movement is the development of varied forms of social service conducted by the local churches. The "parish house," which sometimes closely approximates a social settlement in the variety of its activities and the extensiveness of personal services rendered to the people of the community, is one of the chief phases or adjuncts of the church. "Institutional churches" are in reality social settlements under the auspices of churches. They are largely in the slum regions. The larger city churches in the better residential zones, and some of the rural churches, also have elaborate plants and programs. The added educational, recreational, and social activities, as well as the religious services, make a church a community center. The week-day religious education program and the vacation schools, the church-centered recreation program, the various organizations and clubs with their social service activities, and the public services of various kinds have enhanced the value of the church.

Socialized religion, which goes back to the social ideals of the Old Testament Prophets and to Jesus, is coming into its own. Beginning during the latter part of the last century, but more particularly during the present century, a series of prominent church leaders have stressed with increased vigor the social applications of religion. It is this movement that has added vitality to the modern church.

Summary. Morals and Religion are well-nigh universal. They are not identical, but are closely related to each other. Both are concerned with conduct and have social derivations and consequences. Their origins are unknown but obviously neither can be said to have a single source. They have grown out of the group process and have been perpetuated through cultural heritage. Perhaps even more important than their social derivation is the constant influence which they exert on group life and its

individual members. Moral standards, however, are changing and so are religious ideas. This has made for many conflicts, both personal and social. The progressive, liberal and radical groups conflict with the conservative and reactionary groups.

The church is the chief institution of religion. It has developed gradually throughout the centuries. At the present time the people of the world are differentiated into many religious groups. Christianity is numerically the largest of the great religions. While the Christian body is divided into many denominations and sects, nevertheless progress has been made in recent years in uniting these groups or at least in achieving coöperation among them. One of the most important movements in the Christian church is the development of the social application of religion and the establishment of social welfare institutions.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. What is meant by morals and religion? In what ways are they similar? How do they differ?

2. When did religion begin? What are the different phases of religion? Trace the development of religion. How has religion been affected by the group and by the cultural heritage? Show how religion has influenced the development of civilization.

3. What have been the effects of changing social conditions upon religious attitudes and moral standards? How has the development of science affected religion? What are the differences between science and religion? Are they necessarily antagonistic?

4. What are the evidences of religious disorganization in the modern world? State the causes and effects.

5. In what sense is the church a social institution? Define the church. What is the difference between a religious denomination and a religious sect?

6. How many denominations and sects are there in America? Are the churches growing in membership? Are they gaining or losing influence?

7. Indicate the conditions of rural and urban churches. How has urbanization affected churches?

8. What are the main social values and ideals of churches? Read social pronouncements of the churches, such as the social creed of the Federal Council of Churches.

9. What are the different forms of welfare work carried on by churches? What contributions have been made by the church to the home, education, recreation, and to the different classes of dependents

and defectives? What are the advantages of church-centered recreation? Trace the historical development of the social work of churches.

10. Indicate the different forms of coöperation among churches. Which is more important, church coöperation or church union? Why? What is meant by a community church?

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CHAPTER XII

Community Government, Planning and Beauty

The study of community life has revealed individuals and groups actively engaged in trying to satisfy their needs by cooperative endeavor. In the course of such activities, agencies have been created to make community coöperation efficient and successful in its purposes. These agencies constitute the social structure of the community in the form of manifold groupings and social institutions.

It is evident that if individuals and groups are to coöperate successfully through their established agencies, they must be correlated in such ways as to act together harmoniously, at least in their main activities, so that the various elements of the community will not work against each other. Overlapping of functions must be avoided and uncared for needs must be met. This correlation is the function of community organization, which makes it possible to exercise more definite control over the various elements and to secure harmonious and efficient coöperation. Voluntary agencies alone cannot exercise complete control. Governmental organizations, supported by taxes and with power to act and to force individuals to comply with the decisions of the political unit, are necessary to insure efficient regulation of communal life. They are the chief agencies of formal control.

Community regulation and control is thus exercised by two types of organizations: (1) formal and official governmental units; and (2) informal and voluntary nonpolitical agencies. Community government is thought of, therefore, in the broader sense, including private as well as public organizations which have for their function the governing and the control of communal life.

OFFICIAL COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

Aside from the incorporated villages and cities, and in some cases townships, there are few local units of government. Yet

the other localities are not without governmental control, for the larger political organizations, together with their several divisions and departments, have local units of administration. Local regulation, therefore, presupposes state and national government. Sometimes the subdivisions of public departments correspond to natural communities.

General Aspects of Government. In the United States the governmental machinery consists of various units. The federal government is the central organization which has general jurisdiction over the entire nation. By the nation is meant a territorial area having a combination of states or other political units under a centralized government. Each state in turn is subdivided into counties and sometimes townships. The incorporated cities are known as municipalities.

The machinery of government operates under a constitution and laws, which empower legislative, judicial, and executive agencies to act, to regulate the affairs of the group, and to protect its citizens. The government performs certain functions which could not easily be fulfilled by other social units. In fact the social institutions could not function properly, if they could exist at all, without a well-organized government.

Local government could not be effective if it were not for the fact that it operates within the framework of the larger political units. The national government maintains the integrity and sovereignty of a people against the encroachment of other nations, and in such internal affairs as require federal regulation and control. It and the various states and their subdivisions enact and enforce the general laws for preserving the social order and for protecting the lives and property of the people. They promote the common welfare by constructing public works, establishing educational and recreational facilities, providing institutional and outdoor relief for the dependent and defective, promoting health and sanitation, regulating industry and commerce, supplying commodities which cannot adequately be provided by private agencies, and engaging in many other constructive activities that are regarded as the proper functions of government.

There is a marked tendency for the various units of government to extend their control and jurisdiction. Government ownership of property is on the increase. Public roads, public buildings, school houses, parks and playgrounds, and other forms of public

property are becoming more extensive. In many cases public utilities, such as water, light, and gas, are governmentally owned. In certain European countries the government owns the railroads and other lines of transportation and of communication. Even where utility agencies are not owned by the government, they are increasingly regulated by it. Indeed, business and industry in general throughout the United States are rapidly coming under government control.

Local Government. Having briefly considered the general aspects of government, we turn now to the examination of the political organization of the local community. Our nation is divided into states, and each state is subdivided into counties and municipalities. Several states have also civic townships.

Local government in the United States, in so far as the general framework is concerned, goes back to Europe. The Swiss commune is the foundation upon which the national life of the oldest of modern democracies, Switzerland, is built. In fact their earliest government was a confederation of three groups of communes. The Russian mir, though badly disrupted today, represented for a long time the stable and democratic form of local control and village neighborhood life. The French and Italian communes are typical examples of local government in Southern European countries. In France, the commune and the department correspond roughly to the New England town and the American township respectively. The German system involves great concentration of power in the state and in the federation of states making up the nation, yet the local dorfs have relatively complete forms of governmental organizations of their own. England is preëminently a country of local government. The parish, originally that area served by one of the Established churches, gradually developed into a civil as well as an ecclesiastical unit. The Elizabethan Poor Law made it responsible for poor relief, which not only enlarged its powers but definitely established it as a civil unit. The English parish has more local autonomy and control than found on the Continent of Europe.[1]

[1]For treatments of rural local government in Europe and America, see Walter A Terpenning, *Village and Open-Country Neighborhoods* (1931) and Theodore B. Manny, *Rural Municipalities* (1930). The former is largely a book of case-studies of European villages, whereas the latter is primarily a sociological study of local government in the United States.

Municipalities. During the colonial times town government prevailed in New England. The town meeting was the lawmaking body. The New England town was a social and economic center as well as a political unit. It made for a high degree of local home rule and represented a community unto itself.

The American municipalities developed out of the colonial towns. Some have grown into large proportions. The building of towns and cities requires coördinated effort, and this implies a systematic form of government. The discussion of city government, however, lies outside the scope of this work, belonging rather to the field of political science. Yet the administration of city life has a profound effect upon vital functions of the city itself.

Modern municipalities, unlike ancient city-states, are a part of larger political units, such as the county, the state, and the nation. These units of government have exercised control over many departments of local self-administration. There is also a merging of the interests of the city with those of other cities and of the country at large. Yet each incorporated town or city has some form of government. The mayor-council type of city administration is most common. Some cities are governed by commissions. In recent years the city manager system has been extensively adopted.

The problem of city government forced itself upon the United States soon after the Civil War. At that time the financial burdens of the city became oppressive. Political corruption was also found to exist in most large cities. City administrations became incompetent to meet the varied needs of the rapidly growing municipalities. Reforms were introduced but the existing forms of government proved inadequate. It was not until a quarter of a century ago that cities like Staunton, Virginia, tried the city-manager plan. The primary objective of such a plan is to introduce efficient business methods into city administration. The City Manager is a business expert rather than a politician. He is appointed either by the Mayor or by the City Council, or by both. He is given power to appoint all subordinate officers not elected directly by the people, to prepare the city budget, to keep the council informed on the finances and the administration of the city, to see that laws are enforced, to recommend measures for improvements, and to manage the affairs of the city in a businesslike manner.

The larger cities have departmental units, such as the health

department, the park board, the playground commission, the school board, the public library, the police and fire departments, city planning commission, division of water and power, engineer's office, and similar divisions. The detailed administrative functions are carried on by these units, each of which is financed by appropriations from the city treasury.

Small towns, villages, and open-country communities do not have such elaborate systems of political organization. Manny[2] thinks that rural communities are possible unit-areas for local government. They usually center in the country town or village and are large enough to provide a sufficient volume of business for many local governmental activities. The town and the surrounding country could thus be kept in more harmonious relationships with each other. The difficulties, of course, are many. Natural rural communities are not universal. It would be difficult to discover the natural boundaries of such areas, if there are any to be found. It would increase administrative complexity and taxation problems, and might not be more efficient than the present form. Then, too, it is doubtful if locality groups are to remain in America. Community life is fast disintegrating in the country as well as in the city.[3] The organization of local areas is quite inadequate as it exists at present, but no adequate solution has been found to meet the situation. Perhaps the county, with its townships or other regional divisions, is the logical unit of local government.

Counties. The county as a unit of administration is found in every state of the Union. Counties vary greatly in size. New York County is the smallest in area, only 22 square miles, but since the territory is entirely urban it has a large population. San Bernardino County, California, is the largest in size, having the huge total of 20,175 square miles within its bounds. Crane County, Texas, has only 37 persons, whereas Cook County, Illinois, has 3,053,017.[4]

The counties, especially the larger ones, have many administrative departments and offices. The chief administrative body is the county commission or board of supervisors. The sheriff, district attorney, and probation officers, as well as the various types of

[2]T. B. Manny, *Rural Municipalities* (1930), pp. 211–213.

[3]Compare J. H Kolb, *Special Interest Groups in Rural Society*, Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin, Research Bulletin 88 (1927); and B A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (1929).

[4]1920 census data.

county courts, endeavor to maintain order and administer justice, and to do preventive and correctional work. The health and welfare organizations endeavor to control sanitary and health conditions and to care for the needy people. The highway and planning commissions and the engineering department control the physical development of the county. Then there are many other departments and bureaus to promote the general welfare of the county. The assessors and tax collectors secure the money necessary for the administration and promotion of the affairs of the county.

Townships. Seventeen states have civil townships,[5] representing subdivisions of counties. Outside of the towns and villages, townships are the smallest political units that have some general powers of local self-government. They are predominantly rural areas and they vary greatly in population. The officials differ widely as to number, functions and titles in different states. Quite often the boundaries are irregular and do not coincide with natural barriers. Consequently there is little in its arrangement which coincides with natural groupings of people and it is difficult to develop much loyalty toward its government. Furthermore, township meetings have very restricted powers and opportunity for local self-government as compared with municipalities. Yet in some states where they have schools, welfare organizations, and other units of government functioning on the local basis, especially in areas where there are no municipalities, townships represent important political units.

The difficulties of local government are obvious. It is not easy to secure competent leaders and the units are sometimes not large enough to support the various types of agencies needed. There is also serious overlapping of townships, counties, and the larger units. Sometimes a great city covers a large portion or all of a county, as in the case of Chicago and Cook County, and Denver and Denver County. In such situations there is a serious duplication of officials, as between the sheriff and city police, for example, with confusion of functions and unnecessary governmental expense. The political organizations of the city often exert a greater influence than do those of the county. State supervision and equalization of taxes are difficult problems in these double-headed governmental areas.

[5]See T. B Manny, *Rural Municipalities* (1930), p 44.

The political problems of the community grow out of many factors. Communities, especially urban ones, have grown so rapidly in size and complexity that it is difficult to change governmental organizations fast enough to meet the new needs. Then, too, social changes are occurring on every hand.[6] Changes in government, the family, and educational and religious institutions, are slower than the technological developments and advances in economic organization. Outworn forms of government are continued in spite of changing conditions and new needs. The slowness of governmental changes and social legislation is partly responsible for the movement to establish nonpolitical forms of social organization.[7]

NONPOLITICAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

In addition to the formal and official government agencies, there are many informal and voluntary nonpolitical organizations. If one were to write a natural history of the local community and its informal organization, it would be necessary to begin with the nomadic horde, the pastoral and agricultural clan, the tribe, and other primitive local units. But instead of following the development of the city-state into the larger national government, one would follow the development of medieval communities, such as the English village and manor and the Teuton free cities, and then consider the colonial town and pioneer communities in America. One must consider also such natural areas as immigrant colonies, racial areas, industrial towns and villages, religious colonies, and similar groups. The emphasis, also, would be shifted from the political development to the life and activities of the people, and the voluntary groups arising therefrom.

The Community Organization Movement. While the more recent movement to organize communities has its roots in the past, yet the immediate occasions were the tendencies of disintegration in local community life and the multiplication of social groupings and organizations which needed coördination. The heightened mobility, intercommunity contacts, particularly contacts by means of devices of communication; the development of vital interest groups which do not have a territorial limitation; the rise of conflict groups, such as cliques, factions, parties, sects, and classes;

[6]See *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (1933).

[7]See Chapter XXII for further discussion of government as a phase of social control.

the growth of occupational types and economic differentiation; exploitation by overhead agencies, and other similar tendencies occasioned local disorganization. People assumed a *laissez faire* attitude toward local problems, that is, every man was for himself and individualism was rampant. Crowd stimulation took the place of public discussion. There was a serious breakdown of the customary modes of control. Accompanying the decline of authority was a certain amount of personal demoralization.

A number of movements originated in the latter part of the nineteenth century and particularly during the present century to unify local community life. The town hall and meeting, the social settlements, the early efforts to coördinate relief work, the playground movement, the consolidation of schools and the wider use of the school plant, church federation and coöperation, and other similar movements were among the earlier factors in reconstruction, and were evidences of the development of community consciousness.

Community organization has assumed different meanings. In a broad sense it has reference to the organizations of the community, especially the educational, recreational, religious, political, and social-welfare agencies. These organizations constitute the structure of the community. In a more limited sense, community organization has reference to the integration and coördination of these various organizations. This latter type of organization has grown out of the conviction that community machinery has not functioned properly in the interest of the people.

Forms of Community Organization. There are various forms and types of community organization. Some are temporary in character or have reference to special problems. A city or local community may organize to carry out a given project, such as a community pageant, relief of unemployment or the establishment of a consolidated school. Other organizations are more permanent, but with a limited center of interest or source of control such as the church, the school, and the community recreation center, Red Cross or health work, or some other form of social work.[8] In industrial towns or villages the community projects are frequently promoted by the main industrial company, in which case it is usually paternalistic in character and control.

[8]See cases cited in Pettit's *Case Studies of Community Organization* (1928); Steiner's *American Community in Action* (1928) and *Community Organization* (1930).

The more permanent and democratic nonpolitical forms, though varied in detail, are largely of two general types, known as the community club and the community council plans. The *community club* plan encourages democratic participation in that it enables all the people to become members of the club and to share in its management and control. This usually takes the form of an improvement association which has for its object the bettering of community life and the sponsoring of various movements to improve the institutional life or the physical attractiveness of the local region. The difficulty with such an organization is that it can easily degenerate into just another club for mutual benefit without sponsoring community projects.

The *community council* plan is one of the best known types of community organization. It constitutes an association of authorized representatives of the various institutions and agencies of the community. The council or federation has for its chief purpose the promotion of a well coördinated and comprehensive community program. It endeavors to curb overlapping of agencies and functions and to promote institutions or types of activities which are needed but are not in existence. The machinery of such a council is very simple. Each institution or agency, such as the school, the churches, the farm bureau or the chamber of commerce, various charity organizations, social clubs, and public departments or units of government, appoints its official representatives to serve as members of the council. The council is thus not a superorganization but a federation of agencies. These agencies are bound together by coöperative rather than contractual relationships.

The council has its elected officers, constituting the executive board, and various committees on home life, school life, recreation, church coöperation, boys' and girls' work, farm production and business, or business and commerce, community life and cooperation, and the like. These committees investigate the problems involved and propose solutions. The projects and activities are along the lines of greatest need as discovered by means of special studies.

The chief difficulty with local community organization is that the units are frequently too small to carry on all of the essential activities. Certain needed activities are either omitted or the county performs the necessary functions. There is a tendency in some

states, notably North Carolina, to regard the county as the unit of administration of public agencies. If local units are established they are supervised by the county organizations. Possibly the greatest need of the future is a coördination of county and local agencies and activities.

Functions of Community Organization. The objectives of the community organization movement are not clearly defined and there is considerable confusion concerning its purpose. However, the main functions are to coördinate the social institutions and agencies of a given area in order that overlapping of activities may be avoided and that needed organizations may be promoted. Such an organization makes possible a more democratic and efficient control of local affairs.

Every community has a number of social agencies. A modern urban area may have a multiplicity of organizations, each performing worthy functions but with no effort made to bring about coöperation. One of the outstanding characteristics of modern life is its extensive organization. People are organized into divergent functional, occupational, educational, religious, political, recreational, philanthropic, fraternal, and various specialized groups.

The social workers were among the first to realize the need of coöperation. Charity organizations sprang up everywhere, each performing its own function independently of the others. As a result, professional beggars imposed on a number of charity agencies at the same time. Then, too, it was expensive to raise funds for so many organizations. Frequently several of them performed the same type of function and left other needs untouched. The first efforts to coöperate were in the form of financial federations in order to raise funds. The Community Chest is the ultimate outcome of this movement. This organization, composed of representatives of the several agencies as well as prominent citizens of the city, conducts annual campaigns for funds, and disburses the money according to the needs. In some cities they have Councils of Social Agencies, which are delegated bodies representing the welfare agencies of a city, these organizations still maintaining independence of action, but voluntarily bound together for mutual benefit and coöperative effort. In many instances public as well as private agencies are represented in the council.

Similar efforts are now being made to coördinate the educa-

tional, religious, and recreational agencies. Church federations and united churches are becoming common. Schools are coöperating with other educational organizations. The recreational forces are uniting in the interest of mutual problems. The private agencies are coöperating with public welfare agencies. Business men form a chamber of commerce and other industrial organizations. Farmers unite in a farm coöperative marketing bureau and similar units. Organizations of labor are paralleled by associations of employers. Local labor groups unite in federations, and the employers' and employees' organizations may coöperate with each other for the purpose of collective bargaining or arbitration. These are some of the many forms of coöperation which may be found in a given area.

PLANNING THE COMMUNITY

American communities have been inadequately planned; most of them, like Topsy, have "just growed." As a consequence little attention has been given to community beauty. Both public and private buildings have been put up more or less promiscuously throughout a region and there has been little control of the amount of land that may be built upon or the uses to which property may be put. Cities have neglected to retain waterfronts and other spaces for civic centers and parks. Railroads and industries have been allowed to exploit regions which might have been utilized for beauty and recreation. There has been a lack of control of the physical development of the city, and there has been little understanding of the significance of correlating under a definite plan all agencies of community betterment; there have been few traditions of community beauty.

The City Planning Movement.[9] Since the greatest advance has been made in city planning, a brief sketch of this movement will indicate the achievements as well as the possibilities in this field. The first great city which was planned in the modern sense of the idea was Paris, which goes back to Louis XIV. France was the first country to pass a compulsory city-planning law. This was in 1909. England made city planning optional, and it was not until 1919 that it was made compulsory there for all cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants. It was Germany, however, that made the greatest advances in the art of planning cities. The German cities began to exercise control of their physical development as soon

[9]Re-read Chapter IV as a basis for an understanding of the needs of city planning.

as the beauty of the old towns was threatened by the growth of industry. Washington was the first planned city in the United States, but popular interest in city planning did not develop until the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. Since that time there has been a growing tendency to plan cities, at least in so far as the means of circulation, zoning, and the location of public buildings are concerned.

In recent years the large cities, and also certain counties and regions, have established planning commissions or similar organizations. According to Hubbard and Hubbard,[10] over 650 municipalities have planning organizations. While they vary in size and power, their main function is public control, through planning in advance, of the physical treatment and development of the city. City planning includes a number of things, among which the following may be mentioned.[11]

Controlling the Means of Circulation. The planning and development of the means of circulation have received the major attention in recent years due to the rapid increase of transportation and communication. This involves street planning and development of railways, waterways and frontages, street car lines, subways and elevated car lines, construction of bridges and tunnels, and the laying out and controlling of public utilities. The function of streets is to furnish means of circulation, principally now for auto traffic. Transportation is the most costly and complicated phase of city planning. It not only requires adequate streets and car lines, but a traffic plan and an elaborate system of traffic regulations, and the enforcement of these.

Efficiency and economy have been the major considerations in laying out streets, railways and street car lines. Streets were laid out on the gridiron plan, usually running north and south, east and west, with slight attention given to the contour of the land or to appearance. Street furniture was ugly and much of it still is. In recent years, however, monumental arches, columns, fountains, and sculpture have been regarded as necessary features in the complete adornment of the city. Trees, vines, shrubbery, flowers, grass, and landscape designs may be seen along streets, in parks,

[10] *Our Cities Today and Tomorrow* (1929).

[11] Compare Harlean James, *Land Planning in the United States* (1926); John Nolan, *City Planning* (1916); Nelson P. Lewis, *The Planning of the Modern City* (1923); Frank W. Williams, *The Law of City Planning and Zoning* (1922).

in civic centers, and on private property. Lamp posts are more beautiful, some wires are underground, street names and plates are artistically placed, bridges are made beautiful as well as useful, and increasingly important statues and other works of art are placed along the principal boulevards and driveways.

Zoning and Subdividing. Another function of city planning is the zoning and sub-dividing of land. The city is zoned and the land is subdivided for various purposes, notably industrial, business, and residential. Each is further subdivided for different types and grades of industries, business establishments, or residences. The topography and contour of the ground, the early development, the rate of growth, and the chief functions of the city usually determine the general outline of the plan.[12]

The chief object of zoning is to protect property owners and to make provision for the necessary institutions. Beauty has not been the chief concern. The industrial zones are usually the least attractive although some attention is paid to beauty by some of the larger manufacturing plants. Business zones are more attractive, but there usually is congestion of buildings. The business areas in cities are more or less alike. The greatest advances in beautification have been made in residential zones. In some of the newer subdivisions the streets are laid out to fit the topography, giving due consideration to natural features. The main thoroughfares run through the center of the city with narrow, but beautiful, side streets. Restrictions as to the use of the land cover a period of years so that builders may be protected. Before houses or commercial buildings are constructed, permits must be obtained and restrictions must be complied with.

Public Buildings, Parks and Playgrounds. The location and development of public buildings, parks and recreation centers, and the creation of a civic center are also important phases of city planning. Many cities are developing civic centers, consisting usually of a small park or plaza with the various public buildings grouped around this open space. Public buildings should be centrally located and close together. A civic center can be made beautiful if the buildings are harmonized in design and properly located. The various types of parks and play centers are located throughout the city, convenient to the people, and with a view to providing both recreational opportunities and centers of beauty.

[12]See the section on the ecology of the community in Chapter V.

The greatest improvement in the beautification of cities has been made in the architecture of buildings and the development of parks and boulevards. Progress has been made in the architecture of city halls, court houses, public libraries, school houses, and other public buildings. In addition to public buildings, beautiful churches, lodge halls, and other private institutional buildings add to the beauty of cities. In the larger cities there are several types of parks, such as small intown parks, parkways along boulevards and water fronts, large parks usually located near the periphery of the city, reservations of forests, and areas set aside for special purposes. While playgrounds are primarily for recreation, many are artistically designed and beautified.

Commercial Buildings and Industrial Plants. Business establishments are located for the most part in the center of cities. Buildings used for business, especially skyscrapers, may be artistic and many of them are. Some of these buildings are stately as well as massive, but most of them are not attractive; in fact many are quite ugly.

Possibly the least artistic of all city buildings are industrial plants. Factory owners have paid little attention to beauty. Manufacturing areas are the most unsightly sections of the city.

Private houses. Residential architecture has made great strides. It is more adjusted to local conditions than other types of architecture, or follows nationalistic designs. In Southern California one can find many Spanish houses. Most of them are of stucco with tile roofs, painted in various colors, and built to fit the climate and natural setting. Old Dutch houses are found along the Hudson River. Colonial types of houses may also be found in central and western states.

While there are beautiful residential zones in modern cities, there are still remnants of ugly and dilapidated buildings, unkept yards, dirty and narrow streets, alleys piled with refuse and garbage, bleak tenements, ugly railroad tracks, billboards that obstruct the natural beauty of surroundings, inartistic commercial statuary and other forms of outdoor advertising. Billboards often not only obstruct beautiful scenery but are a detriment to the physical and moral health of the community.

The Expansion of Planning. The idea of city planning has been extended in several directions. It has been found impossible to develop a plan of the city adequately without taking the sur-

rounding region into consideration. Thus regional or county planning has arisen in certain sections of the country, notably New York and Los Angeles. The plans of the smaller centers come within the general scheme for the entire region.

The other trend is the planning of local communities. This has been promoted chiefly by real estate people, but also by civic organizations. Local improvement associations are interested in the planning, beautifying, and promotion of community life. Cities are zoned and subdivided with a view to establishing and preserving local areas.

Rural people have done little in the way of planning the community. They have depended upon the natural development of an area. But consolidated schools with improved roads planned so that they converge near the school center, the establishment of natural parks and play fields, and various coöperative enterprises to control local beauty are evidences of the beginning of rural planning.

COMMUNITY BEAUTY

During the pioneer days in America, our forefathers were so occupied with making a living and establishing homes in the wilderness that there was little time for civic beauty and art. Towns and cities grew up along the lines of least resistance under the exigencies of business and commercial demands, although here and there, as in the case of the city of Washington, comprehensive plans were adopted from their beginnings. The later movement, now gathering so much headway, for the beautification of cities and local communities not only represents the expansion of community planning but is indicative of a new emphasis. The drift is away from mere economy and efficiency alone to a greater consideration of the beautiful for its own sake.

The Aesthetic Interest. The aesthetic interest, the love of beauty, is apparently universal. Even primitive folk have had some ornamentation and works of art, although the cultivation of art is more characteristic of civilization. Beauty has reference to the quality of objects that gratifies the aesthetic nature through symmetry and proportion, unity, harmony, rhythm and grace. Perhaps the chief significance of beauty lies in the fact that it furnishes a different approach to reality than is provided by reason and knowledge. It represents an evaluation of life in terms of

attractiveness rather than of utility alone, although there is a beauty of utility also.

The fine arts represent the clearest portrayal of the principles of beauty. It is from them that we have learned that artistic beauty is persuasive rather than didactic, that it must be felt rather than rationally apprehended, that it is spontaneous rather than forced, and that it is unifying and harmonizing in its power. The musicians, poets, painters, sculptors, and architects are interested in artistic creations, and use their skills in fashioning beautiful objects and in creating beautiful and harmonious relationships. The community would be poor indeed if the influences of music and poetry, of paintings and sculpture and pleasing architecture, were in none of their inspiring forms available to its citizens. Beauty finds artistic expression also in speech, dramatics, pageantry, religion, morals, and in many other associative activities.[13]

It is this aesthetic interest which is now seeking fuller expression in the movement for community planning and beautification. This gives the movement great promise of permanency.

The Promotion of Civic Beauty. The attitude of the community toward the aesthetic aspects of its life depends upon the surroundings, the cultural level of the inhabitants, and the opportunities available for the satisfaction of this interest. In recent years various organizations have endeavored to create civic pride and to stimulate the people to harmonize buildings, to adjust designs to fit the local situation, and to develop local facilities for beauty. Architects are paying more attention to the beautification of buildings of all kinds,—public buildings, office buildings and stores, churches, schools, private residences, and even factories. Attractive civic centers are being established, parks, libraries, museums, and art galleries are being developed. The schools are giving instruction in the principles of art and providing opportunities for artistic expression. Before communities attain the degree of civic beauty which will make for better living conditions, it is necessary to educate them to appreciate the meaning and significance of a beautiful community. Civic planning rests ultimately upon public opinion. Art and beauty affect life and reflect the tastes and social ideals of the people.

One of the special attractions of the city is the opportunities which it affords for the enjoyment of the fine arts in their various

[13]For the appreciation of beauty as a part of education see Chapter IX.

forms. These advantages are more difficult to provide in rural communities, but much now is being done in that direction. Traveling libraries and art exhibits are becoming common. The university extension movement helps along lines of lectures, music, dramatics and motion pictures. Consolidated schools and community churches, especially the former, are affording new opportunities as centers of musical and dramatic interests. Perhaps most of all, the radio makes available in private homes and neighborhood groups a wide range of musical and other artistic features, even though they have to be selected somewhat carefully from much accompanying trash. The automobile makes it possible for rural dwellers to take advantage of artistic opportunities in larger centers within a reasonable range of time and distance. In these and other ways a more favorable situation is being created for the satisfaction of aesthetic interests than was formerly the case in rural areas.

Harmonious Human Relations. To be beautiful, a community must have harmony, symmetry, balance, and attractiveness in its physical structure and make-up. But there cannot be a truly beautiful community without harmonious relationships among the people also, gracious and unselfish living, and the joyousness and happiness that come from such a life. All material development of the community is but fruitless labor unless it ministers to the richness and beauty of the lives of its citizens. Beautiful families are more important than attractive houses. Likewise, harmonious relations in industry, government, and all other community institutions are of more enduring value than the material development.

Summary. It is evident from the foregoing that the organization of the community is a complex matter. Progress has been made in the democratization of government but much remains to be done. Nonpolitical community organizations have sprung up to meet needs that are not adequately cared for by existing political institutions. Progress has been made also in integrating the local agencies, both public and private, and in planning community life. Finally, the organization and planning of any community is not complete without a consideration of civic beauty and the establishment of harmoniously functioning society.

The greatest need, undoubtedly, is the development of competent leaders. Community organization has suffered because of the

lack of leadership, too much emphasis upon administrative devices, an over-reliance upon mass meetings and action, a lack of clearly defined objectives and program, an inadequate diagnosis of needs, and a lack of community spirit and loyalty. Then, too, community life is undergoing rapid changes and it is difficult to readjust the organizational structure to meet the increasing needs. Yet in many communities there is a growing consciousness of local needs and responsibilities. If competent leaders can be found to direct the destiny of the people and a dynamic administrative system can be effected, then community organization can achieve significant results. Both political and nonpolitical organizations must coöperate. The present trend is toward greater governmental responsibility, but private social agencies can perform many cooperating functions.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. State the functions of government. What are the essential features of our federal government? How does our government compare with those of England and France?

2. Name the units of local government. State the advantages and disadvantages of county versus municipal forms of local government. Study the functions of the different departments of municipal government, such as health, police, recreation, and welfare.

3. What is meant by community organization? Trace the development of the community organization movement. Describe the forms and state the functions of community organization.

4. What is the meaning of city planning? Why is it necessary to plan a city? Indicate the phases of city planning. In what ways has planning been extended?

5. If you were given the task of planning a growing community, how would you proceed? What scheme of organization would you promote? Outline the main phases of your plan. What provision would you make for beautifying the community?

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CHAPTER XIII

COMMUNITY MALADJUSTMENT

In every community there are individuals and groups that for one reason or another fail to make adequate social adjustments and to live in a satisfactory manner. No study of the community is complete without a consideration of the abnormal as well as the relatively normal aspects of social life.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT

Sociology is not solely nor primarily concerned with abnormal social conditions, but since these are widespread in modern society, sociologists have given considerable attention to them, and the science of sociology has frequently been thought of as a study of social problems. Society cannot be understood apart from the abnormal aspects of it. In a way maladjustment is a normal part of communal life and growth. In fact a community would be unusual, if not abnormal, without some form of maladjustment.

What is Social Maladjustment? Several terms have been used to designate the abnormal aspects of society, such as social pathology, social disorganization, and social maladjustment. Though variously used and differing slightly in technical meaning, all refer to conditions in society which are abnormal and constitute social problems. Social pathology in sociology corresponds to pathology in biology and medicine, and to psychopathology (or abnormal psychology) in psychology. Just as medical pathology studies diseases or abnormal health conditions, and psychopathology treats of mental diseases and disorders, so social pathology investigates personal and social maladjustment. Social disorganization is simply a condition of maladjustment or disorder, as contrasted with degeneration which implies deterioration and disintegration. Social maladjustment is a less technical and more generally understood descriptive term and will be used here instead of the others.

Conditions of maladjustment may be either those of extreme disorder and abnormality or simply an inadequate functioning of the various parts or elements in the situation. Furthermore, one may think of social maladjustment as an existing condition or as a process. In either event, whenever groups, or individuals in groups, do not function properly there exists to that extent social maladjustment.

The line of demarcation between a normal and adjusted society and one in which there is maladjustment and abnormality is not very clear. What is considered as normal at one time and by a certain group may be regarded as abnormal at another time or by other groups. The normal may be thought of in terms of growth, development, and progress, rather than in terms of the average, usual, or even ideal. It is not a static and unchanging condition, but represents a moving equilibrium of standards adjusted to the changing conditions of social life, and provides both for the wholesome development and expression of personality and for social welfare and progress. When conditions are so adjusted and organized that the members of the group can function efficiently and realize the abundant life, and when there are a sufficient number of socially adapted personalities to provide group stability and devise such changes in the social structure as will adapt social organization and ideals to the conditions amid which the group lives, then social life may be regarded as being normal.[1]

Social abnormality and maladjustment occur when the equilibrium is broken up, when persons and groups of persons are poorly adjusted or disorganized, or when there is an inadequate adjustment of standards to the changing conditions of social life. If society fails to adjust properly and adequately its standards and organized system of living to existing and changing conditions, or if the individual members fail to adjust themselves satisfactorily to the requirements of the society in which they live, then there exists a condition of maladjustment. Maladjustment may result in both personal demoralization and social disintegration, or in either. The presence of a defective or disorganized group represents an unbalanced condition in the social structure.

A condition of maladjustment which a number of competent observers recognize as calling for a readjustment is a *social prob-*

[1]See Gillin and Blackmar, *Outlines of Sociology* (1930 ed.), p. 529.

lem. It sometimes happens that conditions are not wholly satisfactory but the group takes them as a matter of course and does not recognize them as constituting a problem.

Social problems are largely problems of social control. Various methods and devices have been used to control maladjusted conditions. The method most frequently relied upon in the past has been the "ordering-and-forbidding" technique.[2] Crises and conditions of maladjustment are met by arbitrary acts of will decreeing the disappearance of the undesirable conditions. Society sets up a system of taboos and laws which must not be violated. If they are, arbitrary force and action is frequently resorted to in order to enforce the decrees. The legislative procedure is a good illustration of an attempt to control social maladjustment. The typical solution of social problems, at least in this country, is through legislation. Reformers, in particular, favor this method of procedure. But this method of control is also used in primary groups whereby the family, the church, the school, and the community regulate behavior by repressing that which is not desired and commanding that which is wanted and deemed advisable.

The increase of social maladjustments and the failure to control them by means of the traditional methods has given rise to a growing feeling that the solution of social problems must be preceded by careful studies of the conditions which caused them and that new devices must be used to effect the adjustment. This feeling has stimulated the development of the social sciences, particularly sociology, and has increased the demand for scientific social work. This does not mean that formal control, particularly the control through legislation, is not to be used. Formal control and social work go hand-in-hand, but both must be preceded by careful and painstaking investigations.

The term *social work* has come into vogue to characterize a range of activities designed to re-establish personalities and to readjust the social order. The typical procedure is to investigate a concrete situation or to make a case study of a given person, and then to make recommendations for remedial measures. The ultimate object of social work is to so organize society and adjust personalities as to prevent the occurrence of maladjustment.

The problem of maladjustment has two phases, namely that of

[2]See Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant* (1918), Vol. 1, p. 3.

the person and that of the group. These are not separate and independent, but represent two phases of one problem.[3] During the present period of economic depression, which has disorganized the entire social order, many individuals have also become disorganized. Some have committed suicide. Others have become ill, or at any rate discouraged. Widespread restlessness of individuals makes for social unrest. Social disorganization has its prototype in personal demoralization. In order to deal with any social problem both the personal and the group aspects must be considered.

With the growing sense of the importance of the differences in personalities, attempts have been made to study these. Individual and personal traits have been analyzed by means of physical examinations, mental tests, studies of temperamental types, and also studies of character, personal behavior patterns, social types, and philosophies of life. Obviously, to get a complete picture of a maladjusted person requires a thoroughgoing examination of all types of personality traits.

Personal disorganization, however, usually does not occur except with the disorganization of the group of which the person is a part. Personality traits are conditioned by social influences. The medical, educational, religious, and occupational history of a person is bound up with group life. Disorganized, demoralized persons are usually found in disorganized families, disintegrated communities or areas, and various other maladjusted units of society. Then, too, there are classes or groups of maladjusted persons. Take poverty, for instance; there are aged poor, crippled or diseased, orphans, insane, feebleminded, epileptics, and many other classes of poverty-stricken and dependent people.

Social action based on scientific inquiry must therefore take both the person and the group into consideration. Each person must be dealt with as a unit, and so must the various groups. But it must be remembered that the rehabilitation of the person requires social readjustment and that a reorganization of society cannot be complete without the readjustment of the members at the same time.

Social work may thus be divided into two major phases or types; personal case-work and group work. The former has to do with the

[3]Compare C H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (1902); and *Social Organization* (1909). Also Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Society* (1924), Chapters II and III.

adjustment of the individual person to the surroundings; the other has to do with the adjustment of one group in the community to the other groups that go to make up the entire unit, and with the organization and control of the community. Case work is the treatment of human personality in misfortune. Group work has reference to the organization and direction of the community and its groups.

Sociology and social work have developed somewhat independently, although they overlap and mutually influence each other. Social inquiry and social action go together. The study of human relations and social processes, which is the chief function of sociology, is a more or less useless expenditure of energy if there is no thought of social action. Social work which is not based upon scientific analysis of the situation is proved to be superficial and inefficient.

The Modern Approach. Historically, the chief motives of social work were the humanitarian interest, the sense of religious obligation, and the thought of political advantage. But the work was done in a haphazard and inadequate way. Modern society approaches the study and treatment of the various forms of social maladjustment in a way of its own, growing out of the development of new attitudes and methods.

Sympathy has always led to acts of kindness and service. No human group has ever been without mutual aid, but in recent years there has been a revival and *extension of the humanitarian spirit*. Never before in the history of the world has society spent so much money and energy to take care of the unfortunates as today. The renewed sense of human brotherhood can be seen on every hand.

In recent years there has developed a growing sense of *social responsibility*. It is increasingly being recognized that society itself is responsible for many of the pathological conditions. Take the World War, for example. The individual soldiers were not responsible for it. The social system was. The men who were killed or crippled were fighting the battle for society, not for themselves. Society is beginning to recognize this, and in part is seeking to assist the crippled soldiers to readjust themselves, not as charity but as a social duty. The same principle is gradually being applied to industrial cripples and other classes of unfortunates.

There is also a growing feeling that it is more important to

rehabilitate and readjust the disorganized than to give them financial relief only. If relief is necessary it should be adequate. Some social agencies have for their slogan, "Not charity but a chance." It is now perceived that to do things for people which they can do for themselves results in the undermining of self-respect and initiative. The real problem is that of helping a man or a family to get upon such a footing as will make independent and wholesome living possible. Case work lays increasing stress upon the rehabilitation and re-adjustment of persons rather than upon outright relief.

Another tendency, which is a part of scientific case work, but more far reaching, is the effort to discover *causes and conditioning factors*. Temporary relief which leaves the real difficulty unhealed is not sufficient. There is a determination to get at the root of the difficulty. An effort is made to ascertain the causes of diseases, physical and mental defectiveness, and maladjustments of the social environment.

Possibly the most important trend of them all is the growing interest in the *prevention* of human misery. "Prevention is better than cure," is becoming the watchword in social work.[4] It is not only important to discover causes and conditioning factors, but these must be removed. The relief of those in distress is still absorbing the attention of social workers and of the public. But there is an ever increasing group of social leaders that stress the importance of prevention. Relief must go on as long as there is human misery. Broken homes must be adjusted, the poor cared for, suffering humanity relieved, and lost ambition and purpose revived, but at the same time an increased effort needs to be put forth to eliminate the causes of maladjustment.

Conditioning Factors. In order to ascertain the causes of a given form of social maladjustment it is necessary to discover the varied personal factors, and the physical and social environmental conditions which have a bearing on the situation. This is not only difficult but frequently impossible. For instance, to say that poverty is the result of economic maladjustment is simply converting a supposed solution into another problem, for there are causes back of the economic condition. Or, to say that crime is the result of bad heredity is giving only one cause which in turn is con-

[4]See Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency* (1926), Part V, "Preventive Agencies and Methods."

ditioned and caused by many other factors. There are causes of causes, which is simply another way of saying that a supposed cause is only a stage in the process. A thoroughgoing investigation of a social problem usually reveals that instead of one cause there are many causes and conditions. One cannot always be certain as to whether or not a given factor is a cause or merely a condition. Perhaps it is better to say that given influences are conditioning factors, for the actual causes are usually hidden from our view.

While it is frequently impossible to ascertain the causal factors of a given situation, or to ascertain the relative importance of the factors which may be discovered, nevertheless it is possible to classify in a general way the conditioning factors of social problems. The relative importance of these general classes or their subdivisions depends upon the particular situation.

There are at least three general sources of social maladjustment, i.e., three classes of conditioning factors: (1) Those which have their root in the individual person, which may be either inherited or acquired; (2) those which originate from the physical or natural environment; and (3) those which grow out of the social environment, which may be called civilization or our social heritage.[5]

The *personal factors* consist of various physical and mental defects and inabilities, or of bad habits and other acquired traits. Defectiveness, as the name implies, is the lack or derangement of something essential to the normal constitution of a person. It may be either physical or mental, or both. It may be either inherited or acquired, or both. In discussions of social pathology it is generally used to include feeble-mindedness, insanity, epilepsy, and other mental and nervous conditions, and the classes of physical disability represented by the crippled and diseased, the blind, the deaf and dumb, or simply the physically weak. The drunkards, dope-addicts, the lazy and shiftless, and those with other bad habits or anti-social behavior traits must also be considered with the defectives and as constituting social problems.

The *physical environment* constitutes another source of social maladjustment. Poor soil, unfavorable climatic conditions, natural disasters (volcanoes, hurricanes, earthquakes, etc.), and other geographic factors often disrupt the social order, or at least affect society. To this should also be added biological and organic factors,

[5]See L. L Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (1926), pp. 75–76, for a classification of environment. Also Chapter V of this volume.

such as insects and pests, parasites and plant or animal diseases, and destructive plant life.[6]

Probably the most important class of conditioning factors is found in the *social environment,* meaning by social environment the totality of factors and influences which emanate more or less directly from social life. According to Bernard[7] there are several classes of social environments, such as, (a) the physico-social, including tools, machines, and equipment; (b) the bio-social, such as domesticated animals; (c) the psycho-social, which includes social attitudes, public opinion, customs, traditions, and language; and (d) the composite and institutional environments, including economic, political, racial, aesthetic, ethical, and educational, and the special kinds, such as, American, Jewish, Japanese, and the like.

The social factors are more directly reflected in social pathology than are the personal, particularly during periods of widespread social changes. For instance, the present unemployment situation is directly traceable to the economic depression. Normally, less than two million people are unemployed. Now (1933) the estimates of the extent of unemployment range from twelve to fifteen million people in the United States.

Social Trends and Community Maladjustment. It is not the purpose here to consider the far-reaching social trends in modern society.[8] A general statement with illustrations will suffice to show the relation between the changing social order and community maladjustment.

Disorganization of personality and society occurs particularly whenever there is great and sudden change, or if there is uneven change, which upsets or at least disturbs the existing organization. Change is not in itself pathological, for without it there could be no personal or social growth. Still, change always requires readjustment, and if this is not accomplished the inevitable result is social maladjustment.

An interesting and important hypothesis has been projected by

[6]See Chapter V.

[7]*Loc. cit.*

[8]The most comprehensive treatment of this problem is found in *Recent Social Trends in the United States,* Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (1933), in two volumes, and a series of thirteen monographs prepared under the direction of the committee, which are being published by McGraw-Hill Book Company. See Chapter XXII of Part Two for a treatment of the relation between social change and social control.

Ogburn[9] to explain social maladjustment. Our culture, he maintains, has outstripped our biological development, and mechanical achievements have exceeded the rates of change in other phases of life. The inability of the biological organism to adjust itself to the changing social conditions has resulted in nervousness, disease, and insanity. The difference in the rates of progress in the various aspects of man's life has made for social maladjustment. This phenomenon is called *cultural lag*, meaning thereby that one aspect of culture tends to lag behind other aspects. This fact is made apparent in the Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, of which W. F. Ogburn was the director of research. Throughout this report one can see evidences of the fact that scientific discoveries and inventions have instigated changes in the economic organization and social habits of the people. Factories and cities have sprung up in response to technological developments. Slower changes have occurred in government, family life, schools and churches, and last of all changes have occurred in social philosophies and codes of conduct.

The automobile and the radio may be used as illustrations of inventional influences. In 1900 there were only 8,000 "horseless carriages," in 1931 there were 22,345,800 motor vehicles in the United States. Two years earlier, just before the depression, there were nearly a million more. The automobile has made for improved highways and has cut in on steam and electric railway transportation, but possibly the most important effect has been the increase of speed and mobility. This in turn has affected community life more than any other invention. People are no longer confined to a locality for their social life. The constant mobility has made it difficult to maintain local institutions. But the automobile has increased social contacts and has freed the people from provincialism. Furthermore, we are acquiring "motor ways," as is evidenced by traffic regulations and new modes of behavior. Radio broadcasting, according to Ogburn,[10] has produced uniformity and diffusion of culture, and has affected recreation and entertainment, transportation, education, religion, industry and business, government and politics, and many other phases of life.

[9]W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (1922), especially p. 141. See further discussion in Chapter XXII of the present volume.

[10]*Recent Social Trends*, Vol. I, Chapter III.

POPULATION TRENDS AND PROBLEMS

Few other changes are as important as population trends. To be sure they are affected by other social trends, but there can be no social life without people and any change in the population affects other phases of society. Certain particular aspects of the population have received special consideration in earlier chapters,[11] but several important trends need to be noted here in order to understand community maladjustment.

Growth of Population. Any increase in the number of people in a country or community results in social changes, and if the growth is very rapid it produces problems. It is not merely the question of feeding the people and making it possible for them to live, but any extensive growth requires an adjustment of institutions to meet new needs. Conflicts frequently arise among groups that have become maladjusted as the result of unequal growth. Various nations and localities have resorted to restrictive measures in order to curb too rapid a growth.

The population of the world has grown from approximately 850,000,000 in 1830 to nearly 2,000,000,000 in 1930. But while the increase is world wide, the growth in the United States has been one of the outstanding phenomena of world history for more than a century and a half. From 1776 to 1930 our population multiplied from about 2,500,000 to 122,775,046, which is almost a fiftyfold increase. Furthermore, there were nearly 47,000,000 more people in this country in 1930 than at the beginning of the present century. How can this phenomenal growth be explained? The excessive immigration accounts for much of the increase, but that does not explain the entire growth. For instance, the 1930 census showed a growth of over seventeen millions since 1920, which exceeded by more than a million the largest increase during any preceding decade, and this was the period of the most rigid restrictive immigration legislation. It must be remembered, however, that while the population has constantly increased the percentages of increase decade by decade have been on the decrease.

The *birth and death rates* operate jointly to determine the number in any living species. The birth rate, unless checked or obstructed in some way, tends to increase even beyond subsistence. During recent years the means of subsistence have greatly multi-

[11]Chapters IV and V.

plied, famines have somewhat diminished, some diseases have been conquered, and sanitary conditions have been improved. These and other tendencies have made it possible to save and prolong life.

In spite of the increase of the population, the birth rate has been steadily declining.[12] In 1931 the births numbered 2,203,895, and the rate was 18.9 per 1000 of the total population. While there were fewer births in 1915 than in 1930, the rate was 25.1. But the declining birth rate is compensated for in part by the declining death rate, which has been reduced from 14.1 in 1915 to 11.3 in 1930. One reason for the lowered death rate is that the infant mortality rate has been reduced to less than 65 per 1000 live births. Both birth and death rates have declined since 1930 but it is not easily possible to calculate ratios since the total population has to be estimated for these years. These rates are for the registration areas and do not include the entire population.[13]

Population Migration. Migrations of people are worldwide, but no other country has been such a mecca of immigration as the United States. For that reason we may use the trends of migration to this country as an illustration of what population mobility signifies. Since 1900 the immigration to the United States has exceeded the million mark per year during six years.[14] The number in 1907 was 1,285,347. The World War and restrictive legislation have kept the influx in check in more recent years. In 1918, due to the former cause, the total number admitted from all countries was only 110,618. As soon as the war ended, people began again to come in increasing numbers. Restrictive laws have been passed to limit the total immigration and to prevent certain classes from coming here in large proportions.[15] Yet in spite of all efforts to con-

[12]See W S. Thompson, "Population," *American Journal of Sociology,* May, 1929, p. 960 ff , and May, 1930, p. 870 ff , and a similar article by P. K. Whelpton in the May, 1931, issue for comparative birth rates of various countries.

[13]For theories of population see Thomas R. Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798); James Bonar, *Malthus and His Work* (1924 ed.); W. S Thompson, *Population A Study of Malthusianism* (1915) and *Population Problems* (1930); R. Pearl, *Biology of Population Growth* (1925) and *Studies in Human Biology* (1924); E B. Reuter, *Population Problems* (1913); and others.

[14]1905, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1913, and 1914.

[15]Immigrants from various European countries are put on the quota basis, members of the yellow race are excluded. and so are undesirable aliens, such as the feebleminded, insane, contract laborers. and the like The quota law does not apply to the Western Hemisphere (Canada, Mexico, Newfoundland, Cuba. Haiti, Dominican Republic, the Canal Zone, and the independent countries of Central and South

trol the migrations to the United States, the 1930 census revealed that there were 13,366,407 foreign-born whites in this country, or about 12 per cent of the total white population. In addition, 25,361,189 of the native white group have foreign or mixed parentage. The total of all foreign born, including all racial groups, was 14,204,149.

Great *changes in population* have taken place since the beginning of our national life. The territory that constituted the original thirteen colonies of the United States was settled chiefly by people from Great Britain and Northern and Western Europe. At the beginning of our national life over 99 per cent of the white population was composed of English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, German, and French. Immigration during the following hundred years came in the main from these same sources, with the addition of Scandinavians, a people of like racial and cultural heritage. About 1882, which is regarded as a pivotal year because the federal government at that time assumed control of immigration in its first comprehensive immigration law, and for other reasons, immigrants began coming in large numbers from Southern and Eastern Europe. By 1896 the incomers from these regions had exceeded in numbers those coming from Northwestern Europe, and they kept on coming until 81 per cent of the immigration in 1907 was from Southern and Eastern Europe. From 1910 to 1920, 51.5 per cent of the immigrants came from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, and Poland alone. Since then more have been coming from Northern and Western Europe again, due largely to the nature of our restrictive legislation.

The 1930 census report revealed that, in the foreign-born white population, there are eight countries each of which is represented here by more than 500,000 immigrants, namely, Italy, Germany, Canada, Poland, Russia, England, Irish Free State, and Sweden. Italy is represented by 1,790,422 persons. Austria and Hungary had the greatest losses since 1920; whereas Lithuania, Scotland, and Czechoslovakia had the greatest increases in representation.

The differences in racial characteristics, in standards of living and culture, in the increased percentage of illiteracy, and other factors, introduced by the shift of the source of immigration have

America), nor does it apply to such groups as students, the unmarried children or the wives of citizens in the United States, and a number of other special classes See R. L. Garis, *Immigration Restriction* (1927) for a description of the historical and present day immigration laws

made more difficult the assimilation of the immigrants. Furthermore, the unequal distribution of the immigrant population throughout this country has made assimilation still more difficult and complicated. In 1930 the distribution of the foreign born whites in each area was as follows: New England, 1,834,310, Middle Atlantic, 5,269,042, East North Central, 3,223,924, West North Central, 1,059,277, South Atlantic, 304,278, East South Central, 57,665, West South Central, 170,232, Mountain, 287,914, and Pacific, 1,159,765. Immigrants also tend to concentrate in urban centers. In 1930 only 4.9 per cent of the rural population was foreign born, whereas 15.6 per cent of the urban population was of foreign birth. The problem is still further complicated by the fact that immigrants and racial groups are not equally distributed over a city. One can find immigrant colonies in nearly every city, usually located near the center of the city. The Mexicans, Chinese, Italians, Jews, Negroes, and other groups have their separate quarters.

The *tide of migration* has been reversed since 1930. Month by month the immigration figures show that the outward movement of immigrants, non-immigrants, and United States citizens is greater than the inward movement. In addition, the government has continuously debarred and deported aliens. For instance, during the month of March, 1932, the inward movement consisted of 2,103 immigrants, 9,248 non-immigrants, and 22,012 United States citizens, whereas the outward movement consisted of 6,239 immigrants, 10,097 non-immigrants and 24,718 citizens. During the same month 445 aliens were debarred from entering and 2,112 were deported after landing. With the notable exception of Italy and Poland, more people left our country than came to our shores. Only 147 came from Mexico as against 2,399 who returned to Mexico during the one month. How long this trend will continue and how it will affect our country if it does continue cannot be ascertained at this writing.

Population Quality. In addition to the increase and migration of people there is another phase of the population situation that affects modern life and is closely associated with community maladjustment, namely, the problem of quality.

Writers have given little attention to the quality of the population. They have been concerned mainly with the quantity of population, and the effects of the size of the population upon national

power and economic prosperity. But various movements, notably public health, eugenics, and mental hygiene, have started a momentum in favor of the improvement of the human stock.

There are many qualitative differences in the population. On the one hand, there are the superior people, in body, intellect, talent, and achievement. On the other hand, there are the various types of inferiors, the deformed and physically defective, the feebleminded, insane, epileptic, and other degenerates. Defectiveness, as the name implies, is the lack or derangement of something essential to the normal constitution of a person. One must also not overlook the illiterate, paupers, and social failures.

Feeblemindedness and insanity are important forms of *mental abnormality*. To these also should be added epilepsy. Feeblemindedness is a mental deficiency which is due to an arrested mental development, rather than a form of mental disorganization or educational backwardness. It is closely related to such problems as poverty, crime and delinquency, and immorality. Insanity differs from feeblemindedness in that it is not a lack of mentality but represents a disordered mentality, or a diseased condition of the mind and nervous system. It is a functional disorder which usually incapacitates a person for productive work. Epilepsy is a nervous disorder which likewise tends to handicap a person in making a living.

The *physically incapacitated* cannot function as efficiently as the physically normal, and frequently become dependent or otherwise socially abnormal. The blind, deaf, crippled and diseased find it difficult to meet the ordinary needs of life.

Community Aspects of Population Trends. While population problems are national and international in scope, yet nearly every community is faced with a number of problems of its own, growing out of the quantity and quality of its local population. Most communities, in the United States at least, have a mixture of racial and nationality groups. Parvurbia,[16] for instance, with its 14,000 people has 1200 Mexicans, 150 Negroes, and a small sprinkling of Germans, Japanese, Chinese, and Indians. But 90 per cent of the population consists of natives of the United States, with small groups from England and Canada. Many other com-

[16]See Chapter II. Compare the study of *Middletown* (1929), by Robert and Helen M. Lynd.

munities[17] have much larger percentages of racial and nationality mixtures. However, there are still communities in which there is a great homogeneity of people. The rural community cited in Chapter II is composed of native whites, mostly of English descent.

The main problem is obviously one of social control, both as to quantity and quality. The small community as well as the most inclusive world society will be influenced by the solution of current population problems.

Summary. While sociology is not solely concerned with social maladjustment, it does deal with certain social problems. Every community has disintegrated persons and disorganized groups. Even though there is a greatly increased recognition of social responsibility for community problems, and efforts are being made to discover causes and to prevent such conditions, as well as to rehabilitate the victims, community maladjustment is widespread. The major conditioning factors are found in the person, or in the physical and social environments. Disorganization has been intensified in recent years by the rapid, extensive and uneven social changes.

Population trends were singled out for special consideration because they are closely associated with community maladjustment. The growth, migration, and quality of the population constitute background and conditioning factors of many important social problems.

There are many classes and forms of social disorganization. Maladjustment occurs in family life, in making a living, in education, in play and recreation, in morals and religion, and in the organization of the community. These problems have been considered in the preceding chapters. They do not exhaust the list, although they are indicative of what is meant by community maladjustment. Important as they are, further discussion of them cannot be undertaken here. But there are two special problems which will be given attention in the following chapters, namely, (1) poverty and dependency and (2) crime and delinquency. A more detailed analysis of these forms of maladjustment will serve to give concrete illustrations of the nature of abnormal aspects of community life and will reveal the methods which society has adopted to secure adjustment and control.

[17]See urban areas in Chapter III.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. What is social maladjustment? Compare it with personal disintegration. When does a social condition become a social problem?

2. What is the relation between social work and social problems? What are the different phases of social work? How does the modern approach to social maladjustment differ from the earlier approaches?

3. How may the causes of social problems be classified? What is the relative importance of each? Can a given problem be explained by a single cause?

4. Select the most acute social problem in your community. How extensive is it? What are its major causes? How would you deal with it?

5. Is the world approaching the population optimum? Is the United States becoming overpopulated? Why has our population increased so rapidly? What is meant by natural increase? How is that made possible?

6. Show the trends of immigration to the United States. Why have people come to our country? Why are they leaving? How have the motives of immigration affected the quality of people coming?

7. Are we justified in restricting immigration? Should Orientals be excluded? Describe our present policy of restricting immigration.

8. What problems are created by the unequal distribution of immigrants in this country? What is meant by the assimilation of immigrants? Indicate the obstacles that mitigate against assimilation.

9. How does the quality of the population affect community life? What are the main classes of defectives? How do these make for community disorganization? Analyze the population problems of a selected community.

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CHAPTER XIV

Poverty and Dependency

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

There are people in every community who fail to make an adequate living, or who are dependent upon others for aid. Poverty is one of the major problems of society. The care of dependents due to poverty requires an elaborate system of social agencies. In order to make clear what is meant by poverty and dependency it is necessary to consider a few workable definitions of these and related terms.

The Meaning of Terms. *Poverty* is a relative term. According to Gillin, it has reference to "that condition of living in which a person, either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditure, does not maintain a standard of living high enough to provide for the physical and mental efficiency of himself and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of society of which he is a member."[1] Dexter is of the opinion that "poverty consists in the individual's inability to provide himself and his dependents with the food, clothing, and shelter expected by the economic and social class to which he belongs."[2] Accordingly, the poverty line depends upon the economic and social class to which one belongs. What is poverty in one class may not be poverty in another class. This is not the popular conception, but it nevertheless is true that poverty is relative to time and place.

The foregoing conceptions may not be complete, but they can be used as working definitions which relate poverty to its effects. People are poor if their income is insufficient to provide for the necessities of life which will enable them to function usefully in society. Sometimes the income is adequate but the economic re-

[1]Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency* (1926 ed), p 24; compare Robert Kelso, *Poverty* (1929), p. 21.
[2]Robert Dexter, *Social Adjustment* (1927), p 17.

sources are unwisely expended. In either event the individual or family cannot maintain a decent standard of living.

There are several classes of *dependents*. Children supported by parents, or aged parents supported by children, a wife supported by her husband, and other persons supported by their relatives are natural and normal dependents. These types of dependents are sanctioned by custom and are usually made legal. Parents are required by law to support their children and a wife can force her husband to support her. When aged people, cripples, the sick, children, and others are taken care of by the public or by private agencies, or even by private individuals other than relatives, without being able to pay for this service, they are regarded as abnormal dependents. It is the abnormal and unnatural groups of dependents that cause special concern.

Destitution is an extreme form of poverty. A destitute person lacks the physical necessities of life. Sometimes the term "pauper" is applied to a person who must depend upon some one other than his natural supporters. In a more restricted sense a pauper is one who depends upon the public for a livelihood. He receives aid from the state or from some charity agency.

The Extent of Poverty. No accurate statistics of the extent of poverty and dependency are available. The number of people receiving relief in public and private charity institutions can be counted, but so many are cared for in their homes by all kinds of agencies and individuals that it is impossible to ascertain the extent of relief work. Gillin sums up the situation in these words:

"What proportion of the people in the United States are in poverty, primary or secondary, it is impossible to say with our present knowledge, but it is clear that much too large a number are on the ragged edge for the welfare of the country. The country cannot afford to underfeed, under-clothe, and under-shelter millions of its people. If a certain proportion, say a fifth, do not have the bare necessities of life, how many millions more do not have a sufficient income to enable them to make the most of their lives, and rear children to be good citizens?"[3]

Not so widespread, but more pitiful is the condition of those who fall below the line of even minimum self-support, and must appeal to society for aid. How many of these there are, it is also difficult to determine, for much private relief is never reported. Parmelee estimates that the number ranges from 5 to 10 per cent

[3] J. L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency* (1926), p. 37.

of the total population of the United States[4] in normal years. Gillin's estimate is from 5 to 8 per cent.[5] The number varies from year to year, and in different parts of the country.

Poverty and dependency increase during periods of economic depression which accentuates unemployment. The problem of unemployment is a persistent one, but during bad times it becomes acute. It is estimated that there were from one and a half to two million unemployed during the years from 1920 to 1929. In the midst of the present economic depression (1933), the estimates range from twelve to fifteen million. Los Angeles county may be used as an illustration of how unemployment increases dependency.[6] During 1928-29 only 12,642 cases were opened by the County Welfare Department. By 1931-32, these had risen to 47,150, which is an increase of 34,508, or 273 per cent over the 1928-29 numbers. The expenditure for outdoor relief, exclusive of administrative expenses, increased from $1,364,420 to $3,791,383. These figures do not include the charity work of the Community Chest and other agencies of the county.

Economic and Social Cost of Dependency. Another way of estimating the extent of poverty and dependency is by its economic cost. The cost of charitable relief in Great Britain in 1923, including old age pensions, was about $300,000,000, besides nearly $200,000,000 more in unemployment benefits. A part of the latter, however, comes in payments from the workers themselves. This represents an expenditure of over $10 for every man, woman, and child in the population.[7] It is estimated that the total charity budget for the United States in 1920 was $1,700,000,000,[8] or approximately $15 for each man, woman and child. The 377 Community Chests in the United States raised $83,213,428 during 1931.[9] The Russell Sage Foundation made a quantitive study of relief in eighty-one American cities which shows that the total public and private relief in these cities increased from $42,370,220 in 1929 to $169,917,732 in 1931.[10] The reports of the Bureau of

[4]M. F. Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress* (1917), p. 103.
[5]*Op. cit.*, p. 41.
[6]See *Report and Recommendations of the California State Unemployment Commission* (1932), Chapter III.
[7]J. L. Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[8]*Ibid.*, p. 43.
[9]See *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (1933), p. 1205.
[10]*Ibid.*, p. 1215.

Internal Revenue upon income tax and estate tax returns show that the total contributions for charitable and public purposes during 1929 amounted to $752,370,000 in gifts and bequests.[11] The total expenditure for public welfare amounted to $1,293,000,000 in 1928.[12] It must be kept in mind that the above figures in part are estimates, for we have no adequate system for reporting charitable activities, either public or private. Not all of the above mentioned expenditures are for relief work due to poverty. There is no way of obtaining the exact cost of dependency caused by a condition of poverty.

The social cost of poverty is as important, if not more so, than the financial cost. Many social evils are associated with poverty, such as undernourishment, sickness and premature death, high infant mortality, unsanitary and inadequate housing conditions, slums, child labor, the curtailment of education and culture, ignorance, inefficiency, loss of ambition, bitterness, sorrow and heartache, disappointment and wretchedness, loss of morale,—in short the failure of human beings to attain their normal development and to realize its possibilities in personal values and wholesome social living.

CAUSES AND CONDITIONS OF POVERTY

Poverty, as a form of maladjustment, is complex and has a variety of causes and conditioning factors. It cannot be explained by reference to a single cause. The entire situation must be reckoned with. Hereditary endowments and defects and acquired personal habits, the physical environment, and the economic, political, and cultural factors, all need to be considered. These factors are interrelated. No one cause operates by itself.

Personal Factors: Inherited and Acquired. There are many *hereditary factors* which may make for poverty and dependency. It is difficult, however, to separate the inherited from the acquired causes. Environmental influences and experience enter so early into a child's life that what is sometimes regarded as inherited is really acquired. But the hereditary defects and incapacities are important causes. Feeble-mindedness, insanity, epilepsy, blindness, deafness, crippled and diseased bodies, physical weakness or predispositions to certain diseases, and natural helplessness, render it difficult if not impossible to make a living. The Jukes and Kal-

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 1217.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 1257.

likak families have been regarded as examples of the influence of bad heredity, although the environmental factors have not been fully recognized.[13]

It is not possible to ascertain the proportion of poverty due to heredity. It has been found that from one-fourth to one-half of the inmates of state institutions have hereditary defects, but only a few of the total number of dependents are cared for in the institutions. Many of the dependents have acquired weaknesses as well as hereditary defects. Insanity, physical incapacities and weaknesses (such as blindness and crippled bodies) may be either acquired or inherited. Diseases are largely acquired, although the condition of the body has a great deal to do with the nature and severity of diseases.

The acquired personal defects and traits are many. Habits and attitudes play a significant part. Working and spending habits, especially laziness, carelessness, unreliability, intemperance and drunkenness, use of drugs, negative reaction toward authority, bad temper, bad health habits, the hobo spirit (wanderlust), lack of effort, shiftlessness, irregular sex relations, wasting money and leisure, gambling, slowness of work, and many similar habits and traits may result in either a reduced income or a wasting of financial resources. These character defects are sometimes very serious.

While there are many poor and dependent people due to hereditary and acquired personal traits, there is a growing feeling among social workers that a large portion of human misery is traceable to environmental influences. Many of the personal factors themselves may be traced to the physical or social environment.

Sickness is an important cause of poverty. Kelso[14] maintains that if a census of the sick could be taken at a given moment there would be found throughout the United States more than 2,000,000 persons seriously ill. The average working man loses at least one week's work a year due to illness. There is no way of ascertaining the amount of poverty that grows out of sickness, either directly or indirectly, but the records of certain family welfare agencies show that sickness rates as a major cause of those in need of relief in their homes.

Sickness, disease, and disability may be due to chronic, physical

[13]Consult J. L Gillin, *op. cit*, pp. 63–69 for a discussion of degenerate families and poverty.

[14]R. W. Kelso, *Poverty* (1929), p. 158.

or mental weaknesses, which in turn are due to hereditary conditions or acquired defects, or they may be caused by factors external to the individual. Unsanitary conditions, the spread of contagious diseases, unfavorable geographic influences, and similar factors may cause ill health. Devine[15] made a study of 5000 families aided by the Charity Organization Society of New York City during the two years 1906–1908, and found that in the case of 1000 of the families which were studied in detail, 76 per cent had physical and mental disabilities, 43 per cent had defects of character, and 12 per cent were dependent due to old age. Unemployment, widowhood and desertion, over crowding, strangeness to environment, and large families were other causal elements. Although it is not exactly known, some have estimated that medical service costs the people of the United States a total of $2,500,000,000 annually, of which sum over $700,000,000 is spent for drugs.[16]

Physical Environmental Conditions. Poor natural resources, unfavorable climate, natural disasters, and natural pests, occasion much want. Excessive poverty is found in regions of poor soil or lack of other natural resources. Extremely hot or cold weather, arid or wet regions, sudden climatic changes, floods, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, tornadoes, and other geographic factors frequently make the struggle for existence difficult and destroy life. Fires, plant and animal pests, and disease germs also affect life. The physical environment is not always directly responsible for poverty, but it affects the economic resources and occupations of the people, the density and movement of the population, physical and mental vigor, and also social organization and culture. These, in turn, have a bearing on the prosperity or poverty of a people. Some of the geographic factors are beyond man's control, although he is increasingly exercising control over nature.

Economic Maladjustments. An inadequate functioning of the economic process affects poverty more directly and quickly than any other class of factors. The others have a more or less constant influence and the percentage of poverty and dependency due to them does not vary greatly from time to time. But business cycles, unemployment, low or irregular wages, labor difficulties and turnovers, and lowered prices have a more immediate effect.

[15] E. T. Devine, *Misery and Its Causes* (1909).
[16] *1929 Social Work Year Book.*

Periods of economic depression throw millions out of work or so reduce their resources and income that they find it necessary to appeal for financial aid. The charity load always increases during such periods.

Unemployment, as was shown earlier in the chapter, is an important immediate cause of dependency. Its extent depends upon business conditions and varies greatly from time to time. The increase of unemployment from less than two million prior to the present depression to approximately fifteen million at the beginning of 1933 has produced extensive dependency. While unemployment is undoubtedly more directly responsible for the abnormal increase of dependency during recent years than any other factor, yet this in turn is the result of conditioning factors. The causes of normal or chronic unemployment are practically the same as those of poverty, but the recent increase is due largely to the business cycle, technological changes in industry, and seasonal irregularities.

The unequal distribution of wealth and income is a serious economic problem, and a persistent cause of poverty. The estimated wealth of the United States stood at 362 billions of dollars in 1929.[17] But this is not equally distributed. Estimates of the wealth and income of the people in the United States have been made by W. I. King. For 1927 they show that 2 per cent of the people, having $50,000 or more of wealth, owned 40 per cent of the total wealth of the country, whereas 65 per cent of the people, with less than $3,500 of wealth, owned only 15 per cent of the wealth of the country. Those owning from $3,500 to $50,000 of wealth, comprising 33 per cent of the people, owned 45 per cent of the total wealth.[18]

The unequal distribution of income is even more directly associated with poverty than is that of wealth. Studies of this character are usually based upon income tax returns, but The Bureau of Economic Research issued a statement for 1918 which covered all incomes. According to this report,[19] 14,000,000 people, representing almost 40 per cent of those persons receiving incomes, received incomes of less than $1,000. Over 32,000,000, including the previous group, representing 86 per cent of the total income re-

[17] *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (1933), p. 231.

[18] Figures taken from *Report and Recommendation of the California State Unemployment Commission* (1932), p. 33.

[19] See S. H. Patterson and K. W. H. Scholz, *Economic Problems in Modern Life* (1931), p. 515ff. for a summary statement.

ceiving people had incomes less than $2,000 a year. By way of contrast, 152 individuals received incomes of $1,000,000 a year or more, and some 7,000 persons received incomes of $100,000 a year or more. Thus a large portion of the incomes were relatively small, and a small number received very large incomes.

Low wages undoubtedly are directly connected with poverty. It must be remembered, of course, that there are causes of low wages. Yet poverty is largely a matter of inadequate income due either to low wages or to a lack of employment. The lowest wages are usually found in the unskilled occupations. There was a gradual increase of wages in the United States from 1913 until the beginning of the present economic depression, but the increase was not as great as is sometimes supposed. Using 1913 as a base, with an index number of 100, the labor index rose to 233 in 1929, i.e., a 133 per cent increase, or more than twice the wages paid in 1913. But interpreted in terms of the cost of living, which means real wages, the increase was from 100 in 1913 to 136.4 in 1929, the cost of living itself having increased from 100 to 170.8 during the same period.[20] Since 1929 the average weekly earnings of all wage workers have decreased from $28.54 to $15.35.[21]

Political Maladjustments. Closely related to the economic factors, and sometimes a part of them, are unsatisfactory political conditions. Laws affect the economic process. Defective laws may seriously handicap the development of agriculture and manufacturing. Unwise tariff laws frequently disrupt international trade. It is not a question of high or low tariff alone. It is rather a question of how much and when and on what articles. But politicians will not have it that way. Irregularity of government appropriations and the construction of public works often have a bearing on employment and wages. Governmental extravagance is also a factor.

Additional Factors. *Crime and war* cost tremendous sums of money. The problem of crime will be considered in the next chapter and need not be elaborated upon in this connection except to say that the destruction or loss of property and persons, the cost of law enforcement, and the care of prisoners runs into millions of dollars annually. War as a method of settling international or civil

[20] See *Statistical Abstract of the United States* for 1932, United States Department of Commerce, p. 311ff.

[21] "Average Weekly Earnings, Hours of Work, and Labor Turnover Rates," *Survey of Current Business*, United States Department of Commerce, Vol. 12, No. 10, October, 1932, pp. 20–21.

disputes by armed military force, is very costly. Its causes may be political, economic, and cultural. But regardless of cause, all wars are destructive of life, property, and social stability. During the late war approximately 10,000,000 people were killed. Over 6,000,000 were seriously wounded and 14,000,000 less seriously. The total of prisoners and missing amounted to nearly 6,000,000 more. Not only is war a destroyer of life but it takes the best men, spreads disease, and affects the health of the entire population. But possibly the more lasting effect on poverty is the economic and social instability which follows war, together with the moral upheavel occasioned by it.

Unwise Philanthropy. Another conditioning factor is unwise philanthropy. The English poor laws and the dole system are examples. But considerable money is wasted by unwise charity work in the United States also. Such philanthropy is not only a waste of money but has a pauperizing effect as well, due to the possibility of getting a living without working.

In addition to the causes enumerated above there are many others. Broken homes, widowhood, the problem of the unmarried, the pressure of the population, unrestricted immigration, racial conflicts, defective education, the lack of socialized religion, commercial amusements, lack of wholesome recreation, and many similar factors may condition the economic status of a family or person. Divorced wives and deserted families, families broken by death, especially if the bread earner dies, and domestic discord may produce serious difficulties. Overpopulation and the consequent pressure of the population upon food supply is so important that a special treatment of it was given in the preceding chapter.

The various classes of causal and conditioning factors may affect both income and expenditure. They overlap and vary in importance. Their relative importance depends upon the particular case.

THE TREATMENT OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

Space will not permit an extended sketch of the history of poverty and its treatment. During the Middle ages the relief of the poor was left almost entirely to the church. Unfortunately the theory that one might acquire merit by the giving of alms, directed emphasis unduly to the effects upon the giver rather than the receiver, and the result was the development of a pauper class and a great increase in pauperism. The burden became so great that

the growing national states emerging at the close of the period found it necessary to take a hand in poor relief.

Types of Agencies and Kinds of Relief. From that day to this, the treatment of poverty has been carried on by two main types of agencies,—public relief, under the auspices of government, and private relief, by individuals and voluntary agencies and associations.

The typical *public relief agency* in the United States has been the county board of supervisors or commissioners,[22] which has usually dispensed the funds raised by taxation for the support of the poor, either through the almshouse or by other methods. The county sometimes creates a county welfare board or department of social welfare to act for the commissioners in administering relief. Cities usually create their own agencies of public charity. The state and federal governments likewise coöperate through appropriate boards, varying according to the several state plans. Workmen's compensation, mothers' pensions and old age pensions have recently added to the methods of public relief.

The typical *private relief agency* in the United States is now the Associated Charities, called by that name or by some other.[23] This type of organization was brought over to the United States from London in 1877, when the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo, New York, was inaugurated, and since has rapidly spread to other cities. Its chief aim is to coördinate private charity agencies, to secure coöperation and prevent duplication, and to establish scientific principles and methods in the treatment of charity. It has now become the customary form of private relief organization in progressive communities. This does not mean that other agencies should give up their relief work. Much will continue to be done, and rightly so, by individuals, churches, lodges, clubs, and societies of various kinds. But more and more, these are utilizing the Associated Charities as a clearing house of information, methods, and coöperation.

Community Chests are operated by the associations or federations of social agencies. In 1929 there were 335 Community Chests, of which 330 held drives and raised $71,979,593 for relief, health and welfare agencies.[24] The Council of Social Agencies is another

[22] In some states the township constitutes the unit of administration.

[23] In Los Angeles this organization is called "Community Welfare Federation."

[24] 1929 *Social Work Year Book*, p. 27.

device of coöperation on the part of the professional workers. There is a National Association of Community Chests and Councils.

By both public and private agencies the work is conducted in two ways: (1) Relief is given in institutions, such as almshouses, hospitals, old people's homes, and homes for dependent children. This is known as *indoor relief*, because it is given within institutions provided for the purpose. (2) Relief is given outside of institutions in the homes of the poor. This is called *outdoor relief*, because it is given outside of institutions. The student should keep these technical distinctions in mind, otherwise he will not understand why help given in the home should be called outdoor relief.

There is much discussion among social workers as to the relative merits of public and of private agencies, and of indoor and outdoor relief. Both types of agencies and both kinds of relief have their advantages and disadvantages. There seems to be a growing feeling that while private relief may be better qualified to initiate new methods, the burden of the support of the poor properly rests upon society as a whole and should be borne by taxation; but, on the other hand, that outdoor relief, especially by governmental agencies, is liable to serious abuses under the influence of politics and unscientific methods, and is in danger of pauperizing the recipients. There is increasing effort, however, to introduce scientific methods into public charity work. Doubtless the two types of agencies will continue to operate side by side in a more or less supplemental way, and the closer the coöperation between them the better will be the results achieved.

Classes of Dependents and Their Treatment. There has been a tendency for some time to treat the dependents by classes. The old type of poor house or county farm usually was a catch-all for the various classes of dependents, but progressive treatment classifies the inmates, and separate institutions are established for the various groups. The aged poor, dependent children, feebleminded, insane, epileptic, crippled and disabled, dependent sick, dependent mothers, and the unemployed are all treated separately, and the institutions or agencies caring for them subdivide and classify these types according to the seriousness and nature of their difficulties.[25]

[25] See J. L. Gillin, *op. cit.*, Part IV, for a more detailed treatment of the special classes of dependents

The special classes of *physical and mental defectives*, such as the feebleminded, insane, epileptic, blind, deaf, and crippled have already been considered in connection with the discussion of population problems. Possibly the most outstanding trend in the treatment of these types of defectives is their segregation into specialized institutions, or divisions within institutions, for the purpose of treatment suited to their special needs. The individuals and groups are graded and classified, opportunities are given for work and recreation, and the treatment is designed to restore, if possible, the individuals to a normal, or at least self-supporting life. The prevention of such cases is increasingly being emphasized.

The problem of *security in old age* is complicated by the modern mechanization of industry with its concomitants of specialization, speed, and strain. American industry does not want men and women past middle age. The average expectancy of life has been prolonged, but the working period has been reduced. There are about 6,000,000 persons 65 years of age and over in the United States. Many of these are dependents. Until a few years ago methods of provision for aged dependents consisted of the almshouse, outdoor relief, private and church philanthropy, and individual assistance from friends, relatives or total strangers. In most of the states these still remain the prevailing methods. It has long been recognized by progressive social workers that the poor house is a social disgrace and a symbol of the deepest humiliation. Fortunately, however, several movements are under way to make the care of the aged more respectful. Some county poor farms are well equipped and conducted in a scientific manner. Old age insurance is becoming common. Various devices of saving for old age have also been introduced. But the most important recent trend is old age pensions. Soldiers and sailors, various types of public officials and professional people, and the industrial workers in the more progressive business establishments have enjoyed pensions for some time. But state pension systems are relatively new. California has a new pension system which provides financial aid not to exceed $30 per month to persons who have attained the age of seventy years, have been citizens of the United States for at least fifteen years, and have resided in the state for the same length of time and who have no natural supporters nor property in excess of $3000, and are not inmates of a public institution.

The most significant recent movement to care for *dependent mothers and children* is the mother's pension system,[26] which began its formal existence in 1911 in Missouri, and has now been adopted in nearly every state in the Union. The laws vary in different states as to qualifications and amounts contributed, but the main purpose is the same, namely to provide needy mothers with financial aid in order to make it possible for them to care for their children in their own homes. This avoids placing dependent children in institutions and foster homes. Ever since the White House Conference on Dependent Children, called by President Roosevelt in 1909, recommended that children should not be deprived of home life, and that home rather than institutional care should be provided, there has been a concerted movement to aid families in their homes. The problems of fatherless or motherless children, particularly illegitimate children, are more complicated. Placing such children in foster homes rather than orphanages is increasingly being recommended.

The problem of the *dependent sick* is still somewhat inadequately handled. The cost of medical care makes it impossible for many families to give proper attention to health. Preventive work is being done by the United States Health Service; state, county, and municipal health departments; and many private agencies. Hospitals and sanitoria, both private and public, give free medical treatment to the needy. Clinics have been established in various county institutions which care for many people. School children are examined and given medical attention. Industrial establishments have clinics and medical and dental staffs for their employees. These and other movements have resulted in great improvements. And yet there are many dependent sick who are not adequately cared for.

The most hopeful sign is the growing scientific procedure in caring for the different classes of needy and preventing the occurrence of dependency. The coördination of social agencies, the training of social workers, the more efficient administration of social work, and the education of the public to assume a more progressive attitude are some of the main trends in the scientific procedure. The cases are more adequately studied and recorded, indiscriminate giving is being eliminated and relief is becoming more ade-

[26]Originally called widows' pension, which is fast becoming obsolete.

quate if needed, and the work of rehabilitation is carried on in a more systematic fashion.

Housing the Poor. It is generally recognized that the first essential for wholesome home life is a good house in which the family may live in privacy and comfort. Yet, while progress has been made in dealing with dependents, we have not yet learned how to house poor families. That it is better to care for them in their homes rather than in institutions is an established principle of relief work. But to merely feed and clothe them without providing better shelter is not meeting one of their greatest needs.

Bad housing means any condition of housing that tends to impair the physical and moral well-being of the occupants, which is unsafe and unsanitary, or in any way unfit for living and home making. The extremely poor and dependent families are not the only ones that are poorly housed. There are many others, especially industrial workers, who are forced to live in bad houses.

The results of bad housing are obvious. Health is affected, infant mortality and the general death rate are increased, vice and crime result, and the occupants often are depressed and discouraged. A dilapidated and filthy house has far-reaching evil consequences.

Many improvements in housing have been made in recent decades. Housing laws and building codes have safeguarded people against the construction of inadequately ventilated and lighted, unsanitary and unsafe houses. City planning and zoning, the provision of rapid transportation, and real estate promotion have made it possible to establish protected areas of new houses.

The housing of the poor is a serious concern. Realtors do not build for the poor. Philanthropic and semi-philanthropic housing associations have provided better housing for a limited number of poor families. Industrial concerns are beginning to house their employees, but many company houses are far from adequate. They are usually small, inconvenient, lack in sanitation, and are of one type. Few municipalities are engaged in the task. Thus one of our great national problems is the housing of those who cannot own homes nor pay the current rental rates.

THE PREVENTION OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

The importance of the prevention of poverty and dependency is involved in what has already been said concerning the discovery and removal of causes and the growth of scientific social

work. The problem, however, is a larger one than that which arises in the case of particular individuals or families. It extends to the whole range of modern economic, political and social conditions.

The attitude toward poverty has undergone a decided change. Heretofore poverty has been regarded more or less as a necessary evil. Now it is increasingly being regarded as unnecessary. It is preventable and can be eliminated. There is enough wealth and work in the world, and every able bodied person could be given work to support himself and his natural dependents. The prevention of poverty is better than cure, not only for the individual person but for society as well.

Preventive Agencies and Methods. Gillin[27] discusses a series of preventive agencies and methods, such as socialized health program, socialized education, recreation, religion, and property, more efficient administration of relief, and the control of the population. The social settlements, also, have long emphasized preventive work. By means of clinics, employment bureaus, vocational and industrial education classes, kindergartens and nurseries, boarding houses, recreation activities, advisory service, and personal aid they have adjusted many difficulties and prevented human miseries. The industrial and vocational education, the wider use of the school plants, the recreation movement and similar activities and movements have preventive influences. The importance of these aspects is increasingly being recognized.

The public health movement has had far-reaching results, particularly in preventing poverty. Sickness has long been known as one of the major causes of poverty and dependency. The control of contagious diseases, the removal of health defects, and the improvement of sanitary conditions have reduced the incidents of disease and health defects.

But the program of prevention involves more than the removal of health difficulties and providing for more systematic social work. The causes go back to the social order and no amount of readjustment of individuals and families to prevent the occurrence of personal causes of poverty will solve the problem. The overcoming of nature's difficulties will also reduce a certain amount of poverty. The great source of difficulty, however, is in the social environment. The social environmental factors are the more im-

[27] *Op. cit.*, Part V.

mediate occasions of difficulties and are also the most easily remedied. The problem is a difficult one but not beyond solution.

The Community Program. Little needs to be added here concerning the program of treatment of the needy and the prevention of human misery provided by the local community. Many of the agencies of relief and prevention are community institutions, or at any rate there are local branches of the agencies covering larger units. There is always a question as to whether the social agencies should be organized on the local basis or by counties. The counties and municipalities are possibly the best units for most of the social work. But county or city agencies need more localized centers for operation.

The most effective work can be done along the lines of prevention, a large part of which falls upon the local community and local leaders. The rural community which was described in Chapter II has practically no disorganization. The people are largely of one nationality and come from a healthy stock, they have high moral and religious standards, nature provides them in reasonable abundance with the necessities of life, there are no serious economic or social classes and divisions, and if needs arise as a result of sickness the neighbors render such aid as is necessary. Dependency, apart from natural dependency, is almost unknown. It must be remembered, of course, that the farmers on the whole are not rich. While not in actual poverty, their resources and income are limited. During periods of economic depression or natural disasters farmers are frequently thrown into a condition of poverty and dependency. Under ordinary circumstances rural communities can and do take care of themselves.

It is more difficult to organize and maintain such communal life in the more complex regions, such as modern cities. But community organization, coördinated with the larger units, can do much to prevent community maladjustment leading to poverty and dependency.

Summary. Poverty is one of the most persistent of all social problems. While there are no adequate figures to show the extent of poverty, it is far too prevalent. During periods of economic depression abnormal dependency, due to lack of sufficient resources for a livelihood, is increased to great proportions. The main causes of poverty may be classed under personal factors, both inherited and acquired, the physical environment, and such en-

vironmental factors as economic and political maladjustments and social disorganization.

The dependent poor are cared for by both public and private agencies either by means of outdoor or indoor relief. The tendency is to increase public support of dependent people. The aged poor, dependent children, feebleminded, insane, epileptic, crippled and diseased, dependent sick, dependent mothers, and the unemployed represent the main classes of dependents. The housing of the poor is a difficult problem.

The most encouraging tendency is that toward preventing the occurrence of poverty and dependency. Socialized health and education, better recreation and character building facilities, socialized religion, coördination of social agencies, the control of population, these and many other movements have for their objective, in part at least, to prevent human misery. The community cannot rid itself of poverty unless it directs its efforts to this end in an intelligent and determined way.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. What is meant by a standard of living? Distinguish between necessities and non-essentials. Work out a budget for a family of five in your community, giving the occupation of the chief bread earner.

2. The meaning of poverty. Present a working definition of poverty. What are the essential elements of such a definition? On the basis of this definition, how would you determine the poverty line?

3. What are the different classes of dependents? How many people in the United States depend upon public and private charity? Compare the economic with the social cost of dependency.

4. What are the main classes of conditioning factors and causes of poverty? Which do you regard as most important? Why?

5. How extensive is unemployment in the United States? What are the main causes of chronic unemployment? What factors and conditions have increased unemployment in recent years?

6. What are the main motives of charity? How does our present method of treating dependents differ from the earlier methods? Distinguish between outdoor and indoor relief. Likewise distinguish between public and private relief.

7. How are we dealing with the aged dependent and dependent children; the insane, feebleminded and epileptics; the disabled and the sick; and the unemployed?

8. What is the difference between prevention and cure? What are the main preventive agencies and methods?

9. Write a brief report on one of the following subjects: Community Chest, Council of Social Agencies, mothers' pension, old age pension, unemployment insurance, social settlement movement, public health, vocational education, play movement, birth control, and community organization. How may they prevent poverty?

10. What is meant by bad housing? Why have bad houses? Show the effects of bad houses. What is being done to improve the housing situation?

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CHAPTER XV

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY[1]

In order to understand what this chapter deals with, it is necessary to get clearly in mind what some of the important terms mean. *Crime* is the violation of law, either by commission of forbidden acts or by the omission of required acts. A serious offense is a felony and a mild offense is a misdemeanor. *Law* represents a body of regulations made by the state or political unit to maintain order and prescribe duties. If there should be no law there would be no crime. A *criminal* is a person who commits a crime, i.e., he violates some law. A criminal act implies a social situation and a group judgment expressed in laws and is not to be thought of in terms of the individual alone. This is true particularly of the juvenile delinquent. A child is regarded as delinquent when his anti-social behavior or tendencies appear so grave that he becomes the subject of official action.[2] The responsibility, however, may rest largely upon the group. Crime and delinquency cover a wide range of acts, and involve a complex system of procedure in dealing with them. *Criminology* is the science that deals with the investigation and study of crime and criminals. *Penology* deals with the punishment of criminals and the prevention of crime.

THE IMPORTANCE AND MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

It is very difficult to measure the extent of crime and delinquency. In thousands of cases, those who violate the law are never known, much less arrested and brought to trial. There is no record of these. In a broad sense most people are criminals for there are few people who have not violated some law, either intentionally or unintentionally. But in a more limited sense crime implies an overt act, usually intentionally committed, which is an infraction

[1]For more elaborate treatments consult the following general works. E. H. Sutherland, *Criminology* (1924); J. L. Gillin, *Criminology and Penology* (1926); Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (1929).

[2]See Burt, *op. cit*, p. 15.

of a law. The line of demarcation between the criminal and the non-criminal, of course, is not very rigid.

Even in the cases of crimes and delinquent acts which are apprehended, the reports of arrests and convictions are frequently not accurately kept. There is also a wide divergence between different sections of the country and different periods of time as to what constitutes crime, a great diversity in law enforcement, and different methods of recording. Statistics of crime and delinquency are therefore somewhat untrustworthy.

The estimates of the extent of crime are usually made on the basis of the number of prisoners confined in institutions or admitted during the year, the judicial prosecutions and convictions, crimes known to the police and other public officials, and those known to newspapers and private agencies. Crime cannot be measured directly. Only since January 1, 1931, has there been an extensive attempt to collect nationwide statistics of the important crimes "known to the police."

The *Uniform Crime Reports* of the United States Department of Justice may be used to indicate the amount of serious crime for about one-half of the country but what these figures mean relative to the total volume of crime is impossible to say. By the close of 1931 reports were received from 770 cities of 10,000 population and over, and from 741 places with less than 10,000 people. A sample consisting of all reporting communities in 18 states, with a population of 28.5 millions according to the 1930 census, reveals that the average rate of crime per 100,000 people for the months of March, June, September and December was 1,562.[3] This is only a little over 1.5 per cent of the total population. However, if minor offenses were added the percentage would be higher.

The National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement has recently conducted a comprehensive survey of crime in the United States, the results of which have been published in the form of a series of reports issued during 1931. According to the *Reports on Penal Institutions, Probation, and Parole* (No. 9), our penal institutions number more than 3,000, with nearly 400,000 human beings passing through their gates each year. A special report on police jails and village lockups is appended, showing

[3]See *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (1933), Vol. II, pp. 1133–35.

that 1,350,000 persons were committed to 11,000 of these institutions during a six months period in 1930.

The economic and financial aspects of the problem of crime are dealt with in the volume (No. 12) on *The Cost of Crime*. The studies of the public cost of criminal justice covered the Federal Government; State police forces, penal and correctional institutions, and parole agencies; and more than 80 per cent of the cities in the United States over 25,000 in population. The total Federal cost amounts to $52,786,000 annually. The regularly organized State police forces involve an expenditure of over $2,660,000, and the State penal and correctional institutions cost over $51,720,000 annually. American cities expend over $247,700,000 per year for law enforcement. Thus the annual cost of criminal justice is considerably in excess of $350,000,000. In addition, large sums of money are expended by private individuals for protection against crime. The cost of insurance against crime is in excess of $106,000,000 a year. Besides these there are many indirect losses. The social effects are even more significant than is the economic cost.

CAUSAL AND CONDITIONING FACTORS

Crime is so complex and so varied that it is impossible to ascertain all of its causal and conditioning factors. No one factor may be regarded as a decisive cause of crime. However, there are certain types of conditions which may be ascertained.

The recent studies of crime have changed the traditional attitude toward causes. It was once thought that an inborn depraved human nature was responsible. We are coming now to realize that human personality is largely a social creation, and that we must therefore undertake an inquiry into the educational and environmental social conditions that have given men and women the warped and abnormal attitudes which lead to criminality. This takes us into the case method in the study of crime,—the method that has already been used so effectively in the treatment of poverty and dependency.

We shall briefly indicate some of the factors involved in such investigations. In the first place, they include the hereditary equipment, physical and mental, with which the delinquent person started in life. As already suggested, it is not thought now that criminality is itself inherited. There seem to be hereditary characteristics, however, that predispose toward crime, or at least make

it difficult to resist the influences of an environment that offers strong temptation to crime.

However, it is difficult to say what is due to heredity, and what to early environment. The latter also must therefore be carefully studied, including the physical, economic, educational, and social conditions in which the delinquent person has lived; his life in the home, in the school, in play and amusement, in companionships and interests; the customs, beliefs, ideas, and ideals of the individual himself and of the community, as well as of the special groups in which the criminal tendencies have developed. Crime is no longer regarded as a judicial abstraction, "but the expression in social life of three sets of factors—the physical and social environments playing upon a personality which is essentially abnormal by reason of heredity or disease."[4] The investigation into these factors should not be made with a view to relieving the criminal of personal responsibility, but rather to locate responsibility in view of all the circumstances, and to press it home where it belongs, whether on the individual or on society. Psychology, psychiatry, education, sociology, religion, will all find in this newer study of the causes of crime a field that will tax their combined resources to the limit.

In summary, such studies are locating the important causes of crime among such conditions as the following: hereditary characteristics, unfavorable physical environment, density of population, immigration and racial conditions, industrial and social maladjustments, insufficient wages, poverty, corrupt politics, defective court procedure and delay, harmful amusements and unwholesome use of leisure time, family demoralization and failure of home training, faulty or inadequate school education, evil companions, bad habits, lack of self-control, wrong social and moral customs, false ideas, ideals, beliefs, and attitudes, in the individual and in the community, and inadequate moral and religious motivation.

THE HANDLING OF CRIME

The handling of crime involves the processes of the detection and arrest of the criminal, his trial and sentence, and his punishment, including his reformation if this can be accomplished. The agencies include the police system, the criminal courts, the penal institutions and their administration, and other devices of punish-

[4] J. L. Gillin, *Criminology and Penology* (1926), pp. 342–43.

ment and reformation. There are problems of much current interest connected with each of these subjects, which can only be touched upon here. For further discussion the student will consult specialized treatises.

A general statement may be made, applicable to all processes concerned with the handling of crime. The detection, arrest, trial, conviction, and punishment of the criminal should be certain, speedy, just and adequate, both in the interests of the criminal and of society.

Detection and Apprehension of Criminals. The first essential of an effective program to combat crime is the detection and arrest of criminals. The enforcement of criminal laws is primarily the duty of the police, which includes a great variety of public and private officers. They make the arrests and secure certain data pertaining to the cases. Index numbers of arrests for 14 selected cities show that there was little change from 1910 to 1920 but thereafter there was a steady increase in the number of arrests by 1930 the rate had doubled. Other cities show similar gains.[5] However, one must guard against hasty conclusions relative to the trend in crime. Laws have increased, the number of police officers has increased more rapidly than the population, and the automobile appears directly in our criminal statistics under the headings of auto thefts and traffic violations. Although improvements have been made in our police system, yet there are many weaknesses.

Sutherland has proposed the following program for the improvement of the police system: (a) The fundamental requirement is a state of public opinion in which politics cannot flourish. (b) Certain changes in the machinery of police control have been suggested, but there is not much to be gained in this direction. (c) A police morale must be developed, based on pride in police work as a profession useful to the public. (d) Appointments must be made on the basis of much more rigid civil service examinations. (e) Training schools for police are absolutely essential. (f) Working conditions and wages should be improved so that efficient policemen can be secured and retained. (g) The ideal of police work should be modified in the direction of the prevention of crime, even as Boards of Health seek to prevent disease and pestilence. (h) The police force should contain some women, who

[5]See *Recent Social Trends, op. cit.*, p. 1125.

can render certain kinds of service more effectively than men.
(i) Equipment and methods must be brought up to date.[6]

About 25 per cent of the arrests are made at the time when the crime is committed. Others require detection and identification of the criminal. A separate division of the police department handles this aspect of the work, and there are also many private detective agencies engaged in it. Various methods of identification are used, including the "rogues' gallery," which consists of photographs of criminals previously convicted or arrested; the Bertillon system, which employs measurements and descriptions of the appearance of criminals; and, in recent years, extensive use of fingerprints. The testimony of witnesses and other devices of identification are of course also used. The important thing is that scientific methods of detection shall keep pace with, or ahead of, scientific methods of crime.

Detention and Trial. There is wide-spread and growing conviction that our court procedure is now seriously handicapped by needless technicalities and delays, and that this is one of the chief causes of the lawlessness existing in the United States. If this is true, and it evidently is, the criminal courts should be immediately and thoroughly reformed. The accused has a right to a fair trial, but the public has a right to a speedy and sure meting out of justice without opportunity for escape by technicalities, complicated procedure, postponed trials, and the devices of unscrupulous lawyers. Various agencies are now at work on this problem, with good prospect of improved conditions in court procedure.

In connection with the detention of prisoners awaiting trial, a humane provision is in force in this country for releasing the accused on bail until the time of his trial. Not every man accused of crime is guilty. Undue hardship should not be caused by depriving him of his liberty before he has been proved guilty. Great abuses have arisen, however, in connection with the bail system. Professional bondsmen have taken advantage of the prisoners' plight to practice extortion and inhumanity. On the other hand, they have made it possible for professional and dangerous criminals to secure their liberty and continue their depredations against society while awaiting trial. The longer the trial can be postponed the more opportunity do they have to do business. It

[6] E. H. Sutherland, *Criminology* (1924), pp. 195–201.

goes without saying, that the bail system should be reformed to eliminate the present evils.

Theories of Punishment. Before considering the various forms of punishment to which criminals are sentenced when trial has found them guilty, some thought should be given to the theories of punishment lying back of the sentences pronounced. No part of criminology is undergoing more careful study and revision in the light of new knowledge than this whole subject of penology. The historical theories of punishment include the following: (1) The early conception was that of *revenge*, which for centuries governed the treatment of prisoners,—"an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." (2) The theory of *repression* or deterrence undertook to rid society of crime by putting all criminals to death. It is still operative in modified form in the theory that the severity of the penalty acts as a warning, and so deters others from exploiting society. (3) Much emphasis is placed today upon the theory that the purpose of punishment is the *reformation* of the criminal and his restoration to usefulness in society. (4) it remains still true, however, that one of the chief aims of punishment is the *protection of society*. The criminal has pitted himself against society and has made himself an outlaw. Society will reform him if possible, but in any case he must be restrained from further injuring society.

Methods of Punishment. The chief purposes of punishment are now regarded as the protection of society and the reformation of the criminal so far as this is possible. What are the kinds of punishment most likely to accomplish these ends?

The following are some of the methods that have been used in the past or are still in use:[7] Transportation, or deportation of criminals from the country, still existing in modified form in the system of "floating," or giving the offender a certain length of time in which to leave town or the county; whipping; fines; imprisonment; the death penalty; restitution and reparation to the injured party; deprivation of certain rights and privileges, such as the suffrage; remonstrance and admonition by the court.

These methods of punishment are largely traditional, handed down from days when conceptions of crime and penology differed from those of today. We are now seriously asking the question to what extent our penalties for crime are really accomplishing

[7]See E. H. Sutherland, *Ibid.*, pp. 363–89.

the purposes of punishment that are now held. The answer in most cases seems to be in the negative, but satisfactory substitutes have not been devised.

Imprisonment and Penal Institutions. Imprisonment, now one of the chief methods of punishment, requires further consideration. It is of comparatively recent development, although it was not wholly unknown in ancient and mediaeval times. It did not become a part of general criminal policy in England until the beginning of the 19th century.

The following kinds of penal institutions are now in common use in the United States: (1) City and county jails, for those awaiting trial or serving brief sentences after conviction for minor offenses; (2) industrial schools for juvenile delinquents up to the age of sixteen or eighteen; (3) reformatories for adult first offenders up to the age of about thirty; (4) special reformatories for vagrants, inebriates, prostitutes, etc.; (5) hospital prisons for the criminal insane; (6) state prisons or penitentiaries for those serving long time sentences and for incorrigible and hardened criminals; (7) federal prisons for United States prisoners.

Some of the most serious problems of punishment are those connected with penal institutions,—problems of economical and efficient administration, methods of discipline, prison labor, prison education, and the reformation of the prisoner. Judged by the modern purposes of punishment, there is general agreement that prisons as heretofore conducted are a failure so far as the reformation of the prisoner is concerned. They are also a failure in the protection of society except for the time during which prisoners are confined. The entire subject of prison theory and practice is now undergoing searching inquiry under the influence of the newer scientific knowledge of crime and its treatment, but these would lead us too far afield for consideration here.

Probation and Parole. As a substitute for fines and imprisonment, the system of probation and parole has found much favor in recent years. It has been called a "reformatory without walls." In probation, the prisoner's sentence is deferred or suspended and he is released on honor during good behavior and allowed to continue his activities in society, under the supervision of a probation officer to whom he regularly reports. Parole differs from probation in that the prisoner here is sentenced, sometimes for an indeterminate period, and is released on good behavior after

only a part of the sentence has been served. These methods have proved satisfactory in many cases, especially those of juvenile delinquents and first offenders, but serious abuses have arisen in connection with their application to hardened criminals and "repeaters," where their use is not safe for society. Habitual criminals should never be granted these privileges.

THE PREVENTION OF CRIME

While recognizing the importance of working out the problems connected with the conviction and punishment of the criminal as a means for his reformation and the protection of society, there is a growing feeling that crime is an unnecessary evil and social burden and that determined efforts should be made for its prevention. This is in keeping with the characteristic modern attitude toward all social abnormality. Is it not possible to keep men and women, and especially boys and girls, from becoming criminals at all? Prevention is worth infinitely more than cure in connection with human beings, where if abnormal development enters into personality itself it can never be wholly cured. All of the resources of the new and growing scientific knowledge and of humanitarian endeavor ought to be brought to bear upon this task.

Gillin in the closing chapter of his discussion of *Criminology and Penology* suggests the following program of crime prevention: (1) Control of population, both quantitatively and qualitatively; (2) the development of a social personality in children; (3) the control of economic conditions; (4) the direction of the social factors which play upon personality. If human nature is largely a social product and environmental conditions exercise such an important influence upon conduct, the hope of the situation lies in the fact that these factors can be modified and molded by social direction. Having been made by man, they can be changed by man so as to encourage coöperative and law-abiding, instead of criminal and unsocial, attitudes and conduct. Doubtless included in the above but worthy of separate emphasis, are those forces of religious transformation which have always been so influential in developing and stabilizing character by giving it power of resistance in the presence of temptation.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Consideration of the prevention of crime brings us naturally to a special discussion of juvenile delinquency. For criminals do not come into the world ready-made. Criminality is not hereditary. Little delinquents grow into big criminals. If we can nip the delinquency in the bud we will prevent a large part of the harvest of crime.

The new attitude toward crime and criminals is nowhere else so apparent as in the changed viewpoint concerning juvenile delinquency. Under the older theory of crime a certain offense was punishable with a definite penalty, irrespective of the motive that prompted it or the age of the offender. A child who committed an act of delinquency was regarded as equally blameworthy as an adult who did the same thing. It was taken for granted that the child had as clear an understanding of right and wrong as did the adult. Child psychology has revealed the fact that this is not the case. The child is not born with any knowledge of what things are right and what are wrong. It does not know "instinctively" the difference between honesty and dishonesty, the true and the false, the objective and the subjective. These things all have to be learned, and the learning takes time. It is wholly unreasonable to expect the child to have the same knowledge with reference to them that the adult has. The child is a moral being in the making, not yet wholly responsible for his moral acts. At what period this responsibility becomes developed depends upon the mental age rather than upon the chronological age of the child. It likewise depends upon the social development of a person. Some are more advanced than others in experience.

Conditioning Factors of Juvenile Delinquency. The factors that condition delinquency, as of crime in general, are to be found in the native equipment and development of the person, and the social world in which he lives. One must reckon with the condition of the physical organism, mentality, personality, behavior tendencies, and experiences of the child. No adequate understanding of delinquency, however, can be obtained without a study of environmental influences. Delinquency must be studied in its relation to the social and cultural situation in which it occurs. The family, the play group, the school, and the community represent

the more important social groups involved in the development of the attitudes and behavior tendencies of the child.

Clifford R. Shaw has made one of the most illuminating studies of juvenile delinquency.[8] He has analyzed delinquent behavior in relation to the social situation, noting particularly the community background, companionship factors, family situation, and the development of delinquent careers. Studies in Chicago, Philadelphia, Richmond, Cleveland, Birmingham, Denver and Seattle, reveal that areas exist in which the incidence of adult criminality and juvenile delinquency is very high. These regions are characterized by physical deterioration, shifting and increasing population, poor housing conditions and the marked absence of home ownership, broken homes, great poverty and high rates of dependency, high percentage of foreign and Negro population of inferior social and economic status, inadequate play facilities, bad gangs,[9] and unwholesome contacts. These conditions arise largely through the operation of economic growth and social and industrial change. Within the structure of these unfavorable external conditions certain traditions and influences operate which intensify delinquency. This may be called the spirit of a delinquency area, which is transmitted through group contacts. Thus the career of a delinquent person is largely the product of a natural process, developed in an unfortunate social situation.

Methods of Treatment. Since juvenile delinquency is caused chiefly by failure of the child to make right adjustments to social life, due largely to ignorance and unfavorable environment, it is evident that the primary need is that of practical education of the child concerning his social relationships, and of getting him into wholesome environmental conditions which will give him attitudes and habits of right living. Even in case of delinquency, it is often not so much punishment that is needed as it is instruction and sympathetic personal help. When punishment is inflicted it should always be for the purpose of enforcing instruction and making help effective. In the case of the child, the protection of society is not usually so seriously at stake. There are general principles that underlie all treatment of juvenile delinquency. Such treatment

[8]See *Delinquency Area* (1930); *The Causes of Crime*, Volume II of Report 13 of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (1931); *Jack Roller, A Delinquent Boy's Own Story* (1931); and *Natural History of a Delinquent Career* (1931).

[9]Compare F M. Thrasher. *The Gang* (1927)

should be rendered first of all and as much as possible by the normal agencies of child welfare,—by parents in the home, by the school and the church, and by all who are interested in the child.

The Juvenile Court. It was this new attitude toward juvenile delinquency that led to the juvenile court movement. If the natural agencies of child care fail, what then? Shall children continue to be tried as criminals in the same courts and under the same conditions as adult criminals, as had formerly been the practice? The new conception of childhood and juvenile delinquency made this unthinkable, and the juvenile court came into existence to meet the need. The first ones officially established in the United States were in Denver and in Chicago, both in 1899, and the movement spread rapidly throughout the country until now such courts have been established in practically all counties. They are created by acts of state legislatures, either as separate courts or as a part of the regular court system, one of the judges being designated to try juvenile cases.

The juvenile court organization usually consists of the judge and a probation officer or staff. The probation officer or his assistant investigates each case to determine as far as possible the causes of the delinquency and the conditions under which the child or youth has been living. This material is in the hands of the judge when the offender comes before him. Cases are usually heard separately in a more informal way than in the regular court trials, and involve a more or less private interview between the judge and the delinquent. Such disposition is then made of the case as the judge deems wise, ranging all the way from reprimand and admonition to commitment to an industrial school or reformatory institution.

A very customary sentence, especially in the case of first offenders, is to place the youth on probation for a longer or shorter period of time, directing him how he shall live, and requiring him to report at fixed intervals to the probation officer or to some other person designated. The probation officer or member of his staff having the offender in charge is expected to follow the case up and render such advice, encouragement and assistance as may be possible. The final disposition of the case may depend upon the outcome of this period of probation.

The results of the juvenile court and the probation system, while perhaps not all that was at first expected from them, mark

a great advance over previous methods of dealing with delinquent children. The aim continually in mind is to keep these children from developing into adult criminals and to restore them to more normal behavior.

Community Control of Delinquency. It already has been pointed out that delinquent behavior cannot be fully understood apart from the social situation in which it takes place. A study of delinquency, then, must take into consideration the character of the community in which the behavior arises. A disintegrated area produces an excess of gangs and abnormal conduct. On the other hand, communities that are integrated and in which behavior is controlled by the best traditions, social standards, and institutions have few delinquent persons.

The control of delinquency must be effected for the most part through the institutions and agencies of the community. If they function efficiently and if the social life is wholesome, social maladjustment can be reduced to a minimum. Thus the responsibility for crime and delinquency rests primarily upon the people and the organizations of their communal life, together with the individual character reactions.

The newly developed Los Angeles County Plan of Coördinating Councils,[10] which is administered by the Juvenile Court and Probation Department, may be used as an illustration of what can be done. The county is divided into areas which form certain natural units. Coördinating Community Councils are formed in these areas, and provides media through which communities can solve some of the problems of children and youth before they become sufficiently serious to require the services of the Juvenile Court. The aim is also to strengthen the home and community influences that build character in youth and to help adjust or eliminate those influences that may lead to delinquency; and to coördinate the facilities of local communities and bring them to bear upon unadjusted children. This requires united action. The local councils are combined in a central coördinating council of the county, which has a juvenile research committee to gather and disseminate information concerning child welfare and to assist the council in the coördination of the activities of the member councils. While

[10]See *Why Have Delinquents?* a pamphlet published by the Rotary Club of Los Angeles, California (1933). The plan was definitely launched during the early part of 1932.

this movement is not the only factor responsible for the reduction of delinquency in the county, 473 fewer cases were filed in the Juvenile Court in 1932 than in 1931. A better understanding of the problems faced by local communities in combating delinquency is even a greater gain than is its numerical reduction.

Summary. While the magnitude of crime is not known, sufficient data are available to indicate the seriousness of the situation. Our penal and reformatory institutions are crowded and the cost of crime is enormous. The causes of crime do not have their roots exclusively in the individual. There is a growing feeling that the maladjusted conditions of the social environment are responsible for a large portion of crime.

The handling of crime is defective, although many improvements have been made during recent decades. Only a fraction of crimes are detected and apprehended, and only a portion of those found guilty are sentenced to penal or reformatory institutions. The methods of punishment have changed. Probation and parole systems are used widely.

The greatest progress has been made in dealing with juvenile delinquency. Since the origin of the Juvenile Court at the beginning of the present century the treatment of juveniles who have gotten into difficulties has been completely revolutionized. We have a better understanding of the causes of delinquency than ever before. Delinquent behavior is now being analyzed in relation to the social backgrounds, companionship factors, family life and the natural history of the offender's career. It is through these avenues that the delinquents must be restored to normal behavior and the occurrence of delinquency prevented.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Define crime, a criminal, a juvenile delinquent, criminology and penology. What is the difference between a felony and a misdemeanor?

2. Secure data on the extent and cost of crime in your city or county. Compare the cost of crime with the amounts of money spent for schools, churches, and social welfare work.

3. Contrast the present attitude toward crime with the prevailing attitude a century ago. Should the individual be held entirely responsible for a criminal act?

4. What are the main causes of crime? Discuss the relative importance of the various factors.

5. Discuss the various methods of handling crime. What methods does your own city use? In what ways are they defective? How may they be improved? Discuss the difference in the handling of crime in the United States and in England.

6. Visit a juvenile court. Then visit a criminal court handling adult cases and note the contrast. What are the characteristic features of a juvenile court?

7. Study a given case of a juvenile delinquent. Analyze the causes. How was the case handled? What were the results?

8. What is being done to prevent delinquency? Why have delinquents? Outline a program for the prevention of delinquency. How may the community be organized to combat crime and delinquency?

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PART TWO

SOCIAL PROCESSES AND SOCIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

A. THE SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER XVI

THE ORIGIN AND SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGY

Part One is devoted to a descriptive study of the community. It was found that natural resources and people constitute, respectively, the physical and the vital foundations of every social group; that all communities, large or small, have the same essential interests, activities, and structural agencies, but varying in expression with the size and complexity of the community; that these essential phases of life may be grouped into various types, which were severally discussed; that there are special problems connected with these several phases of community life, and that serious social maladjustment often exists.

While the study has not been confined exclusively to a description of community life, yet the emphasis has been placed upon that aspect of the subject. Part Two will be devoted more fully to a discussion of the social processes and principles involved in community life, as typical of social life in general. The student should endeavor to correlate this part of the volume with what has preceded, and to see how these principles also are a part of the actual life of the groups which he has been studying. Otherwise the principles may seem theoretical and unrelated. We are still dealing with the same community life, and, through it, with society as it actually is, only looked at from a different angle.

In a chapter of Part One, for example, we considered the subject of play and recreation, and the various forms which these activities take. One such recreation group might consist of students giving a high school play. We did not give much attention there to the relations and interactions among the members of this group—to the reasons why they were giving the play and why these various participants wanted to be in it, to the clashing of interests and the personal jealousies and rivalries with the resulting confusion and

lack of unity in the group, and to the gradual adjustment of differences among the players until all were coöperating and working together for the success of the play. These things constitute the inner processes of interaction among the members of this group. Similar interactions are taking place within and between all groups in the community. They are known as the social processes.

It is these interactions and processes to which special attention will be given in Part Two. But the groups are the same that we have already studied. It should be interesting to try to discover in one's own community these inner workings of society. This may not always be easy, however, and will require some first-hand thinking on the part of the student about social conditions and relations, if their significance is to be understood, especially since it would require too much space to analyze the various community groups in the present treatment.

THE ORIGIN OF SOCIOLOGY

The discussion in Part One has shown that the community is composed of interrelated and interacting persons and groups having more or less common interests and engaged in coöperative living. We are now led to inquire what sociology has to do with this. What is sociology, and how did it originate? Sociology is the scientific study of this associative and interacting life in human groups, just as botany is the scientific study of plant life, and economics the scientific study of wealth relationships. The life of the community is the reality itself; sociology is only the study of it. This will answer, at least as a preliminary statement, postponing a fuller definition.

Sociology as a science is new—less than a hundred years old. This does not mean, of course, that people have not always been trying to understand society, but only that such a study had not definitely emerged as a science and become organized on that basis. It was not until the second quarter of the nineteenth century that sociology began to assume scientific form in any way comparable with the beginnings of other sciences, and it is still far behind the natural sciences in the organization of its materials.

Influence of the Natural Sciences.[1] All persons who have

[1]It does not seem advisable in this introductory text to enter into the discussion as to whether sociology also is a natural science. The commonly accepted distinction between the natural and the social sciences is so convenient that it is followed in the present volume, without denying the claim that social sciences may also be regarded as natural sciences.

some knowledge of history and of the development of the sciences are more or less familiar with the fresh approach which men at the beginning of the modern era made to the world in which they found themselves, as they emerged from the Medieval period in the latter half of the fifteenth and on into the sixteenth century. The fascinating story of this transition cannot be followed here, but only brief suggestions bearing on the development of modern science and its relation to the origin of sociology.[2] With the conquest of the Roman Empire by the hordes from Central Europe, culminating in A.D. 476, the ancient Mediterranean civilization went into eclipse. The new peoples coming upon the stage who were to constitute the actors in the next world-era were far less advanced in thinking and ways of living than those whom they supplanted. The Medieval period, in general, was characterized by the process of catching up with civilization on the part of these "barbarians."

One stream of development was of a very practical nature, finding expression in efforts to improve the crude and circumscribed living conditions in which the great majority of the population existed. It followed the direction of town growth in Europe during the latter part of the Middle Ages, the rise of the merchant class, increasing commerce, and the explorations which marked the opening of the modern era. The discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, and Vasco da Gama's voyage around the southern end of Africa six years later, were parts of this movement, as they sought new routes, one to the west and the other to the south and east, for the increasing trade with India and the Orient. These and the many other voyages of discovery opened up a vastly larger world and a remarkable widening of the range of life, which helped to usher in the new age.

It is with another phase of development, however, that we are chiefly concerned, in considering the influence of the natural sciences on the origin of sociology. Throughout the Medieval period as a whole the attention of intellectual leaders was not directed primarily toward the world of nature, whose facts were to be learned by painstaking investigation, but the subject of discussion was the system of dogma which had been built up by the Catholic Church. This system, accepted as authoritative and not to be called in question, constituted the starting point and subject

[2]An interesting discussion of the historical background of present-day thinking in general may be found in J. H. Randall, *The Making of the Modern Mind* (1926).

matter of men's thinking. It might be defended in the light of reason, however, and, employing the philosophies of the ancients, especially of Plato and of Aristotle, there developed what is known as medieval scholasticism. Intellectual ability was not lacking, nor keen interest in knowing the truth, but the character of the material studied resulted in a revamping of past philosophies, and precluded study at first hand of the great world of nature and of actual life.

During the latter part of the Medieval period, however, the spirit of intellectual independence and revolt against authority began to manifest itself, and with increasing vigor as time went on, culminating, in its religious aspects, in the Lutheran Reformation of the early sixteenth century. On its literary side, it found expression in the Renaissance, which was an exuberant outburst of the newly emancipated human spirit, beginning in Italy during the last half of the fifteenth century and spreading throughout Europe. Parallel with the Renaissance and the Reformation, the revolt against the dominance of the church found political expression in the increasing independence of the newly emerging Protestant nations, which insisted upon the separation of Church and State.

These movements helped to clear the way for the new scientific development, which more and more felt free to ignore the consideration of church dogma and ancient philosophies that had occupied chief attention for a thousand years, and to turn to a fresh and first-hand investigation of the new world of nature and human life now opening up so marvelously as a result of the changed conditions. The pioneer scientists pursued their work with an enthusiasm and zeal amounting to a genuine passion for reality, which has become one of the dominant characteristics of the modern age.

It would take us too far afield to follow in any detail the individual contributions of the great scientists engaged in this task, although nothing would be of greater help in revealing the fundamental changes taking place in intellectual attitudes. Copernicus (1473–1543) was nineteen years of age when Columbus discovered America. The great navigator had demonstrated that the earth is round, and opened up new continents for man's occupancy. The great astronomer proved that the earth revolves about the sun, and thereby introduced a new system of astronomy which broke up the entire medieval conception of the world and

revolutionized men's outlook into the universe; one of the greatest revolutions in the history of thinking, and of basic importance in the whole scientific development. Galileo (1564–1642), by application of the method of induction and deduction, which he formulated, discovered the laws of motion, and by the practical application of the newly devised telescope verified mathematical predictions by actual observation of the heavenly bodies. Kepler (1571–1630) discovered the laws of the eliptical orbits of the planets. And Newton (1642–1727), born the year in which Galileo died, provided the keystone of the new arch of science by establishing the laws of gravitation, thus unifying into a consistent whole the discoveries of his predecessors. These outstanding men were of course not working alone, but were reinforced by an army of investigators and thinkers devoted to the interests of the new sciences. The result is a reasonably trustworthy body of knowledge with reference to the physical universe never before possible, which has permeated our modern world and become the basis of its thinking and of its marvelous material development.

But of special significance for our present purpose is the fact that during this process there was developed also a new technique or method of investigation, appropriately known as the *scientific method,* which is now familiar to all. It involves the delimitation of a field of study that can be made the subject of exact observation, the impartial gathering of data concerning this field by painstaking research, the analysis and classification of the material, and finally, by means of hypotheses and their testing by further observation, an endeavor to understand and interpret the results in terms of the laws operative in the chosen field of investigation.

Sociology, in common with all other movements of modern thought, had its beginnings in this general scientific setting. The same passion for reality and spirit of investigation that was giving itself to discoveries in the world of nature finally turned to the world of human nature and social relations in an attempt to understand this also. And the same method, likewise, that had proved so successful in the study of the natural universe was carried over into the new field of social study. Thus the emerging science of sociology was the inheritor of both the spirit and the method of the natural sciences.

Influence of Thought Currents. While having as its background this modern scientific setting, the first development of

sociology was influenced also by the general intellectual situation of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The great success of the scientific movement had been accompanied by an exaggerated confidence in the ability of human reason to solve all of the world's problems, and the eighteenth century, known as the Century of the Enlightenment, gloried in world-systems which sought to interpret human life and the universe as governed by mechanical and unalterable law. It emphasized also the natural rights of man, humanity, equality, liberty, fraternity, and came to fruitage, in some of its aspects, in the American and French Revolutions toward the close of the century.

Meanwhile, however, there was a growing revolt against the extreme rationalistic views of the Enlightenment, and an increasing perception that man is more than a thinking machine and that any adequate interpretation of life must find room for his human emotions and idealistic interests. This movement of Romanticism and Idealism found expression in Rousseau (1712–1778) and many other writers of the period, as well as in an elaborate philosophy of history. Thus during the first half of the nineteenth century, there were many chaotic cross-currents of thought, emanating from the Enlightenment, humanism, romanticism, and idealism, augmented by new industrial, commercial, and humanitarian movements in an awakening and enlarging world of practical affairs. It was in the midst of this setting, as well as of the scientific situation referred to in an earlier section, that sociology began to take on definite form toward the middle of the nineteenth century. It is not strange, therefore, that the emerging science should contain something of all of these factors in the early stages of its development.

The movements characteristic of the period were animated by a keen desire for human welfare. This was strongly emphasized by Saint-Simon (1760–1825), among others, who advocated a new social order which should bring to the workers of the world a greater share of its property, culture, and happiness. Such a reform of society requires, he claimed, not only a spirit of unselfishness and love, but also a new system of thought, a *positive philosophy,* based on science and experience. Saint-Simon, however, was a seer and an enthusiast rather than a systematic thinker, and it was left for his pupil and co-worker, Auguste Comte (1798–1857), to give the new social doctrine more definite form.

Comte has often been called "the father of sociology." While this is too sweeping a claim, since others were working along similar lines both before and at the time he wrote, nevertheless "he did give it a name, a program, and a place among the sciences."[3] He was a social philosopher, influenced by the many currents of thought which characterized his times, but also so keenly alive to the scientific movement that he became at least the forerunner of sociology as a science, and opened the way for a more scientific treatment of social phenomena, even though he did not always walk in it himself.

The various movements of thought that had developed into a form of social thinking known as *Positivism* found effective expression in Comte's great work, *Course of Positive Philosophy,* published in six volumes between 1830 and 1842. Positivism hoped to discover a Newtonian law of *social* gravitation under which all social phenomena could be interpreted. Comte declared that the social thinking of man had passed through the theological stage of superstition, and the metaphysical stage of speculation, and had now arrived at the positive stage, in which the same attitude and method that characterized natural science should be used in the study of society, which should be made an exact science also, especially in the case of history. This would complete the vast intellectual movement begun by the natural sciences. In keeping with this view, his first name for the new science of society was *social physics,* but in his fourth volume he used the term *sociology,* which has remained as the accepted name of the new science.

Comte declared that ideas govern the world or throw it into chaos. Lack of agreement in fundamental ideas he regarded as the cause of the social crisis of his times. If men do not think in some kind of accord they cannot act together. If football had been in vogue in Comte's day he might have called attention to the fact that the team would not be likely to win many games if each man on it had his own ideas about how the game should be played and carried them out independently in the contest. The way to get agreement in ideas, Comte said, is to lay aside our preconceived opinions and begin to observe things themselves as they are. This again brings us back to the positive way of thinking, by which he means the real, useful, certain, and exact way.

[3]Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924), p. 1.

In his attempt to reduce ideas to a positive and orderly system, Comte proposed a new classification of the sciences, with sociology completing the list; the classification being based strictly on the things to be classified and not on extraneous ideas. Beginning with the most general science, and proceeding to the most particular, or from the most simple to the most complex, he proposed what has come to be known as his *hierarchy of the sciences,* as follows: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, sociology. Comte regarded psychology as included under the general science of biology, if, indeed, it deserved a place at all. Since his day, it has been assigned a position of its own between biology and sociology.

Thus while Comte blazed the preliminary trail for sociology as a science, the philosophical attitude involved in his writings, and so characteristic of the times in which he lived, led to the early development of sociology as a philosophy of society rather than as a science, a tendency which has continued until recent times, while the new science was gradually defining its field and method.

Sociology as a Science. In recent years sociology has been heading more directly toward the scientific aspects of its inheritance, and claiming the spirit and method of the older sciences. It holds that the difference between it and them lies chiefly in the nature of the subject-matter studied, not in method. It thus claims to fulfill or to be in way of fulfilling all of the requirements of a science, as stated in a former paragraph. That is, associative human life, with its interactions and processes, presents a well-defined field for scientific investigation. Moreover, even though the science is new, a great army of investigators has accumulated and is accumulating a constantly growing array of social data. It is already apparent that laws of associative human behavior exist and are beginning to receive preliminary formulation.

We conclude, therefore, that sociology is a genuine science, in subject matter, in spirit, and in method, while admitting that it is still somewhat inchoate and only gradually emerging from its adolescent stages. Sociology today represents a distinct reaction against its earlier philosophical procedure. When it has been at its even more difficult task as long as the physical sciences have been at theirs, its scientific accomplishments will doubtless be greater and more assured than at the present stage of its development.

THE FIELD OF SOCIOLOGY

In the preceding section an attempt was made to show something of the origin of sociology in relation to the natural sciences and the contemporary movements of thought, and to indicate why it should be regarded as a science. Sociology is the scientific study of human beings in their associative relationships and processes. There are also many other sciences that deal with human society. How is the social field divided among these various sciences, and how are they related to sociology? There are many different answers to this question, and sociologists themselves do not entirely agree as to the real field of sociology. Indeed, a "new" sociology is developing, which is feeling its way toward restatements of the scope of the science, but even here no agreement has been reached.

There are several main trends in defining the field of sociology. One is to put the emphasis upon research, the study of special group situations, in the hope of discovering the social relations and the social forces involved. Another is to give chief attention to social interstimulation and response, or social interaction, and thus to turn sociology largely into the channels of social psychology. Still another view regards the field of sociology as being the study of social processes and human culture, or the activities and creations of society which lie wholly above the biological or organic plane. Another conception views sociology as a general social science which seeks to find a unitary view of social phenomena.[4] What the final outcome will be is not now known. Not all the above views are contradictory to each other, and probably a general consensus will finally be arrived at. Two views in particular are here presented for special consideration.

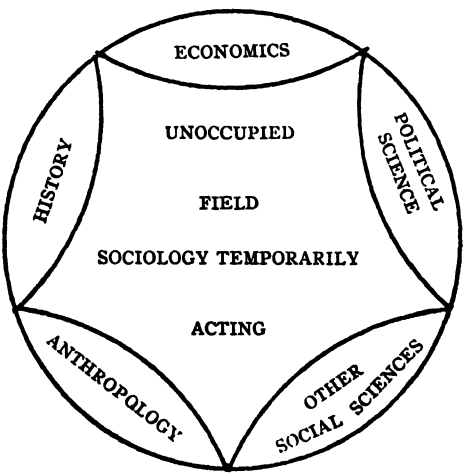
As General Social Science. The first of these conceptions regards sociology as the inclusive general science of social relations. To illustrate: The science of botany deals with plant life, and the science of zoology with animal life. But these are really subsciences of biology, which is the general science dealing with life in its inclusive aspects. This analogy, it is held, represents the logical relation of sociology to the special social sciences. There is the science of economics, dealing with one segment of human association,—the economic phase. Political science deals with

[4]See Ogburn and Goldenweiser, *The Social Sciences* (1927), pp. 301–2.

another segment; anthropology, with another segment; ethnology, with still another; and so on, through the entire list of special social sciences. Each studies its own aspect or segment of human life. This is advantageous for purposes of investigation and analysis. But society itself is not ultimately so divided. It is one. Some feel that there is need of a general social science that shall treat society as a unitary whole, and that sociology is this general science. As such, it takes the data from the special social sciences and unifies and interprets them in a general theoretical science of the principles and laws of associative human relations.

As a matter of fact, a special science has not yet developed for each phase of social life. For instance, the family is fully as significant, and even more fundamental in society, than the state. Although we have a science of government, we have none of the family. Sociology here and in similar situations has to act as a special social science also, and proceed on its own initiative to collect data at first hand. As the study of society proceeds, however, we may expect a special science to develop for each major phase of social life.

So far as this conception of the relation of sociology to the special social sciences may be expressed in diagram form, it would be somewhat as follows, with the understanding that the special sciences enumerated are only typical and not intended as inclusive.



In the above diagram the circle represents society as a whole, and sociology as the general interpretative science of society. The segments indicate the fields of the special social sciences, while the inner unoccupied part shows the social territory where special sciences have not yet developed and which is now covered in part by sociology acting as a special descriptive social science.

As Science of Social Processes and Products. In recent years the conception of sociology as a general science of society has been less influential, and there has been a tendency to regard it as the study of the inner processes of human association and interaction in all phases of life; and as the study of human culture, including all of the creations or products of the social processes. This has been coupled with a tendency to shift the emphasis from the study of "society" to the study of "societies," that is, social groups, where scientific investigation can deal with more concrete materials. These tendencies may be combined into one, which regards sociology as dealing with the processes and products of associative human life, as manifested particularly in the interacting relations within social groups as the special field of study. The principles involved in these processes and their products would then explain the social process as a whole and its inclusive product, human culture.

This view would not so much make sociology a general science summing up the special sciences, but rather an independent science cutting athwart all special social sciences and all social groups in an effort to understand and explain the processes of social interaction involved in them.

These two conceptions of sociology are not necessarily exclusive of each other. Emphasis upon the study of the social processes and their products does not need to shut sociology out from functioning also as the general theoretical and explanatory science which shall attempt to understand society as a whole by a unified synthesis of all social phenomena.

Relation of Sociology to Social Improvement. In considering the field of sociology, a few words may be devoted to the relation of sociology to social work and social reform. In general, the relation is that between science and the arts. Sociology is a science. It does not enter the field of social reform. It contents itself with discovering and interpreting social conditions and formulating social laws, and these become the principles on the basis of which

the social reformer may work. Take the airplane, as an illustration in another field. It had to wait upon the science of physics and other sciences for the formulation of the natural laws involved. On the basis of these laws, inventors produced such mechanisms as made the airplane an accomplished fact. But these applications belong to the arts, not to science. The same man may be both a scientist and an artist, to be sure, but this does not do away with the distinction between the two. This relationship is perhaps closer in sociology than in the natural sciences. Possibly the sociologist is more directly animated in his work by the hope that what he is doing will result in the betterment of society; but, if this is true, it does not alter the fact that sociology itself is pure science. Conversely, social reformers, as such, are not sociologists, and sociology should not be held responsible for their work any more than the science of chemistry should be held responsible for its industrial applications.[5]

Two corollaries are deducible from this situation. The first is that, more and more, social reformers must acquaint themselves with the conclusions of sociology. It is as indefensible for a person to presume to be a social reformer without a knowledge of society as it is for a man to claim to be a physician without a knowledge of anatomy and physiology. Medical quacks are in disrepute, but social quacks we have with us still. They, also, should be tabooed, however praiseworthy their motives. Social relations are too delicate and complex to be tampered with by those who do not know what may be known about social conditions; and even then modestly and humbly, as learners not as dogmatists. Too little is scientifically known about society for any man to pose as a social reform dogmatist.

The second corollary is the converse of the first. As the scientific study of society results in a clearer understanding of the true principles and laws of human relations, there is good ground for hope that here also, as in the natural sciences, the laws discovered will be made the basis of new applications and "social inventions" for the improvement of society. With so little genuine knowledge of social relations and what constitutes real justice in them as now exists, it is not strange that there is industrial confusion or inter-

[5]There is some tendency at the present time to regard social work as a science, but the desire of social workers to be "scientific" is adequately met by requiring that social work be properly based upon scientific principles and methods.

national strife. As we gain a clearer scientific understanding of social laws, there should result unprecedented advances in social harmony and betterment somewhat commensurate with the marvelous development of inventive appliances and material progress following upon the new understanding of the laws of nature. Indeed, it is impossible to picture to ourselves the great improvement in social conditions that may be expected on the basis of the fuller scientific understanding of social relations, now in its infancy.

Phases of Sociology. Sociologists do not agree as to the major divisions of their science any more than as to its proper field. Various efforts have been made to divide it into descriptive and analytical, pure and applied, static and dynamic, and so forth, but these classifications are less used now than formerly.

A classification might be made on the basis of the subject-matter with which sociology deals, as illustrated by the college bulletins listing courses under the title, "Sociology." Here are found courses on general sociology, historical sociology, social theory, human culture, social psychology, educational sociology, social problems, applied sociology, social work, and, in some universities, anthropology, ethnology, human ecology, social research, and allied subjects. The final outcome as to classification cannot now be foretold. Some of these subjects may develop into independent sciences, if they have not already done so, as in the case of anthropology and ethnology, for example. Social psychology, also, seems to be moving in that direction. For most of them to remain as phases of sociology, or as sub-sciences within its fold, would have the advantage of greater unity and the avoidance of undue duplication of independent sciences which it is not always easy to correlate.

Without attempting a comprehensive classification of sociology, in the face of this wide diversity of opinion, it will be more profitable to call further attention here to the two main phases of the subject already briefly referred to in the discussion of sociology as a science.

Social Research. A well-known current movement in psychology has directed attention to the study of observable activities or behavior. The same movement has been finding favor in sociology. It places new emphasis upon the investigation of special social situations by detailed observation of what is actually taking

place. To illustrate: A boy is arrested for stealing a bicycle. Where does the boy live, of what nationality are his parents? What education, business, and associations have the parents? What education, companions, reading, and amusements has the boy? How does he use his spare time? Where was the crime committed? How was it committed? Was it the first offense? Such are the questions asked, and the list might be extended indefinitely. Then the same study is made of another delinquent boy, and another, and another, until data have been accumulated concerning the behavior of many groups of boys. This information is mapped and charted to see whether any light is thrown on different parts of the city as locations of delinquency and what the conditions are that make them centers of crime, as well as upon the delinquency attitudes of the juvenile offenders themselves, to be used as basis for the treatment which they should receive.

If there is any one feature more characteristic of sociology than another at the present time, it is this research movement in the study of behavioristic situations, not only in current life, but also with reference to social origins and primitive conditions. Such studies are making available a vast collection of social facts as to how people act and live, and have acted and lived in the past.

In the words of a prominent social writer, the present situation in sociology is described as follows:

"Sociology is now undergoing a transformation like that which has almost completely changed psychology from metaphysics to an experimental science. From a philosophy of society, sociology is emerging into a science of society. Consequently the interest of the new sociology is now turned to defining the experimental point of view, to classifying problems for investigation, and to developing a technique of research. . . . All social problems, indeed, the entire area of group behavior and social life, is being subjected to sociological description and analysis. The person is conceived in his inter-relations with the social organization, with the family, the neighborhood, the community, and society. Explanations of his behavior are found in terms of human wishes and social attitudes, mobility and unrest, intimacy and status, social contacts and social interaction, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation."[6]

Here again, as in psychology, we do not need to concede that this is all there is to sociology in order to appreciate the great importance of this method of study for the understanding of social

[6]E. W. Burgess, "The Delinquent as a Person," in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 28, May, 1923, pp. 657–680.

conditions. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that sociology is not a system of subjective theories, but is based upon the facts of social life.

Theoretical Sociology. Nevertheless, sociology does not stop with the accumulation of facts and the description of social behavior. It aims also to understand the inner forces, laws, and principles involved in social processes, and to interpret the data that have been gathered in the study of social situations. As in the case of every other science, the theoretical aspects of this science also start with facts; but there is no scientific significance in facts themselves unless their relations to each other are understood in a rational world of thought. This task is attempted in theoretical sociology, or the study of sociological principles.

Moreover, the nature of society is such that the interpretation of social facts necessarily involves also their evaluation in terms of human and social well-being. Sociology is therefore forced to deal with social values, and with conclusions as to the extent to which these are being attained. For this reason, it must include as wide a range of relationships as men themselves occupy in their whole field of living. It cannot be content, therefore, with a narrowly behavioristic attitude, but must also consider even such ethical aspects as are essential to the understanding and interpretation of associative human life as a whole.

The interpretative phases of sociology are not so far advanced as the descriptive aspects, and await the further accumulation of social data and the clearer understanding of social situations. Nevertheless, an interesting beginning in the theoretical principles of sociology has been made. Some of these phases will be discussed in Part Two.

What is Sociology? In the light of the foregoing discussion, this chapter may be appropriately concluded with a statement of what the authors of the present volume conceive sociology to be. Sociology is a scientific study of human associative life. It considers the fundamental social processes that operate in group life, the social products of these processes, and the principles of collective behavior. Thus the data of sociology consist of human personalities interacting in group life, including social drives, social processes, communal organization and institutions, human culture, social values, and human progress.[1]

[1]Compare E S Bogardus, *Introduction to Sociology* (1931).

Summary. In beginning Part Two, we pass from the description of community life to the interpretation of its processes of interaction. This is not absolutely true, of course, for here we are still dealing with the same group life as in Part One, which cannot be described without interpretation, nor interpreted without being observed. The change is only relative, as to where the emphasis is placed.

Sociology undertakes the observation, description, and interpretation of the vital interactions of personalities in these group relationships. It had its origin as a science in the first half of the nineteenth century, under the influence of the modern scientific spirit, with its eagerness to know and understand the realities of the natural universe and of social relations. Greatly influenced also by the philosophical movements of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and much inclined at first to become a philosophy of society and of history, it has now swung rather definitely into line with the scientific interests of its inheritance, and is seeking, with some measure of success, to become a real science in the field of the social processes and products of group interaction; trying at the same time to make its interpretations broad enough to include all phases of human associative life, both in its parts and as a whole. While it does not itself enter the field of social reform, it cherishes the hope that a clearer understanding of the processes and principles of group interaction may give a firmer scientific basis for the more harmonious and advantageous adjustment of human interrelations.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. (a) How does Part Two of this volume differ from Part One? (b) Take any one of the phases of community life discussed in Chapters VI-XII, of Part One, and indicate what phases you think should be emphasized and further interpreted in Part Two as explained in the present chapter.

2. What was the "Enlightenment" of the eighteenth century, and who were some of its chief representatives?

3. What was "Positivism," and what influence did it have on sociology? What did Auguste Comte mean by his three stages of knowledge? What do you think of Comte's classification of the sciences?

4. Show the connection of Columbus, Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo with the beginnings of modern science.

5. Show why chemistry is a science.

6. Using the same criteria, is sociology a science? Do you think that sociology can ever be an exact science? Defend your answer.

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CHAPTER XVII

Social Concepts and Societary Elements

Sociology is a science so new that no general agreement has been reached as to how it should be treated. If one studies an introductory text in the older sciences, as chemistry, for example, the treatment is found to be generally the same as in practically all other introductory discussions of the subject. This is not the case in sociology, where there has been almost as wide a divergence of treatment as there have been introductory texts. In sociology there has been comparatively little uniformity of division or development, or even of nomenclature. A recent writer has listed 332 different concepts in sociological literature.[1] In eight introductory or general texts bearing the names of ten prominent sociological writers, he found 146 different concepts receiving major emphasis, only 63 of which appear in more than one list, and not a single one of them appears in all eight lists.[2]

In spite of these divergences, however, a certain general concensus of view seems now to be emerging, and some major concepts are gaining currency among sociological thinkers and writers.

CONCEPTS AS SOCIOLOGICAL TOOLS

No attempt will be made here to discuss the social concepts in any exhaustive way,[3] but only to call attention to their value and their use by representative sociologists, showing considerable general agreement; and then to indicate in a summary way the

[1] E. E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology* (1932), pp. 39–43.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 43–49.

[3] A systematic treatment of this subject will be found in the recent book of E E Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology* (1932), already referred to. See also E. S Bogardus, *Contemporary Sociology* (1931), and his list of sociological concepts in a recent article, "Tools in Sociology," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol XIV, March-April, 1930, p 333, reprinted in the *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society* (President's address); Charles A. Ellwood, in his chapter on "Sociology," in *Recent Developments in the Social Sciences*, edited by E. C. Hayes (1927); and Ogburn and Goldenweiser, *The Social Sciences* (1927).

main concepts employed in the present volume, and particularly in the discussion of sociological theory in Part Two.

A concept, in general terms, is a mental picture or idea of a thing, as contrasted with a percept, which is a sense impression or image. It is the idea, abstracted from sense perceptions. A student attends a psychology class, for example, and sees the room, the seats, the desk, the professor, and his fellow students. These sense impressions are percepts. The student preparing his lesson in his room in the evening pictures in his mind a class exercise,—the room, seats, and occupants, with the entire complex of ideas aroused. This mental image, without the presence of the objects themselves, is a concept. In sociology the term "concept" is used to indicate the inner meaning of facts about associative human life, abstracted from large groups of social data that have been scientifically gathered.[4] For example, two boys are fighting on the street, two women are wrangling over the hedge separating the back yards, angry and abusive language breaks out in a political meeting, shooting and the hurling of stones takes place between strikers and armed guards, a violent debate occurs in the United States Senate. We abstract from these various occurrences the social concept, *conflict*.

Each science has developed a group of concepts which are used as instruments of precision to define and clarify the various phases of the subject. They represent words or phrases into which generalizations have been packed. They are used to describe groups of empirical data. Hence they are conceptual tools. A system of concepts accurately defined and uniformly used, facilitates research, makes the description and analysis of specific facts more accurate, and becomes the only sound basis for the development of the science. The advantages accruing to the other sciences in the use of concepts are equally in sight for sociology as it develops its own conceptual tools. The growing realization of this fact accounts for the attention that is now being given to the subject by sociological writers, in the desire to reach a more common agreement concerning at least the major concepts of the new science.

Major Concepts of Representative Sociologists. C. A. Ellwood[5] regards the major sociological concepts as the group, to-

[4]See E S. Bogardus, *Contemporary Sociology* (1931), p. 19.
[5]*Op. cit.*, Chapter I.

gether with the association and intercommunication of its members, group attitudes and values, group culture, including mental patterns, customs, traditions and inventions, and the learning process.

Park and Burgess[6] discuss sociological theory under the major concepts of human nature, the group, isolation and contact, social interaction, social forces, competition and conflict, accommodation and assimilation, social control, collective behavior, and progress.

E. S. Bogardus, in his recent book on the subject,[7] classifies the major concepts as ecological, cultural, societal, personal, social process, social organization, social change, and social research. These, with their respective subdivisions, make a list of 50 concepts which he regards as characteristic of contemporary sociological thought and as constituting the essential working tools of sociology.

The concepts of sociology have received systematic treatment by E. E. Eubank in a recent volume.[8] After considering the wide variety and range of sociological concepts among writers, referred to at the beginning of this chapter, his own discussion centers about the following seven major concepts, which he regards as constituting an inclusive and self-consistent general plan for the organization of sociological theory[9]: (1) The simple human being, and (2) the human plurel, (these two constituting the societary composition); (3) societary energy, and (4) societary control, (these two included in societary causation); (5) societary action, and (6) societary relationship, (these two being subdivisions of social change); and (7) culture, (the inclusive societary product).

While these four lists of concepts do not always employ exactly the same terms, it is easy to recognize a common underlying set of ideas and trend of treatment characteristic of contemporary sociological thinking.

Major Concepts of the Present Volume. A brief statement of the major concepts employed in the present volume will serve to refresh the student's memory concerning the road already trav-

[6] *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924).
[7] *Op. cit.*
[8] *Op. cit.*
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 384.

eled in Part One, and more particularly to mark the main mile posts of the road ahead, indicating the chief divisions for the organization of sociological theory in Part Two. These concepts are not forced into the community from the outside, but are simply abstract names for what is actually taking place on the inside.

Without attempting here a systematic review of Part One, it will be recalled that the central concept under discussion was that of the social *group* known as the *community*, which was differentiated from the *neighborhood* and from *society*. The *interests*, *activities*, and organized *agencies* of the community were stressed, and the chief forms of these, constituting the community *institutions*, with their respective sub-concepts, were treated at considerable length in separate chapters. The community was seen to be in constant movement, with the *interaction* of its various members and groups taking the forms of both *conflict* and *cooperation*. It was evident that the larger communities, or cities, break up into sub-communities, constituting *ecological* areas and racial and interest segregations of various kinds, with much *mobility* among them. This necessitated some consideration of *population*, and the various forms of social *pathology* and *maladjustment*, together with efforts directed toward amelioration and prevention by means of social reform and organized *social work*.

Turning now to Part Two, the same concept of community life is still under discussion, and many of the other concepts are repeated, as would naturally be expected, but with an attempt to understand more fully the inner meaning of what was observed in our analysis of the community in the earlier Part. This will require consideration of the more abstract concepts which have to do with social motivations, processes, and structures. Only the major concepts, constituting the main phases of the subject, will be indicated at this point, however, leaving the others for consideration as they are reached during the progress of the discussion:

Division A. The Science of Sociology. Following the preliminary discussion of sociology as a science in the preceding chapter, and the introductory statement here concerning sociological concepts, attention is given in the present chapter to the first major concept, the *component elements of society*. These are found to be, (1) the *hereditary human individual*, (2) the *societary person*, and (3) *associative contacts*, all conditioned by the environmental world of nature.

Division B. The Social Process. The *social forces* or *drives,* which inaugurate the *social process,* eventuate in *group experience.* Here the fundamental and inclusive process is that of *interaction* among the members of the group, which takes the form of two counter currents, the one consisting of the opposing forces and activities of *differentiation, competition,* and *conflict,* the other the unifying influences that make for *adjustment,* including *integration, accommodation, assimilation,* and *coöperation.* These several processes are accompanied by social *change* within the group, which is directed and regulated by the forces and agencies of social *control,* whether unconsciously or consciously operating.

Division C. The Products of the Social Processes. There are various out-comes or *products* of the social process and its subprocesses. Chief among these are human *culture,* social *organization,* social *institutions,* and human *personality.* These, in turn, condition the social processes themselves in their further development.

Division D. Social Values and Human Progress. Social change, and the processes and movements involved in it, lead to the emergence of concepts of *social values,* partly as the result of experience, and partly perhaps through a certain idealistic capacity native to man. These values are goals of social endeavor, and some of them become conscious aims for the guidance of the social process. By their achievement or failure of attainment, men seek to determine whether the social process is only change and movement, or whether it involves also human *progress.*

The several chapters of Part Two are devoted to the discussion of these concepts and the social realities expressed by them.

THE COMPONENT ELEMENTS OF SOCIETY

The natural sciences seek to reduce the materials with which they deal to elemental units. In the physical sciences these are now regarded as electrons and protons, with their groupings in atoms and molecules. In the biological sciences, they are cells, and the combination of these in tissues. In sociology, likewise, there are units and primary groupings which are the basic elements of social life. They are three in number: (1) the *hereditary individual human being,* with his original human nature; (2) the *societary person,* including his acquired human nature; and (3) *associative contacts* in collective aggregates, which are prerequisite to any

kind of social interaction. These are all conditioned by the world of nature which is present independently of human volition or action. The last is evidently in a different category from the first three, but is included here as helping in an understanding of the situation.

1. **The Hereditary Individual—Original Human Nature.** The individual human being is the unit of social life in the community, and hence of sociological study. This individual exists only in associative groups, just as the electron exists most characteristically in the atom, and the cell in tissue. It is likewise true that all social groups are composed of individuals who constitute the social units. But what individuals,—hereditary biological individuals, or the social persons? Doubtless both, but first the biological individual with his original human nature forms the basis.

There has always been great interest in the subject of human nature, and it has received new examination since C. H. Cooley advocated the view that human nature is not the birthright of man but is socially acquired. The following is an abridgment of his statement:

"By human nature we may understand those sentiments and impulses that are human in being superior to those of lower animals, and also in the sense that they belong to mankind at large, and not to any particular race or time. It means, particularly, sympathy and the innumerable sentiments into which sympathy enters, such as love, resentment, ambition, vanity, hero-worship, and the feeling of social right and wrong. . . . Human nature is not something existing separately in the individual, but *a group nature or primary phase of society*, a relatively simple and general condition of the social mind. . . . In the simple, face-to-face groups that are somewhat alike in all societies, groups of the family, the playground, and the neighborhood,—in these, everywhere, human nature comes into existence. Man does not have it at birth; he cannot acquire it except through fellowship, and it decays in isolation."[10]

A similar view is taken by R. E. Park: "Man is not born human. It is only slowly and laboriously, in fruitful contact, coöperation, and conflict with his fellows, that he attains the distinctive qualities of human nature."[11] Indeed, this is a somewhat common usage at the present time, shared by many sociological writers.

This ambiguity in the use of the term "human nature" seems unfortunate. It might be better to designate the socialized human

[10]C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (1915), pp. 28–30.

[11]Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924), p. 76.

nature indicated above by the term, "human personality," leaving "human nature" to indicate those inborn human qualities that characterize man as such, in distinction from the lower animals, and that lie back of and make possible the developed social person. There is something inborn in man that distinguishes the human species from all other species of animals, and this is human nature. Until some term is devised to avoid this ambiguity, the distinction may perhaps best be made by use of descriptive adjectives, "original" human nature, and "acquired" human nature. Human nature, as it exists in its developed form, is of course a composite product, partly inherited and partly acquired.

In any case, it is the original or inherited human nature of the individual self that constitutes the elemental unit in society. Just what the original nature of this social unit consists of, is a difficult question to answer. It is not exactly known what man inherits and what he acquires. But whatever the individual is by inheritance is the original social unit. *Biologically,* man shares many traits in common with the lower animals. If animal and human cells could walk down the street together, it would be impossible to distinguish one from the other. Yet man has also many biological traits that differ from those of lower animals. Not all of these are developed fully when the child is born, but the general features and potentialities are present at birth. Man has an erect posture, opposable thumbs, articulate speech, an enlarged and complex brain, and other physical characteristics. In addition to these objective features, he possesses tropisms, reflexes, and various other mechanisms. Each person has also sex characteristics, racial traits, consanguineal or family features, together with many individual peculiarities which differentiate him from all other personalities, as well as from the lower animals.

The *psychological* aspects of man's inheritance are bound up with both his biological and his social nature. Sensations and perceptions, impulses and reflexes, feelings and emotions, attention, memory, learning, reflective thinking, abstract reasoning, imagination, wishes, will, and similar traits make up the psychological nature of man. One of the greatest miracles of the world is the human mind. Animals possess many of the psychological traits found in man, but man's superior intelligence makes it possible for him to solve problems when they arise, and to build up culture, which is a distinctive human trait; while his imaginative powers

give him the ability to project himself beyond that which is seen, which lies at the root of all new inventions and spiritual appreciation.

Park[12] sums up the native human endowment in these words: "The original nature of man is roughly what is common to all men minus all adaptations to tools, houses, clothes, furniture, words, beliefs, religions, laws, science, the arts, and to whatever in other men's behavior is due to adaptations to them. . . . Man originally possesses only capacities which, after a given amount of education, will produce ideas and judgments." Another way of expressing the matter throws still further light upon it: "The human biological organism, then, becomes the starting-point of any inquiry into the nature of human association. For every societary group is a group of human beings; and the organic foundation of every human being is *the biohom,* the biological self. Possessed only of his native and original biological equipment, plus whatever noncultural modifications that equipment has received, he is the raw material out of which society is made."[13]

It is evident that certain psychological capacities of man not shared by the lower animals are innate, not acquired. They are peculiar to the human species as such. They include the capacity for reflective and rational thinking, for building up culture, and for understanding, enjoying, and utilizing it, and for what may be called emotional and spiritual appreciation. In other words, "man is chiefly differentiated from the lower animals by the nature of his mental life and its products."[14] However it is to be explained, man is a conscious unit of creative energy, with moral choices and idealistic capacities. "No automaton could make a theory that he was an automaton. . . . Thinking and feeling, willing and imagining, are not negligible foam balls on a stream of protoplasm, for no foam balls can alter the direction of the current as ideas can alter the flow of our life."[15]

This individual man, with his original human inheritance of reflexes and capacities, including his capacities for reflective thinking, spiritual appreciation, and cultural creativeness, together with his native dynamic energy and his inclusive human wants,—this

[12]Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924), p. 80.
[13]E. E. Eubank, *op. cit.,* p. 99.
[14]*Ibid,* p. 3.
[15]J Arthur Thomson, *What is Man?* (1924), p. 108

is the unit of all social groupings and all collective life, reduced as nearly as possible to the lowest terms, before the social process begins. And yet the social process has already begun, even with him. An attempt has been made, however, to abstract him from it as much as possible in order to identify the elementary unit of society.

2. The Societary Person. While in the interests of clear thinking it is worth while to distinguish the original nature of the individual as the first sociological element, yet as a matter of fact it is the individual person as he has been molded by social experiences and influences who is the visible unit of actual social groups in the community. Collective life as we find it is not made up of new-born babies with their original human nature, but of individuals whose inherited nature has been modified by acquired characteristics. This is of course what the authors mean who say that human nature is acquired. And this is true of the people about us as we know them in everyday social groups. It would be nearer the truth, however, to say that their human nature is a combination of original and acquired characteristics. The second sociological element, therefore, is the social or *societary self.*

There is no hard and fast line of demarcation between the inherited psychological and the acquired social nature of man, although vigorous intellectual battles have been waged over their distinction and relative importance. There are many traits that are partly inherited and partly acquired. Usually it is not a question of one or the other, but both factors are involved. The relative importance of each depends upon a given person or situation. The essential psychological factors are not bound up in the individual alone, but grow out of and are an essential part of social interaction. As the result of his membership in human society, man acquires in social contacts his personality, his major wishes, his attitudes and sentiments, and his habits of living. When a child acts, those around him react. They shower encouragement or disapproval, praise or blame, reward or punishment, upon him. It is the act plus the reaction that gives meaning to behavior.

Not only does a person acquire a societary self as a result of his contacts and social interaction with others, but in a way he possesses a situation self also. A man's self changes as he moves from group to group. A person has a different status in each group of which he is a part. He acts differently in the family than

in the classroom or office, in various clubs and organizations, and in the neighborhood. To some extent he is a different person in every group in which he functions.

The societary self is thus the resultant of the hereditary self, plus the forces of the physical environment, plus the influences of the cultural complexes in which we live. It is this societary self that combines with other selves to constitute social groups.

3. Associative Contacts. The third component element of society is the social aggregate, representing human contacts in group association. This is not so elementary as the social unit, the individual man, just as the grouping of electrons in the atom is not so elementary as the individual electron, nor tissues so elementary as the cell. Nevertheless, the social process, which may more properly be said to begin with interaction, presupposes association of the individual social units. Usually contacts are themselves due to the social process, but theoretically, at least, they might be largely accidental, without the operation of previous interaction between the social units. It resolves itself more or less into the old question whether the hen precedes the egg or the egg precedes the hen. This is what led Albion W. Small to say that sociology is still "struggling with the preposterous initial fact of the individual. He is the only possible social unit, and he is no longer a thinkable possibility. He is the only real presence, and he is never present." And Cooley adds, as already quoted, that the individual and society are not two separate entities, but are two aspects of the same thing, namely, human life. One can view human life from either the individual or the social angle, but the two phases are inseparable.[16]

The human individual has always been in contact with his fellows. The idea of a primitive isolated individual wandering about alone in the primordial wilderness looking for other similar units with which to begin the social process was exploded long since. Man is a social being and cannot develop apart from society. Remove him from society, if that were possible, and he would perish. Instances have been known of individuals who have become separated from human associations and have lived with the beasts of the wilderness, and in all such cases they have been abnormal and unhuman in their development. Moreover, the social contacts that transform human potentialities into social personali-

[16]C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (1922); and *Social Organization* (1915), Part I.

ties must be of a real and vital sort. It goes without saying that there can be no interaction between people spatially separated, as when one man lives in America and another in China, without any communication between them. But there may also be an isolation of caste or class or interests, appropriately designated as "social distance." A man may be in a group but not of it, as in the case of a hardened criminal finding himself accidentally in a prayer meeting. Or isolation may be merely lack of acquaintance and vital contacts, as between total strangers having no occasion for mutual dealings. A great city may be one of the most lonesome places on earth for a stranger to its life. Thus isolation may exist in the midst of casual association. Social distance may be even a greater barrier to interaction than is geographical distance.[17] "The struggle of man has been not only to overcome the physical environment but to annihilate isolation."[18]

Contacts, or aggregation, or association in groups, including also contacts with the cultural products of associative life, is therefore the third constituent social element, beyond the individual hereditary unit and the societary person. Contacts have already conditioned the development of the person, even though logically prerequisite to the social processes. Here, again, we perceive that what we have is one entity, looked at from two angles.

The Conditioning World of Nature. It may be questioned whether the world of nature should be reckoned as a social element. But in any case, it has to be considered as conditioning the social elements and the entire social process. The human race came into being in an already existing universe and found a habitat on an earth already here, and every new generation continues so to arrive. Viewed in the large, the processes of human life must go forward in every community under the limits broadly determined by the physical conditions fixed by nature. This is not the case in an absolute sense, for man not only adapts himself to nature, but has learned to adapt nature to himself and to utilize its forces. In the last analysis, however, nature must supply us with the air we breathe, the water we drink, the food we

[17]See Park and Burgess' interesting chapters on "Isolation" and "Social Contacts" in *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924), Chs. IV and V. See also, E S. Bogardus, *New Social Research* (1926).

[18]Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (1923), p. 322, and also the entire section, pp. 321–25.

eat, the clothes we wear, the houses in which we live, and all of the other necessities and comforts of life.

In primitive times nature furnished almost the exclusive environment of the local group, and the efforts to satisfy human needs from its resources influenced to a large extent the social development of the primitive community and all early social processes. It was in efforts to conquer nature that man came to understand it and use it. In these same efforts, also, he learned to understand and gain control over himself and his own powers, and to develop coöperation and social organization.

Hence if we are to designate all of the factors with which the social process had its beginnings, and which are prerequisite to all social processes, we must include among them the conditioning natural universe. This phase of the subject does not require further discussion here since it has already been treated in more detail in Part One.[19]

Summary. In this chapter two different, yet related subjects have been discussed. A science becomes exact as it builds up *concepts* for the definite expression of its ideas. These are a matter of growth within the science. Investigators and writers in describing their work use various terms, which are adopted or criticized by other workers in the field, and gradually a consensus of usage begins to emerge. After much confusion of conceptual terms among sociological writers in the past, more definite concepts are now coming into current use, with the result that the science is assuming more coherent form. A preliminary statement is made of the major concepts used in the present volume.

Every well-developed science is also inclined to build up around concepts concerning its *constituent elements*, as the electron in physics and the cell in biology. In sociology, the constituent elements of society may be regarded as the hereditary individual, the societary person, and associative contacts in groups, which are respectively discussed. These, in turn, are conditioned by the resources of the environing world of nature. Having thus analyzed the constituent factors of society, we are now ready to begin the discussion of the social processes taking place in group life.

[19]Chapter V.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Explain and illustrate the value of social concepts. What are the main concepts in Part One of the present volume? What are those in Part Two? In what respect do they differ from those in Part One?

2. Give six main concepts in connection with your sociology class now gathered in the classroom discussing the present volume. Give six additional concepts found in a bargain sale in a department store. Discuss the component social elements in the two groups, making the distinction between the different elements clear. Do the same for the elements involved in Washington's Army at Valley Forge.

3. What are some of the most important factors that have made you the societary person you are at the present time? Are you the same person in the classroom that you are when watching a basketball game between your college and its chief rival? Explain your answer.

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B. SOCIAL PROCESSES

CHAPTER XVIII

WHY PEOPLE ACT: THE SOCIAL DRIVES

The view adopted in the present volume is that sociology deals with human associative life; and primarily with the social processes that operate within the group, the social products of these processes, and the principles of human association. The previous Division (A), was devoted to a consideration of the development of sociology as a science, the major concepts which serve as the tools of sociology, and the component societary elements with which the science starts. This has provided a background for the analysis of the social processes, to which the present Division (B), is devoted, leaving the consideration of the social products to the following Division (C).

Reverting now to the community life that occupied our attention in Part One of this volume, one of the first questions that arises as we try to get an inside view of it, is why the people are engaged in the manifold activities which we found to exist in all communities. The answer is, in general terms, that these activities are inaugurated by certain social drives or forces, which constitute the springs of action and are an essential phase of all community processes, developing as they do for the most part in the interactions of human beings. Why people act is the problem with which the present chapter concerns itself. The complexity of human motivation makes it impossible to ascertain all of the factors involved, but it is possible to state in fairly simple terms some of the essential aspects.

INHERITED AND ACQUIRED DRIVES

The preliminary and general answer to the question of why people act can be given in a single sentence, to be more fully explained

throughout the chapter. People act because of the character of the component elements of society, noted in the previous chapter, with which the process starts: the original nature of man with its human wants, the acquired or societary characteristics of man with increased interests and wants, mutual contacts within the associative groups, and contacts with the conditioning world of nature.

As has already been pointed out, the original nature of man provides him with a system of reflexes and capacities, including the ability for reflective and rational thinking and other characteristics, which distinguish the human species from all other types of animals. These inherited endowments are by nature active and dynamic. In other words, they constitute wants and urges which demand satisfaction. They are similar to those of the lower animals in some respects, but go beyond them to include all of the needs peculiar to man's nature, growing out of his experiences as well as his native endowment. It is in the wants and urges of man that the springs of human and social action are found; and the efforts to satisfy them constitute the beginnings, cause the continuance, and determine the character, of the social processes.

These drives to social action are called sometimes the "social forces," but this term is not used so much now as formerly, partly because of new conceptions of force in the natural sciences. What name shall be used is not very important. We are interested in the causes themselves that lead to social action, call them what you will,—social forces, motives, impulses, urges, wants, desires, wishes, interests, drives, or by any other appropriate name. The term "drives" has been chosen as being perhaps the best general descriptive name and least open to controversy, but the other terms will be used more or less interchangeably.

The social drives do not reside in the group itself, but in the members of the group, and here again is found proof that the individual is the true social unit. The group has no independent biological or psychological existence of its own. It is composed of individual people,—men, women, and children. These exist in certain social relations to each other, such as those of husbands, wives, parents, offspring, brothers, sisters, neighbors, friends, and coworkers. Such relationships influence and modify motives, as we shall see, but the motives themselves, even what we call social motives, have existence only in the persons who compose the group. Our inquiry as to what causes the activities within the

group, therefore, goes back to the question of what are the human drives that impel individual persons themselves to act.

The analysis of social drives is a psychological as well as a sociological problem. Psychology deals with human behavior. As a science it studies the response system of the individual but it has extended its study to include motives of action. Sociology deals with the larger units,—the various social groups and the social processes involved in them. But it must reckon also with the persons of which groups are composed. Group life cannot be understood apart from a study of its units, the persons composing the group, and the behavior of persons cannot be understood without a consideration of the drives of action. It is at this point that social psychology comes in, which employs psychological concepts and methods in explaining the life of individuals in groups, and sociological concepts and methods in explaining the processes of interaction involved in group life and the influences its members exert upon each other.

The social drives develop in social interaction. Even the inherited drives mean little until they are expressed in interaction with the physical and social world. It is for this reason that the study of social drives is largely within the field of social psychology, which is partly psychology and partly sociology.

The Native or Inherited Drives. The drives of human action are partly inherited and partly acquired. There is much difference of opinion as to the relative importance of these two factors, but fortunately the decision on that point is not absolutely vital for sociology, provided certain aspects of the subject are understood.

Every child is born with a native equipment that constitutes his or her inherited basis of life. A part of this is the nervous system, with its reflex mechanisms. Many actions are the results of impulses which are initial, primitive, loose and undirected. They become directed and organized through experience.[1] Man has few, if any, definite and fixed inherited mechanisms which result in a one-to-one correspondence of action, as formerly claimed by advocates of the instinct theory. Because of the existing uncertainty concerning the meaning, the number and types of instincts, and also as to whether or not human beings have instincts, the term will not be used in the further discussion of the social drives.

[1]Compare John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (1922).

It is not necessary to undertake a description here of the mechanism of the nervous system and how it functions and the various forms of inherited mechanisms. Such treatment may be found in any modern work on psychology if the reader is not already familiar with the subject. It is enough to call attention to the fact that the nervous system is an inherited device for securing action through response to stimulus. The response impulse is native to the individual as a part of his inheritance. The stimulus may be either within and native to the individual or may come from the external environment. This fact makes the response impulses and the inherited stimuli the initial springs of action, irrespective of environmental influence. With this original, unlearned, self-acting equipment, inherited from its parents, every child starts out on its life adventure. It is this which makes experience, both individual and social, possible in the world, and continuous from generation to generation.

Modifiability of Inherited Impulses. As stated above, there is much difference of view among psychologists at the present time concerning how much is included in this inherited equipment, and its real nature. There is now general agreement, however, concerning the aspects that are of chief concern for sociology. The earlier view regarded this inherited stimulus-response mechanism as largely fixed and almost unchangeable. If a person's inherited tendencies moved him in a certain direction he must follow that road except at the cost of tremendous struggle. The inborn tendency was thus more or less the justification for the act. It provided not only the initial impulse, but also the pattern according to which the thing was to be done. By it a mother was not only impelled to care for her babe, but also directed how to do so. The newer view is that, with the rise in the scale of development in the animal world, inborn tendencies become less rigid and provide less of a definite pattern of action, until in man they are exceedingly mobile and modifiable, furnishing almost nothing in the way of fixed patterns of action, but being restricted largely to the initial impulse to act. The following quotation is a good summary of the situation: "There is a tendency to substitute for ironclad instincts an undifferentiated primary disposition to be active; or dispositions that are at least not sharply delimited from others and that become moulded by circumstances into a variety of

forms; forms that are largely common amongst men because, in the large, the conditions of life are uniform."[2]

If this view is the true one, man's native stimulus-response equipment presents a great contrast to that of the insects, for example. Even those psychologists who hold the newer view concerning the modifiability of the human inherited endowment still regard that of insects as furnishing fixed patterns for definite acts. Bees and ants inherit their patterns or methods of activity as well as the impulses toward action. They work together in certain ways determined by inherited methods of procedure. So also with birds, but perhaps to a lesser degree. The robin's first nest is built in the same form and as well as those later in its life. Apparently it is by inheritance that birds know how to fly and how to build their nests according to the action-patterns of their respective species. With man, the inherited impulse gives only the initial push toward action and leaves him to find out *how* to build his house by means of his intelligence and acquired knowledge and skill. Thus in man inherited impulse is more and more supplemented by the inborn capacity of intelligence and thinking, together with acquired knowledge, and this greatly widens the range of his adaptation to and control over his environment.

The Acquired or Learned Drives. Although a child has a native equipment at birth, the inherited nature, these biological impulses and urges are not adequate for its development, or even for its survival. An infant is a dependent being. His activities could continue at most only a few hours were it not for the help of adults. But it takes even more than native equipment and adult care to develop a child. He must learn how to care for his own wants and develop his own potentialities. Impulses are initial, undirected, and unorganized. They may be organized in almost any direction according to the way they interact with surroundings. Native activities must come into interaction with a matured social medium.

The supplemental increment that is acquired by man as a member of society extends the range of human motivation. Where does it come from and how is it gained? Here, again, no attempt will be made to go into psychological details of procedure. In a word,

[2]R. H Gault, Chap. III in *Recent Developments in the Social Sciences*, edited by E. C. Hayes (1927), pp 104–5. "Inborn tendencies" may be substituted for "instincts" in this quotation.

the supplemental drives are learned from the environment under the influence of another inherited endowment, peculiar to man, the capacity for reflective and abstract thinking. Due to the fact that the human stimulus-response mechanism does not include definite patterns of action, the new-born child faces its world with no knowledge whatever of how to meet the untried situations into which it has entered, being still equipped with only its native inheritance. This is sufficient to start him vigorously on his way, but is wholly inadequate to enable him to find his bearings and insure his successful living, in respect to either motivation or knowledge. This further equipment he must acquire from the new environment through intelligence and the learning process.

We are concerned only with the problem of motivation. In a later chapter human culture will be considered. The babe, then, enters his new world equipped only with his inborn impulses to action, without conscious purposes or definite patterns of what to do or how to do it. Action starts from within, from inherited stimuli. This brings him at once into contact with his new external environment, new stimuli reach him therefrom, and he begins to learn as his organism makes responses to them. In psychological terms, this is known as the acquiring of habits through the "conditioned response." Habits and organized activities are the outgrowth of unlearned activities which are a part of man's endowment at birth, but no habits are formed apart from experience. The native hunger reaction of the child, for example, seeks satisfaction but does not tell him where or how to find it. This has to be learned, and the eating habit begins to be formed. The child has then begun the process of learning how to live in the external world. By processes within the nervous system, this new-learned habit either modifies or supplements the native hunger reaction, and the resulting urge is now that to satisfy hunger at his mother's breast,—a combination of inherited and acquired interests constituting an enlarged drive to action.

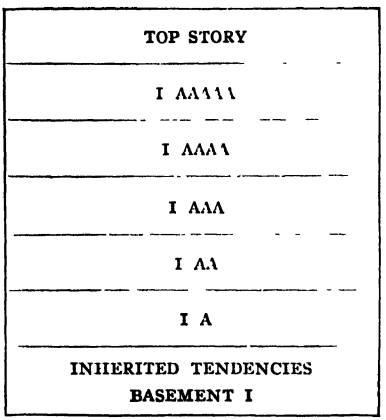
Thus is epitomized in concrete form, omitting psychological details, the story of the formation of new urges or motives. All that is needed is to extend the child's experiences to include his total range of environment, interests, and activities, and to keep on doing this as he passes from the cradle to the grave, and there is found in principle the explanation of human motivation, with its progressive expansion and complexity of scope.

This expansion of motivation is made possible, therefore, by the flexibility and modifiability of the inherited stimulus-response mechanisms in man, coupled with his capacity for thinking upon his new knowledge and experiences. If man's inheritances had been cast in fixed patterns of action, as in the case of insects, his adaptation to environment would also have been much more predetermined and there would have been much less opportunity for learned reactions and improvements, or perhaps none at all. His mobility and freedom are from the beginning both man's initial weakness and his ultimate strength. Herein is found one of the most distinctive biological differences between man and the lower animals. This, in connection with the capacity for reflective thinking, has made possible all of man's progress in knowledge, in the creation of culture, and in the development of civilization.

Combined Inherited and Acquired Drives. The acquired habits in man do not eliminate the native equipment, but are built upon this and modify it. The situation may be illustrated by the modern business and industrial system. Perhaps the inherited hunger reaction is at the basis of this. Yet that alone would certainly not account for such a vast and complex system as has developed. A man could satisfy his hunger in much simpler ways. The sex reaction, also, has played a very basic part, as a man comes to reckon with the hunger and protection needs of his family. But these elemental needs do not require our present elaborate industrial organization. The original hunger and sex reactions have been greatly added to and modified. The many-course dinner of modern man goes far beyond the satisfaction of hunger needs. The clothing of his wife and daughters involves interests of fashion, style, and beauty not at all included in the simple needs of keeping the body warm. The elaborate houses in which we live provide much more than the protection furnished by the primitive cave dwelling. Modern business is thus motivated not only by primitive hunger and sex reactions, but also by interest in fashion, love of display, and the comforts and luxuries of life, as also by the desire for security in sickness and old age, for the support of philanthropic enterprises, for the service of one's fellows, and perhaps for accumulation of wealth for its own sake, or by ambition for power and dominance, or the sheer love of the game. Indeed, these acquired interests have entered so widely into the motivation of business today that the original inherited impulses have been

almost forgotten. Perhaps only at times of individual and social crises do we think of these as still the basic urges. Nevertheless, all of the acquired interests have been built upon them by the learning process.

L. L. Bernard has given the relationship between the native and the acquired drives in an illuminating way in his "sky-scraper" illustration:[3]



In the above diagram **I** stands for the inherited drives, and **A** stands for the acquired drives, or habit.

"If we liken habit to a building which is reared upon a foundation constructed of stones corresponding to the instincts, we may compare various constituent habit complexes to the successive stories in a skyscraper. Some habit complexes are low down upon the bedrock of instinct and random activity and neural processes, while others are near the top of the building and have only very indirect contacts with the basic instinctive and random tendencies. It is also well to recognize that in our modern civilization these skyscrapers of habit are sometimes built very tall. Some men live lives which are relatively close to instinct, while other men build story after story of culture and sublimated interests until instinct is scarcely discernible in them in its original forms. Each successive story of habit formation is built upon the next story below and not upon the native instincts and random tendencies at the base, although even the most cultivated man may, under the stress of great crises or fear or illness, or other maladjustment, descend into the basement of the structure of his character and for a time live on a level with his instincts, forgetting his better and acquired nature."

The social drives which lead to action by the men and women constituting the social groups in which we live are thus complex and far-reaching. They include all the tendencies and capacities that have been inherited, plus or modified by all the interests that have been acquired in the knowledge and experiences of life, plus

[3]L. L. Bernard, *Instinct* (1926), p. 523. For the term "instinct" throughout this quotation, "inherited tendencies" may be substituted.

all the conclusions, ideals, aspirations, and evaluations that have come from these experiences as the result of reflective thinking and living; the foregoing are summed up in the attitudes or "sets" toward specific behavior and toward life as a whole that play so large a part in the final decisions reached and the actions performed. A man's social drives at any given time are determined by the sum total of what he is to date, and, in turn, they help to determine what he will be and do tomorrow.

WHAT CONSTITUTES THE SOCIAL DRIVES

Having considered the relationships of inherited and acquired drives, we now turn to the question of the content of these mainsprings of action. Social drives are somewhat elusive. They are numerous and varied, and usually extremely complex. Many of the motives of human action are unascertainable, as much of our conduct is motivated by hidden urges and unconscious or confused impulses. Different writers, also, use different terms to designate the motor tendencies, and this adds to the existing confusion concerning the subject. If we are not too technical in our approach, certain broad conclusions are possible.

Biological Urges and Reflexive Responses. We already have considered the problem of inherited or native drives of human activity. Organic urges, tropisms, random movements due to restlessness or surplus energy, sensori-motor reactions, glandular activity, reflexive responses, and various appetites and cravings impel the organism to action. They grow out of the needs of the organism, and are more or less vague and undefined in character until differentiated by experience. These biological drives are important springs of action and form the basis upon which the more complex social drives are developed through environmental contacts. It is the latter, however, in which sociology is particularly interested.

Human Wants and their Satisfaction. Without entering unduly into refinement of terms, there are certain characteristic wants, desires, and wishes which are shared in common by all human beings. These are either inborn or have a native biological basis, but into that phase of the subject we do not need to enter further. Nor do we need to go into the specific differences between wants, desires, and wishes, since we are not concerned here primarily with individual psychology. They are essentially alike in

character, merely variants of each other. Every human being, as such, has within himself dynamic wants which reach out in urges for expression and for satisfaction. At first they are simple and undifferentiated, but through social contacts they increase in number and complexity until, as Carlyle says, if you give a boot-black half the earth he will shortly demand the other half. These wants and their urges for satisfaction are the comprehensive springs of action, by whatever name we may choose to call them. All human and social activity grows out of them.

There has been much interesting discussion as to what these basic wants are. Albion W. Small, in particular, emphasized the significance of wants as social forces. While in his later statements he preferred the term "interests," this did not affect his statement of what these wants or interests include. His well-known classification grouped them under the headings, Health, Wealth, Sociability, Knowledge, Beauty, Rightness.[4] These basic wants or interests, he held, with their manifold varieties, impel man to efforts directed toward their satisfaction, and thus constitute the social forces.

W. I. Thomas finds the springs of action in his famous four "wishes," all of which must be satisfied if life is to be full and complete: (1) The wish for *new experience,* which is adventurous, based upon curiosity; (2) the wish for *security,* based upon fear, leading to caution and conservatism; (3) the wish for *response,* as expressed in love, friendship and congenial fellowship; and (4) the wish for *recognition,* expressed in the struggle for prestige and position in the social group.[5]

E. S. Bogardus notes that these four wishes are all self-centered and do not make provision for one of man's most urgent motiva tions, that of altruistic desire to serve others, and hence he supplements the list of Thomas by adding (5) the wish to *aid,* or to help one's fellows.[6]

Feeling, Emotion, and Sentiment. For our present purpose we do not need to differentiate closely between feeling, emotion, and sentiment in connection with motivation, or to discuss their respective psychological bases. Emotion is regarded as being more

[4]*General Sociology* (1905), p. 196

[5]W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (1923), pp. 4–40.

[6]E. S. Bogardus, "The Fifth Wish," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 16, September-October, 1931, pp. 75–77, also *Introduction to Sociology* (1931), pp 96–97.

closely bound up with the organism in its relation to the environment than is feeling. It usually involves organic disturbance and mental conflict. Woodworth defines it as being a conscious stirred-up state of the organism, aroused by the brain, which itself is aroused by some stimulus, usually external.[7] Joy, sorrow, fear, anger, hate, disgust, and jealousy are illustrations of emotions. It is not easy to distinguish between sentiments and emotions, except that the former are more fixed and permanent. They are deeply rooted in the person and are tied up with the intellectual life. Feeling is the sensation of pleasure or pain connected with experiences. "Feeling is the pleasant or unpleasant tone of consciousness which accompanies an activity."[8]

Thus feeling is the subjective evaluation of experience. For example, a child in seeking to satisfy its hunger eats an orange and a green apple. The one gives him pleasure, the other pain. The resulting tone of consciousness is feeling, and occasions an inner evaluation of the relative satisfactions provided by the two fruits.

It is at once evident that feelings, emotions and sentiments constitute powerful drives in connection with human conduct. Few people, if any, act purely from intellectual and rational considerations. While feelings and emotions are not the sole motives of action, yet they are very influential modifiers of other motives. Love and hate, joy and grief, fear, jealousy, desire for approval and popularity, dislike to go against the prevailing mode, pleasure and pain, are mingled in practically all of our human urges for or against contemplated actions. In fact, feeling and emotion probably lie deeper in the human organism than thought, emerge earlier, are more elemental, and, with most people, are a more important factor in motivation.

Intelligence and Reflective Thinking. While perhaps intelligence and thinking are implied in what has already been said about our native and acquired drives, a few words should be added concerning them. As feeling is the subjective evaluation of experience, so intelligence evaluates experience objectively.

"By intelligence we mean the capacity to improve upon natural tendencies through profiting by prior experience. It differs from both instinct and habit in that it does not consist in already formed reactions. It

[7]R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology* (1921), pp. 118–20.
[8]C. A. Ellwood, *Psychology of Human Society* (1925), p. 93.

functions to evaluate and control activities with reference to present and future environments, while instinct and habit have reference to past environments. Intelligence also differs from feeling. Feeling is subjective, non-analytic, and individualistic in its reference. Intelligence is objective, analytic, and tends to be universal in its reference. It has to do with the making of the more difficult and more complex adjustments of the organism to its environment. The most general mark of intelligent behavior is the adaptation of means to ends, or, in other words, problem-solving ability."[9]

Intelligence acts in motivation to accomplish two things: first, it examines and evaluates the manifold interests and urges that constitute the human drives, thus serving as a discriminating agency in determining which shall have right of way; and secondly, it devises means by which these selected interests and chosen ends may be gained. Intelligence is the pilot of the ship, both choosing the port and navigating the vessel to the selected harbor. It therefore acts in connection with all of the other human drives, inhibiting some, reinforcing others, and deepening still others into irresistible convictions. Ideas and ideals are tied up with our intellectual processes and represent significant springs of action.

Attitudes and Values. The whole story of motivation is not told when we have reckoned with wants, wishes, and other variants of desires, and have recognized the influence of feeling and emotion, and of intelligence and reflective thinking. Every person has a complexity of desires, emotions, and ideas, and every situation calls forth varied and sometimes conflicting impulses toward action. These have to be resolved, and decisions reached for or against a certain line of conduct under any given circumstances. This is what is meant by attitudes. They are different from desires and wishes, or from emotions and feelings, or even from the dictates of intelligent thinking, although all of these enter into them. An attitude is a tendency or "set" of the person to react positively or negatively to the total situation. Accordingly, attitudes may be defined as the mobilization of the will of the person with reference to action in given situations.

In other words, attitudes are the person's estimate of social values. By social value is meant a meaningful object or desirable gain. The attitude is the individual counterpart of the value. The attitude is directed toward the value, and the value, in a sense,

[9]Charles A. Ellwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 99.

is the externalization of the attitude. When attitudes crystallize into habits, which does not always take place, they become doubly influential in determining conduct. Habits, in the sense of repeated and customary procedure, are acquired and organized predispositions to respond in certain ways to stimuli. They stabilize conduct, for better or for worse. They are also time savers, making it unnecessary to expend the time and energy to think a thing through every time one acts. In driving an automobile, for example, one responds to situations in habitual and almost automatic ways. It becomes "second nature." In fact attitudes, habits, and social valuations sum up to a large extent the character of the person.

Whatever aspects of motivation we may consider, they are simply different forms of psychic and social urges or impulsions to human behavior. They are springs of human action, culminating in the will-to-act. Our life-organization consists of the integration of a net-work of social drives.

The Social Aspects of Human Drives. The human drives, although lodged in individuals, for there are no springs of action apart from individual human beings, are nevertheless essentially social in character, except the purely biological urges that are inherited. They are social in two ways: first, by the influence which the individual has on society; and, second, by the influence which society has on individual motives.

Concerning the first aspect, does it make any difference to society whether the individual's drives are narrow or broad in scope? Whether they are self-centered or socially minded? Whether they are predatory or altruistic, cruel or kindly, ignorant or informed, emotional or rational, sexually perverted or wholesomely clean? Does the individual motivation of the leaders and citizens of a democracy affect the welfare of the social life of the people? Do drives and motives of the individual statesmen of the world affect the relations of nations and international peace? Can the motivation of a few individuals wreck a civilization that has been built up by centuries of toil? These questions answer themselves and have been answered again and again in the course of history. If it is true that as a man thinketh in his heart, that is, as he is motivated, so is he, it is likewise true that, in the long run, as the individuals of a social group are motivated so will that group become in its social life.

When, on the other hand, we consider the influence of society

upon individual motivation, we approach an equally important phase of the subject. As has already been indicated, the human drives find only their starting point in the inherited tendencies. Their chief content consists of learned habits and interests which are built up from the environmental influences existing in the world of nature and especially in the world of social groups. For primitive man the nature-environment must have been most important, but with increasing civilization there has been a shift of emphasis. Today, for people in general, the immediate and significant contacts are not with nature but with society, and this has become the most influential factor in habit formation and hence in the building up of motivation. The babe is now born into a complex and highly artificial civilization of social relationships, which we technically call the psycho-social environment. It is this world in which the new-comer must live, as child and man, and his success in living will depend upon the adjustments that he makes to its situations. It is the knowledge, attitudes, values, conceptions, and institutions of this world of society that will most fully mold the ideas and influence the motives of the individual. The psycho-social environment, therefore, is of fundamental importance for motivation. Further implications of this phase of the subject will be evident in succeeding chapters.

Summary. Returning in this chapter to the manifold activities which were found in Part One of the present volume to exist in all communities, whether small or large, the question arises, why are people occupied as they are? This leads us to a consideration of the social drives which inaugurate community processes. These drives, sometimes called social forces, consist of the inherited and acquired needs and wants of man, which are seeking satisfaction from his two worlds,—that of nature and that of social life. In general terms, all human activities in associative groups and communities are caused by these urges for the satisfaction of human wants. Such wants are partly native to the individual as biological inheritance and partly acquired from the environment during the process of seeking the satisfaction of the inborn urges. Human wants thus become cumulative, until it is practically impossible to say which are inherited and which acquired. But while we never get entirely away from the former, the tendency is for the acquired wants to become increasingly influential in civilized communities, as people live more and more in a social environment

and their contacts with nature become more secondary and indirect.

Attention may well be called again to the basic importance of the social drives, both for the person and for society. Their nature and strength largely determine the forms of human activities, the formation of personality, and the direction and rate of social development. The modern conception is far removed from the ascetic ideal of the Middle Ages which called upon the pious man to withdraw from life and to kill his passions. Today the call is to identify oneself with the varied communal strivings and activities. The human wants that arise therefrom are regarded as normal and legitimate. But with the newer appreciation of the value of the social drives, there arises also the need of added emphasis upon rational choices among them, and of rational and consistent living in the gaining of the chosen ends, both in the case of the individual and society; that we be not driven forward by the tremendous forces of modern life upon an uncharted sea of profitless social activity.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. List five of your most important activities for a given day. Attempt to distinguish between which of these are due largely to drives that are native, and which to those that are chiefly acquired.

2. List the basic classes of community activities as given in Part One, and indicate the characteristic drive lying back of each.

3. Discuss the difference between the inherited drives of man and those of insects or animals. How has this difference made it possible for man to build up a civilization while insects and beasts have not?

4. Discuss Bernard's statement of the relative influence of inherited and acquired drives, as found in his book, *Instinct*, p. 523. Likewise discuss Ellwood's "levels of human behavior," as found in his *Psychology of Human Society*, pp. 82–105.

5. Name Thomas' four fundamental wishes. What wish does Bogardus add? Is this list inclusive? Are the different wishes mutually exclusive, or could a given wish be classed under several types?

6. Distinguish between a feeling and an emotion. What is a sentiment? How do the following emotions affect behavior: fear, joy, sorrow, hate and love?

7. What is an attitude? Distinguish between an attitude and an opinion. Between an attitude and a habit. How is an attitude related to a value? How would you proceed to study an attitude?

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CHAPTER XIX

GROUP EXPERIENCE: SOCIAL INTERACTION

The discussion has now reached the point where the individual social units are found to be in contact with each other in associative groups, and urged into activity in efforts to satisfy their human wants. These efforts seek expression in two directions,—toward the natural environment in which the group finds itself and from which its means of survival and subsistence must be secured, and toward the fellow members of the community, who constitute the social environment in which life must find its human fellowships, coöperative endeavor, and social satisfactions. At once the members of the group begin to respond to the stimuli of these two worlds and to interact among themselves. The process of adaptation and adjustment to both worlds is under way. With this transformation of mere aggregation and associative contact into the processes of interaction, community experience has begun. The wants and interests and interrelations of the members of the group will become progressively more numerous and complex with its expanding life, but all social development grows out of the situation here existing and the group experience resulting from it. This is true for all groups and communities, primitive or contemporary, small or large, and for humanity and civilization as a whole. The development of group experience constitutes the historical social process itself, with its manifold particular social processes.

It is difficult to put social phenomena into diagram form, but the following roughly expresses the group situation so far described:

Component Elements of Society	The social unit: The hereditary human individual; The societary person
	Associative group contacts
	The conditioning world of nature
The Social Drives	Human wants and urges for their satisfaction
	Feeling, emotion, and sentiment
	Intelligence and reflective thinking
	Attitudes and values

Group Experience { Interstimulation and Response,—i. e., Social Interaction } The social process

With the beginning of group experience in interaction, then, the social process as a whole and the various social processes therein involved are in operation. It remains to examine these more in detail.

Isolation, Contact, Interaction. Recalling the discussion of the component elements of society,[1] one of which was group contacts, its connection with interaction among the members of the group will now be more apparent. Evidently there can be no interaction between individuals who are living in isolation, or between those who have no associative contacts with each other, either physical or social. For this reason, contact may be regarded as the initial stage of interaction, as well as prerequisite to it. Indeed group life is interaction. This is what makes it a group instead of a mere collection of individuals. The members of the group are sharing their activities in a common and interrelated process of living. To be a real member of the group rather than an outsider, one must participate in this common life in a vital and interacting way. A group *lives* together. In the nature of the case its members cannot escape acting upon each other and being acted upon by each other.

The Reality of the Group. There has been much discussion concerning the relation of the group to the individual members composing it. Some writers hold that the group is only a collection or aggregation of individuals. Others have gone so far as to consider the group a real organism, genuinely comparable to a plant or animal organism, in which the individuals are only biological organs in a larger whole. The discussion has gathered somewhat around the question of whether there is a group mind, or a crowd mind. Folsom thinks that the controversy is largely one of terms; and most psychologists and sociologists would agree with the conclusion that the group is not an "organism," in the strict sense, with a group mind, but that it is an organic whole, not a mere aggregation of individual units.[2] The word "mind" should be retained for its original use, referring to the

[1] In Ch. XVII.

[2] For fuller discussion see, J. K. Folsom, *Social Psychology* (1931), pp. 296ff., and the authors there quoted.

individual. So-called group mind is really social interaction between individual minds. Such interaction is a real thing, however, and always takes place when human beings are in contact with each other. This makes of the group an actual entity, as real as the individuals composing it, for human beings have always been bound together in groups and cannot even come into the world except through group contacts. As a matter of fact, to quote Cooley again, the group and the individuals constituting it are only two sides or ways of looking at the same reality,—*human beings in group relations,* and there are no other kinds of human beings.

This reality of the group is what makes social interaction universal and vital in character, and the chief subject-matter of sociological study.

The Processes of Social Interaction. The general and inclusive social process is thus social interaction, consisting of innumerable interstimulations and responses among the members of the group and between groups. This all-inclusive process resolves itself into two main streams or sub-processes,—differentiation, competition, and conflict, on the one hand, and adaptation, accommodation, integration, and coöperation, on the other hand. A good illustration of these two processes is found in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe,* picturing the situation in England after the Norman conquest. The Normans, with their traditions of knighthood and courtly customs, came into contact with the rugged and more uncouth Saxons. The differences resulted in friction and conflict all along the line. But the younger generation in their intermingling found ways of adaptation to each other, and in time there resulted a genuine integration of the diverse elements into a thoroughly coöperative national people. The present chapter will consider the process of interaction as a whole, and the two following chapters will discuss respectively the two main subprocesses involved in it.

Communication as Medium of Interaction. The medium of interaction is communication, the first prerequisite of which is the inherited mechanisms of sense organs—the nervous system, vocal organs, and muscular apparatus. The human organism must be capable of giving and receiving stimuli before communication between the members of the group is possible at all. In other words, there could be no communication if there were no beings

capable of interstimulation and response. Communication between the members of human groups, while chiefly mental, takes place usually, if not always, through the agency of various media that are mutually understood by the sender and the receiver of ideas. If the sender has no such media at his disposal he cannot give expression to his idea, and if the receiver does not know what the media mean he will not be able to understand the idea; it will not register. Without such media each human being would remain in isolation and social life would be impossible. These media of communication and interaction between mind and mind are known as symbols, which are collective representations of objects. Chief among the media of communication are the world of nature about us, gestures and facial expressions, signs, oral speech, written and printed language, the arts, inventions, social institutions, and all other creations of man known as human culture.

The Physical Universe as Communication Media. The material world serves as a medium of communication. Earth, water, air, light-waves, and sound-waves all furnish physical means for the conveyance of ideas. The various objects about us are mutually perceived and come to have essentially the same meaning for all of us. One man pointing out a tree to another man, or the difference between two trees, gets ideas across to him. Two boys looking at a fish in a pool are able to convey to each other the idea of catching it. The gestures and signs used in connection with the objects of nature are parts of the communication process, it is true, but the objects themselves provide part of the medium. A thunderstorm, for example, conveys meaning in itself. Light waves and sound waves make possible the transmission of ideas through vision and hearing. These aspects of communication, however, are so well known as to require only this passing mention here.

Signs and Gestures as Symbols of Communication. Probably the most elementary forms of communication are signs, gestures, facial expressions, shrugs, exclamations, the pitch and inflection of the voice, and emotional responses. Bodily gestures and vocal tones are the vehicles of communication employing the senses of sight and sound. It is claimed by some that the communication of early man was almost wholly by means of gestures, even oral language not yet having developed. Sign language is used today by the deaf and dumb, and in many other groups, such as the Chicago Board of Trade, for example. A great deal of

communication takes place in all groups without the use of either spoken or written language, and in such cases social interaction is by means of an interplay of gestures, either overt movements of the hands or head, or vocal expression. Gestures are particularly important during the early stages of the communication of children. The child does not talk, and yet makes his wants known by means of vocal and overt gestures.

Language as Means of Communication. Language is by far the most important means of communication. Its origins are lost in the mists of antiquity, but it marked a great step forward for primitive groups when language appeared. *Oral speech* originated long before written language, probably beginning with the exclamatory cry, of warning, of surprise, of pleasure, or of pain. An early stage was the naming of objects, the development of nouns.[3] A certain vocal sound was used in connection with an object, perhaps accidentally at first, and repeated by others, until the sound stood for the object and recalled it in men's minds. It now becomes the symbol of the object, or its name. The vocal *word* "dog" means the *animal* dog, so that the word brings up the mental picture of the dog without the animal itself being present. The vocal symbol comes to stand for the object itself. This represents a tremendous advance, for men could now think in concepts rather than in percepts alone, and the range of communication and of interaction was greatly extended.

When *written language* came into existence, the word and the letters of which it is composed became the symbols of the object itself. Have you ever thought what a truly marvelous thing it is that you can look at this word, "automobile," and see or think the automobile itself? This is a possibility belonging to man alone. No other being has it, so far as we know. That is one main reason why man has built up a culture while no other animal has done so. The accumulated experience of one generation can be handed down to others by oral and written symbols. Man can think in abstract terms and convey his thoughts to others. This has made possible the accumulation of the world's literature and the building up of the world's civilization through the vast extension of mental interaction among men.

Language represents the most common means of communica-

[3]See E. S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (1924), p. 115.

tion. It is the product of social interaction and is at the same time the chief means for its maintenance and extension. It is not instinctive, but is a purely man-made creation and is itself one of the chief aspects of human culture. A common language means a common world of ideas, and interchange of thought and of action.

Oral language is used most extensively in primary, or face-to-face groups. Conversation is one of the most common forms of communication in every community, and is the customary medium of group interaction. The notions of love, service, loyalty, freedom, justice, fair-play, and the standards and ideals of life and conduct are chiefly acquired through the medium of oral speech in the interactions within face-to-face groups. Much of our knowledge is also acquired in this way.

Written language has produced tremendous changes in human association. It represents the line of demarcation between a preliterate and a literate society. It is hardly possible for us to visualize a society in which there is an absence of written language and where social interaction is limited to the simple life and culture of oral speech. Under such conditions progress was slow during the early stages of human existence. It probably took centuries to make the simple change from a hand flint hatchet to a flint hatchet with a handle on it. The unprecedented rapidity of invention in modern times is due in no small degree to the possibility of storing up trustworthy scientific ideas in written language and giving them world-wide currency through the device of printing.

Other Media of Communication. The *fine arts* are probably the highest form of emotional communication, especially poetry and music. These reach far back beyond the appearance of written language, to the days of the primitive dance and the early bards, while today they fill a very large place in the expression and communication of the finer sentiments of life. Not only are the emotions stimulated, but ideas are conveyed by such means. The drama, in particular, has often combined both music and poetry in the gripping presentation and interpretation of life's situations and experiences.

The *industrial arts,* also, have always furnished a medium of interaction, especially in the widespread mechanical inventions of modern times. They have become progressively the repositories of ideas of utility. Indeed, if in the future ages there should by

chance be no remains found of our present civilization except its extensive machinery, no small part of our civilization could be interpreted and reproduced from this medium of communication alone.

All *social institutions* of the community store up and give expression to ideas and attitudes that provide the medium of social interaction, while conversely they are the creations of interaction. The family, the industrial system, the school, the church, the political state, as well as the many minor institutions of society, have become the very embodiment of the social interactions of the past and the present, and about them gather the tumultuous and vivid activities of community life, as we have seen in Part One of this volume. Indeed this is true of all *human culture,* as we shall see more fully when the products of the social processes are considered.

Through all of these media of communication, beginning with crude signs and gestures, and progressing to oral speech, written and printed language, art, invention, social institutions and human culture as a whole, the members of social groups have increased their contacts with each other and with other groups, and have more and more interchanged ideas, emotional attitudes, and ways of living. Widening areas and greater complexity of interstimulation and interaction have resulted in the creation of our present world-wide, vitally interrelated, interacting civilization, finding ceaseless expression both within groups and among groups.

The Extension of Communication by Inventions. An elaborate social structure has been built up to accomplish communication on a large scale. Communication by means of gestures and signs, exclamations and vocal speech have been supplemented or superseded in large measure by the invention of written language and the various mechanical devices of communication. Printed language in books, magazines, and newspapers, the telephone and telegraph, the phonograph and radio, motion pictures and the elaborate postal system, have made tremendous changes. It is a far cry from the limited face-to-face intercommunication of primitive men to the complex and far-flung communicating system of modern times when spoken words can be carried across the seas and when one can share in the ideas of the distant past or the far regions of the earth, and transmit his thoughts to his fellows in distant space and time by means of the printed page.

Levels of Interaction. Having given some attention to communication as the medium of social interaction, it remains to consider what may be termed the various levels of interaction, which are the levels of communication as well. The most important of these are the senses, the emotions, and ideas.[4]

1. The *senses* are the gateways through which we come in contact with the world, including our fellow-men. We "come out," so to speak, by seeing, hearing, smelling, and touching others, and they "enter us" by these same gates.[5] The sense of taste also connects us with the outer world, but not so much with our fellows.

The sense of *touch* is very important in contact and interaction, as is at once apparent when we think of handshaking, patting, petting, tickling, embracing, kissing, slapping, slugging, etc. It is through the sense of *sight* that most of our stimuli come from the physical world, and to this sense we are largely indebted for a knowledge of the symbols of communication, such as signs, gestures, the world's written and printed literature, and the artistic creations of architecture, painting, and sculpture. "Much of our efficiency in dealing with other people comes from sight; through sight we can sense what they are about to do as well as what they are doing, and so adjust ourselves to them.... Sight means so much because human beings have such mobile and revealing faces. We are literally 'making faces' all the time.... And how the 'sights' stir us—the sight of a long-absent loved one, of a lost diamond, of a gay Broadway, of the old home, of a rare book, of cruelty, of heroic deeds!"[6] The interactions of life would be disastrously curtailed without the sense of sight. Through the sense of *hearing* all vocal stimuli are communicated, all sounds and voices, all kindly and endearing expression, all hateful and taunting epithets, all inspiring lectures and addresses, all soul-stirring music and songs of birds, the crash of the thunder storm, the moaning of the wind, the rush of the cataract, or the waves beating upon the rocks.

It is not necessary to continue the discussion, the senses are so evidently the basic level of social interaction, both between man and nature and among the members of the group.

2. *Emotional interaction* is the second level of interstimulation

[4]See Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp 342ff.
[5]See the discussion by F. E. Lumley, *Principles of Sociology* (1928), pp. 130–36.
[6]F. E. Lumley, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

and response. By this more is meant than the feelings, which are the consciousness of pleasure or pain, although these are a part of the emotional situation. We mean also anger, hate, fear, jealousy, love, joy, elation, shame, reverence, awe. Sympathy, whose root meaning is to feel with or suffer with others, is a sort of universal rapport among men. Laugh and others laugh with you. Smile and they respond with a smile. Cry and others share your sorrow. Show signs of anger, and conflicts will be aroused. These are common experiences. Laughter and weeping are particularly suggestive combinations of gesture, facial expression, and vocal symbols of emotion. They transcend all differences of language and all barriers of nationality and custom. You come upon a group of little children crying. Not a word of their speech can be understood by you. Nevertheless you understand their distress and immediately react to it and share their grief. Even a collie dog responds to the tone of the voice and the expression of the face far more quickly than to the words that are spoken. A severe reprimand spoken with a cheery smile and in a joyous tone of voice will bring the happy wag of tail. It is a purely emotional reaction. There is little interaction among members of the group that is not colored and largely caused by feeling and emotion.

Related to emotional interaction is that of attitudes and personal qualities. Go into a store, and those in charge treat you discourteously and as if they did not care whether you were satisfactorily served or not. Your reaction is wholly different from that in a store where you are smilingly welcomed, treated as a guest, and given the feeling that it is a pleasure to serve you. One church is made up of people who are friendly and genuinely interested in those who come; another church is cold and formal and self-centered. The interactions are wholly different in the two churches. This influence of the attitudes and personal qualities of the members of the group is of the greatest significance in all social intercourse. It often determines whether a strike will be called or not, and how soon it can be settled; whether a family will be happy or broken up by divorce; whether a social club will flourish or languish; whether a candidate for political office will be elected or defeated; whether a young man will succeed in life or prove a failure in his enterprises.

3. *Intellectual interaction,* or that of ideas, is the third level of interstimulation. Human interaction is chiefly mental in char-

acter because the distinctive thing about man is his mental nature. "Interaction through sense-perception and emotional responses may be termed the natural forms of communication since they are common to man and to animals. Such interaction is restricted to the communication of attitudes and feelings."[7] But man deals also with *concepts,* which are mental pictures or images, visible to the mind when the sense-perception is not present. You perceive your friend when you are face to face with him. But you have a concept or mental image of your friend even when he is far away. This we call an idea. Man therefore has the power of visualizing to himself what he cannot touch, or see, or hear with the senses. And by expressing these ideas in symbols which he has devised, he can, as we have seen, get them across to others and even store them up for the use of future generations. He thus has the ability to think in terms of ideas, that is, to think abstractly, to rationalize. This opens up a wholly new field of interaction among the members of human groups. They are conscious of what they are doing, and see life in its long perspective of purposes, and the significance of past, present, and future events and relations. It is in this realm that the highest and most characteristic level of social interaction among human beings is found.

Imitation and Suggestion as Mechanism of Interaction. Many sociologists regard imitation and suggestion as the chief and best understood mechanisms by which interaction takes place through the various kinds of communication which have been discussed above.[8] These may be regarded as two sides of the same process. Suggestions come to us from our manifold contacts in life. Some of them are consciously directed toward us, as in the case of parental and school instruction; others have no conscious intent of influencing us, as in the case of the suggestions connected with a football game or a purely social function. On the other side, there is a tendency for us to do as others do in reaction to these suggestions. It is a well-known fact that a crowd can be collected on a street corner by an individual or two stopping and looking intently at the top of a building where nothing unusual is taking place. Others also stop and look. Everywhere in life, interactions in a group tend to operate along these reciprocal lines of suggestion and imitation. This subject will be referred to again in the

[7]Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
[8]*Op. cit.*, p. 344.

discussion of social control. It should be noted here, however, that social interaction is not limited to the method of suggestion and imitation but takes place through all forms of intercommunication.[9]

Summary. This chapter began with the individual social units in contact with each other in group association, and impelled to activity in efforts to satisfy their human wants. These activities are not carried on in isolation, but are social interactions, resulting in group experience. They inaugurate the social process as a whole and constitute the arena for the various social processes.

Interaction is thus the general and inclusive social process within the community. No two persons can come into contact without this process taking place in the form of interstimulation and response, and in conscious or unconscious attempts at mutual adjustment. Interaction takes place through the various media of communication.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Distinguish between physical and social isolation. Enumerate the causes of social isolation. What are the effects? Cite cases of what extreme isolation has done for persons. See Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 239–43.

2. What is the relation between social contact and social interaction? In what sense is social interaction the fundamental social process? State the two phases of interaction.

3. What are the different forms of communication? Show how the extension of communication has affected social contacts.

4. Give concrete illustrations showing the different levels of interaction.

5. Define and contrast the processes of suggestion and imitation. Illustrate.

6. Observe a selected group with a view to discovering the interaction process. Are the members intimate with each other or are there barriers to interaction? What means of communication are used? Are the members influenced greatly by suggestion and imitation?

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[9]See also brief discussion of imitation and suggestion as means of social control in Ch. XXII.

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CHAPTER XX

Differentiation and Conflict

In every community, as is evident from even superficial observation, there is continual interaction among the members of the various groups and among the groups themselves, as discussed in the last chapter. Social interaction is the inclusive process involved in community life. It now remains to examine further the nature of this interaction. As we look more closely at the situation, it appears that interactions between the members of the community are not all of one kind; they resolve themselves into two main aspects, namely the opposing interactions and those that are unifying. These two sub-processes exist in every group and community. The first represents cross-purposes, leading to differentiation and conflict. The second represents common interests and aims, making for integration and coöperation. The first of these processes will be considered in the present chapter, and the second in the chapter following.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION[1]

Social differentiation, competition, and conflict are alike in that they represent conditions and activities of opposition and division in the interactions within the community. They are closely interrelated and continuously interact upon each other. In discussing them, we might start either with differentiation or with conflict. It seems best, however, to begin with the differences existing in the group, remembering that these are greatly multiplied and intensified by the conflicts which grow out of them.

The fact that differences exist in every social group is evident to the most casual observer. Some members of the community are men and some are women; some are young and some are old;

[1]The discussion of this topic is especially indebted to the comprehensive treatment of Professor C. C. North in his volume, *Social Differentiation* (1926), which the student is advised to read in this connection.

some are white, others black; some are rich, some poor; some work for wages, others manage industry and pay wages; some are ditch-diggers, others are factory workers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, ministers, teachers, bankers, housewives. Indeed, no two people are exactly alike. Differences are universal. This is very significant for social interaction within the group, as we shall see later.

All are familiar with the adage that "some people are born great, others achieve greatness, and others have greatness thrust upon them." This is equally true of differences. Some differences are matters of birth, such as those of sex and race and mental capacity. Others are due to achievement, as in the case of Booker T. Washington or Abraham Lincoln, who in spite of humble birth, rose far above the common-place in their own development and in service to humanity. Other differences are thrust upon people, such as those of slavery or freedom, of being thrown out of employment when the factory closes down in an economic depression, or of losing an arm in an automobile accident.

These various differences are of two main kinds,—those that are individual in character, and those that are social.[2] Sociology is more directly concerned with the latter. The individual differences, however, cannot be divorced from the social, since they are to a large extent the basis of the latter and are even social in some of their own aspects also.

Biological and Individual Differences. These differences require less extended consideration here due to the fact that they have already received some attention in other parts of this volume, especially in the discussion of the social elements.[3] The most important biological differences are those of age, of sex, of race, and of individual variation.[4] Every person in the community belongs to a certain age group, with its own peculiar social characteristics; is of the male or female sex, with their respective social attitudes and functions; possesses family and racial traits that influence his social relationships; and has many individual peculiarities which differentiate him from his fellows. All of these biological characteristics break up the dead level of community life into heterogeneous groups of interests and activities.

[2]*Ibid*, p 3.
[3]Ch. XVII.
[4]North, *op. cit.*, p. 5 and Part II.

Differences of Age. While there are all gradations of age in the community, from the youngest to the oldest, their natural differentiation falls into the familiar grouping of childhood, youth, middle life, and old age. Each of these groups differs from the others in its distinctive characteristics and social conditions. *Childhood* is the age of helplessness, ignorance, and impulsive development. Both body and mind are immature, plastic and modifiable. It is the period of social dependence, growth, and training. This is accomplished not so much through work as through play, the natural vocation of childhood; but also through the beginnings of instruction in the elementary knowledge and understanding of life, the child's self-expression in these processes being directed by such sympathetic and wise guidance as will provide the wholesome controls essential for living in the social group.

No one will mistake *youth* for any other age. It is the exuberant period of transition from childhood to adulthood. New physical powers emerge in puberty and adolescence, accompanied by new intellectual and spiritual awakenings, and the development of new interests, in which sex plays an important part. Activity and vivid love of life are also characteristic of this age-group. Youth is the period of education, which is its proper vocation,—a growing understanding of life through living and through a progressively enlarging knowledge and appreciation of the world's accumulated culture; and, toward the close of adolescence, vocational preparation for life's particular tasks.

In *middle age* life has struck its stride, in family relations and responsibilities, in the vocational struggle for economic and professional success, and in such other contributions to the welfare of the group as mature men and women are qualified to make. This is the period of creative and productive labor. *Old age* has its own special characteristics, pathetic in some of its aspects as the active participation in enterprises of more vigorous years must be laid aside. There are compensations, however, in turning attention to interests long cherished but crowded out by the pressing duties and responsibilities of earlier years. But whether happily situated or not, old age is clearly distinguishable as a social group, different from childhood, from youth, and from middle age, as these also are differentiated from each other.

As we contemplate the many kinds of differences that characterize social groups, those based upon age are perhaps the most

evident, and are certainly among the most significant in social differentiation.

Differences of Sex. Sex is a matter of biological inheritance, and consequently the differences caused by it exist in society of necessity. This is true not only of the sex inheritance at birth, but also because of the requirements of race perpetuation. To women falls the biological burden of bearing and nurturing each new generation; and upon men rests, by and large, the responsibility for the support of the children so born, and of the mothers who bear them. Thus arises still further differentiation along lines of sex, on a vocational basis. This is not the place, however, to discuss the problem of men and women in industry.

There is much difference of opinion concerning the other differences between the sexes aside from those that are biological. That such differences now exist there is of course no doubt. The question is whether they exist of biological necessity or are due to past and present environment, social conventions, education, and custom. In the latter case, they have been socially determined and can be socially changed. The present tendency is to place more and more of these differences between the sexes in the class of socially conditioned variations. That does not answer the further question, however, as to how much would be gained to society, on the whole, by minimizing or eliminating the differentiation of interests, attitudes, sentiments, and activities existing between the sexes, which would have to be determined by special investigations.

Differences of Race. The next most important biological basis of social differences is probably that of race. Few social problems have received more attention in recent years or evoked more discussion than this, both from the angle of scholarship and from that of practical considerations of national, international, and religious policy. All agree that there are marked differences among the various races at the present time. But what are the causes of this differentiation and the consequent social policies that should be adopted? That is the question at issue.

The most evident marks of racial differences are found in physical appearance, including color of skin, stature, length and breadth of the head, facial angle, hair texture, and peculiarities of nose and lips.[5] But while these physical aspects are the most apparent, even more attention has been given to mental and moral

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

racial differences. Most scholars recognize a substratum of such psychological variations between races, but there is wide divergence of view as to how far these tendencies are responsible for the cultural differences that exist. The present tendency is not to stress the importance of the biological aspects so much as was formerly done, but to regard present racial differences as due chiefly to environmental and historical conditions that affected culture, which in turn still further accentuated the differentiation of races by acting as additional conditioning environment.[6]

Differences of Family and Individual Heredity. In addition to differences of age, sex, and race there are those due to variations in family and individual inheritance. These exist in both sexes, in every age group, and within every race. Studies have made it evident that certain family traits, or consanguineal characteristics, are passed on from generation to generation, differentiating families from one another, and constituting a sort of family individuality. But beyond this, the various members of a family all have their own particular variations of heredity. The children may resemble each other; but no two are alike, as all parents will testify. Every individual stands out by himself as unique in the midst of all of the general likenesses of humanity. These individual variations include, as of special significance, differences in intellectual capacity, emotional reactions, temperament, disposition, and energy.

The mental tests used so extensively in recent years, whatever may be their imperfections, show as a net result that individuals vary widely in intellectual capacity, all the way from low grade feeblemindedness to the mental endowment of the great philosopher. There is not so much scientific knowledge concerning variations in emotional equipment, temperament, disposition, and energy. But it is known that differences here affect persistence of motives, strength of will, and consistency and vigor of execution. These are basic elements in character, and combine with intellectual capacity in determining differentiation of vocation, success or failure, and the social rank of individuals.

Social Differences. The biological differences of age, sex, race, family, and individual variations, thus constitute a considerable part of the differentiation found within the community and society in general. They are also the basis of many distinctly

[6]For fuller discussion and quotations from authors, see *ibid*, pp. 137–165.

social differences, such as those of occupation, rank, and culture. They are not, however, the only cause of these social differences. Every individual, of whatever sex, family, or race, is born into an already existing social order of established customs, institutions, ideas, and culture. These also have a very great influence in determining the social variations among members of the group, perhaps even more so than the biological causes. One child is born into a home of poverty, where opportunities are limited, another into a home of sufficient resources to give him a good start in life. One child is born into an atmosphere of crime and lawlessness, while another is surrounded from infancy by influences of morality and religion. One child is born of an ignorant and tubercular mother, another's mother is educated and wholesomely healthy. One child is born into English institutions, language, and culture, another into those of China, another into those of India, another into those of the Eskimos, still another into those of the Zulus. It is these variations of environmental situations, institutions, ideas, and culture, in interaction with the differing biological capacities and traits, which cause the endless differentiation existing in the social world. To these should be added social mobility, which makes it possible for an individual to pass from one environmental situation and culture to another, or for these other traits of culture to be brought to him.

It remains to be considered briefly, what kinds of differences exist in society as the result of these two types of interacting forces. Some of them have already been indicated in the preceding discussion. Sorokin thinks that there are three kinds of differences that characterize a person's place in the social world,—those of economic position, of political affiliations, and of occupation.[7] North's classification, better adapted to our present purposes, includes four types,—differences of function or occupation, of rank, of culture, and of interest.[8]

Functional Differentiation.[9] As we have already seen, every social group has certain fundamental needs and acquired wants seeking satisfaction. It is in the efforts to satisfy these desires that functional divergencies arise within the community. In primitive life, the simple needs were cared for without much differentiation

[7]P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (1927), p. 12.

[8]*Op. cit.*, p. 5.

[9]See also Ch. VIII of the present volume, "Making a Living."

of occupation, except that naturally existing between the sexes and between the age groups. The family was an economic unit, the members working together to produce the things necessary for life. The situation is wholly changed today, and especially in Western industrialized civilization. Now different parts of the country and of the world produce different things, to be exchanged by transportation. Different individuals work at varied occupations and interchange the products of their labor through the medium of money and credit and the clearing house of stores and the commercial system. Even in making a single article, such as an automobile or a watch, one man does not cover the entire process, but spends his time in making one small part, and then these parts are "assembled" by others. There are also the industrial managers, the commercial middlemen, the officers and clerks, the bankers, lawyers, and a long line of other kinds of professional and business occupations.

This is what we know as the division of labor, which is especially characteristic of the modern world since the Industrial Revolution. It has resulted in a vast variety of occupational variations, there being more than 500 different occupation groups listed in the United States. The division of labor, however, is not an economic matter alone, but is a social concept descriptive of society in its whole range of functional life, including the varied activities of the leisure class group, the professional group, the mercantile group, and the manual laborers. The importance of these variations in both individual and social life begins to be appreciated when we realize the influence of what people do upon their own personality, usefulness, and happiness, as well as upon the welfare of the group and of human society as a whole. These varied influences cannot here be traced, but the subject constitutes an interesting field of research.

Differences of Rank refer to the rights, privileges and honors enjoyed by the various members of the community, whether personal, political, economic, religious, or of social position. The doctrine that all men are created equal has been given up, in the sense that all are born with the same mental capacity, energy, or ingredients of character. The only equality that can be even theoretically claimed is that of opportunity, but even this does not exist in fact, and never has, in any social order. It still remains as a goal for future attainment. At the present time there are

very wide differences in social rank. The variations in function, just considered, are a case in point. Different vocations are accorded differing grades of appreciation by members of the group. A ditch digger or a coal heaver, or the city scavenger, does not rank so high in public esteem as the judge, the lawyer, or the minister. This difference may be based upon a fair evaluation of varying services to the community in some cases, but certainly not in all. The master is thought of as being higher than the slave, yet the educated slave of ancient Greece may have been of more value to society than his brutal foreign master. Political privileges may be dominated by the "ring." Economic advantage may be in proportion to the capital or the prestige to command it. Even religious rank has not always gone to those who have been most truly religious and have rendered greatest service to their fellows.

Among differences of rank, must be reckoned also the differentiation of society into castes and social classes. Sometimes these are very rigid in character, as among the various castes of India, or between the aristocracy and the proletariat in other lands. In democratic countries the distinctions of class are inclined to be much less rigid. In the United States, for example, while social classes undoubtedly exist, there is great freedom of movement from one class to another, as may be determined by capacity and by qualities of individual energy and endeavor, by education and training, and by worth of personality. The tendency in modern times is for social classes to form along these lines and those of vocation and wealth, rather than on the basis of hereditary differentiation.

Doubtless differences of rank will always exist, and should do so. The most that can be hoped for is equality of opportunity for every individual, with the coöperation of society, to bring to highest fulfillment the possibilities that are in him of personality development and of service; and that honor should be given to whom it is due.

Differences of Culture have already been considered to some extent, and will receive further attention in the chapter on "Human Culture."[10] Here it is sufficient merely to call attention to the widespread differentiation of culture as between nations, between various groups within the same nation, and among individuals. Such differences are due partly to territorial location, and partly to the

[10]Ch. XXIV.

historical development of the group and of the individual, to the accident of particular situations and educational conditions, and to the use that has been made of the opportunities available. The wide diffusion of culture in modern times through increased communication and travel has had the effect of adding to the cultural differences and confusion of the various social groups and of breaking up local provincialism. The ultimate result, however, may be an added unity of world-wide culture on a much more cosmopolitan scale than has ever before been possible.

Differences of Interest are partly at the root of other phases of social differentiation, and are partly caused by them. While the fundamental needs of all human beings are the same, yet the special wants and desires of individuals differ widely because of inherited variation and acquired education and experience. Each individual, in seeking to satisfy his own particular interests, will therefore make his own choices, as far as possible, of vocation, recreation, education, cultural associations, personal friendships, and the many other factors of life in which individual tastes differ. These choices, in turn, awaken and create still other interests that seek their added satisfactions. The result is growing differentiation of interests and of the activities to which they lead among the members of the group.

Within the larger community, special groups are formed of people who are interested in the same things, and thus there are established particular interest-groups. Familiar illustrations will at once come to mind, such as college fraternities and sororities, Christian associations, literary societies, and various other college "activity" groups; as well as the amusement and social clubs of the city, the federated women's clubs, the churches, the chamber of commerce, and many others. These interest groups have greatly multiplied in modern life. It is very significant that each individual does not belong to only one of these interest groups, but to several of them at the same time, and often to very many. This gives diversity, extension of friendships, and a certain cosmopolitan character to his life, but, on the other hand, often leads to lack of unity of personality and to a rather hectic and fruitless dissipation of energy.

Sometimes the groups seeking particular purposes are themselves designated as "interests." Thus there are public utility interests, labor union interests, political corruption interests, and

big business interests. These often seek and obtain special privileges of a detrimental sort and add still further to artificial inequalities of rank and of opportunity in the community.

It is apparent, therefore, that society, which we sometimes think of collectively as being a unity of human beings, is by no means a homogeneous body of people living on a dead level and monotonous plane of existence. It is broken up into diversified races, families, sexes, ages, and individuals varying in abilities and capacities, temperament and emotions, needs and wants, and the compelling interests of life. Among the members of society there are likewise great social divergencies of occupation, of rank, of national and group affiliations, and of cultural influences and development. It is such individuals interacting in such a society who are attempting to live together in coöperative relations. The task is difficult enough in a primitive and simple social group. When society becomes world-wide and complex in its interactions, the difficulties are correspondingly multiplied.

SOCIAL CONFLICT

Looked at in the large, social conflict, the next process to be considered in community interaction, is due in no small degree to the social differences which we have just been considering, together with the fact that the resources for the satisfaction of men's varying wants are limited and must be striven for. It is not strange, on the one hand, that the manifold desires of people should run athwart of each other and get in each other's way. Nor, on the other hand, is it to be wondered at that people themselves get in each other's way when they are all trying to satisfy their needs from the same limited source of supply. Hence, opposition, competition, and conflict.

The Social Significance of Conflict. No activity creates greater interest and evokes more enthusiasm and discussion than conflict. The people of a community may carry on their life affairs in a quiet and unassuming manner, but let a conflict arise and everybody becomes excited and agitated, especially if the conflict vitally affects them. That is why newspapers feature anything in the nature of an unusual disturbance. The conflicts of history, also, such as wars, political controversies, and social crises, have always been emphasized. Conflicts focalize attention, generate interest, and necessitate action.

While conflict occupies an important place in our experience, few recognize its far-reaching significance in modern life. Its destructive nature is the aspect usually considered. The man who is in the thick of competition and conflict is inclined to deplore its existence. His work would seem much easier if he could have a clear field in his enterprises. But such has not been the verdict of history, at least so far as society in general is concerned. Struggle has been the price of progress. The easiest path is in the ruts. Stagnation is the penalty of ease. The wide-awake policies of a vigorous competitor keep a man on his toes for new economies and improvements in his business or profession. The clash of interests gives an opportunity for the best to prove their worth. All the way up, man has had to struggle with nature, with the animals which he has had to conquer, with the insect pests which would engulf him, with the predatory members of society, and even with his fair-minded fellows. And in this struggle man has learned to think and has built up civilization. If rivalry is added to struggle, sportsmanship emerges and life becomes indeed a worthy game of progress. The monotonous unity of the homogeneous group has to be broken up by differentiation and conflict into its dynamic heterogeneous elements before a higher and stronger unity can emerge. This has seemed to be the historical and necessary route of advancement, both for the individual and for the group. Great social movements are usually born in conflict, and improved social conditions emerge out of struggle.

It is also true, however, that opposition, struggle, competition, and conflict, can be overdone. Nature can crush man, as well as supply his needs. Competition can destroy efficiency by useless waste or the usurpations of unregulated monopoly. The swift should have a fair chance to win the race without being defeated by the tricks of unscrupulous opponents. The *laissez-faire* method is not adequate, therefore, but competition and conflict must be regulated by intelligent social control in the interests of fair play and the common good, as will appear more fully in the following chapter.

Competition and Conflict Compared. The nature of conflict is more clearly seen if we compare it with competition. Both of these are phases of interaction and of the universal human struggle. More specifically, both are forms of social opposition in the process of interaction. But there are significant differences.

Competition is more like a race, with the contestants or the competing institutions striving for the same goal, whereas conflict implies that the forces are working at cross purposes; the individuals or institutions try to undo rather than outdo each other. To illustrate further, a dozen young men may be applying for the same position. This is competition, not conflict. The firm to which they are applying looks up their preparation, past record, and personal qualifications, finally choosing the man who seems to satisfy the requirements most fully. Conflict would arise only if two or more of the applicants should meet and engage in personal controversy over the position. The process of competition is going on all the time and everywhere in society. The contestants may never come into contact with each other and may not know what is taking place, but the sifting process is continually in operation in an impersonal and unconscious struggle that fixes one's place, or the place of an institution, in the social order. Park and Burgess sum up the distinction substantially as follows:[11] Competition does not involve personal contact between the competitors, is impersonal, unemotional, unconscious, continuous, and slow in operation. Conflict, on the other hand, involves contact, is personal, charged with emotion, conscious in its operations, intermittent, and rapid in movement. The distribution of population, the organization of industry, the vocation of the individual, are determined largely by competition. The strife for satisfactions within the situations thus created are matters of conflict. The Industrial Revolution was conditioned by the slowly developing, far-reaching, unrecognized forces of competition. However, based on the social situations thereby created, the unnumbered clashings and conflicts of the present industrial order have taken place, and are taking place.

For example, under the present competitive system, there is more than competition, there is active conflict of interests between the employer of labor, who needs to produce his goods at as small expense of material and labor as possible, and the men who furnish the material and labor, who need to receive as much for their services as possible. There is competition among the dairymen of Wisconsin in producing a cheap milk supply, but there is genuine conflict between the milk producers of that state and the milk consumers of Chicago. The dairymen have established

[11] *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924), p. 504 ff, and 574.

a net price of two cents a quart, which they claim barely covers operating expenses of supplying the city with guaranteed milk from tested and supervised herds, meeting modern health requirements. The milk consumers of Chicago are seeking a reduction of one cent a quart, which the dairymen, most of whom are still heavily in debt for the installation of the new costly processes, declare will ruin them and cause the loss of hundreds of farms.[12]

To illustrate further, the competitive process distributes and locates the various social agencies, such as particular types of business. For example, department stores have a tendency to locate close together on the same or near-by streets. The reason is obvious. If we go to one department store and do not find just what we want, or the price does not suit us, we will go to several stores before we buy if other similar stores are close at hand. That is, we go on a shopping tour. If, however, the other stores are several miles away, we probably ignore them and trade at the one center. Thus competition brings them close together. Soon after Marshall Field had established a successful department store in the heart of Chicago, similar stores sprang up as near as possible to Marshall Field's. The very proximity of similar stores, due to processes of competition, makes all the more keen the rivalry for trade, manifested in quality of goods, appealing prices, attractive window displays, expensive advertising, and efficient service.

In like manner, the competitive process has a tendency to locate other social institutions, and in the end to distribute the population itself. At the same time it establishes the situations in which the various forms of conflict find their fields of operation. This will become still more evident as we turn to a brief consideration of some of the chief types of social conflict.

Types of Conflict. Conflicts may be either covert, within the individual's own personality, or overt, in situations outside the individual, between persons, or between a person and the group, or between groups. We are here concerned with conflict in the overt sense, and attention is merely called to the former. Covert conflict is brought about by some kind of contradiction of motor tendencies in the individual, clash of interests, wishes, values, or attitudes, or to the blocking of their expression in overt action. Nervous, intellectual, and emotional tensions are involved in such

[12]See article by Paul Hutchinson, "A Voice Lifted in Warning," in *The Christian Century*, Vol. 50, March 29, 1933, p. 430.

conditions, and unless they are resolved to a reasonable degree may result in what is known as "divided personality," in which the individual is never at peace with himself. Dawson and Gettys,[13] however, call attention to the important truth that there is no overt conflict that does not also involve covert conflict in the members of the group. Since the individual and the group are not two separate entities, but only two sides of the same human reality, their interests are necessarily bound up together, and the individual takes over in his own person the inter-group conflicts. Covert conflict is always socially conditioned. For this reason, conflict within the individual can never be wholly resolved as long as there is conflict within his group. To the consideration of these overt types of conflict within the community we now turn.

Personal Antagonism is hostile emotional reaction, or reactions between two or more individuals. The emotional attitudes, however, may be based upon more deep seated causes, such as injuries to person or property, insults, and other grievances. The resulting antagonisms may vary in degree, from only mild dislike to the most deadly hatred. It finds overt expression in many forms, including fist fights, gouging, and kicking, in which men employ the original weapons supplied by nature, as they did in primitive times; the duel, a more refined method of personal combat between two antagonists, usually to avenge insults or satisfy "honor," but now falling into disuse; quarrels of all kinds, whether by material weapons or by words; and such underhanded means as backbiting, slander, and malicious gossip. An enemy can be "damned by faint praise" as effectually as by vociferous vituperation. Where larger groups are involved, especially between hostile families, clans, or gangs, the conflict may take the form of the feud, as in the Appalachian Mountains of the south, and more recently between criminal gangs of our large cities.

Conflict of Age Groups is somewhat modified by the fact of gradations from childhood to old age so that the lines are not sharply drawn, and by the further fact that the young include the children of the old, and the old the parents of the young. Affection thus tempers strife. It is true, nevertheless, that the interests and attitudes of different ages are not the same, as has already been pointed out, and it is inevitable that conflicts should arise among them. This is particularly true of conflict between

[13] *An Introduction to Sociology* (1929), pp. 316–17, 431–32.

the younger generation and the older, using the former term to designate young people coming upon the stage of action, and the latter to indicate older people already in control of business, politics, education, ideas, and social methods and policies in general. The older group is inclined to be more conservative, more wedded to traditional ideas and methods, less venturesome, more given to thinking things out, and impatient with the restlessness, snap judgments, immature policies, adventurous haste, and innovating customs, methods, ideas, and standards of a new group seeking "self-expression," without much thought of social control or realization of its need. Clashes between the young and the old are likely to be especially acute in periods of social crisis and rapid transition such as that through which Western civilization is now passing. The net outcome of such conflicts is usually expressed in compromise adjustments, preserving something of traditional ideas and methods, and incorporating enough of the new to make possible a period of advancement. The adjustments made, however, vary with each situation, ranging all the way from only slight change to revolutionary social upheavals.

Sex Conflict is due to the more or less opposing interests and attitudes involved in sex differentiation, and has already received some attention earlier in the chapter. Especially in a democratic society, which recognizes the equality of the sexes, these differences of interests often result in overt conflict. This sometimes takes the form of strife of sexual passion; or of the varying attraction, repulsion, fencing back and forth, and lovers' quarrels incident to courtship; or of tensions and antagonisms of interests, ideas, and personalities occasioned by difficult situations in the close and continued contacts of the marriage relationship.[14]

One of the most fruitful fields of conflict between the sexes in modern society is found in industry, business, and professional life, now that practically all vocations are open to women. Men do not like to be displaced in gainful occupations, and especially when the competition is made keener by the fact that women often work for lower wages and with greater docility, and are disinclined to organize into labor unions for insistence upon improved wages and working conditions.

Religious conflict is peculiar in character. It seems to have a threefold basis: (1) in a desire to help one's fellows by passing

[14]Other phases of family tensions are considered in Chapter VII.

on to them what has been found good for one's self,—in other words, the altruistic spirit; (2) in the felt supernatural sanctions of one's particular type of religion, which give a sense of divine behest to make this known to others and to urge its adoption, even at times leading to attempts to enforce its acceptance; and (3) to the rivalries between particular religious organizations and vested interests, in the very human endeavor to win success for the enterprise with which we are connected, be it "our" church or denomination, or creed, or religion. The overt conflicts take the form of clashes between different religions, as between Confucianism and Christianity in China; between beliefs, doctrines, creeds, and attitudes within a given religion, as between Catholicism and Protestantism, or between the fundamentalist and the modernist; between denominations, as between Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians; or between the churches. The tendency today is toward greater toleration and coöperation in religion as social contacts widen in range and understanding. It has been well said that the ultimate religious conflict in this country, and in the world, will be between religion and irreligion.

Industrial Strife is a marked characteristic of the modern industrial system, although economic conflicts have always existed, since the far-off days when two primitive groups wished to occupy the same fertile parcel of land. In modern times industrial conflicts take place between capital and labor, between employers and employees, between producer and consumer, between all sorts of occupational groups and business enterprises, and within these various economic units as well as between them. Each one has its own internal conflicting interests and elements. These conflicts cannot here be discussed in detail. They gather about such concrete issues as wages, working conditions, seasonal employment, unemployment, labor unions, shop committees; and, in their larger aspects, about the relative merits of general industrial systems, such as capitalism, socialism, and communism. The chief storm-centers of industrial conflict at the present time are the working hours and conditions, the economic distribution of income and wealth, the control of industry, and the tenure of the job or position, the latter made especially acute by the current world-wide depression and unemployment situation.

International Strife and War are social conflicts due to the clashing of interests on a large scale, political, economic, ethical, or all

combined. Two more or less contradictory tendencies are noticeable in the modern world. On the one hand, the new world-wide contacts have greatly increased the complexity of international relations and have multiplied the conflicting interests that furnish issues of controversy. On the other hand, however, these same widened contacts have led to much better knowledge of conditions as they exist among various nations, a better understanding of relations between nations, much broader attitudes of fellowship and human sympathy, and keener realization of the interrelatedness of all peoples. The result is world-wide conflicting interests, coupled with vigorous efforts to find substitutes for war as effective means for the settlement of the international issues arising therefrom. The new conflict has thus become one between war and peace.

Conflict of Ideas lies back of many other forms of conflict, if not of all. All political strife, for instance, is not for spoils of office alone, but is due also to conflicting conceptions of political theory and policies. The current controversy over prohibition in the United States is partly a conflict between the opposing ideas of federal control or state control, over which the Civil War was fought. The existing confusion in education is due to conflicting ideas concerning objectives and methods in the training of youth. Some of the greatest conflicts of history have been conflicts of ideas, as between Catholicism and Protestantism in religion, or between empiricism and rationalism in philosophy, or between egoistic pleasure and altruistic service as aims of life in ethics. Since the early days of sociology and the writings of Auguste Comte, there has been a growing realization that if people are to unite in action there must be reasonable unity of thinking, and this requires, in turn, the objective investigation of the realities of the world and of life, that is, the scientific method in the approach to social understanding. The conflict of ideas is especially deep seated in the opposing views of life between the educated and the ignorant, leading to divergences in fundamental attitudes toward life. The real battles of life, after all, are fought in the field of ideas and ideals.

Summary. Social differences and conflicts, which exist in every community, are not to be regarded as artificial processes unfortunately projected into society. They are inherent in social relationships, and are as natural there as in the universe at large.

The planets are kept in their orbits by the action of the centrifugal forces, tending to thrust them out, as well as by that of the centripetal forces, seeking to hold them in. Struggle and conflict are among the necessary processes of nature. This is true in society likewise. Natural differences exist there in hereditary biological varieties of age, sex, race, family, and individuals. There are also social differences of vocation, status, culture, and acquired interests. A community group, whether large or small, seeking to live together, will find these differences leading to conflicting interests among its members and conflicting activities in their efforts to gain their ends. This strife is natural to community life, an essential phase of its life, and a dynamic necessity in progress.

There are many other aspects and forms of differentiation and conflict in community life, both within groups and between groups, than those that have been discussed here. The purpose of the chapter has not been such an exhaustive treatment, however, but rather to indicate briefly the nature and some of the types of the differences and conflicting elements existing in all associative human life.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Analyze and discuss the differences that exist in a normal family and the conflicts to which they lead. Do the same for some abnormal and disorganized family of your acquaintance.

2. Describe some conflict that has taken place in your home community, analyze its factors, and show how it worked out for the good of the community, if you can.

3. Do you think it possible to have an economic system in which there is no conflict between the various factors of industry? Defend your answer.

4. Are there conflicting differences of interests, attitudes, and school work between college students and their professors? Discuss the situation in the light of the present chapter.

5. Was the last presidential election in the United States competition or conflict? Defend your answer.

6. Show the relationships between social differentiation and social conflict. How may the former be the cause of the latter, and vice versa?

7. Indicate the distinction between biological and social differences. Illustrate. What is the significance of social differentiation for community life?

8. Compare and contrast competition and conflict. What are the

different forms of each? What are the functions of each? When do they become detrimental?

9. Discuss the subject of status and rank. In the case of two men of equal ability and education, if opportunity makes one pastor of a great church, and the other of a small rural parish, what effects does the difference of status have? Take some other case also, of your own choosing.

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CHAPTER XXI

INTEGRATION AND COÖPERATION

We have seen that all contacts within the community set in motion processes of interaction, and that these are of two main types,—those of opposition, differentiation, and conflict, and those of cohesion, integration, and coöperation. We now turn our attention to the unifying phases of the social process.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Integration and unification mean the same thing. The terms unit and integer are used interchangeably; the difference is one of word derivation only. Both terms refer to something that adheres within itself so that it has oneness and can be taken together as a whole. The group, in spite of its differences, has genuine oneness if it is a real group at all, and may be considered as a unified whole. The process of integration is the process of securing this unity or oneness of the group. The term may also be used to designate the unity so secured; that is, the process of integration results in the integration of the group as a product. We are particularly concerned here with the process.

Nature of Group Unity. What has just been said indicates the nature of group unity. It is a unity *in fact,* inherently, by its very constitution. We have seen already that the individual and the group are not separate entities, but two aspects of the same reality. The individual is born of the group and into the group. On the other hand, there is no group except as composed of its individual members. The unity of the group is therefore vitally and inherently an accomplished fact which cannot be escaped. This necessary unity of the group lies back of all of its differences and is more fundamental than they are.

That is only half the truth, however. The fact that the group is composed of individuals means that it contains from the beginning all the differences residing in varying individual charac-

teristics and interests, and contains also the conflicts arising therefrom, as we saw in the last chapter. An absolutely homogeneous group, without differentiated and conflicting elements, never existed and cannot exist, although some groups may be more homogeneous than others.

We always have in social groups unity in variety, unity in the midst of differentiation and even in the midst of conflict; this is the essential nature of group unity. In the long run, such unity is stronger and the life of the group more vigorous and progressive than would be possible in a simple and homogeneous group. The evolution from lower to higher orders of life has been marked both by increasing differentiation and by increasing integration, and the same thing is true of the development in human society from primitive to civilized life.

It will be easy for the student to visualize this idea of group unity in connection with his own college. Imagine a college having only one department, or several departments of practically the same kind, professors all alike, students all alike studying the same things, all thinking alike, fraternities all alike, and so on indefinitely. Such a college has unity, but a unity not nearly so strong and interesting as the college in which you are studying, with its diversified curriculum, its varying personalities in the faculty, the wide differences among the students, the conflicting views and discussions, the variety of activities and campus life. The first college represents homogeneous unity, the second unity in variety. All human groups are of the latter type, in varying degrees; this is to the advantage of both individual and social progress.

Importance of Group Unity. It is essential, however, if the group is to coöperate and prosper, that the differences and conflicts shall not outrun the unifying and cohesive forces of interaction. If society were to remain the prey of its conflicting and disruptive elements, it would be in a state of continuous anarchy and chaos. Coöperation among the members of the group would be impossible because there would be no community of interests. If, for example, in an automobile manufacturing enterprise there were nothing but conflict between capital and labor, employer and employee, producer and consumer, success would be impossible. The modern industrial system is more effective in production than any that the world has previously known. In spite of their differ-

ences, all the agencies of industry are mutually dependent upon each other, and, in the last analysis, all must work together, or all will fail together. The urge for coöperation in the stake at issue is deeper and stronger than the differences in controversy.

Even if there were only division of labor without any conflict involved, coöperation in the automobile enterprise would still be necessary because the parts made by the different workers must be assembled, or they are of no value as a means of conveyance. The transporters and marketers must coöperate with the producers, and the buyers with the sellers, or the products of the factory will do nobody any good. In California one cannot ride in an automobile made in Michigan under any other conditions. The same necessity for coöperation exists in the family, the school, the church, the governmental system, and in all other social institutions and all phases of social life. Modern society, in spite of its differences and conflicts, is thus a vast and interrelated coöperating enterprise, which has at least the possibilities of stronger unity and larger scope than one that has no division of labor and elements of conflict,—provided the violently conflicting elements can be reconciled.

The Processes of Integration. What is the nature of the integrating forces in society, and by what processes do they work together in the face of so many differences and conflicting interests? In its most general terms, the answer is that the social unity which makes coöperation possible is secured by processes of adjustment among the different elements at variance with each other. Both individual and group life is one long and endless struggle for adjustment to ever-changing situations,—adjustment to nature, to individuals, and to groups. These processes may take the form of adaptation, of accommodation, or of assimilation.

1. Adaptation

Adaptation, as a biological term, came into common use with Darwin's theory of the origin of species by natural selection.[1] The individuals that succeeded in adapting themselves to their environment survived and produced surviving species, while all others perished. The term was applied then to the adjustments which man must make in adapting himself to his natural environ-

[1]See Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924) pp. 663, for discussion of adaptation and how it differs from accommodation.

ment, and also, by some authors, in adapting himself to the environmental conditions resulting from what may be termed the natural forces of competition.

Anthropology presents a fascinating story in its efforts to reconstruct the conditions of primitive human life on the earth. The world of nature was wholly unknown to primitive groups except within the most limited range of the immediate surroundings. The first problem was that of sheer survival, "to endure heat and cold and storm, to draw the next breath, to crawl the next yard, to hold out against fatigue and despair, to explore and analyze the situation."[2] In order to survive at all the primitive groups had to adapt themselves to the conditions fixed by nature. They had to reckon with the habitat of animals, fruits, and roots used for food, with the conditions of climate and seasons, with necessary protection of some sort from the inclement elements and hostile beasts, with the birth and care of children. In all things they must adapt themselves to a world of nature not understood or in any way controlled by them. Otherwise they perished.

Through experience and research man has learned gradually many secrets of nature, and through inventions has discovered how to utilize and to control some of its forces. He has learned to raise grain where none grew before, to domesticate animals for food and for service, to construct houses in which to live, to utilize fire for warmth, light and power, to dam the rushing streams and force them to operate his mills, to sail the seas or to fly over them instead of finding them barriers to contacts with his fellows, to rush across continents by rapid transit instead of laboriously plodding on foot. In innumerable ways, in his struggles and conflicts with nature, man has modified it to his own needs. Our modern contacts with nature are therefore less immediate than formerly, as our dependence upon man-made ways of living has increased.

Nevertheless, in the ultimate analysis, human groups are still dependent upon the world of nature, and must adapt themselves to the conditions of life established by natural forces. To so adapt themselves in harmony with nature is a prerequisite to social existence itself.

Any organic or biological changes in the group are also matters of adaptation.[3] It is well known that gradual changes in society are

[2] F H Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society* (1922), p. 14.
[3] See C A Ellwood, *Psychology of Human Society* (1925), pp. 214–15.

taking place continually through processes of organic evolution, without the purposeful efforts of man; that is, they take place by variation and natural selection. Such variations may result either in the improvement of the race or in its deterioration, in better survival adaptability or in poorer. The propagation of the weak or feebleminded rather than of the strong and mentally capable has the latter effect, and tends toward the survival of the unfit. Such reversal may result from modern warfare, which kills off the strong and leaves the weak to restock the race, or it may result from permitting the immigration of inferior stocks, or from unwise selection of marriage mates, or in other ways. In general, the groups that were biologically strong are the ones that have survived, because they have been better able to adjust themselves to the requirements of the natural and social environments.

2. *Accommodation*

Our chief concern here, however, is with the adjustment of the differing and conflicting elements and interests existing among people rather than with adaptation to the world of nature. This might be called social adaptation, but in accepted usage among sociological writers it has come to be known as *accommodation*. Park and Burgess state the difference between adaptation and accommodation substantially as follows:[4] Adaptation is applied to organic modifications, which are transmitted biologically. Accommodation refers to changes in acquired characteristics, or habits, which are transmissible socially, that is, through the social tradition. The term has a wide use in sociology. All the social heritages, traditions, sentiments, culture, technique, are accommodations—that is, acquired or man-made adjustments that are socially and not biologically transmitted. Lumley illustrates this difference by saying that if the bear grows a thicker coat to protect himself from the cold and the young inherit this modification, that is adaptation; but if a man makes a thicker coat and shows his son how to make one, that is accommodation. Thus almost anything that an individual or group does to meet life's situations is by accommodation.[5] It will be seen, therefore, that the adjustments of nature to man's needs, referred to in the last section, due to human research and inventions, are really accommodations

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 663–5.

[5] F. E. Lumley, *Principles of Sociology* (1928), pp. 198–9.

rather than adaptations. It is chiefly by means of accommodation that the many differences and conflicts between individuals, between individuals and groups, and among groups, need to be adjusted.

Adopting the definition of a recent writer,[6] we may say that accommodation is the social process which brings about a conscious adjustment of conflict, through some form of gesture for peace, some consideration of the difficulties involved, some concession with respect to desired objects or ends, and some degree of acceptance of the proposed solution.

There are very many ways of adjusting differences by accommodation, some of the most important of which are here suggested.

Coercion. One of the common methods of adjusting conflicts is for the strong or those who have the advantage to overpower the weak and disadvantaged. This results in subordination on the part of the latter, and superordination, or superiority of status on the part of the former. Familiar illustrations are adjustments between parents and children in the patriarchal family, between masters and slaves, and between victors and vanquished in war. Other illustrations, but of a somewhat less absolute nature, are the adjustment of relations between debtors and creditors, between employers and employees, between various castes and classes, and any other adjustments which do not involve the assent of both parties.

Under this method of solving conflicts the weaker party has no choice but to submit to the dominance of the stronger, which therefore settles the issues in its own way. For this reason the resulting unity is not likely to be permanent in character, but to continue only until the weaker side gains sufficient strength or opportunity to assert itself. This is one reason why reforms through coercive legislation are so often unsatisfactory. It should be recognized, however, that some element of coercion is practically unavoidable in civilized life, such as mandatory regulation of social procedures for the common good, the suppression of crime and injustice, and the control of the minority by the majority in democratic governments.

Adjudication and Arbitration. *Adjudication* differs from coercion, at least in democratic countries, in two fundamental respects: (1) It is based upon law, and presumably upon the

[6] M. J. Vincent, *The Accommodation Process in Industry* (1930), p. 4.

justice of the issues involved, instead of upon might and arbitrary compulsion; and (2) the people have the making of the laws and therefore, in the last analysis, decide their own case. The element of coercion comes in, however, to compel the acceptance of the decision on the part of all, even of those who may not have shared in making the laws or may not approve of them. In any case, the issues in conflict have an opportunity to be heard, their justice argued, and the decisions reached by deliberate and authorized procedure. This may not assure justice, due to the imperfections of human institutions and of human nature, but by and large, it is a great gain over arbitrary or physical coercion, in the direction of just and fair settlement of conflicts.

The foregoing statements apply particularly to governmental adjudication through courts of justice. They are largely applicable in principle also to the determination of conflicting issues by *arbitration*. For in the latter case, the arbitrators are either appointed by the contending parties or are set up by governmental authority as represented in legislative bodies. State boards of arbitration and the federal interstate commerce commission are illustrations in point. Arbitration, therefore, as well as courts of justice, does not interfere with freedom by coercive force, except in case of the recalcitrant members of the community. Hence adjustments secured by adjudication or arbitration are usually accepted as reasonably final and permanent, in spite of the hard feelings sometimes remaining.

Persuasion and Conversion. By conversion is meant the change, often but not always sudden, from one form of culture to another; that is, from one complex of ideas, attitudes, loyalties, and manner of living to a different one, often accompanied by strong emotion. The term is not used exclusively in a religious sense, although religious conversion is a good illustration of what it is. Where individuals or groups coming in contact with each other differ or conflict in cultural ideas and customs, one side may undertake to change the other to its own ways. In case of success, the conflict would give place to unity. The person converted has adopted the standards and customs of the other person or group.

Every argument or debate is an effort toward conversion, in a modified sense, as are also many books and propaganda pamphlets, although the emotional element is not always strongly in evidence.

Advertising and salesmanship also have as their aim persuasion to the salesman's point of view. International diplomacy is another illustration. Americanization of immigrants is an attempt to convert them from their native culture complex to that of the country to which they have come. Unlike the situation in coercion, conversion is a voluntary matter, and results in a thoroughgoing and permanent reconciliation of the conflicts involved, brought about by the persuasive power of ideas, emotions, loyalties, and new customs.

Community of Interests. Over against the one-sided advantages sought by coercion, is the possibility of finding a common ground of mutual advantage to both or all parties in conflict. This is the modern theory of commercial transactions,—not that the seller should seek an advantage over the buyer, or the buyer over the seller, but the exchange should be advantageous to both, each being able to use more satisfactorily what the other has. The conflict between buyer and seller has been resolved into a unity of common benefit. College life furnishes a good illustration of adjustments through community of interests. There is more or less difference of interests and points of view between faculty and student body, accentuated by traditional attitudes that such is the case. Differentiation exists and sometimes conflicts of policy or behavior, especially in connection with "student activities." In this situation many colleges are adopting the plan of joint faculty-student committees which seek to go behind authoritarian faculty control, and discover, by means of interchange of views, the grounds of common interest of faculty and students. These are found in the purposes of college education, which without question are being somewhat modified at the present time partly as a result of just such exchange of views. The danger, of course, is that the college may be unduly influenced by popular vote instead of being conducted on the basis of sound educational principles. But this is not a necessary outcome. The discovery of community of interests in an educational institution, under reasonable safeguards, should lead to the adjustment of conflicting attitudes to the mutual benefit of all concerned. The same principle holds good in connection with accommodation through common grounds of interest in all phases of social life, and for that reason this method of social adjustment is one of the most satisfactory in permanency of results.

Compromise. When entire community of interest cannot be found, it is often possible to discover some common area of advantageous settlement of differences, so that each party or all parties are willing to concede something for the sake of closing the controversy. A young wife wishes to go to a dance on a certain evening and her husband wants to go to the movies. They compromise by attending the early movie performance and going to the dance later in the evening. Compromise is a favorite method of settling conflicts between employers and employees in collective bargaining. An illustration on a large scale is found in the various settlements of reparations required from Germany as a result of the World War. The amount of reparations at first set by the Allies was found to be more than could be collected. Lower terms were agreed upon in the Dawes plan of settlement, and still lower ones in the Young plan, and they were finally adjusted at a much smaller amount. Compromise is probably the most common method of adjusting differences of all sorts in modern social life. Neither side gains all it desires or tries to secure, but a working program is reached which preserves the equilibrium of society on a coöperating basis. Compromises are not permanent in character, however, as changing conditions revive the issues or create new conflicts, and the process of compromise must be continuously repeated.

Toleration. With the far-flung extension of contacts in the modern world through new devices of communication and transportation, there is a broadening of horizons, especially on the part of educated people, and many differences that led to conflict under more provincial conditions of life are now looked upon with toleration. This is evident in the great diminution of sectarian controversies between religious denominations and even in less exclusive attitudes between types of world religions. It is not confined to the realm of religion, however. Greater catholicity of views and toleration of differences of culture is one of the most characteristic features of modern life. It is even carried so far as sometimes seriously to weaken religious and moral convictions in general, and to constitute a major problem of social unity, so that instead of permanently allaying conflict it seems to be sowing the seeds of a more far-reaching struggle between contending conceptions of social life. It is certain, however, that the new issues will be of a more fundamental character than those involved in

provincial and sectarian controversy. They will be cosmopolitan in character and world-wide in scope, and will require more than toleration for their solution.

Resignation and Submission. Another method of adjusting conflicts is by way of resignation and submission to them. "Man is born to trouble as sparks fly upward," is a maxim of many people, along with, "What cannot be cured must be endured." This is not the fighting spirit, to be sure, but many people are down and out, and in no condition to engage in what they regard as a hopeless fight against odds. For such, there is no doubt that the spirit of being resigned to conditions as they are serves to dull the keen edge of conflict and often to save them from despair. This attitude is in sharp contrast with the militant spirit of endeavor which utilizes all methods of accommodation that give promise of success in adjusting conflicts on the basis of justice and the welfare of the parties involved and of society itself.

3. Assimilation

Integration of the conflicting elements within the group into a condition of genuine unity is not completed by the process of accommodation. This is too negative and external in character. It often compromises and adjusts differences without producing a positive, active, and sympathetic unity of the opposing factors involved. In order to secure the latter there must be also a process of assimilation.

Nature of Assimilation. "Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. In so far as assimilation denotes this sharing of tradition, this assimilation is central in the historical and cultural process. . . . As social contact initiates interaction, assimilation is its final perfect product."[7] Assimilation is therefore not a sudden adjustment, but a continuous process. It involves growing into a situation or a relationship. "Put yourself in his place," is its fitting motto. It does not rest with accommodation, but requires *participation*. It is not always conscious in its operation, as accommodation usually is, but is due

[7]Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 735–6.

more to the molding influence of unrecognized social and cultural pressures which bring about new conceptions and attitudes. A freshman enters college. The situation is new to him. He accommodates himself as best he can to the new conditions and persons that he meets, but it is an external process. As he sees the upper classmen return at the end of Freshman Week, observes their greetings of fellow-classmen and professors, and listens to their conversation concerning incidents and relations of college life revealing an intimate at-homeness, he feels that he is at the college but not of it. He may even be homesick. But when he returns for his senior year, he also feels at home and has his memories of earlier college associations. The college traditions and attitudes have become his. In fact, it is now *his* college and he is a part of it. What has happened? He has become assimilated to the life that was so strange and external to him when he first entered the institution and had to consciously and painstakingly adjust himself to its various relationships by accommodation.

Assimilation of the Immigrant. The term "assimilation" has come to be used with special reference to immigration and the process by which people reared in one type of culture and loyalties become an integral part of a different culture and new relationships in a foreign country to which they have migrated. In the United States, for example, this process of the assimilation of the 35,000,000 or more aliens who have come to our shores during our national history from more than seventy foreign nations, constitutes a major social problem. How is this conglomeration of races and cultures to become so integrated as to constitute one people, with enough agreement of interests, ideas, ideals, and attitudes so that they can coöperate toward common ends? This result cannot be accomplished merely by a process of external accommodation. It goes much deeper than that, and requires common traditions, memories, attitudes, and institutions; in other words, a common culture. This makes it important that the immigrant should receive instruction in the English language, which is the great medium of cultural communication in this country, and that he should have assistance in understanding our customs and institutions, without which he cannot make much progress in assimilation. But these are only means to ends, and do not of themselves get very far. The absolutely essential thing is that he should participate in the life of the country in such a way as

to *live* his way into it, as the freshman lives his way into his college by participating in its interests and activities.

The process of assimilation, or *Americanization,* as we call it, is therefore very slow, just because it is a matter of growth. Formal instruction cannot help much except in such initial ways as have just been suggested. Beyond this, the process is largely one of absorption, and the best help that can be given the immigrant is that of intelligent and sympathetic assistance into situations where this is possible, and where he will absorb what is best and most truly representative of American life and culture.

The task is a slow one and a very difficult one as well. Immigrants to a large extent find their way at first into the slums and the colonies of their own nationalities which exist in every large city. Here their contacts, in language, institutions, and other forms of culture, continue to be largely those of the countries from which they have come, and they remain strangers to the culture of their adopted home. The American life with which they come into contact is least favorable for giving them a right understanding of our traditions and institutions.

However long and difficult the road, the process of integration is not complete until it culminates in assimilation—in essential unity of ideas and aims and attitudes in the midst of the diversities and conflicts incident to the interactions of group life.[8]

Amalgamation. Amalgamation is biological in character; assimilation is cultural in character. Amalgamation refers to the mingling of different race stocks by intermarriage. It facilitates assimilation, but it is not absolutely essential to it, for culture characteristics are acquired, and the same culture may be acquired by different races if they are thrown into contact with each other. If different races remain in contact long enough, however, and are not too far removed in racial characteristics, intermarriage and amalgamation are practically certain to take place. Usually a certain degree of assimilation comes first, then amalgamation gradually follows, and the two processes work together for a fuller integration of the population.[9]

[8]The student will get his best understanding of the processes of assimilation by reading the autobiographies of immigrants containing their own description of the experiences through which they have passed. Some of these writers are, Constantine Panunzio, Mary Antin, Rose Cohen, M. E. Ravage, A. M. Rihbany, E. A. Steiner, Jacob Riis and Edward Bok.

[9]Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* is an interesting portrayal of the amalgamation of the Saxons and Normans in English history.

SOCIAL COÖPERATION

The forms of integration which we have considered thus far are all phases of coöperation. The coöperative process is an inclusive one wherever the forces of society work toward common ends and tend to integrate individuals and groups into a common unity. Nevertheless, many of these are only preparatory to effective, overt, coöperative group action. The integrating processes involved in interaction do not stop with assimilation. No group would ever attain unity and peaceful harmony, if interested primarily in these. They are forced upon the group as a result of its struggle to attain the satisfaction of its vital interests and the accomplishment of its essential purposes. The group learns that the things which it is striving for can be secured only by coöperative action; and that as this action is undertaken, it requires the adjustment of differences and conflicts by means of such accommodation and assimilation as will assure a reasonable degree of unity of ideas, attitudes, and purposes within the group. Integration, therefore, is a means to an end, the ultimate end being the satisfaction of wants, and the immediate end such coöperative action as will accomplish this purpose. Actual and overt coöperative action, therefore, is the culmination of the processes of adjustment represented by the series, accommodation-assimilation-overt coöperation.

Forms of Overt Coöperation. *Mutual aid* is the simplest form of overt coöperation. As the name implies, it is the rendering of personal and neighborly assistance in times of need. In pioneer days it was very common, neighbors uniting to help each other in barn- or house-raisings, husking-bees, the harvesting and thrashing of grain, exchange of work in the fields, or coöperation in work on the highways. Women assisted their neighbors in times of sickness or death in the family, in cooking for the help at harvest time, in quilting-bees, and in other forms of household work. While with increasing complexity of life and decreasing personal neighborly contacts, mutual aid does not occupy such an important place relatively today, yet actually and in the aggregate there is still a vast amount of this friendly unobtrusive personal cooperation going on in every social group. It represents primary contacts and personal relations among individuals too vital to wholly disappear.

Division of labor[10] is one of the most important forms of cooperation, especially in modern times. Among primitive groups each individual or family made provision for its own needs, and even when they helped each other all might work together at the same task, as in coöperation in rolling a log or in hunting. But gradually, as the kinds of work became differentiated with increasing complexity of life, each man engaging in his own specialized task, coöperation of the various social agencies and coordination of the results of their activities became necessary if they were to have social value in satisfying human needs. This is illustrated in the familiar processes of the economic world where many different types of function are required in making a watch or a railroad engine, or in performing any intricate task; where day laborer, superintendent, business manager, and capital all cooperate in creating the product; and where those in each line of business must depend upon those engaged in other kinds of production for the satisfaction of their varied needs. The same thing holds true, however, in all other fields of social life as well as the economic. Business man, lawyer, doctor, minister, research scientist, teacher, student, inventor, housewife, artist, writer, amusement maker,—all are working together in a vast enterprise of coöperation in specialization, each for all and all for each, in the satisfaction of human needs.

Organization of these various activities is thus essential to effective coöperation in all groups of any considerable size and complexity of life; and the greater the complexity the more necessary becomes the organization of the coöperating parts. Social organization, however, is treated in a later chapter,[11] in connection with the products of the social process, and further consideration of it will be reserved for that discussion. It is introduced here only to show its place as one of the forms of the social process also. Organization is the complex form of coöperation.

Voluntary and Compulsory Coöperation. The coöperation of mutual aid is unforced and voluntary. In a sense this is true also of the coöperation involved in the division of labor. There is opportunity for choice of one's vocation, and a man may work or not as he himself determines. Involuntary servitude is forbidden in the

[10]Division of labor is discussed more fully in Chapters VIII and XX.
[11]Chapter XXV.

constitution of the United States. In another sense, however, most men are compelled to work and coöperate with their fellows if they are to satisfy their needs, or even continue to live at all. There is still another form of compulsory coöperation, in connection with governmental activities. In simple group life, the people rendered voluntary mutual aid in such matters as fire and police protection. Now in all communities of any size these and many other functions have been taken over by government, and the members of the community are required to pay taxes for their support. The manifold enterprises of local, state, and federal governmental units are thus compulsory coöperation on the part of all citizens, whether they wish to coöperate or not, and even whether or not they approve of what is done.

Summary. If the interactions among the members of the community and its groups were all those of opposition and conflict, there could be no coöperative action, and the community would not survive. In fact, it would not be a real community at all, for this involves common interests, and living and working together. In spite of differences, therefore, there must be real unity in the group and among the groups of the community. This is made necessary and possible by the fact that the group and its members are not two separate entities; they are only two aspects of one reality,—individuals existing in groups.

Life in the community, therefore, requires the adjustment of the conflicts involved in living together, for the people must live together if they are to live at all. The main phases of conflict adjustment are known as adaptation and accommodation. Assimilation is a deeper process of interpenetration and fusion of ideas and culture. Overt coöperation expresses itself in various acts of mutual aid, division of labor and formal organization. Coöperation may be either voluntary or compulsory.

The fields of social integration and coöperation are those in which differentiation and conflict exist, as discussed in the last chapter, and are therefore as wide as associative human life itself. They cover the whole range of community activity described in Part One of the present volume. Reaching beyond the range of the local community, the outstanding fields of contemporary life calling for adjustment and coöperation are those of industry and business, national, international and racial relations, social control, education, ethics, and religion, including in all of these the

reconciliation of conflicting ideas and ideals incident to the rapid changes that have taken place in modern society.

Whatever methods of social adjustment are employed, and in whatever fields they may operate, the principles which underlie the permanent settlement of conflicts and the development of successful coöperation include adequate knowledge of social conditions, so that there may be a scientific basis for equitable adjustment; the spirit of brotherhood and good will, which shall seek to settle the issues upon the basis of genuine justice, honesty, and fair play, in the light of the best available knowledge; and the practical application of knowledge and good will in the world of affairs, by means of the various techniques and programs of personal and institutional life.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Describe a conflict situation in your community and analyze the process by means of which it was adjusted. Which of the types of accommodation indicated in this chapter was most in evidence? What is the best method of settling community conflicts? Why?

2. Contrast the forms of conflict with those of accommodation. How does accommodation differ from assimilation? Illustrate.

3. Discuss the various methods of settling industrial disputes. Show how they differ.

4. Discuss the chief differences between the compulsory arbitration law of New Zealand, the compulsory investigation law of Canada, and the compulsory arbitration law of Kansas. What is now the status of these laws, and how successfully are they operating?

5. In connection with immigration, what is the difference between assimilation and amalgamation? How is assimilation to be secured? Read an autobiography of an immigrant and analyze the processes of conflict, accommodation and assimilation.

6. Is mutual aid more important than struggle in the development of society? Discuss how the division of labor is necessary for group progress. How does the division of labor necessitate coöperation?

7. In what sense is social organization a form of coöperation? What is the place of leadership in social organization and in coöperation?

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CHAPTER XXII

Social Change and Control

In considering the social processes of the community, attention now has been given to the social drives which lead to action; to the inclusive social processes of interaction characteristic of all associative life; to the differentiation and conflict among the members of the groups; and to the integrating forces making for community unity and coöperation. These processes involve radical changes in the group, and, on the other hand, the changes have influenced the direction of the processes. When change comes, it must be guided and controlled in the interests of the group. We turn in the present chapter, therefore, to a brief consideration of social change, group action, and social control.

SOCIAL CHANGE

A Changing Universe. Social life is not static; it is dynamic, perpetually changing. This dynamic condition seems to be true of the universe as a whole, even the physical universe. The formation of the earth and the other astronomical worlds has been going on for many geological ages, and the process is still active. The recently propounded theory of relativity indicates that there is no "hitching post" of stationary changelessness anywhere in the universe. As far back as the days of the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, in the fifth century B.C., the universe was regarded as being in a state of perpetual flux, and its very nature was symbolized by ever-changing fire. Without going into the philosophy of the subject, we are safe in regarding ourselves as living in a universe which is not fixed and finished, but which is ceaselessly dynamic and still in process of continual change and development. It is social change, however, with which sociology is chiefly concerned.

Social Change and Community Life. The fact of social change does not need to be argued; it is sufficiently obvious all about us. He who was once a child is now a man. The youth who

was cared for in his father's home now has a family of his own. The college student has become the professor. The monarchical nations have changed into republics. The small factory has become a great industrial plant. The ox cart has been supplanted by the automobile and the airplane. Those who were alive are now dead, and others fill their places. Nothing today is as it was yesterday, either with the individual or in the social group.

It is the fact of change that makes development and progress possible. This is true of the individual. Changed conditions bring new contacts and new possibilities. It is even more true of the social group, which is made up of many individuals and is affected by the changing lives of all of them. The man and woman of the primitive family had learned to gain a meager subsistence. But when children were added to the family the old conditions no longer sufficed. Continually changing situations forced the group's progressive development.

The two main types of social change are the biological, and the cultural or environmental. There has been wide discussion concerning the relative importance of these, which we cannot go into here at any length, but which the student will find interesting as supplemental reading.[1]

Biological Change. By biological change in man is meant change in the anatomical structure or inherited nature of the race. There now seems to be general agreement among scholars that no important biological changes have taken place in the human race for approximately the last 25,000 years. W. F. Ogburn says that the evidence of biological evolution since the last ice age is very slight, if existing at all. It certainly has not been proved.[2] Similar views are expressed by other scholars. The following excerpts from E. G. Conklin are in point:[3]

"For at least one hundred centuries there has been no notable progress in the evolution of the human body. The limits of physical evolution have apparently been reached. . . . The size of the human brain has not increased since the times of the Cro-Magnon race, 20,000 years ago, and the great prevalence of nervous disorders in the most highly intelligent classes of the present day indicates that the nervous system has

[1]For a good discussion of the subject, see W. F Ogburn, *Social Change* (1923), especially pp 118–134.

[2]*Ibid*, pp. 122, 132–41.

[3]*The Direction of Human Evolution*, quoted by C. M Case in *Outlines of Introductory Sociology* (1924), pp 933–5.

already developed to a point where it is getting out of balance with the other vital functions. . . . It seems probable that the limits of intellectual evolution have been reached in the greatest minds of the race. Undoubtedly eugenics and education can do much to raise the intellectual level of the general mass, but they cannot create a new order of the intellect."

While, in the future, great evolutionary changes may not occur, affecting the human race as a whole; yet, in the narrower sense of the term, biological changes may take place which are of great significance to individuals and groups. The fact that every child inherits characteristics from both parents means that selective mating in marriage affects the individual's biological equipment, and through him that of the group. If we knew enough about human biological conditions, and how to exercise adequate social control over them, inferior biological strains could be eliminated gradually and superior strains built up by selective mating. Communities differ from each other partly by the differences in the racial stock and native capacity of their inhabitants. Here, however, cultural factors are so intermingled with biological characteristics that it is often difficult to say which are responsible for social change. This is one of the subjects requiring special investigation in the sociological study of a community.

Cultural Change. If no great change has taken place in the biological evolution of the race during several thousand years, as the above statements would seem to indicate, to what are we to attribute the great development in civilization that has taken place since the days of early man? There is now very general agreement that this is due to changes in human culture rather than in human capacity.

We have not yet discussed the subject of human culture, which will be done in a later chapter.[4] For present purposes, culture may be defined briefly as whatever has been created by the mind and efforts of man, whether in tangible material form, or in immaterial customs, ideas, ideals, and institutions.[5]

By cultural change is meant change in these social products. This is not a part of biological evolution; it is social evolution.

"The intellectual evolution of the individual has virtually come to an end, but the intellectual evolution of groups of individuals is only at

[4]Chapter XXIV.

[5]W. F Ogburn, *op. cit*, p 58.

its beginning. . . . In social evolution a new path of progress has been found, the end of which no one can foresee."[6]

Some comparisons of biological and cultural evolution may help to make the contrast still clearer. Biological change is the result of the forces resident in nature; cultural change is caused by man. Biological change is independent of man and beyond his control; cultural change, having its source in society, can be controlled by society. Hence man has to take biological change as it comes, make the best of it, and adapt himself to it; but he can adapt cultural change to his own needs. Biological change is unconscious, so far as we know; cultural change is or may be conscious. For these reasons it can easily be seen why sociology is chiefly concerned with cultural change and the social processes. It has to take biological processes for granted. Our hope of progress lies in controlling social evolution, rather than in changing hereditary human nature; and if we are to control cultural change, we must understand it.

It is familiar to all that cultural change affects the life of the group. Somewhere in primitive times fire was discovered, or ways of creating it were invented. This discovery had nothing to do with biological evolution; it was a purely cultural achievement or change in itself, but fraught with tremendous changes in group life. It made possible the cooking of food that had been eaten raw; the use of heat, making life possible in colder regions of the earth; the giving of light, driving away the darkness and lengthening the day; the establishment of a fixed abode and the family hearth, with all that this has meant in comfort and friendship and home ideals. Or consider the invention of the automobile. No one yet can measure the extent of the changes in social life which are to result from this cultural invention. It has been suggested that folkways are changing to motorways. Further illustrations are not necessary to indicate the endless ways in which changes in culture have influenced social evolution and the manner of living. It is this cultural environment, both psychological and social in character—this psycho-social environment—rather than the environment of nature, from which we receive today most of the impulses and influences that dominate our lives in the various groups to which we belong. The difference between the meager primitive life of man and our civilized modern world is due to changes in culture rather

[6] E. G. Conklin, quoted by C. M. Case, *op. cit*, p 934.

than in biological capacity. The social implications of culture will be discussed further in Chapter XXIV.

Unconscious Social Change. Social change is sometimes unconscious and sometimes conscious. Physical and organic change is unconscious, as is much social change also. It is not known what influences are at work in the world of nature that will have far-reaching effects upon the life of man. Is another glacial period on its slow and imperceptible way? Is a famine due in India or the United States next year? Will an earthquake destroy the great cities of the Pacific Coast? It is not known what effect upon the future race stock the wider intermingling of the races of the earth is to have. We are only vaguely conscious of the extent of the silent transformation now taking place in our national ideals and attitudes, and cannot foresee the consequent changes in our social life in days to come. All group life is changing from year to year as a result of conditions and forces of whose operation there is no general social consciousness.

The radical changes in social life brought about by the Industrial Revolution is a good illustration of mingled conscious and unconscious social change. The men who worked out the series of inventions leading to the general use of power machinery did not plan the reconstruction of all modern life, and could not foresee the far-reaching social changes involved in what they were doing, even though they may have seen it in part. And society as a whole has gradually lived its way into the new industrial and social conditions without much consciousness of the magnitude of the change that has been taking place during the last hundred and fifty years. Yet the Industrial Revolution has transformed the social world.

According to C. A. Ellwood, at least three types of unconscious or unplanned social changes are recognized: (1) Those brought about by processes of biological variation and natural selection which affect the qualities of the race stock. (2) Those resulting from the failure of one generation to imitate exactly the customs and traditions handed down by the preceding generations, thus changing the type of group culture. (3) Most influential of all, are the changes brought about by new environmental conditions, either physical or social. Here are found the influences of contact with a different culture, enlargement of the group due to natural increase of population or to immigration, and changes caused by

new inventions. Even in our modern society, therefore, which is more conscious than any other that has ever existed, there is a vast amount of social change going on of which we are unconscious at the time and whose influence is appreciated only as we look back upon it.[7]

Conscious Change and Group Action. It is true that an increasing amount of social action and change is becoming more clearly conscious in character. In earlier periods of culture formation, this was not so much the case. The activities of men were nearer the levels of instinctive life; the native drives had not been modified to such a degree by acquired habit complexes. Action was more genetic, or natural and opportunist, less conscious and planned. Men had to act first for survival, and reflect on their actions afterwards. Today one can think first and then act on the basis of the thinking; which does not mean, however, that all modern men do this, or that any modern man does it all of the time. We have definitely come to the time when we can also review the whole process of development and see it in its general bearings. This is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of our modern world. We are even consciously beginning to formulate ends or goals for the social process, and to determine what means are best adapted to their attainment. This has made reflective thinking more conscious, discriminating, and constructive, and social action more intelligent and purposeful. Man has decided to take a hand in determining the further development of social evolution. Consciousness is thus seen to be an extension or deepening of thinking, and social consciousness is this process in its collective or general group aspects.

Two types of social consciousness have been distinguished: (1) an awareness of group likeness and solidarity, such as exists in a college fraternity, an army regiment, or the people of a city or nation; and (2) awareness on the part of the members of a group of an existing social situation or crisis in its affairs, requiring adjustment or solution by the group. Illustrations would be, the lack of adequate school facilities for the children, or the destruction of a large part of the city by fire, or the need of a better water system. This type of consciousness is sometimes called social self-consciousness.[8]

[7] See C A. Ellwood, *Psychology of Human Society* (1925), pp 214–219

[8] *Ibid*, pp. 214–25.

Steps in Conscious Social Action. There are several steps involved in the development and expression of social consciousness and conscious social action. These may be illustrated by the adoption of the eighteenth amendment to the federal constitution and the ensuing prohibition developments.

(1) *Social leaders* had long realized the evil effects of alcohol as a beverage, and the desirability of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor. For more than a generation various temperance organizations had been carrying on a campaign, and for a full generation the serious effects of alcohol had been taught in the public schools. War-time prohibition had revealed the advantages of prohibition to industry and home life. The general conditions were "ripe."

(2) *Agitation* for the change had been undertaken by the agencies indicated above, which were also vigorously promulgating their reasons for the action proposed. A national political party had for years added its influence in spreading knowledge of the conditions and in demanding governmental action.

(3) Differences of opinion became increasingly acute, and *discussion* of the subject took on a nation-wide aspect. People began to ask whether it was wise to expend their efforts in saving individuals from drunkenness while the distilleries, breweries, and saloons were permitted to make ten new drunkards for every one rescued. Business began to count the cost of alcohol in inefficiency and accident, and in the appalling national bill for intoxicating drink and the resulting social consequences.

(4) Gradually *public opinion,* thus educated, and aroused by *public feeling,* began to crystallize into conviction. Individual states took action in passing prohibition amendments and laws, until a large part of the United States had already become "dry."

(5) At last a nation-wide *common purpose* was formed to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages by means of an amendment to the federal constitution.

(6) This purpose was put into effect by *action* of Congress authorizing the amendment, followed by the ratification by the necessary three-fourths of the states, and further action of Congress in prohibitory legislation on the basis of the new amendment.

The social change had now been effected in its formal aspects, through the several processes involved in the development of social consciousness and group action. Other phases of the situa-

tion, however, of great social significance, had apparently not been adequately reckoned with. In a country so extensive in territory and diversified in population and customs as the United States, the prohibition of liquor was contrary to the local mores in many sections. The use of intoxicating beverages was not only a traditional custom in them, but was regarded as a personal right which should not be denied to one man or group by other groups. In particular, while the separate states might prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, as many of them had done, it was held to be contrary to the fundamental principles of our government for these states, through action of the federal government, to coerce the other states to a prohibition policy whether they favored it or not.

It soon became evident that enforcement of prohibition in communities and states where the laws were contrary to the local customs and mores was almost or quite impossible. Many states by formal governmental action refused to coöperate with the federal authorities in enforcement of the prohibition laws. The illicit sale of liquor reached wide proportions in organized gangs of "bootleggers," who defied the laws and used the situation for the accumulation of enormous profits. The same high-pressure methods of propaganda which had been employed to secure federal prohibition by those favoring it were now widely employed by those opposed to the amendment to secure its repeal. Meanwhile, the long-continued economic depression had borne fruit in social restlessness and general dissatisfaction with existing conditions which created a critical situation as favorable to repeal as the crisis of the war had been to enactment of federal prohibition.

The net result was action by both major political parties in their presidential conventions of June 1932, in favor of modification or repeal by a new amendment, with victory in the November election for the party favoring outright repeal, and subsequent action by Congress submitting to the states a proposed new amendment repealing federal prohibition and protecting the states that might choose to remain "dry" from the transportation and sale within their borders of alcoholic liquors by the "wet" states. This reaction against prohibition may again be followed by an increase of public sentiment in favor of prohibition, after several years of temperance education and "dry" propaganda.

This furnishes an excellent illustration of processes involved in

conscious social action, in this case bringing out many interesting sociological principles, as has been indicated. In most instances of social action, especially in local communities, the situation is much less involved, and action usually coincides with a more or less unified public opinion.

Some of the most significant aspects of effective group action include social leadership, knowledge of the situation and the factors involved in it, free and adequate intercommunication, a final general consensus of ideas, strong and unified feeling, and efficient agencies of social action.

SOCIAL CONTROL

How can the social change and social action taking place in every community be controlled in the interests of the group, and this without doing violence to the individual members and their respective interests? The answer to this question indicates the place of social control in the social process.

Self-Expression and Social Control. There are two phases of community life that require supplemental emphasis. One is self-expression, and the other is social control. Group progress and the development of civilization have been achieved by the interplay of these two forces. Self-expression has given opportunity for the operation of the human and social drives, and has provided the initiative and motivation essential to progress. Social control has safeguarded the interests of the group as a whole, has seen to it that individual interests did not run rampant, and has given guidance to the operation of the social forces. Without self-expression social life would stagnate. Without social control it would revert to chaos. The overemphasis of either of these factors is socially disastrous. The wide-spread overemphasis of self-expression in current thinking and education in the home and the school is directly connected with and largely responsible for the present wide-spread lawlessness and break-down of agencies of social control. It is a reaction against the preceding overemphasis of inhibition and repression by excessive control, but this makes it no less fallacious and socially dangerous. Social control must leave room for adequate individual expression, but must effectively direct it in the interests of orderly social life, without unduly repressing or destroying it.

The Function of Social Control. What has just been said indicates in broad terms the function of social control. In all associative living there must be some adjustment of relations that will avoid infringement upon one another's rights and privileges. More specifically, the functions of social control are three: the securing and maintaining of social order, of social protection, and of social efficiency.

Control is necessary for *social order*. Take, for example, the simple matter of driving along the street, with no agreed method or procedure. The first vehicle you meet turns to the right, the next one turns to the left, the third keeps to the middle of the road and expects you to do all the turning out; how safely can you drive an automobile under these circumstances? In New York, vehicles turn out to the right; in London, they turn to the left. If we are to avoid continual head-on collisions, there must be an orderly procedure, understood and accepted. The same thing holds true throughout the whole process of living together in society. We are inclined to take this social order for granted, but it has all been worked out during the course of group development, and is due to social control.

Such control is essential even in the best-intentioned society. We sometimes come across the superficial idea that if the people of a group were all good, regulations would not be needed for their guidance. Carried to its conclusion, this is the philosophical doctrine of nihilism or anarchy, which holds that in a perfect society no laws are needed at all. The necessity for social order does not depend upon the goodness of the members of the group alone, but upon the complexity of society. It has been said truly that the world might be full of good people, and still not be a good world. Whether it is a good world or not depends also upon whether there is a just and well regulated social order that makes it possible for good people to live and work together in harmony.

Social control is also necessary for *protection*. In every group there are predatory and unsocially-minded people, whose chief concern is not the common welfare but individual advantage. Such persons must be guided into conduct that will not conflict with the safety and rights of others, penalized if they interfere seriously with group enterprises, and forcibly coerced and restrained by imprisonment or elimination if they actually imperil the common good or the rights of the members of the group. Protection from

ire may be an individual matter for the isolated individual, but his is not the case where buildings are congested in the city and the carelessness of one's neighbor endangers all on the street, and there are no individual means for checking the conflagration. Protection must depend upon the community water supply and fire department. In the matter of public sanitation and health, likewise, the entire community is dependent upon control of the sewer system, the water system, and the regulation of contagious diseases.

Again, social control is essential to group *efficiency*. This follows from the importance of social order, but goes somewhat beyond it. Efficiency is impossible except on the basis of orderly procedure, and the more complex and civilized the society, the greater is this need. How efficient would society be if every man conveyed real estate in his own way, without record; or if there were no accepted method of drawing money out of a bank, or of regulating the bank; or if there were no money at all for purposes of exchange, as during the recent bank moratorium in the United States, or if there were no established principles of business? Suppose the family were a free-for-all organization, education an undirected enterprise, and governmental processes a wholly uncertain quantity, social activities would be far less successful than they now are. Even beyond the requirements of order and protection, society needs to be organized and controlled in the interests of constructive achievement of the advantages made possible by cooperative endeavor in community life.

The right of such control lies in the fact that social privileges are not natural rights but are socially created and conferred. Society is therefore at liberty to determine under what conditions they may be received and enjoyed. Every individual who accepts them as a member of the group thereby surrenders something of his rights of individual action and undertakes his share of the community obligations in return for the privileges of living in the group.

Natural and Artificial Social Control. Ross[9] has called attention to the fact that there are two kinds of social control,—natural and artificial.

Natural Control develops more or less spontaneously and unconsciously. It arises out of the living conditions of primary

[9]In the discussion of social control the authors are much indebted to the comprehensive treatment of the subject by Professor E. A. Ross in his well known book, *Social Control* (1901), and to the stimulating discussion of Professor C. A. Ellwood in *The Psychology of Human Society* (1925), Chapters V and XIII

groups, where the members are comparatively few in number and the contacts are direct and immediate. It is based upon the feeling of sympathy, which easily develops in such a group, especially if its members are related by kinship; upon the gregarious tendencies of men, which make them enjoy living together; upon the sense of justice which calls for "fair play" in the relations of life; and upon the feeling of resentment on the part of the individual or his kin in the face of injury.

As long as the group remains small and simple in its living conditions, these sentiments may successfully guide adjustments among the members and may maintain an informal or loosely organized control adequate to the needs. Such a condition exists in the family, for example, where control is much more a matter of custom and sentiment than of formal rules and regulations. Moreover, even when societies become large and complex, these fundamental sentiments still remain as basic factors in the new forms of control that are found necessary.

Artificial or Purposeful Control. Natural control, however, is not adequate in secondary and large societies, where relations are impersonal and contacts are mediated and indirect. "Not sympathy, but *reliable conduct* is the cornerstone of great organization. It is obedience that articulates the frame-work of the social order; sympathy is but the connective tissue."[10] Gregarious impulses may facilitate harmony, but in themselves are no security for orderly behavior. Intellect, not feeling must now primarily determine the social order. "The primitive ties of kinship have to give place to the wit to construct a good social framework on the basis of interlacing interests. . . . The sense of justice, basic as it is, cannot originate mutual restraints; it knows nothing of the group interests to which private interests must give way. It furnishes the law-abiding disposition, but the laws themselves must be otherwise provided."[11] Neither can resentment of injury, although it tends to establish equal rights, satisfactorily redress wrongs in a complex society. Law must finally supersede personal resentment, and society itself must take over the task of repressing injury and dealing with the wrong-doer.

Natural control falls down in the complex artificial society. Here social control must be created through reflective processes,

[10]E. A. Ross, *op. cit.*
[11]*Ibid.*

and with the conscious purpose of meeting the needs of the situation. The demand creates the supply, and artificial order appears.

Nevertheless, we should not get the idea that even conscious social control is merely a mechanical matter. As already stated, it is based in the natural sentiments of sympathy and justice. It involves kindred ideas and social fellowship, mutual understanding, good-will, and coöperation. It wells up out of the common life of the group and is a growth as well as a creation. It is therefore not a matter of formal regulations alone, or perhaps even chiefly, but consists in social adjustments that have been lived into and approved by the group as customs and traditions. This common stock of folkways and regulative ideas is modified from generation to generation to meet new conditions, usually by almost imperceptible and unnoted changes, but occasionally through crises of social upheaval in thinking and revolutionary readaptations in customs. It is in this pulsing life of the group that purposeful social control strikes its roots. Art has helped nature, but not superseded it, in devising adequate means for the control of a civilization that has itself been erected by art upon the basis of nature.

The Agencies of Social Control. There are so many excellent treatments of the agencies of control[12] that only a brief discussion of the subject will be attempted here.

Custom is one of the most influential agencies of social control, although not one of the most conscious and intelligent. Our lives are not primarily regulated by law and government, but by custom. On any typical day we get up at approximately an accustomed hour, dress in the usual way and as others do, have breakfast at about the same time as yesterday, perhaps even eating the same kinds of food, go about the regular tasks of the day in the main as on other days, stop at a regular time for lunch, go back to work again, quit work at a generally accepted hour, have dinner at an accustomed time and place, spend the evening within the general range of popular activities, retire for sleep at about the same hour as others of our set do, rest for a traditional seven to nine hours, and then arise at the usual time to start another day like yesterday, in its main features.

This routine is not prescribed by law. Nor do we ask anyone's consent. Why, then, do we live in this special sort of way? Because

[12]See especially E. A. Ross, *Social Control* (1901), already referred to, and F. E. Lumley, *Means of Social Control* (1925).

of customs, or group habits, and because of personal habits developed largely on the basis or within the limits of group customs. Custom thus forms the great substratum of social life and action. As a part of custom, and perhaps also of religion, special attention should be called to *ceremonials* and *taboos,* which from primitive times to the present, have constituted very powerful agencies in the control of group life.

Custom operates through *suggestion* and *imitation.*[18] These are the opposite sides of the same thing. On the one side is the active mind in an interesting world. On the other side are the manifold stimuli from things and persons, presenting themselves not only in didactic and explicit form, but by way of attractive appearance, allusion, illustration, question, or hint,—ways that we term suggestion. In fact, suggestion is present in many forms of social control besides custom, including tradition, example, personal influence, and religion, and it constitutes a large part of education. It presents its appeal in styles and fashions, in mental patterns, in customary methods of procedure, and in precedents of all sorts. This reciprocal process of suggestion and imitation may be either unconscious or conscious. In the latter case it is deliberately chosen as an effective agency of social order through suggestive control.

Public opinion is one of the most universal and effective means of social control, not only in society at large, but also in the smaller groups where sensitiveness to the opinion of one's companions is especially acute. It was of very great importance in primitive times, when failure to observe the customs essential to survival might cause the serious injury or even the destruction of the group. In modern times, also, public opinion is gaining in importance. The unprecedented extension of means of communication throughout the world has brought into the clear light of day the happenings in every locality. Even the strongest nation must today reckon with the reaction of international public opinion. Good will is now good business. The small grocery store, the great corporation, the church, the politician, the league of nations, are all engaged in the effort to create good will and gain public approval.

Some of our serious social problems at the present time are connected with irresponsible agencies of publicity, which often consciously or unconsciously warp the truth and thus create a misguided public opinion. Society must perform the paradoxical mira-

[18]See also brief discussion in Ch. XIX.

cle of finding some way to control the agencies of control, without destroying freedom of speech.

Ideas have always been of great significance as means of social control. By reflecting upon their ways of living men develop new ideas concerning them. This leads to changes in customs, which arise in human society through the mutual interaction of the practical needs of life and the ideas resulting from reflective thinking.

Ideas are of different degrees of validity, varying from baseless opinions to the verifiable conclusions of modern scientific knowledge. The latter are becoming increasingly important, as evidenced by the growing tendency on the part of thoughtful people to suspend conclusions on numberless subjects until investigations have revealed the facts and offered a valid basis for trustworthy ideas. The "fact-finding commission" is an encouraging modern agency of social control through ideas.

Moral ideas and standards, involving questions of right and wrong, are particularly important for social control, especially in establishing the standards of conduct. We cannot here enter into a discussion of social ethics, but may call attention to the fact that the socially "good" man is the one who fulfills aright his personal and social relations with his fellow-men. What constitutes such relations is not so easy to determine in our present complex social order as it was in more primitive times, but we are safe in saying that it involves the welfare of the group as well as the personal interests of the individual.[14]

Religious ideas, ideals, and convictions have exercised profound influence as means of social control, for they place the emphasis on the inner motive of good will. Religion greatly aids in clarifying the ideas of right and wrong, helps to establish social patterns, evaluations of life, and personal attitudes favorable to altruistic conduct, and crystallizes these into great social convictions reinforced by supernatural sanctions. Moral and religious ideas vary with differences of place and time, and are a part of the system of ideas in the culture of the group, community, nation or historical era.

Education is probably the greatest of all agencies of conscious social control not having their basis in the sanctions of law and government. The child starts his career with only an inherited equipment of reflexes, capacities, and drives to action, but without

[14]See also Chapters XI and XXVII.

any knowledge. Upon the basis of this inheritance its knowledge, personality, character, and achievement are all built up through the educational process. The child, "under limitations of heredity, makes up his personality by imitation out of the 'copy' set in the actions, temper, emotions, of the persons who build around him the social enclosure of his childhood."[15] Selective education, therefore, has in its keeping the very springs of social control.

This, however, is not the whole story. The stream may be deflected or polluted after it leaves the springs. "Nowadays, no sooner does the youth come forth from home with his life organized about certain ideas than we proceed to disorganize it. After the young have got in the current of custom they meet and are swung round by the rollers of fashion. . . . They cease imitating ancestors in order to imitate contemporaries."[16]

Selective environment as means of controlling the educational process, formal and informal, is the answer to the situation here presented. "Education should furnish to the developing individual at the plastic period of life a controlled, artificial environment, especially a psycho-social environment, of the proper ideas, standards, and values. It can, accordingly, mold individual character in almost any direction which heredity makes possible. . . . It secures social control through self-control, that is, through socializing the attitudes and values of the individual."[17] The environmental influences of the home are what give this institution its abiding effects on the development of personality. The social life now gathering about the high school, and the mental patterns dominating it, are fully as influential in character values as the formal class work. The campus life of a college is as significant as the curriculum. Selective environment controls by impulsion rather than by compulsion, and for this reason needs to be understood and utilized by educators as intelligently as the formal aspects of the educational system.

Social institutions, which will be particularly discussed in a later chapter, are of fundamental importance in connection with environmental control. Every child is born, not into the world in general, but into a special culture of social organization and institutions which begins immediately to control his personality

[15]J. M. Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race* (1906), p. 357.
[16]E. A. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 181–82. See also Ch. XXVI of the present volume.
[17]C. A. Ellwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-411.

development and continue to do so throughout his entire life. The established institutions of the community constitute a social order whose influence it is well-nigh impossible to transcend. "When in Rome, do as the Romans do," is a law of social life,—locally, internationally, and as to different historical eras.[18]

Government and law are the authoritarian control agencies of an objective character in the social group, and these also are social institutions. Government performs a double function, that of enacting laws and that of enforcing them. Laws are official standards of associative life. As we have seen, custom constitutes the substratum of social order and control. As the group expands, customs and ideas become more diversified and it is increasingly difficult for them to serve as adequate social standards of action. It is in this situation that law steps in and defines those customary social standards that are universal enough and important enough to require the observance of all in the interests of the common good. Laws governmentally enacted, therefore, are the authoritative codification of social customs and ideas that require compulsory enforcement.

The fact that government is the authoritative appeal in social control, however, does not mean that it is the ultimate social appeal, nor that, in the last analysis, it is the most important agency of social control. The inner, informal, and unofficial agencies of control are more vital and effective in character formation and self-guidance. But the members of the community who fail to respond to these deeper appeals of social control must be coerced by government in the interests of the common good. It is probable, however, that too much dependence upon objective and coercive control by government represents disorganization and inefficiency of the inner agencies of social control.

Personal and official *leadership* may appropriately form the last agency of social control to be considered. It enters into all of the other forms. Suggestion, public opinion, moral obligation, religious conviction, education, selective environment, government,—all of these are made effective in application to community life only by

[18]This phase of social control, as well as that of the preceding paragraph on selective environment, cannot be treated more fully here without unnecessary duplication with Chapters XXIV, XXV, and XXVI, where social culture, social institutions, and personality development are discussed, and the controlling influence of environment naturally appears. Attention is merely called at this point to its great importance in social control.

adequate leadership. The gifted leader who can see further than his fellows and knows how to lead them, is therefore a determining factor in group control and social progress.

Summary. Change is taking place everywhere throughout the universe, so far as we can judge. This is especially significant in social life since it offers the opportunity for progress in groups and communities. There are two kinds of social change, one biological, largely unconscious and beyond the control of man, the other cultural and hence man-made and subject to his control. The members of a community, or of human society in general, therefore, do not need to sit in helplessness while things take their course in social life, but by employing conscious and rightly directed action can largely control the course of cultural change and thus of social conditions.

Social control is therefore of immense significance. Some sociologists regard it as the central problem of associative life, especially in complex civilizations. The larger the community, the more important control becomes in the interests of social order, protection, and efficiency. In small primary groups with face-to-face contacts, control is exercised by natural and informal means, but in large aggregations of population, in addition to these, more formal agencies also must be created and effectively utilized. These are discussed briefly and their special values indicated.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the difference between biological change and cultural change? Give illustrations.

2. Discuss some of the most important changes that have taken place in your home community. Which of them were beyond human control, and which were cultural and subject to community control? Which were unconscious, and which were the result of conscious action?

3. Take one important purposeful change in your community, and discuss the steps in the process leading to final action. Show as far as possible the sociological forces that were operative.

4. Try the same thing with reference to some social change of wider scope, such as the elimination of slavery in the United States, or the enfranchisement of women, or the custom of bobbed hair among girls and women.

5. Do you think the present generation of young people is characterized by intellectual and moral independence, or are they particularly susceptible to custom and imitation? Defend your answer.

6. Compare custom, public opinion, education, religious ideals, and government and law as agencies of social control, with illustrations.

7. Discuss the importance and mutual relations of self-expression and social control in community life.

8. Discuss the newspaper in relation to public opinion. What should be done if the newspaper warps the news for the purpose of influencing public opinion in wrong directions? Discuss the freedom of the press.

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CHAPTER XXIII

CROWD BEHAVIOR

THE NATURE OF CROWD BEHAVIOR

Crowd behavior has reference to a special form of collective behavior. In a sense this whole volume deals with group life and collective behavior. The crowd, however, exhibits unique characteristics which need special consideration. Crowd contagion, the fashion process, and mass movements are important aspects of modern social life. The laws that govern behavior in these situations are largely those of crowd psychology, particularly suggestion and imitation.

Collective behavior, according to Park and Burgess, has reference to "the behavior of individuals under the influence of an impulse that is common and collective, an impulse, in other words, that is the result of a social interaction."[1] While social interaction is a general social process, there are forms of interaction which have the characteristics of crowd action.

What is the Crowd? Much of the early writing on crowd behavior dealt with it in terms of mob mind and other psychological concepts applied to mass phenomena. The crowd mind was thought of as a sort of super-entity. The group mind theory has been given up for the most part. Yet the crowd exhibits a unity not to be found in ordinary groups.

LeBon[2] was apparently the first important writer to call attention to the significance of the crowd as a social phenomenon. The crowd, according to LeBon, is not a group of people brought together by the accident of some chance excitement. Psychologically it is quite a different thing. Under certain circumstances a group of people present new and unique characteristics which are different from the individuals composing it. A collective mind is

[1] *An Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924), p. 865.

[2] Gustave LeBon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (1900). See Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 867.

formed and the individuals in the crowd act as one, at least for the time being. The crowd releases impulses which would ordinarily be restrained. The conscious personality tends to be submerged or at least disappears. The unconscious personality predominates. There is a turning by means of suggestion and contagion of feelings and ideas in an identical direction. There is a tendency to transform the suggested ideas into acts. The members of the crowd do not reason nor do they criticize each other. They either accept or reject ideas as a whole and tolerate no discussion nor contradiction. LeBon calls this a psychological or organized crowd.

Individuals in the crowd tend to sacrifice themselves for the ideal with which they have been inspired or the stimulus which dominates them for the moment. They entertain extreme sentiments and may quickly shift from one form of reaction to another. Sympathy may be transformed into adoration, antipathy into hate, and hate and love may be alternated.

The behavior of the crowd is often abnormal in character.[3] "The crowd mind," says Martin,[4] "is a phenomenon which should be classed with dreams, delusions, and various forms of automatic behavior." Crowd behavior is not a mere excess of emotions on the part of a group of people that have abandoned reason, but repressed impulses and desires are released, and the thinking and acting is stereotyped.

Whether or not crowd behavior is pathological depends somewhat upon one's conception of abnormal behavior as well as upon the form the behavior may take. Obviously not all crowds behave alike. Some crowds act as a unity. Mob behavior is a good illustration of this, in which the individuals may act as one person. A panic represents the opposite type of crowd behavior. Here the individuals act in independence of each other with little unity and common purpose. A mob is a crowd that acts in unison. A panic is a crowd that mills around and is disorganized.

None of the writers on crowd behavior makes clear what unites crowds. The bond that unites the individuals is precisely the thing that is characteristic of the crowd. The causes of the dif-

[3]Compare E. D. Martin, *The Behavior of Crowds* (1920); also William McDougall, *The Group Mind* (1920) and Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1927).

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 19.

ferences in crowd action are more important than the different forms these actions take.[5] Crowds are not merely the result of chance excitement. Social stimulation is important, but one must not forget that crowds are composed of individuals. A crowd is a collection of individuals who are all reacting to some common object. Similarity of human nature makes it possible for the individuals of the crowd to react to this common object in a like manner. If a group is composed of different types of individuals with diverse cultural backgrounds and experiences, it is difficult to unite them in the form of crowd action. Crowd action, then, depends upon the composition of the group as well as upon the nature of the social situation and social influences.

Personal Behavior in the Crowd. Allport[6] endeavors to analyze the moral consciousness and the reasoning process of a man in a crowd as follows: "(1) I could do this thing which I want to do as a member of a crowd because no one would observe me, and I would therefore escape punishment. (2) Even if I should be detected, no one could punish me without punishing all the others. But to punish all would be a physical impossibility. And (3) more than that, it doesn't seem possible to punish a crowd, because that would be making a large number of people suffer. And that is unjust: it is the interest of the many which must always be safeguarded. Hence (4) since the whole crowd show by their acts that they wish the deed to be done, it must be right after all. And finally (5) since so many people will benefit by this act, to perform it is a public duty and a righteous deed." To be sure not all go through this reasoning process. Many act on the spur of the moment. They are swept into action by the sheer force of the crowd stimulation. If a person's attitudes and sentiments are not in sympathy with the action he may endeavor to leave the group or protest against its behavior. Persons not in sympathy with the attitude of the crowd are sometimes won over by stimulations from the other members. They may later regret their behavior but for the moment fall in line with others in achieving a common object.

It is frequently difficult to understand why people act as they do in crowds. Prejudice, lack of education, ignorance, lack of self-control, and many other personal factors have a bearing.

[5]Compare Sigmund Freud, *op. cit.*

[6]F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology*, pp. 312–13.

But favorable psychological factors alone do not produce crowd action. There must be an occasion, a situation calling for such response, and social influences which stimulate the individuals.

The Crowd and the Public. It may be more easily possible to visualize the nature of crowd action by contrasting the crowd with the public. (1) The first difference is in the nature of interaction. The crowd is characterized by heightened emotions. The interaction is by means of emotional stimulation, gestures, symbols, as well as words and shouts. There is a relative absence of discussion in the crowd, hence there is little reflection. The public discusses and reflects. In the public the people look upon each other critically. They challenge each other. (2) In the crowd there is a psychological unity one seldom finds in the public. The members are mutually responsive and a condition of rapport exists which makes for united action. Since the people in the public act more critically toward each other, there is here a certain amount of disunity. (3) The crowd requires the simultaneous presence of individuals. The public may be scattered far and wide.

It must be remembered, of course, that the crowd and the public are not always clearly differentiated. The public, under the stress and strain of a great crisis, such as a war or a revolution, may partake of the nature of the crowd. On the other hand, a gathering of people in a given region or an assembly meeting in an auditorium may partake of the nature of a public. A discussion group is a public rather than a crowd even though there may be heated arguments. But such an assembly of people may quickly be converted into a crowd under the stimulus of a great excitement.

Suggestion and Imitation in the Crowd. Crowd contagion is intensified by suggestion and imitation. Members of a crowd are highly suggestible and easily imitate each other. Suggestion is a stimulus or set of stimuli which touch off tendencies to respond, such as habits, attitudes, sentiments, or wishes. The response to a suggestion is relatively immediate and uncritical. The mechanisms for these responses are already present, and all that is necessary to put them into effect is to present the appropriate stimulus or cue. There are three essential characteristics of the suggestion process: (1) The strength of the stimulus, cue, or conditioning factor; (2) the nature of the behavior mechanism already in existence and which is touched off by the stimulus; and (3) the relatively uncritical, immediate, and automatic nature of the response.

Imitation means copying the object or action. The processes of imitation and suggestion overlap although they are independent of each other. Suggestion is antecedent to imitation. If the tendency which is touched off by suggestion produces a favorable response it represents a suggestion-imitation process. But the responses to suggestions are not always favorable. In contra-suggestion the response is unfavorable and in the opposite direction from the suggestion. We also have partial or slantwise suggestion. The essential difference between suggestion and imitation, is that in suggestion the tendency to respond is there and the stimulus may set it going in any direction, whereas in imitation the tendency has to be worked up.

There are a number of different kinds of imitation, of which the behavior in crowds and mobs is only one.[7] Imitation in crowds is immediate and unwitting, releasing as it does, pre-existing mechanism. Panics and mobs involve quick reactions.

Suggestion and imitation in crowds make possible the spread of crowd contagion. Reason does not enter to restrain action, to criticize suggested ideas or to hinder the immediate imitation. Even though a crowd may be composed of relatively intelligent people, if properly swayed by emotions it will accept as truth the most absurd notions. When mental inhibitions are released in a crowd the members act upon suggestion in an uncritical manner. Suggestion and imitation become effective means of communication as social unrest is intensified.

Crowd Contagion. When restlessness and emotional behavior are rapidly transmitted from one person to another, they take the form of crowd contagion. Sudden and widespread crowd movements are usually associated with discontent, which in turn is a part of the larger problem of social change and maladjustment. The prevalence of social tensions and conflicts is evidence of the extent of present social discontent. Radical movements designed to affect immediate social reforms and innovative changes are occurring throughout the world. We are living in an age that is marked by feverish restlessness and widespread discontent.

"Concrete manifestations of unrest in an elementary form are to be seen in the increasing numbers of wandering individuals who move across the world as tramps, tourists, explorers, migrants, and what not; in the

[7]Compare Ellsworth Faris, "The Concept of Imitation," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII (Nov., 1926), pp. 367–78.

mounting tide of crime and insanity; in widespread agitation and irritability expressive of fears and sullen moods; in the stir of vague longings by means of high-pressure advertising, display, and conspicuous consumption; and in the sweep of sudden impulses seeking pleasure, thrills, and relief from boredom. In its more contagious forms, this unrest shows itself in the form of psychic epidemic, jazz manias, fads, and crazes. In its organized phases it assumes the character of social movements."[8]

Crowd contagions spread with great rapidity. This is partly due to the extensive communication system. The disorganized condition of the world today and the widespread discontent furnish a fruitful soil for the development of crowd movements.

FORMS OF CROWD BEHAVIOR AND MASS MOVEMENTS

Crowd behavior and movements take on many forms. Mass migrations, manias, crazes, mobs, panics, mass meetings, revolutions, and many other movements have crowd characteristics.

Crusades. The Crusades are historical examples of mass migration. The history of the crusades is familiar to all. According to the tradition, a monk, Peter the Hermit, visited the Holy Land. He saw the Christians abused by infidels, presented the cause to the Pope, and then went out to stir up the people to engage in the holy undertaking. Great numbers migrated toward Jerusalem. People were drawn into the movement by an irresistible longing to see the Holy Land and to take part in the undertaking to rid Palestine of infidels. Swarms of men of different races and nationalities, belonging to various classes, rich and poor, together with their wives and families, were ready to participate in the conquest. The abnormal suggestibility of medieval society was most clearly seen in the crusade of children. Stephen, a shepherd boy, in imitation of the elders, began to preach to children of a holy war. He soon became the rage of the day and children began to march in great numbers. Nothing could stop them. Parents, leaders of the state and the church, were helpless. Many perished before they were brought under control. Finally the crusades died out, but only after bitter experiences.

California Gold Rush. The outstanding illustration of extensive migration in this country was the rush to California in search for gold. By the close of 1848 every community, large or

[8]Dawson and Gettys, *Introduction to Sociology* (1929), p. 713.

small, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Western frontier, was affected by the California fever. Men were selling out their business, officials were resigning their positions, professional men were getting rid of their practices, families were breaking up their homes, young men started out on a great adventure, all in the search for gold which was reported to be plentiful in certain sections of California. As the covered wagons moved across the desert, many horses and oxen died on the way, property was abandoned, and people lost their lives from diseases, exposure, and malnourishment. Yet a constant stream of wagons moved across the Western plains, deserts, and mountain ranges.

Manias and Frenzies. There are forms of crowd behavior that differ from most migrations in that the people usually remain stationary but their behavior is affected by mass stimulation. A dancing mania spread throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. Dancing became so extensive and the people participated so vigorously that not infrequently they danced until they were completely exhausted. The witchcraft mania lasted a century and a half, beginning about the end of the fifteenth century. The fear of witches, demons, and the devil affected the people so strongly that those suspected of being possessed of demons or of being witches were killed in great numbers. Church people led in the effort to rid the country of the dreaded scourge. Pope Innocent VIII, in his bull of 1488, made a strong appeal to the churches to rescue themselves from the power of satan. Even Luther said, "I should have no compassion on these witches; I would burn all of them." During the seventeenth century a tulip mania got under way in Holland. The rage among the Dutch to possess tulips was so great that ordinary agriculture and industry were neglected in the interest of the production of tulips. This lasted until the bubble burst, prices dropped, and people accused each other for the disaster.

Financial Crises. The Mississippi Bubble illustrates how such a craze may operate. John Law, a Scotchman, who lived in Paris and who had established a successful bank in France, projected a financial scheme to establish an exclusive trading company. The area west of the Mississippi river was the original region of trade. Later other areas, such as East Indies, China, and the South Seas, were added. Applications came in far beyond need. People swarmed to where Mr. Law was. Enormous fees were

paid servants to get access to him. All wanted their names entered as purchasers of the stock. Mr. Law was almost worshipped. He was so popular that the regents sent him a troop of cavalry as permanent escort. Then the crisis came. The company went bankrupt. After that it was necessary for Mr. Law to have escorts to protect him from the angry crowd.

Real estate booms, stock market inflations, and business prosperity all have a tendency to artificially stimulate investments. Sometimes there is feverish investing. Then when a financial depression arises there is a corresponding feverish withdrawal of money. Panics result in nervousness, mutual distrust, fear, anxiety, restlessness, and a slowing up of buying and money spending.

Fashion Crazes and Fads. A fashion craze is a rather sudden and wide-spread change of fashion, following a given pattern. A fad has reference to a rather pronounced spread of a fashion, but which is temporary in character. After a fad becomes the "rage of the day" the excitement furthers it. Commercial concerns, through their designers and promoters, endeavor to start fads by means of advertising and catchy phrases. There are fads in kinds of foods, clothing styles, tobacco, styles of homes, types of cars, and in every line of business. Most of the fads pertain to dress, especially women's dress. Slang fads, fads pertaining to automobiles, architecture, education and culture are less frequent. Most of the fads are related to superficial aspects of our life and last only a short while. They are quickly adopted and tend to disappear rapidly.

A craze takes a limited span of time. It develops to its height quickly and then a reaction sets in. The more extensive it becomes the more it affects the conservative element in society. Limited fads affect only a special class of people. But one fad tends to follow another in rapid succession. The more dynamic the society the more craze-ridden it becomes.

During the last few years we have witnessed many fads. Emory S. Bogardus[9] has gathered lists since 1914. Kewpies on automobiles headed the list as being the most popular fad in 1914. These changed in 1915 to military styles of clothing, Charlie Chaplin moustaches, and Mary Pickford curls. Short skirts, men's wrist watches, are items on the list for 1916. Knitting, liberty

[9]Data taken from the University of Southern California Daily *Trojan*, March 11, 1930.

words and war slogans, jazz, and the like, were some of the war time fads, part of which have persisted. Since that time there have been such fads as rolled down stockings, vanity boxes, Eskimo pies, "flappers," stop signs, Mah Jong, cross-word puzzles, bobbed hair, and many others.

Regions such as Southern California have recently experienced waves of fashions and fads in dress, eating and drinking, automobiles, architecture, slang, and in similar lines. Short and long skirts, stockingless girls, sun-tan backs, college boys wearing dirty corduroy trousers, eating raw foods, vegetable diets, 18-day diet, weight reducing machines, drinking orange juice, fancy radiator caps and stickers on cars, Spanish type of houses, bright colors of paint and interior decorations—these and many others have appeared. Even education and religion are not immune from fads. Religious cults, educational methods and theories, as well as changes in programs and buildings, have undergone such rapid changes that they amount to fads.

Fashion is a social custom, transmitted by imitation or by tradition. Fashions are created and launched, but they do not get under way until they "take." They must strike fire with the popular imagination.

Strikes and Crowd Behavior. Although strikes and other labor activities may be carried on without serious outbreaks, they usually represent a form of crowd behavior, especially if concerted action is involved. The main objective of strikes is to secure economic advantage, but the strikers often are dominated by a revolutionary spirit. They are frequently persecuted and subjected to a volley of propaganda. They are stimulated and trained by the yell leaders. Stimulation in the strike is for the purpose of producing a class consciousness, intensifying the morale of the strikers, and securing mass action. Strikers, stimulated to a high pitch, are prone to resort to violence in obtaining their ends.

Crowd Action in Wars and Revolutions. All warfare involves a considerable amount of mob violence. The French Revolution was noted for its bloody massacres. The late World War and the Russian Revolution have more radically changed international relationships and existing conditions within nations than any conflicts which have ever occurred before.

War is a customary way of attempting to settle an international or civil dispute by means of armed military force. The causes

exist in the political, economic, and cultural processes, but also in crowd behavior. The immediate occasions are usually fraught with emotional excitement and crowd contagion. During the war there is feverish excitement, freedom of speech and action is not tolerated, and there is great anxiety and nervousness. War upsets every phase of social life. If a war is fought between nations there is great internal unity of the groups involved, but the normal routine is uprooted and the after-war period is characterized by social disorganization. Revolutions, even more than international wars, disintegrate social life.

Lynchings, Night Riding Mobs, and Pogroms. Mob forms of action usually involve gross misconduct by some individuals. The basic factor underlying such actions is that the established political or religious institutions are not functioning properly. Mobs lynch people who are supposed to have committed grave offenses, due to a feeling that prompt action is needed to insure punishment. Pogroms are forms of race riots. In Europe pogroms have centered around the Jewish people. Such actions are irrational and are difficult to control.

Political Gatherings. During political campaigns many gatherings partake of the nature of crowd behavior, especially if the contest is intense. Politics implies issues. Since issues are involved there usually is considerable agitation. Orderly discussions do not involve crowd reactions, but mass meetings which are stimulated by bands, flags and banners, and in which the speakers appeal to the emotions of the people, frequently exhibit psychological traits peculiar to crowds.

Religious Revivals. F. M. Davenport,[10] in describing the Cane Ridge camp-meeting of 1800, points out that people swarmed enthusiastically around, laughing, leaping, sobbing, shouting, and when the assembly became quiet, a few shrieks would quickly arouse the people again. This was kept up for days until the people were completely exhausted. James B. Finley[11] vividly describes a camp meeting which he observed.

"We arrived upon the ground, and here a scene presented itself to my mind not only novel and unaccountable, but awful beyond description. A vast crowd (about 20,000) was collected together. The noise was like

[10] *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, quoted by C. M. Case, *Outlines of Introductory Sociology* (1924). p. 595ff.
[11] *Autobiography of Rev. James B. Finley* (1856).

the roar of Niagara. The vast sea of human beings seemed to be agitated as if by a storm. I counted seven ministers, all preaching at the same time, some on stumps, others in wagons. . . . Some of the people were singing, others praying, some crying for mercy in the most piteous accents, while others were shouting most vociferously. While witnessing these scenes, a peculiarly-strange sensation, such as I had never felt before, came over me. My heart beat tumultuously, my knees trembled, my lips quivered, and I felt as though I must fall to the ground. . . . The scene that presented itself to my mind was indescribable. At one time I saw at least five hundred swept down in a moment, and then immediately followed shrieks and shouts that rent the very heavens. My hair rose up on my head, my whole frame trembled, the blood ran cold in my veins."

Other cases of crowd behavior and mass movements could be presented, but it is already clear that the crowd functions differently from an ordinary group. All are characterized by an emotionalism not to be found in the public and in social movements, such as the peace movement, labor movements, community organization, social welfare, and many others. In crowd movements impulses are released which otherwise would have been restrained. There is a contagion of feelings, sentiments, and ideas. Crowds are subject to suggestion and chance stimulation. Discussion, criticism, and experimentation are wanting. Acting and thinking are stereotyped.

Movements which are characterized by crowd behavior start with a restlessness which is transmitted, becoming social unrest. The crowd spirit affects the entire group. Social movements are of a different type. They grow out of the public. Leaders arise to give such movements intelligent direction. Issues are discussed and proposals analyzed. Such movements may take years to develop and they aim at the improvement of conditions by intelligent means. Crowd movements are of a shorter duration and are usually destructive.

Summary. Crowd behavior is a special form of collective action. It exhibits unique characteristics. Suggestion and imitation play an important part. The individuals are dominated by an emotional stimulation and there is very little independent thinking. The restlessness and emotional behavior are rapidly transmitted from person to person.

There are many forms of crowd behavior, such as mass migra-

tion, manias and crazes, mobs, panics, mass meetings, and often it is associated with strikes, wars and revolutions.

The interaction in the crowd is intense but there is a tendency to integrate the individuals into united action, except in panics, in which case there is confusion and disorder. Social unrest and crowd action are associated with social change. Social control is particularly difficult because of the relative absence of rational behavior.

In every community one can observe evidences of the crowd spirit in various actions and gatherings. Sometimes crowds are destructive. They seldom lead to constructive movements, such as one finds in the public.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. What is a crowd? Indicate the characteristics of the crowd. State LeBon's conception of the psychological crowd.
2. Compare and contrast the crowd and the public. What are mass movements?
3. What influence does suggestion have in crowd behavior? Why do people imitate readily in the crowd?
4. Show the relation between social unrest and crowd contagion. Why do crowds flourish during periods of great unrest?
5. Cite illustrations of crowd behavior other than those given in this chapter. Analyze any of these from the point of view of the main characteristics and processes involved therein.
6. Show the difference between mob action and a panic.

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C. PRODUCTS OF THE SOCIAL PROCESSES

CHAPTER XXIV

HUMAN CULTURE

The social processes, discussed in the preceding Division, represent the vital and dynamic life of the community. But there is something besides processes in the community. There are the buildings, the railroads, the street cars, the automobiles, the business establishments, the schools and churches, the men's and women's clubs, the customs and ideas, and many other things that might be mentioned which are not simply social processes. They are, rather, the things that are created by the community activities, the products of the social processes. Collectively, they are known as human culture. This and the two following chapters will be devoted to a discussion of these social products, human culture being considered in the present chapter.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURE

What Is Human Culture? It has become evident already that the word "culture" is here used in a somewhat different sense from the popular meaning. When anthropologists use the term they mean by it the sum total of the creations of man and of society, both material and immaterial. A few quotations from recent writers will make this clear: "Culture may be thought of as the accumulated products of human society, and includes the use of material objects as well as social institutions and social ways of doing things."[1] "This round of life in its entire sweep of individual activities is the basic phenomenon to which the historian, the sociologist, and the anthropologist give the name, *culture*."[2] "Culture is an accumulative structure developed out of the reflective

[1]W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (1923), p. 58.
[2]Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (1923), p 1.

thinking of man."[3] "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[4] Material creations should also be included in this list, as a part of culture. Goldenweiser, in his *Early Civilization*, uses "culture" as synonymous with "civilization." It would be more accurate to say that civilization is the latest stage of culture. Savages and barbarians also have cultures, but not civilization.

Culture, then, involves material factors, such as inventions, property, machinery, railroads, trains, automobiles, telephones, and all other creations of man that are a part of the physical equipment of society. It includes, likewise, immaterial factors, such as language, thinking, ideals, music, sympathy, coöperation, and everything else that is a product of man's creative activity. From these quotations and suggestions the student will readily understand the use of the term "culture" in scientific discussions, and should wholly eliminate the popular use of the word from his sociological thinking.

Culture Traits and Complexes. Just as a chemical compound can best be studied by reducing it to its basic elements, so the culture of a given society can be understood most clearly by separating it into its constituent factors or units. These units are called *traits*. "The field-worker in anthropology begins his study of tribal culture by concentrating upon one or two points. . . . A unit of the tribal culture is spoken of as a trait. . . . A tribal culture is characterized by the enumeration of its observable traits, and the culture of one tribe is distinguished from that of another by differences in these traits. . . . Progress in the study of culture has been substantiated only by so far as the enumeration of tribal traits has approximated completeness."[5] In this way, for example, the shirt patterns of the Indians in the western part of the United States have been studied, and tribal comparisons have been made by means of them.

Often what appears to be a single trait is not a clearcut unit, but is made up of many factors. Wissler gives the illustration[6] of the use of wild rice by the Ojibway Indians in the vicinity of

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[4] E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (1874), Vol. I, p. 1.
[5] Clark Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 51–52.

Lake Superior. This was not a simple trait. It involved some care of places where the rice grew and of the plants. The rice had to be gathered, cured, hulled, winnowed, stored, cooked, and eaten. There were also included such features as property rights and religious ceremonies. This whole chain of activities is known as the *trait-complex*, in this case the wild rice complex.

Thus there is a tendency of traits to cluster. M. M. Willey[7] gives an interesting example of this in a college football game, which is a complex of many clustering traits, such as the football itself, the field, the goal posts, the rules of the game, the players, the cheer leaders, the shouting students, the parade following the victory, and many other features. The entire series of activities is the football complex. In England its place might be taken by the cricket complex. The culture of a tribe or a people, therefore, consists of all the traits and trait complexes which are included in it. Only by studying these can a given culture be understood or compared with other cultures. The United States has one type of culture, China has another, the Negroes in Africa still another. Where several peoples have culture traits and complexes much alike they are said to have the same cultural type. Thus the United States, Canada, and the nations of northwestern Europe all have what has been called the Euro-American type of culture.

The Culture Area. A culture type has its geographical distribution, which is known as the area of that culture,[8] in which it is chiefly localized. According to Wissler anthropologists have found that the United States and Canada, for example, comprise nine early culture areas: The Plains, Plateau, California, North Pacific Coast, Eskimo, Mackenzie, Eastern Woodland, Southeastern, and Southwestern. Each area contains many tribal units and an equal number of tribal cultures, but they all belong to one type. The same division into culture areas seems to be true for other parts of the world also, although the areas there have not been worked out by anthropologists so fully as in the New World. The entire known world might apparently be plotted into such culture areas.

To define one of these areas, the trait complexes of the respective tribes or peoples have to be carefully tabulated by the statistical method. The boundaries between areas are not clear-cut, but

[7] *Introduction to Sociology*, Davis and Barnes, et al., (1927), p. 524.
[8] See Clark Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–61, to which this section is much indebted.

some marginal tribal cultures fall in between areas and might be assigned to either. Indeed, there seem to be concentric zones, all of the culture forms being found in the central area, fewer in the immediately surrounding zone, still fewer in the next, until they taper off into a mingling with another culture area. The central nucleus is apparently the point of dispersal from which the trait complexes are diffused.

How Culture Is Built Up and Diffused. The culture of a group is built up in two ways,—by invention and by borrowing from other groups. Both of these are very interesting.

Let us consider *invention* first. Take the case of the primitive group. As it felt its untried way along by means of the trial and error process, it would gradually make improvements in doing things. These might be slight, but they would be real inventions, requiring ingenuity and brain power. For we must remember that primitive man had no precedents to go by. The first shaping of a stone hatchet head may have required as much brain power as the inventing of an airplane today, and was probably even more significant in the history of human culture. The invention of language ushered in a new epoch in living, and in the development of culture. It made possible the storing of ideas and the passing of them from man to man and from generation to generation. Can you imagine life without fire? No cooked food, no warmed shelter, nothing to light the darkness? Some bright mind discovered one day, by accident or experiment, how to produce fire by rubbing sticks together, and brought in another new era in cultural development. Why have not the beasts of the forests learned the use of fire? In every human group there have always been some minds more alert than others to see ways of improving the customary methods of doing things. Literally, necessity was the mother of invention. These changes were doubtless slow, for men had to feel their way, and the power of custom was strong among uncivilized peoples. But time was long, and in the course of centuries new conditions and keen minds inevitably led to improved devices for performing tasks. Each of these cultural inventions gathered about it a new complex, and thus culture grew.

The other method of cultural growth, as social groups multiplied and developed their own cultures, was to *borrow* traits from each other. Communication between tribes was not easy, it is true, and transportation was slow. Still, through friendly intermingling and

the forced contacts of war, one tribe was certain to learn of devices in use by another tribe which were, or seemed to be, an improvement upon its own, and these would be borrowed and become new culture traits for the tribe that thus adopted them. In this way common traits were spread over large areas. Their remains are found today separated by mountains and even by oceans. This method of building up traits is known as *diffusion*. The diffusion of culture, as Wissler points out, may be either unconscious or conscious and organized. In the former case there is no intention of forcing the traits of one people upon another, but the spread is more by simple imitation. In the second case, one group purposely and definitely adopts traits from another group, or one people may by organized means, as in war, undertake to force its culture upon another people.

There is difference of opinion as to which of these methods, invention or diffusion, has been most influential in building up the culture of tribal groups and of larger social aggregations. In some circumstances it may have been one, and under different conditions the other. In the case of both, the changes were made in two ways. One involved an outright addition to culture traits. The other consisted in modifications of a trait already belonging to the tribe, and which might change only one feature of the trait complex. An illustration of the former would be the invention of the first automobile; of the latter, the improvements that have been made since.

Culture Is Continuous. From the foregoing discussion it will be perceived that culture is something objective; or, perhaps better, it is objective in some of its aspects. It is really both objective and subjective, depending on the point of view. In its objective aspects culture has an independent existence of its own. This does not mean that it has grown up of itself; nor, when we speak of culture's spreading or diffusing, do we mean that it does this of itself. Culture does not grow; it is built up only by man. It does not spread; it is diffused only by people who carry it from place to place. But it is objective and independent in the sense that it has been expressed in material or other forms of various kinds that are outside of men's minds. For example, the pyramids of Egypt are a part of the old Egyptian culture, or an expression of that culture in stone, wholly independent of any man's mind today. The unpolished stone hatchets are an expression of the

culture of the Old Stone Age. The telephone is a part of our own culture. So, also, paintings, and printed music, and books, are objective records of culture. The same is true of the customs and fashions of a people, and, somewhat less objectively, even of its traditions and ideals.

Since culture may be viewed as objective and independent, it is easy to see that it can be continuous from generation to generation and from age to age. This is evident in the case of monuments made of imperishable material. But it is also true of immaterial culture that can be passed on from man to man, such as a people's customs and habits of living, their ideas, attitudes, and evaluations of life. There is a Confucian type of culture, a Mohammedan type, a Brahman type, a Christian type. Each of these types persists, with some modifications, doubtless, but in the main continuous for centuries, while new generations of individuals come and go.

One of the most fascinating studies of modern times is the tracing of the continuity of human culture from the earliest remains left by man. This is the special task of the science of anthropology, which has made and is now making remarkable discoveries of early traces of man's life, going back to what is known as the Paleolithic or Old Stone Age, when implements and weapons of crude hewn stone were used. By comparing these finds with the geological strata in which they are imbedded, an estimate of their age can be made. They have been traced back by conservative anthropologists to the third interglacial period, to what is known as the Pre-Chellean culture, that consisted of rough-hewn stone planing tools, scrapers, drills, knives, hammer-stones, and hand stones. The age is estimated by Osborn as 125,000 years ago,[9] while others date it 100,000 years or more still farther back. Culture has been traced from that time down to the present by means of the remains discovered, improvements appearing from time to time. About 12,000 or 15,000 years ago, the stone implements began to be polished and made more artistic, and what is called the Neolithic or New Stone Age began. About 4000 B.C. the Bronze Age came in, when copper and bronze were used for implements, utensils, art, and weapons. The art of writing also began at about the same time, ushering in the historical period. From then on we have literary records which of course make it easy to trace the continuity of culture down to the present.

[9]H. F. Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age* (1915).

With this last chapter in the story of culture we are all more or less familiar. There is very much more uncertainty about the earlier stages, but anthropologists are now generally agreed on the main outlines just given. These various stages of culture did not pass through the same development or according to any systematic scheme and period of time among different peoples. We have learned that no human institutions did that. Nevertheless, roughly speaking and with variations as to time and place, the four stages of culture proposed by Sir John Lubbock in 1865[10] are still generally accepted: (1) The Paleolithic, or Old Stone Age, called also by Lubbock that of the "Drift," the period of rough hewn stone implements, when man lived in Europe along with the mammoth, the cave bear, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, and other extinct animals; (2) the Neolithic, or New Stone Age of polished stone, "a period characterized by beautiful weapons and instruments made of flint and other kinds of stone"; (3) the Bronze Age, in which bronze was used for weapons and utensils; and (4) the Iron Age, in which iron had come into common use for arms, cutting instruments, and utensils.

The culture of a people, then, is not a temporary and perishable creation, but is more or less objective, and finds embodiment or expression in permanent forms that persist from generation to generation. These forms of expression store up culture, so to speak, for the use of the succeeding members of the group, so that they will not have to start all over again as their ancestors did at the beginnings of the cultural process, but can begin with the culture that has already been created and into which they are born. So far as the members of the new generation can enter into this inheritance of culture and become familiar with it, they can start where the generation immediately preceding left off. Adapting the adage that a pigmy on the shoulders of a giant can see farther than the giant can, we may say that the giant is the accumulated culture of all the ages, and, building upon this, the culture of the new generation can push its way a little farther up than the giant of the past could reach.

The forms in which *culture is stored* are of at least three kinds: (1) material forms, such as inventions, buildings, written languages, and physical devices of all kinds in which knowledge is expressed and which become the symbols of its transmission;

[10]See quotation in C. M. Case, *Outlines of Introductory Sociology* (1924), p. 163.

(2) the structure of the social organization, including the great social institutions of the family, the industrial system, the state, the school, and the church; and (3) the customs, folkways, mores, ideas, ideals, social attitudes and evaluations that are handed down by tradition from one generation to the next. These have already been considered sufficiently, except social organization which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Culture Is Cumulative. Culture is not only objective and continuous, it is also cumulative, that is, it increases from age to age, or from one generation to another, or even within a single generation. We have already seen how this is done through new inventions and diffusion. It remains only to consider briefly the rate of the increase. During the early ages this was very slow, as might be expected. The man-like creatures then living, whether direct ancestors of present-day men is not known, had no precedents to go by, as we have already noted, but had to initiate their human culture from the beginning in trying to meet their untried and changing conditions of living. Of necessity it was the trial and error method. Each new generation, however, had the advantage of the experience of those that preceded, so far as this could be passed on. But there were yet no written agencies for storing and handing down this culture. Crude information communicated by sign and gesture, and later, when language had been invented, by word of mouth, was easily misunderstood or forgotten. Only those things made out of lasting material, like stone, were certain. For this reason, today we know practically nothing about the life of these primeval peoples except their stone monuments, that is, their utensils and implements. Who they were, how they lived, much more, how they thought and felt, we do not know except as we can infer from these stone records. We suppose that the force of customs was very strong so as to protect the group from surrounding dangers, and this also would make changes slow of adoption. For long centuries there might be almost no changes at all, as seems to be indicated by the remains that have been found.

As centuries passed, however, and the social processes continued, there was a gradual accumulation of cultural traits. Stones are now flaked on both sides instead of only one, a larger number of forms appear, new tools are found, darts and spear heads, chisels and knives of stone. Long ages later, artificial fire has

been produced, bone and horn begin to be used, remarkable drawings appear on the walls of caves, a hunting culture has developed, and animals have been domesticated. Huts begin to be used to live in, instead of caves, and crude agriculture has developed. Each new and more complex type of life accelerates the process, especially such additions as those of language and, later, of writing, and, in recent centuries, of printing.

We are familiar with the remarkable acceleration of culture since the dawn of the historical era, and the truly marvelous rate of development in modern times, especially since the Industrial Revolution. The way in which a new culture trait or complex accelerates the accumulation of culture is well illustrated in recent times by the railroad, the telephone, the automobile, and now the airplane. The speeding up of living caused by them is too well known to require discussion. The unprecedented vastness and complexity of our present culture is due to these gradual accumulations of the past, including the immediate past merging into the present. There is nothing new in principle. Culture traits are still built up and spread by invention and diffusion. The difference lies in the faster rate of modern invention and the present universal inter-communication among peoples, which is making diffusion so much more rapid, until it looks as if we are approaching a world-wide type of human culture.

It should now be apparent that we are the inheritors of all the past since the early beginnings of the Old Stone Age, and what is meant by our inheritance of culture. It is evident also that the "cultured" man is the one who understands the world's culture, as far as possible, especially that of his own age, and enters into it in appreciative living. Just to see the situation helps us to realize that an understanding of the world's culture is at least a part of genuine education. We also see that the better a man knows his own culture, the better fitted he is to appreciate and enjoy it, to utilize it, and to make intelligent additions to it.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CULTURE

Man a Culture-Building Being. Man has been defined as a thinking animal, and also as a social or political animal. He is likewise a culture-building animal. This characteristic distinguishes him from the beasts quite as much as the other two. He is the only denizen of the earth that has developed a permanent artificed,

continuous, and growing culture. Man's thinking ability alone could never have built up civilization if each generation had had to start all over again from the beginning, as each generation of beasts does. Human progress has been possible because primitive man began to express his thinking in the form of devices, customs, traditions, and social institutions which could be taught to the children of the next generation, and thus become a new starting point in living, without having to go back to the point where the parents began. The teaching and learning process commenced to supersede or supplement the original trial and error method of living; and as the volume of culture increased, the successive generations could start farther and farther along the way, with a constantly increasing stream of racial experience behind them. This set each generation free to push the accumulation of culture still farther along, after a reasonable apprenticeship devoted to learning the cultural accumulations up to date.

Wissler claims that this tendency to create culture is inborn in man, and thus is a part of original human nature itself.[11] While particular cultures must be acquired, the urge to create culture is a part of the universal human pattern, inherent in the human protoplasm, and is what makes it human as distinguished from the germ plasm of insects and beasts. "In our analysis of man's culture we found evidences of a universal pattern, which we may speak of as the human social pattern. Though our knowledge of this pattern is still unsatisfactory, we saw how it could be readily comprehended under such culture complexes as speech, tools, art, ritualism, government and war. Wherever we have found man, appeared a culture that conformed to this scheme. . . . Man builds cultures because he cannot help it; there is a drive in his protoplasm that carries him forward even against his will. So it follows that if at any time the continuity of culture were broken, the human group would begin to construct anew according to the old pattern."[12] If this is true, it would explain why man is a culture-building being. He is such by nature, and it is one of the things that makes him man rather than beast.

Culture a Social Product. The student is now better prepared to understand the significance of the distinction between biological evolution and cultural evolution referred to in the chap-

[11]Clark Wissler, *op cit.*, especially Part III, but throughout the book.
[12]*Ibid.*, pp. 263, 265.

ter on "Social Change and Control." Biological evolution is a natural phenomenon. Cultural evolution is a product of man's associative life. It is a social product created by the group. It will be recalled that authorities were quoted[13] to the effect that the course of biological evolution came to an end with the appearance of the present race of man, and that the period of social evolution then set in. Sociologists very generally concur in this view. Social or cultural evolution thus lies above the level of organic evolution, although based upon it. It is *super-organic*, of a different type, governed by processes and laws of its own.

The difference between human life today and that of approximately 25,000 years ago is not due chiefly to the increased biological capacity of the race, over which man has little or no control, but to the growth of human culture. This makes the understanding of culture of vital importance. For culture, having been created by man, can be changed by man. Thus the development of society can be modified and at least partially directed by conscious social action if the relations and laws involved are sufficiently understood, as has already been discussed.[14]

Adjustment to the Cultural Heritage. This sum total of folkways, mores, group ideas and ideals, social institutions, inventions, and all material creations which constitute the social order, constitutes the cultural heritage. Every child is born into it; he did not create it. It is a gift to him from the society of the past. His problem is to adjust himself to it. We have already seen that the entire social process is one of interaction and adjustment. We have noted that men must adapt themselves to the world of nature if they are to survive. It is true also that every child must learn to adjust himself to this cultural heritage as it is when he enters into it. In earlier days, children had to adjust themselves to the ox cart, and it was easy to get out of its way. Today they must adjust themselves to the automobile and learn to dodge it quickly and expertly. It is more difficult to live today because of the extent of the modern cultural heritage and the greater perplexity and difficulty in adjusting oneself to it. The chief purpose of the public school system is to help the child in accommodating himself to his cultural heritage; and the college and university continue the process. The more widely and fully the young man or woman

[13]Chapter XXII, pp 4–8.
[14]See Chapter XII

makes this adjustment to nature and to people and to his social heritage, the more completely does he live and the greater are his chances for success and usefulness.

Culture and Education. This gives an illuminating slant on what education is, and the importance of the cultural social order in connection with it. As has already been stated, the child is born into the world with capacities and urges, but wholly without knowledge and ideas. Where, then, does he get these? From his environmental heritage and his own reactions to it. How to talk, how to read, what to eat, what to wear, what kind of a house to live in and how to build it, what to play, whom to marry and how to win her, what business to engage in and how to succeed in it, what church to join and why, what political party to belong to, what reforms to engage in and how to bring them about, how people lived in the past and how they live throughout the world today, a scientific knowledge of the universe in which we live, our ideas of God and eternity,—all of these and all else that we know, have to be learned. And they are gained from the cultural environment. The American baby absorbs the American cultural heritage, the Chinese baby the Chinese heritage, the baby of the slums the slum type of culture, the baby of the underworld learns to look upon society as something to be exploited in his own interests, the baby of the millionaire is in danger of learning to live without working, and so throughout the various types of environment in which babies grow up. So that it may almost be said that within the limits fixed by heredity, he may be molded into almost any kind of a man by the influences of his cultural environment. This cannot be said absolutely because, all along the process, the person makes his own reactions to the stimuli coming from the cultural environment and makes his own contribution to the kind of man he will become. The purpose of this discussion is to call attention to the fact that each child grows up in an environmental social order which exerts tremendous pressure upon the molding of his personality, and that the life-long process of education is a process of progressive adjustment to this cultural heritage.

The primitive group started without culture, or at most, with very limited culture, and the education of the young was almost entirely practical in character. As culture gradually increased, the learning process included the acquiring of the increasing group knowledge, customs, and traditions. In modern times, the body

of culture has become so vast that the problem of education, at first unified, has become divided into two phases—cultural education, or that of understanding the culture of the world in which we have to live and work; and vocational education, or that of understanding the job that we are to work at. The first is primarily the task of the liberal arts school, the second, that of the vocational or technical school, although the two are never absolutely separated in practice. It is, rather, a question of relative emphasis.

If liberal arts education would make clear to students the relation between the two types of education, it would help them to see the bearing of an understanding of the culture of the world in which they live upon the work that they expect to do in that world. Many of them fail to understand this relationship and hence do not see any practical value in culture studies. Foreign languages, the history of the past, an understanding of the cultures of other countries, or even a systematic study of the culture and life of their own country and times, do not make a strong appeal to them. It is not easy to overcome this attitude on the part of the young, who are interested chiefly in doing things and in "practical" information. They must be made to see that an understanding of the world in which they live has a very practical relation to their success in life.

Culture and Group Unity. The social group is not an accidental and unrelated number of people who happen to be together. It has cohesion and common interests, plans, and enterprises. It cannot function without unity. This is found largely in its common culture, which mediates its mutual interactions. The unity of the primitive group was natural and simple, almost inevitable, because its culture was so simple. It was a primary, face-to-face group in which the members all shared in the customs and folkways that were gradually developed in their experimental, meditated method of living. Certain ways of doing things were found "to work," and they were copied by the members of the group. Certain foods were in the interests of survival; others led to death. Some animals were dangerous, while others were not. Those things were adopted which proved themselves to be good for the group. Nonconformists had a hard time of it and usually perished. This unity of culture gave a unity to the group that reinforced that of kinship. It furnished the common stimuli to which

the members of the group tended to respond in similar ways. "This is because these minds have developed under similar biological conditions, and have acquired similar habits through living together and carrying on common activities in a common environment."[15] That is, they have acquired a common culture.

The securing of group unity is much more difficult in modern times, and constitutes a major social problem. The face-to-face relationships have to a considerable extent disappeared in all large groups and have been superseded by mediated relationships. The kinship ties have been supplanted by industrial and social bonds. If unity is to be secured it must be chiefly through a common culture. And here again we are confronted with the difficulty of this in so large and diversified a country as the United States, as discussed in an earlier chapter.[16] Here are found not only the differences that naturally inhere in a large and diffused population, but there is brought together a wide diversity of races and foreign cultures. About one-third of our entire population is foreign born or the children of foreign-born parents. E. A. Ross states that in 1910 only one out of five adult white men in Detroit and Cleveland had native American parents, only one out of six in Chicago and New York, and only one out of nine in Fall River.[17] These foreign groups have wide divergencies among themselves and from our native American people. Among the latter also there are wide differences of cultural knowledge and attitudes.

Attention is here called again to this situation, already referred to, in order to show the influence of culture upon life, and the difficulty of securing effective social unity in a country like the United States made up of a heterogeneous population with not one culture, but many, throughout a vast territorial domain. How much real unity of thinking exists concerning marriage and divorce, child labor, prohibition, the attitude toward crime, the relations of employer and employee, the unionization of labor, the relative functions of state and federal government, and, in general, the ideals of social life? This is, in the last analysis, largely a question of conglomerate culture. Our problem is one of securing a national culture of some underlying unity, consistency,

[15] C. A. Ellwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–6.

[16] Chapter XXI.

[17] *Civic Sociology* (1926), pp. 4–5.

and stability that shall form the basis of a more coherent and sanely progressive national life.

Cultural Lag. W. F. Ogburn has presented some very interesting considerations of the influence upon social problems of what he has appropriately called cultural lag,[18] referring to adjustments between the different parts of culture necessitated by the rapidity of change in modern times. He states the hypothesis as follows: "The thesis is that the various parts of modern culture are not changing at the same rate, some parts are changing much more rapidly than others; and that since there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part of our culture requires readjustments through other changes in the various correlated parts of culture."[19] He illustrates this in the case of industry and education. These are correlated, hence a change in industry makes adjustments necessary through changes in the educational system. Where one of these is modified first and there is a delay in change in the other, lack of adjustment occurs and a social problem arises. A change in industry without the necessary change in education, through cultural lag, would fail to prepare the young for life in the new industrial order.

"A large part of our environment consists of the material conditions of life and a large part of our social heritage is our material culture. These material things consist of houses, factories, machines, raw materials, manufactured products, foodstuffs, and other material objects. In using these material things we employ certain methods. Some of these methods are as simple as the technique of handling a tool. But a good many of the ways of using the material objects of culture involve rather larger usages and adjustments, such as customs, beliefs, philosophies, laws, governments. . . . These ways of adjustment may be called the adaptive culture. . . . But these changes in the adaptive culture do not synchronize with the change in the material culture. There is a lag which may last for varying lengths of time, sometimes indeed, for many years."[20]

Changes in the material culture usually precede changes in the adaptive culture. For example, changes in the industrial system are likely to precede family adjustments to the new conditions,

[18] *Social Change* (1923), Part IV For discussion in connection with social maladjustment, see chapter XIII of the present volume.

[19] *Ibid*, pp 200–201.

[20] *Ibid*, pp 202–3.

and disorganization results. It is also the case that the older adaptive culture is not easily adjusted to the new changed material conditions. Material living conditions outrun the older theories of life, and friction between the two takes place. These principles and others involved in cultural lag are tested and illustrated by Professor Ogburn in connection with forest conservation, workmen's compensation, taxation, the family, international relations, trade unions, representative government, and the pueblo dwellers. Inasmuch as many of our modern social problems are due to cultural lag somewhere along the line of change, the solution of these problems will be facilitated by a better correlation between the parts of culture.

Summary. One of the chief products of the social process is human culture. This is a body of material and immaterial creations of the thinking and efforts of man in associative living. It is something continuous, constituting a social heritage embodied in customs, traditions, institutions, art, and science, recorded race experiences, material inventions and achievements, in social philosophies, ideals, and literatures. It is the basis of progress.

Culture is built up by man, who is the only culture-building being, and this, with the capacity for reflective thinking, is what distinguishes him from the beasts, and has made it possible for him to build a civilization and attain mastery in the world. All members of the race need to adjust themselves to this man-made psycho-social-cultural heritage as well as to the world of nature. It is the realm in which we most characteristically live. Education is largely the process of understanding and appropriating this cultural heritage on the part of the young, and adjusting themselves to it. It provides most of the stimuli for living. A selective environment is therefore of basic importance in the development of personality and character. Group unity is essential to successful group life, and reasonable unity of culture is essential to the unity of the group. The diversities of culture in modern life make such unity difficult in large secondary groups. This is accentuated by cultural lag, because of which some phases of culture outrun others and lead to acute social problems. The problem of social progress is bound up with the problems of human culture.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. What is a culture trait? Illustrate. How does a culture complex differ from it? Illustrate. List ten culture traits and ten complexes in your community.

2. What are the limits of the local culture area in which you are living? How does it differ from the adjoining culture area? Of what larger culture area or areas are both of these a part? Illustrate.

3. Describe the methods in the rise and spread of the telephone-complex in our present culture.

4. Discuss how it has come about that man has built up a civilization, or body of culture, while tigers have not.

5. What is the relation between cultural education and vocational education? Illustrate. Discuss the influence of culture in education.

6. Give two illustrations of cultural lag in your home community, and some of the social problems resulting therefrom.

7. Discuss the question whether a person should conform to the customs of his group culture or act independently of them.

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CHAPTER XXV

Social Organization and Social Institutions

The development of the life of the group, as we have already seen, grows out of its experiences in trying to satisfy its fundamental needs. During this process there is built up in the community an accumulation of cultural products which can be passed on from generation to generation. Human culture includes in a comprehensive way all of the man-made products of the social processes. Hence besides its material aspects, culture comprises also certain social phases of community life whose special consideration will yield a fuller understanding of social relations. This chapter discusses the two related subjects of social organization and social institutions, both of which are important cultural creations.

The distinctions between the social process, social organization, social institutions, and human culture is only for purposes of analytical study. They are not separate entities in fact, as they appear in the life of the community, but are only different aspects of group experience as it engages in activities to satisfy its needs. All social life is an outgrowth and expression of this group experience. We may call part of it process and part of it product, part of it social organization and part of it social institutions, but it is all intermingled in dynamic group life urged on by human needs. "Every major interest of man gathers about itself a conglomerate of practices to secure its satisfaction. . . . The great mass of social institutions are permanent social agencies originating in the necessity of satisfying in a more or less coöperative way the needs of human nature as they work themselves out in social life."[1] The truth of this statement is equally evident in the case of social organization. Both organization and institutions are not isolated mechanical phenomena, but are due to great human urges and vital group endeavors to satisfy them.

[1] J. O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions* (1929), pp. 18–19.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

What Social Organization Is. Social organization may be regarded either as process or as product of the process. Just as, in speaking of the organization of a college fraternity, one may refer either to the process of organizing it or to the social club that has been organized. The one is social process, the other is social structure. The latter is the result of the former. They are only two aspects of the same thing—social organization. Social organization as a process belongs logically under the preceding Division (Social Processes), but one phase of the subject cannot be treated satisfactorily without the other, and in order to conserve space and avoid duplication, both aspects are included in the present chapter, which places the emphasis, however, on the structural aspects.

What is social organization in a community? Its existence is not disputed. The community is not just a company of unrelated people living in a haphazard way in a certain area. Nor is it simply a sum of the various traits of culture existing there. This was apparent in the study of the community in Part One. Perhaps the simplest way in which we can think of community organization in the broad sense is as a system of relationships existing among its members, between them and the various groups of the community, and among the groups themselves.[2] It is not relationships alone, but a system of relationships, so that we speak of it as a social order, that is, an organized system of such relations as tend to be more or less persistent and permanent, though subject to change. Such a system of relationships exists among the members of a rotary club, for example, which is organized with its president and other officers, its committees, and its customary time and place of meeting and order of procedure. It is an organization, which persists as such from year to year in spite of the fact that some members drop out and others come in. The members of this club have relationships with other organized groups of the community also, such as the country club, the churches, and the banks. Moreover, the various clubs and organizations have relationships with each other, such as the business houses through the chamber of commerce, the banks through the clearing house, and the relief agencies through the associated

[2]See Gillin and Blackmar, *Outlines of Sociology* (1930), p. 144.

charities. So that the community is all bound together through agencies of social order. This is what is meant by social organization in its structural aspects.

Expressed in more technical terms, social organization refers to the nature and form of the social order,—both to the idea of social groupings, and to the social system as an agency of operation. It is the sum total of the interactions and interrelationships that are reasonably continuous and universal in the community. It includes both the processes and the system of agencies that insure orderly operation of group life. It comprises the system of coordinations among these various social elements and groups in their efforts to secure adjustment and coöperation. It refers especially to such of these as are not temporary and accidental, but which tend to persist in the life of the group.[3]

Social organization, then, is the more or less persistent system of interrelations and working adjustments among the individuals and combinations of individuals in social groups, by means of which they live together in orderly ways and perform their cooperative functions.

Social Structure and Social Function. While for purposes of study we may isolate the structure of society and examine the various agencies that make up its organization, yet in real life these agencies cannot be separated from the things which they do. That is, stated in sociological terms, social structure and social function go together. A college, for example, is a part of the social structure, an agency through which society does something, namely, helps young people to secure an education. Helping young people to an education, on the other hand, is the activity or function performed by the college. Neither has meaning or existence without the other. There would be no college, as we know it, except for its function; and this special kind of function would not be performed except by the social structure of the college. There is social need for something to be done, and society creates a structural agency to perform the task.

As social needs increase, social activities must increase to meet them, and agencies will multiply to perform the new activities. As different kinds of needs arise, new types of organizations must therefore be devised. In primitive life, the family was

[3]Compare J. O. Hertzler, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10; and C. A. Ellwood, *Psychology of Human Society* (1925), p. 150.

the only social organization needed; it and its members performed all of the functions of society. But later on, other social agencies developed to meet the new needs,—the hunting pack, the warrior band, the council of chiefs, the legislative congress, the world-wide commercial system. Sociology used to call these agencies "social organs," and there is no better designation if used only as an analogy or illustration. They are the hands and feet, the eyes and ears, by means of which society performs its functions.

Primary Groups. All social groups are either primary or secondary.[4] Primary groups are small "face-to-face" groups, in which contacts are direct and immediate. They involve personal presence, acquaintance, and relationships.[5] Such groups, according to C. H. Cooley, are the family, the neighborhood group, and the play group of children. To these may be added small groups of friends, and clubs involving intimate association. All primitive groups were of this character, and for thousands of years there was probably no other common form of human association. They were the original groups from which have sprung all other social forms.

Primary groups, because of their intimate contacts, have always exercised very great social influence. This has been true chronologically. The primitive family, as we have seen, was the first of social groups, and combined within itself all of the functions that have since been distributed among or shared with other social agencies. It was the cradle of civilization, the source of all social life and later institutions. The primary group, both in primitive times and today, has always been of great significance psychologically and socially. Here people come into close personal acquaintance, and exercise vital influence upon one another. They furnish the most vivid stimuli in the psycho-social environment. They are the makers of the primary social attitudes.

C. A. Ellwood calls attention to three ways in which they influence social behavior.[6] (1) They socialize the individual. The stimulus of their close association enters into the development of the habits, feelings, ideas, values, and attitudes which make the social character of the individual. The social impulses and at-

[4]See C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (1915), Ch. III.

[5]Ellsworth Faris suggests that personal presence is not so significant in the primary group as is the we-feeling, which may today be shared without face-to-face contacts.

[6]See C. A. Ellwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–24.

titudes connected with sex, with parenthood, with kinship, depend upon the stimulus of personal presence. Thus come the first lessons in mutual aid, sympathy, and understanding. In brief, the we-feeling has its origin in the experiences of individuals in small face-to-face groups. In them the primary social traits of human nature receive their first development. (2) The primary groups are the chief carriers of custom and tradition, because they furnish the main environment of the child. In the family and in the neighborhood the child learns his language and gets the fundamental knowledge, habits, customs, beliefs, and values which characterize his group culture, and which he passes on, in turn, to his descendants. (3) Primary groups are the source of primary social ideals. The ideals of love, service, self-sacrifice, and human brotherhood, for example, originated in the experiences of family life. The ideals of freedom, justice, and good citizenship originated largely in the experiences of neighborhood life. The ideal of fair play came from the play group. These primary groups give us our fundamental social attitudes and values, together with the social patterns that become the goals and guides of social development.

The influence of the primary groups is of special significance in connection with group unity, which was discussed in an earlier chapter. In a large and diversified population, where the social stimuli are of many varieties, much dependence must be placed upon the primary groups in securing basic unity. If the family can be maintained with ideals and training of a genuinely social type, if the play groups can develop coöperative attitudes, if the neighborhood and close associational groups can establish community of thought and sympathy, these primary groups can do more than anything else to create and maintain a basic substratum of unity that will not be altogether broken up by the diverse and divisive influences of a cosmopolitan society.

Secondary Groups. Secondary groups are those that do not necessarily depend on face-to-face contact and direct personal relations, although face-to-face relations are not, at times, excluded. The members may be far separated from one another, with their contacts mediated by correspondence, by the press, by the telephone and radio, and in other ways. Such groups are large cities, states, nations, political parties, religious denominations, insurance societies. The student can easily add to the list. They do not arise until after the period of savagery is passed. They are especially

characteristic of civilization, and of modern society in particular. Indeed some of our most difficult social problems today are those of preserving the unity and coöperation of societies widely separated in the territorial location and environmental conditions of their members.

Natural and Purposive Groups. We may think of the social structure as a vast network of primary and secondary groups, interrelated and interacting in numberless ways, through which the dynamic life of society finds expression and performs its functions. Some of these groups are *natural* or genetic; that is, they are groups which are due to the natural course of biological and social development, and into which their members are born. Illustrations of such groups are the family and clan, racial groups, and, so far as the individual is concerned, his native village or city, state, and nation. On the other hand, some groups are purposefully constituted for the accomplishment of definite ends. They are for this reason called *purposive* or interest groups. They are voluntary in character, being established or not at the will of the interested persons. Examples of such groups are business partnerships, stock companies, political parties, trade unions, churches, colleges, athletic teams, and the multitudinous clubs, societies, companies, and organizations of all kinds voluntarily established for accomplishing ends in which people are interested, and which they think can be gained better by coöperative efforts. There has been a remarkable growth in the number of these purposive groups in modern civilization, organized for every conceivable enterprise.

Social groups are not separated by hard and fast lines, but intermingle and shade into each other. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that social life is not a mechanical affair, to be classified with definite and logical precision, but is dynamic and ever changing. The same person, also, belongs to many kinds of groups at the same time,—to a primary family group of blood relatives, to secondary groups of state and nation, and to a large number of purposive clubs and organizations. Life is decidedly a going concern, appealing to a wide range of interests and group activities.

The Expansion of Social Organization. We have seen how the social structure is made up of a network of interacting individuals and groups, primary and secondary, natural and purposive; and that the functions now performed by these groups

were originally carried on by the primitive family. All of the steps by which these functions were gradually differentiated one by one and committed to special social organs during the development of civilization, are not known. Some of them took place before the dawn of history. Anthropologists, by their excavations and by the study of primitive groups now living, are making progress in the tracing of these changes. They are also finding that the progression was not nearly so regular and uniform as was once supposed to be the case. One group might develop much more rapidly than another, and one might take a form that another would never take at all, while working out a different type of organization under its particular circumstances of life. Every group has to be studied by itself, and it is a long process, with meager data to work from, but some of the general features seem to be fairly well established. These can be only touched upon here.

Enough has already been said about the organization of the family. The *horde* was apparently a place-group rather than one based upon kinship. It was a temporary and changing group, without permanent organization or government, constituting the simplest primitive aggregation larger than the family. Two or more families chanced to come together, and they joined forces for the time being in securing food or protection, or simply for the sake of companionship. The horde was probably never very large in numbers, but it would provide a play group for the children and sociability for the adults, thus affording opportunity for interchange of knowledge and customs, if any had gained experience which the others did not have. The families would separate and move on as easily and informally as they had joined together.

The *clan* was a kinship group, at least theoretically. It was an expansion of the family, with such outsiders as might be adopted,—the "great family." All regarded themselves as descendants of a common ancestor, and usually had a common totem and occupied a common territory. It might reckon its descent through the mother, in which case it was called metronymic (mother-name); or through the father, when it was called patronymic (father-name). The clan was in some cases called the gens or the kin. It developed more or less permanent social forms, in which customs and traditions played a large part. Further governmental development appeared than in the smaller family, the oldest living

father or male relative probably exercising the chief authority over the entire group.[7]

The *tribe* is a larger unit, made up of families and clans. It is defined by Rivers as follows: "A tribe is a social group of a simple kind, the members of which speak a common dialect, have a single government, and act together for such common purposes as warfare."[8] It usually, and perhaps always, inhabited a common territory. It was a political rather than a domestic group, and was the nucleus of the later civic nation. It was composed of smaller groups, often but not always related by kinship bonds, that had consolidated into the larger tribal group because of environmental conditions, protection from enemies, advantages in the search for food, or the gregarious love of association. The tribe, therefore, gave still wider opportunity for the development of social organization. Language had been invented, governmental forms had become established, and folkways, customs, and traditions were gaining in influence. The "organs" of the social structure were beginning to differentiate.

Growing Complexity of Social Structure. From tribal conditions, the nations of ancient and modern times were organized through centuries of growth, with varying fortunes and forms depending upon circumstances. It is not our purpose to trace this development here, but only to call attention to the fact that the process gave increasing opportunity for the differentiation of social structure as new situations called new or better agencies into existence. We have only to recall the changed conditions that resulted from the domestication of animals and the emergence of the pastoral type of life, the more permanent and settled social order made possible by agriculture, the new ways of living under the social organization of feudalism, and the transformed economic life ushered in by the Industrial Revolution, to realize how many were the new social adaptations that had to be made to meet these far-reaching changes in modes of living. During the historical process, through the closer union of racial, commercial and territorial groups, national states emerged, and our modern world came into being, with its varied political forms, its intricate international relations, its elaborate social structure, and its complex social organization.

[7]See W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organisation* (1924), Ch. II.
[8]*Ibid*, p. 32.

During this process, many of the functions originally centered in the primitive family group have been turned over to various other social organs, or at least shared with them. Most of the fundamental human needs have thus developed specialized structural agencies of their own. Food is provided through the industrial system; protection, through the state; knowledge and education, by our schools, the press, public address, and other agencies; recreation and sociability by specialized organizations and countless clubs and opportunities for amusement and sociability; beauty, by the fine arts; religion, by churches and allied societies. These interests and activities have not been removed wholly from the family, which still remains the basic social institution, but the family is now supplemented by them all, and some have undertaken the heavier end of the load. Meanwhile the original basic interests that we have enumerated have become greatly extended in number by derived interests, and social organs have been created to care for them also.

State and International Organization. For a given territorial group, be it large or small, the *national state* and its governmental subdivisions constitute the most comprehensive and authoritative organization of society. This includes the physical property and equipment for national and local government, the sub-groupings of governmental organization, and the great army of officers and workers in the various departments of legislative, judicial, and executive administration, with their network of activities in the interests of the protection, control, and well-being of the group. The modern state is the most thoroughly and extensively organized of the institutions of society.

New problems of *international* relations have grown apace with improved methods of communication and transportation, until the need of some more adequate form of international organization has become imperative. The beginnings of such organization appeared in early times when two or more clans or tribal groups first entered into any kind of relations with each other, even of a temporary character. Among some tribes, inter-tribal organization took on a more definite and permanent form, as that of the Iroquois Confederacy in America. When modern civil nations came into existence, and contacts among them became necessary, various natural and temporary means of intercourse were employed, such as interviews between monarchs, confer-

ences between special representatives, and, above all, warfare which, in its general aspects, must be reckoned as an effective agency of international organization.

In still more recent times, a systematic means of international organization has been developed, which includes diplomatic representatives of leading nations established in permanent embassies at the capitals of the other leading nations, together with consular agents located in the most important population centers. The commercial system of modern times has also attained tremendous influence as an unofficial medium of intercourse and adjustments among the peoples of the earth. Special structures of international organization have been created from time to time, such as conferences for making peace treaties, trade agreements, health protection, and other matters of common interest. The leading nations have also entered into formal treaties and created "spheres of influence" among themselves covering special situations and general policies.

In recent years efforts have been made toward the establishment of still more permanent and comprehensive agencies of international organization, especially the Hague Tribunal, the League of Nations, the World Court, the Pact of Paris, and a body of international law. Meanwhile warfare has continued to remain the agency of final resort in international relations. With growing insistency, however, both the sense and the conscience of mankind are demanding some saner form or forms of international organization to take its place in the settlement of disputes among nations. The League of Nations, and especially an International Court and the codification of international law are movements in that direction.

To these should be added the Pact of Paris, popularly known as the Kellogg-Briand treaty. In it practically all of the nations of the world have signed a solemn agreement forever renouncing war as a means of settling disputes among themselves of whatever nature they may be. This does not furnish a new mechanism of structural organization among nations, but is rather the organization of an idea. As such it provides an instrument of the greatest value about which a new peace complex may be established to supplant the old war complex that has for ages dominated the thinking of mankind. And there is little doubt that in time it will help to create new forms of international organization of a more satisfac-

tory kind than have characterized the relations of nations to each other in the past. Meanwhile it can begin to operate through such agencies as already exist, referred to above. The present conflict between Japan and China, unfortunate as it is, should not be regarded as valid argument against the position taken in this paragraph. Social changes come slowly. Wars will not cease at once. But there are many indications that a new complex of international relations is gradually forming. Witness the recent conferences in Washington on international monetary and commercial agreements, and the world conference on the subject in London. These are examples of many international conferences looking toward the adjustment of relations among the nations. They are themselves part of international organization.

Classification of Social Organization. This section on social organization may be concluded with a few words concerning its classification. One of the most noted is that of Herbert Spencer,[9] who divides the organs of society into three groups, which he calls the sustaining system, the distributing system, and the regulating system. It would perhaps be better to call the second the transporting system, so as to avoid confusion with economic distribution. The student will find it an interesting exercise to try to place all of the structures and activities of society into one or another of these three groups. Gillin and Blackmar[10] present an expansion of Spencer's classification, as follows: (1) the sustaining organs, (producing, transforming, transporting, exchanging, etc.); (2) the perpetuating groups, (family, medical and sanitary societies); (3) the communicating systems, (the press, telegraph, telephone, radio, railways, motor vehicles, etc.); (4) the cultural groups, (the church, educational institutions, scientific societies, literary and aesthetic societies, social and recreational clubs and societies, etc.); (5) the regulative and protective system, (international institutions, the state, and voluntary associations, such as labor organizations, insurance companies, charitable institutions, political parties, etc.).

Perhaps on the whole there is no better basis for the classification of social organization than the community analysis which was employed in Part One of the present volume, namely social structures and functions connected with family life, making a living,

[9] *Principles of Sociology*. Vol. I, (1909–10) p 485ff.
[10] *Outlines of Sociology* (1930), pp. 152–3.

acquiring an education, play and recreation, morals and religion, government, planning, and beauty, and the care and cure of social maladjustment.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS[11]

Culture, Organization, and Institutions. The reader will ask what the difference is between human culture, social organization, and social institutions. There is no absolute difference. They overlap and shade off into each other. As we have so often said, all societal life is one process of living together. We divide it up, not because it is actually so separated in fact, but for analysis in order to understand it better. No absolute division is possible even between social process and social products. Processes create products, but products are a part of the processes and form new points of departure for further development of the group. For analytical purposes, however, we have treated culture, organization, and institutions as products or creations of the social process and its several constituent processes. Of these three social products, *culture* is the most general and inclusive. As we have seen, it comprises all the material and immaterial achievements of man that have emerged as the result of the historical process.

Social *organization,* as the first part of the present chapter shows, is both social process and social products organized into orderly forms,—it is the system of associative relationships, especially in their more persistent forms, which have emerged as groups have striven coöperatively to satisfy their needs, and have learned how they can live together most effectively. Social organization represents the difference between orderly group living and social anarchy, between coöperation and individualism. It is the sum of the experience of groups and of the human race in the orderly procedures of living together. Without it, no general civilization could have been built up.

Social *institutions* constitute probably the major part of social organization. Organization is a system of relationships; institutions might be said to be the things related and the method of organization. The processes and agencies of organization are themselves institutions, and institutions are themselves organized. Confusing, is it not? But so is social life. Let us illustrate the situa-

[11]This section of the chapter is much indebted to J. O. Hertzler's volume, *Social Institutions,* from which many quotations are made.

tion by the state. Its chief function is social organization,—to require all of its citizens and institutions to live together in orderly ways. And yet it is itself a great institution, thoroughly organized within itself. And as an institution it has a system of relationships with other states as a part of the international organization. Perhaps we will come as near to a simple statement as possible by saying that social organization expresses itself chiefly through social institutions. Social organization seeks an orderly associative life. It accomplishes its purpose through the social institutions which society has built up, such as customs, language, education, religion, the family, the state. All of the social groupings described under the section on Social Organization in this chapter,—all primary and secondary groups, all natural and purposive groups,—are in this sense social institutions. Social organization is the system of relations by means of which these groups constitute an orderly and cohesive society rather than a chaotic and conflicting conglomeration of people.

What Are Social Institutions? This question requires further examination. Institutions are among the most essential elements in the social organization, as we have just seen. Every feature of a functioning group of individuals represents or involves a social institution.[12] It is probable that most people think of social institutions either as associations of people, organized for certain purposes, or as a physical equipment, such as a hospital, community school buildings, an industrial plant, etc. But these are only the more tangible aspects of institutions, their structure. An institution is primarily a concept, that is, an idea, a mental and social pattern for doing things; and then habits and ways of action; and, finally, the structural organization approved by society for accomplishing the end in view. L. L. Bernard puts it this way: "They (institutions) are simply the relatively permanent and formal ways in which people behave or act in making their collective adjustments to nature and to others of their kind. . . . The institution is a coöperative method of collective endeavor or social organization."[13] C. A. Ellwood says: "Institutions may be defined as habitual ways of living together which have been sanctioned, systematized, and established by the authority of the commu-

[12]J. O. Hertzler, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[13]L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (1926), p. 565, quoted by J. O. Hertzler, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

nity."[14] E. C. Hayes, following Sumner, stresses the fact that "Any social activity which can be called an institution is essentially a set of ideas and feelings that prevail in a society and that go over into overt conduct when occasion arises, together with a prevalent habitual disposition to these activities."[15]

An institution, then, is both an idea and a structure; or, more fully, a concept or social pattern, ways of acting growing out of this, and a social structure or agency created and systematized in the interests of efficiency of action.

The nature of social institutions will be clearer if we consider the antecedent stages in their development.[16] Everything in social life harks back to collective endeavors to satisfy human needs. This is the urge to all group activity, to the creation of institutions, and to their organization in coöperative communities. These practices in primitive times, growing out of practical daily experiment, often accidentally hit upon, were repeated if efficacious, were tentatively approved by experience, and gradually became group habits. These are known as *folkways*, and were transmitted from generation to generation. When folkways continued to work more or less well in satisfying the will-to-live, had continued for perhaps several centuries, and had become more and more indispensable, positive, imperative, and somewhat coördinated, they became *customs*, which all members of the group were expected to observe. Gradually ethical and religious conceptions attach to the customs that survive, and convictions grow up as to their importance for group welfare. Customs have then become group *mores*, with ideas and social theories backing up the practices. Settled folkways and customs surrounding a vital need or dominant interest are always taking on the welfare element, thus becoming mores. When the mores become rational, coherent, and structurally organized, they have developed into *institutions*. That is, when the more or less well-formulated and defined mores have been raised "into the realm of the conscious and deliberate, and are made more definite and specific as regards the rules, codes, prescribed acts, and the apparatus or agencies to be employed; when they are given a framework, and a more rational,

[14]C. A. Ellwood, *op. cit.*, quoted by Hertzler, *ibid.*

[15]E. C. Hayes, "What is an Institution," *Scientific Monthly*, December 1926, Vol. XXIII, pp. 556–57, quoted by Hertzler, *ibid.*

[16]See J. O. Hertzler, *ibid*, pp. 106ff.

practical, utilitarian and positive character is added; in brief, when they are systematized and 'instituted,' they become institutions."[17]

Thus about the great basic, permanent, and urgent human needs, by the long route of folkways, customs, and mores, as the result of experience gained in coöperative living, there "have developed massive institutions or blocks of institutions, namely, (1) the institutions of societal self-maintenance; . . . (2) those of societal self-perpetuation; . . . (3) those of societal self-gratification; . . . and (4) those of religion in the broadest sense. Of course . . . these institutions interpenetrate, as do the interests that summoned them into being."[18]

Some institutions are based upon more fundamental needs than others, have had a longer process of development, are more thoroughly organized, and have received a more universal approval of society. They are known as major social institutions, and are usually regarded as the family, the economic system, the school, the church, and the state. To these the recreation system is now being added by some writers as a sixth social institution. It should be recognized, however, that the major institutions are not different from other social institutions in kind, but only in degree.

Each of the great social institutions has also its own sub-organizations. Attention has already been called to the situation in the family. The business and industrial system has its organized agencies for production, transportation, marketing, banking and exchange, and the distribution of the profits of industry; and also the local, national, and international army of workers and relationships involved in these operations. The school has an elaborate social structure of buildings and physical equipment, endowments, administrative officers, teaching staff, curriculum, and student body, with their manifold interrelations and activities. The church also has a very great number of buildings for worship and for work, its host of ministers and members, its enterprises of religious education, its world-wide missionary investments and activities, and its denominational and interdenominational organizations. The nation has its local governmental subdivisions of town and municipality, county, state, and wider territorial divisions. All of these, as well as the national state itself, have their organized

[17] *Ibid*, p. 107-8.
[18] *Ibid*, p. 19.

systems of government, their possessions of property and equipment, their manifold departments, and their vast army of administrative workers and employees.

It should now be more clear what institutions are, and what is meant by the statement that they are both concept and structure, —ideas or mental patterns, systematized activities, and organized social structures. Institutions are the permanent and approved operating agencies of the social organization.

The Sociological Significance of Institutions. The chief significance of social institutions is of course their place and function in the social order as described above.

"Man's community life in practically all its phases—material, social, political, recreational, spiritual—is summed up and objectified in the institutions. . . . Hence, a group's culture is largely the summation of its institutions, and its institutions are largely an embodiment of its culture. . . . A satisfactory social life is possible only where social institutions of quality exist. . . . Civilization is possible only where the social institutions are stable and well developed; its quality depends on the degree of refinement reached by the institutions, and its advancement depends upon increasingly efficient and ennobled institutions as instrumentalities."[19]

But aside from this main function of institutions, there are other phases that are of much interest. Institutions are the great *depositories* of the social heritage. They store up the experiences of the race, representing the organized conclusions of past generations in their long and eager search for the best ways of living, their social struggles, achievements, and attempts at social adjustment. They are also the chief carriers of culture, the agencies for the transmission of the social heritage to each new generation, so that it may start where the older generation left off, on the basis of the accumulated racial experience of the past, without having to start all over again. This makes cumulative and accelerated progress possible. It creates and guarantees the great *social values,* such as freedom, knowledge, art, religion, and ethical understanding of social relations.

Perhaps most important of all, and because of these other phases, is the significance of institutions for the individual, in the development of personality.[20] If the current psychology is correct, the individual is not a fixed entity at birth. His inherited characteristics are mobile and modifiable, and in any case only start him on

[19] J. O. Hertzler, *op. cit.,* pp. 30–32. [20] *Ibid,* pp. 166f.

his way. He is born into the psycho-social environment of social institutions and his personality is largely molded by them. It is these by which he is continually surrounded. He knows no other social world; how can he go against them? Some writers claim that even his human nature itself is created by them. It is not until he reaches maturity that he learns to question and criticize them, and by that time he has become their product. Hence, institutions are among the chief agencies of *socialization* and of *social control.* Nevertheless, the individual eventually does question them. He is not only the product of institutions but becomes their modifier also, fortunately for progressive adaptation to new conditions. Institutions also furnish fields for individual activity, for promotion in successful achievement, and for a constantly enlarging development of personality, the final goal of all social life.

Summary. The activities of the community, expressing so many diversified and often conflicting interests, would result in chaotic social conditions if they were not correlated and systematized. This is the function of social control, as we have seen in an earlier chapter. This process of securing an orderly life within the community is also a process of organizing the community, because control is not exercised by separate commands for each act required, but in the processes of group experience customary ways of doing things are developed and the various activities of the members become articulated so that they function in a more or less orderly way. Certain special agencies of controlling the life of the group are also developed. Hence the processes of control and of organizing the group life go along together.

On the structural side, as these agencies of activity and control are created, they are usually not of a temporary nature for they have been built up through the exigencies of group life and to meet its permanent needs. They therefore remain as parts of the structure of the social organization. As such, they are also known as social institutions, and become, in turn, agencies for the orderly control of social life and the further development of social organization and social institutions. Taken together, both social organization and social institutions are a part of human culture. They also constitute the social environment from which the individual acquires most of his ideas and attitudes and in the midst of which his human personality develops, as appears more fully in the following chapter.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the difference between and the relations of social processes, social structure and social functions? Illustrate from the life of your home community.

2. What is the difference between primary and secondary groups? Illustrate. Which are more characteristic of primitive groups, and why? What are the chief social attitudes developed in primitive groups? Give Ellwood's estimate of the values of primitive groups.

3. Name and discuss four secondary groups in your community life. Discuss the increase of secondary groups in modern life and indicate some of the social problems resulting from this.

4. Classify and discuss the classification of the social organization of your community. Compare your classification with Spencer's.

5. Discuss the organization and functions of the Hague Tribunal, the League of Nations, and the World Court. How does the last differ from the first? What is the relation of the World Court to the League of Nations? Could the United States join the latter without becoming a member of the former? Do you think it would be advisable for the United States to join either or both? Justify your answer.

6. What are social institutions? What is their relation to social organization? To human culture? What are the major social institutions?

7. Discuss the three social institutions in your community that you think are most influential, and why.

8. Name the various methods and agencies of international organization, and discuss in particular the consular system in this connection.

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CHAPTER XXVI

HUMAN PERSONALITY

The products of the social process already considered are human culture, social organization, and social institutions. The remaining chief product is human personality. The others are socially fruitless unless they eventuate in this.

What Is Personality? The term "personality" is vaguely and variously employed in popular speech. It is often used to indicate special mannerisms, particularly of an attractive nature; or vigorous, forceful, and dominating characteristics; or personal charm; or a rich and cultured individuality. Of all of these we hear it said that such and such an individual has personality.

Everyone has personality of some kind, attractive or unattractive, normal or abnormal, meager or radiant. Personality is not some mystical thing. For present purposes, the dictionary definitions seem fairly adequate, which may be summed up as follows: Personality is what constitutes the person, and what characterizes the person.

In the first sense of the word personality is what the person really *is*. The situation, however, is not simple. Oliver Wendell Holmes once said that when two people are talking together, six persons are present. There is the person that A thinks he is, and the person that B thinks *he* is—two. There is also the person that B thinks A to be, and the person that A thinks B to be—two more. And there is the person that A really is, and the person that B really is—two more; six in all. That is why so many misunderstandings arise in a confidential conversation between two people. The six persons present get confused. When one of them repeats to somebody else what was not said, he probably is not intentionally lying at all, although of course he may be. The chances, however, are that one or more of the six persons present misunderstood what was said. While one was talking, others of the six were probably gesturing. That which constitutes persons is

that which they really are, not that which they think they are, or think each other to be.

The term personality is also properly used with reference to the visible qualities and manner which characterize the person and give A his impression of the personality that B is—the expression of the eyes and mouth, the kind of language that is used, the things that are said, the manner and bearing, the way that the hair is combed, the fit and style of the clothing worn. We cannot see personality. We can only judge what it is by the characteristics which we can see.

It is not far out of the way, therefore, to begin by regarding personality as that which constitutes and that which characterizes the person. Considering the matter somewhat more scientifically, Park and Burgess call attention to the fact that the word personality is derived from the Latin *persona,* a mask used by actors, and suggest that its meaning is to be found in the rôle of the individual in the social group. Following in the main their classification,[1] personality may be regarded as characterized by the following traits:

Physical features—physique, physiognomy, etc.

Intelligence—mental ability and training.

Temperament and disposition—emotional reactions, sentiments, etc.

Character and philosophy of life—attitudes, habits, moral values.

Social expression—modes of expression, mannerisms, etc.

Conception of self and of the rôle one occupies in the group.

Prestige—what others think of a person and its effect.

Society Is Interacting Personalities. It is well to recall once more, in the light of the discussion up to this point, that the social group is a community of interacting personalities. The social process as a whole, in general terms, is the varied interactions and interadaptations of these personalities in their collective efforts to satisfy their human needs and wants. This process subdivides, as we have seen, into the two main phases of differentiation, competition, and conflict, on the one hand, and accommodation, integration, and coöperation, on the other hand. Such processes among interacting personalities are found in greater or less degree wherever individuals come into contact with each other, in all groups, small or large. Personalities are thus the social units, and

[1]Compare Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924), p. 70.

society consists of these units in their manifold inter-relations. If it is also true, as discussed in a later chapter, that the development of personality is the goal of the social process itself, its central importance in the social process and as social product is doubly evident.

Hereditary Factors in Personality. The question of personality development is therefore one of paramount importance. Perhaps this phase of personality should have been considered under the social processes rather than among the social products. It seemed best, however, not to treat the subject in two places but to consider both process and product here.

As we have already seen, each individual is born into the world with an hereditary equipment bequeathed by his ancestors. This is fixed once for all, according to the best knowledge available today, in the new germ cell that has its beginning at the time of conception, and is a combination of characteristics existing in the germ plasms of both parents, inherited by them, in turn, from their ancestors. The inherited equipment, about which there is not universal agreement, constitutes the original nucleus of the personality. It is a real and vital factor in the possibilities of future development. One reason why personalities differ is because of differences in these inherited characteristics. For while there is a common human inheritance distinguishing man from the beasts, there is also infinite variety of individual characteristics within this common human equipment. And in the process of development each individual organism makes its own selection from the environmental stimuli presented to it. More will be said later on this point.

J. K. Folsom distinguishes five traits of personality: physical, such as height or weight; general intelligence; temperament; attitudes; and a special ability or skill.[2] His conclusion is that heredity plays the main rôle in determining physical characteristics and intelligence, and, probably to a lesser extent, temperament. It plays no direct part in determining attitudes.[3] This view seems to be the generally accepted one, although the statement concerning attitudes needs qualification, as will be indicated later.

Environmental Factors—The Social Situation. Starting with this hereditary nucleus, the personality is built up from the

[2] J. K. Folsom, *Social Psychology* (1931), p. 222.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 294.

stimuli acting upon it from the environment and the reactions of the person to these influences.

It is coming to be realized more and more, however, that it is not so much general conditions that influence personality as it is specific events and circumstances in the environment, that is, the particular social situation. The individual finds himself in such situations all through his life. As the new-born baby enters into them, his personality development begins. Lawrence K. Frank presents a very suggestive view of this early social development of the child as dependent upon *physiological tensions*.[4] His belief is that "social life is a product of learning to manage the visceral tensions in accordance with the requirements and usages of the family and the social group." The first problem of this tensional control comes when the child must learn to sustain the hunger contractions of the stomach until the appropriate time for feeding arrives; he must learn to endure the intervals between feedings. Later he must learn to obtain food by work during these intervals, in anticipation of the recurrent hunger tensions. "The second problem of tensional management confronting the child is to learn how to sustain the pressures in his bladder and rectum until the appropriate time and place for their release . . . in accordance with the requirements of the group life. . . . This and the hunger problems may be taken as the prototypes of his adult behavior." The child thus learns to deal with present situations and stimuli with due regard to their more remote consequences and the sanctions of the group. "The next problem facing the young child is to learn the inhibition of the sympathetic reaction, which we call emotional response, evoked by shock, surprise, pain, and ambiguity or uncertainty, . . . by learning an adequate motor response to such emotion-provoking situations, thus rendering the situation relatively innocuous." Finally, at the beginning of adolescence, the emerging sex tensions must be restrained, controlled, and sublimated until they have reached full maturity and find expression as sanctioned by the group.

"These lessons begin during the first and second years of the child's life and call for the management and control of the several varieties of visceral tensions arising within the child. . . . We see then in early childhood how the institutional patterns of behavior

[4] "Physiological Tensions and Social Structure," in *Personality and the Social Group*, edited by E. W. Burgess (1929), p. 35ff.

are inculcated in the child as he learns to manage his tensions in accordance with the prohibitions and sanctions of the family life," within the several patterns of the cultural tradition. Frank holds that all the social virtues of courage, perseverance, strength, loyalty, virtue, and chastity are but aspects of the management of tensions. It is not necessary, however, for us to attach such exclusive influence to physiological tensions in order to appreciate their great importance in the formation of the child's social habits. They are a good illustration of the fact that personality development is a matter of action, reaction, and interaction in special situations; and also of the fact that social control supplements and directs self-expression from the very beginning of the process.

Occupation and status, also, create situational environments that have far-reaching effects upon personality. The Lynds, in their study of *Middletown,*[5] found that the population of the city was divided into two main classes, the working class and the business class. The members of one class rise early in the morning, dress in cheap clothing, eat breakfast in the kitchen; the men go to work in the factory and shop or at manual labor, the women are tied down all day to menial housework. The other class lives in more comfortable houses, rises an hour or two later in the morning, dresses in better clothing, eats in the dining room; the men go to offices and stores and "white-collar" tasks, while the women find leisure, after their work is done, to engage in social, philanthropic, and recreational activities. These two types of living tend to develop different types of personality through their situational contacts and stimulative influences, operating day after day. In America, there is no hard and fast line between these two kinds of social status, but the demarcation is a real one nevertheless. Its extremes in the very rich and the very poor are easily discernible in radically different personality types, and characteristic social status.

Modern *division of labor* also creates special situations within each of these two main groups, setting its own mark to a greater or less extent upon its workers. Thus we have the factory-worker type, the brick mason type, the coal miner type, the "collegiate" type, the school teacher, the business man, the professional man, the captain of industry, the lawyer, the doctor, the preacher. Usually a few minutes conversation with any of these will reveal

[5]Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (1929), pp. 23, 24.

aspects of personality developed by the situational influences of the vocational guild in which their lives are so much spent, and which so largely determine their personal and social attitudes.

Special groups too numerous to name create situations that are largely influential in determining personality. The *marriage relationship* is one of the most effective of these. Husband and wife cannot live together in the intimate and varied experiences of family relationships without profoundly influencing each other's personality. It is a well-known truism that either one may make or mar the personality of the other. Even where wholesome individuality is maintained by each, points of view, attitudes, and evaluations of life are gradually molded by continued contacts in meeting together the deepest and most vital situations of human association. The same is true, in lesser degree, of the situation in *all primary groups*. As we have already seen, it is in face-to-face association that the social impulses connected with sex, with parenthood, with kinship, are chiefly developed. Here habits of toleration, sympathy, understanding, mutual aid and coöperation are formed. The *we*-feeling has its origin in the experiences of individuals in small face-to-face groups, where the sense of social solidarity is developed. For this reason friendships, social clubs, college fraternities and sororities, and other personal-presence groups, as well as the family, are determining factors in the development of personality. It is here that life's attitudes and valuations are chiefly created.

The ecological area is also a vital situational factor in personality development, as evidenced in the studies of juvenile delinquency, already referred to, and other studies of particular districts, such as the rooming-house area of Chicago, the area of wealth on the lake shore farther north, and the foreign-settlement colonies.[6] These areas are both selective and determinative. They call into their fellowship people more or less like those already occupying the region in social status and interests, and then proceed to mold them still further into their likeness and mores. As these studies continue, the specific influences of different areas upon the development of personality will be more fully understood.

Racial and national relationships, to a considerable extent, limit and determine the range and type of personality development. This is not so influential a factor as it was before the era of uni-

[6]See H. W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (1929).

versal communication, but it is still effective. Whether a child is born a Negro or a White, a Chinese or a Mexican, an Eskimo, a Zulu, a German, or an Englishman has a decided bearing upon the ideas and attitudes that enter into his personality, however educated and cosmopolitan he may become.

This is true also of *the historical times* in which one lives, which fix certain general conditions of personality. The days of limited communication and travel, of superstitious belief in goblins or witchcraft or the saving efficacy of the Inquisition, encouraged a different type of personality from the era of scientific knowledge, of universal communication, of world-wide commerce, and of international outlook. It is difficult if not impossible, for a man to transcend altogether the historical age in which he lives.

All of these relationships constitute and illustrate phases of situations which have a share in the development of personality, and, indeed, of social control in general.[7]

Social Institutions and Personality. Not entirely different from the influence of situations on personality,—for all life is environed by situations,—is the relation of institutions to personality development. As we have seen, social institutions are the embodiment of the experience, discoveries, and accumulated knowledge of the human race. They constitute, probably, the chief part of our cultural heritage. Personality is not developed except through contacts with this heritage, as experienced, it may be added, in the concrete situations of life. Just because institutions are the built-up experience and wisdom of the race, as the child and the man work their way into an understanding and appreciation of them they enter into the knowledge and understanding of the human and social experience which these represent. A considerable part of the education of the young, therefore, and of the adult also, consists in making effective contacts with social institutions. It is through this process that the human personality develops that which some sociologists call human nature itself.

Gillin and Blackmar present an interesting account of how the growing child enters successively into contacts with social institutions, and thus becomes socialized.[8] The child's first relationships are with the members of its own family. Here he experiences love, protection, authority and guidance, example and ideals. The

[7]See Ch XXII in connection with this and the following sections.

[8]*Outlines of Sociology* (1930), Ch. XVIII. The student should read this chapter

family provides the active stimuli which surround the child with greatest persistence and influence during the early years of his life. His reactions develop into habits, largely determined by the treatment which he receives, the language that he hears, and the surroundings in which he lives. These constitute the initial and profoundly influential factors in the child's developing personality. Far beyond these earliest years, also, the influence of parents, of brothers and sisters, and of other family relations and sentiments continues to direct and mold the personalities of its members. The family is probably the most influential of all social institutions upon personality development.

As the child grows older he begins to play with children from other families, and must adjust himself to this wider range of stimuli and experience. He begins to learn that others as well as himself are important, and have personalities and rights which he must respect. He is not so closely guarded by love in these contacts, and begins his experience of the rough-and-tumble world in which he must learn to live and strike a balance between his own rights and those of others. In other words, the lessons and habits of altruism are emerging,—all unknown, of course, to the child, but forced upon him by new situations. When he starts to school, he enters a still larger world, with new stimuli and still wider range of experience, and his reacting personality receives still further social development. Through school and college, in study, in play, and in friendships, in contacts with his fellows and with adults, both in the past and especially in the present, his personality changes, expands, and acquires new interests. In adolescence the youth experiences a crisis requiring new adjustments. The development of his physical organisms brings new experiences of questionings, fears, hopes, and strong impulses. He must now reckon more fully also with sex, its significance and adaptations. In connection with the widening contacts of the youth in the school and in other social relations, the period of adolescence constitutes one of the most critical periods of personality development.

If the young man or woman goes to college, the contacts of the school are continued on a larger scale. He has now passed, or should have passed, his childhood days, and he begins more seriously to enter into the relationships of the wider world in which he is to live. If he attends a Liberal Arts college, his chief aim will be to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the cultural herit-

age of the world in which his work is to be done. If he goes to a vocational or professional school, he will seek primarily an adequate training for the work he is to do. In both, there will be enlarging contacts and progressive adjustments to life's situations and cultural institutions.

In case the young man goes into business after high school, instead of to college, he will find himself aligned with one of the oldest and most fundamental of the social institutions. Here his contacts will be in the hurly burly of practical affairs, offering their own unique contribution to the development of personality. If the young man is at all observant and thoughtful, he will find himself continually in situations that call forth his best knowledge and drive him on to new investigations and understandings of the industrial and commercial world, with their ramifications throughout all of society. If he follows out the history and implications of an ordinary day's contacts, he possibly may become a man of even broader and richer personality than that of his friend who goes to college.

In time, these young men presumably will marry, as will most of their sisters also, and establish homes and families of their own. In these they will repeat their earlier contacts with the great social institution of the family, but from a new angle, now entering into that fuller breadth and sympathy of personality that parenthood and responsibility for loved ones bring to fruition.

In all periods of personality development, the questionings and aspirations inherent in man's nature bring him into relationships with the spirit of the universe and the unseen forces upon which he is dependent. This is the essence of religion. It leads most people at some period of their lives, or at all periods, into contacts with another of the great social institutions—the church, under whatever special name it may be called. Here one's relations to God—by whatever name he may be designated—and to the final issues of life and death, force themselves into consideration. The contacts of the church and of spiritual ideas, ideals, and fellowships give a further and infinitely richer expansion of personality as a man now extends his range of experience to include imperishable realities.

In all periods of the development of personality, also, one is surrounded by, caught up into, and becomes a part of the system of social organization. All institutions are socially organized in

some form. The individual finds it difficult to go against this customary and authorized social order, and is more or less effectively molded by it. The current forms of social organization, therefore, both informal, in all manner of clubs, associations, and "organizations," and formal, in governmental units culminating in the national state, exercise a far-reaching influence upon the development of personality. We are all conformists, more or less, mostly more, finding it easy to fall in with prevailing fashions, ideas, and attitudes toward life.

In these and numberless contacts with other institutional embodiments of the world's rich experience, in the setting of life's varied situations, is human personality developed.

Socialized Society. To use these two words together may seem to be tautology. Yet if it is permissible to speak of a predatory individual as unsocial, why may not the same term be used of a predatory social group? The considerations in the preceding section lead naturally to a discussion of the importance of socializing institutions and situations themselves, so that they shall furnish stimuli favorable to the development of wholesome personality. While contacts with social institutions are essential to individual growth, they also give it direction to a large extent, and determine its character, as we have seen. This is especially true of the prevailing ideas and ideals in the smaller groups which are so influential in molding attitudes and evaluations of life through the concrete situations which they furnish. Something further will be said on this subject later.

Culture and Personality. Not much in addition needs to be said with reference to the influence of culture upon personality. Culture, it will be recalled, is all that has been produced by the mind and achievements of man. It is both material and immaterial. Most immaterial culture is included in the institutions and organization that have been built up by society, and their influence upon personality has already been discussed. Among the material phases of culture are included such factors as inventions, buildings, factories, laboratories, transportation and communicating facilities, and works of art. Even a partial enumeration of these material culture complexes suggests the extent that we have become dependent upon them in our modern mechanized civilization. It makes a difference in personality whether one reads by means of the tallow dip or lives in an age when electricity has

turned night into day and has made possible wholly new kinds of industry and amusement. A certain type of personality is adjusted to locomotion in the lumber wagon drawn by an ox team. It is a different type that goes five hundred miles in an automobile or airplane to witness a football game between two great rival universities. It is not necessary further to elaborate the patent fact of the basic importance of all phases of culture, both material and immaterial in the development of personality. An entire volume might well be devoted to the subject, based upon a scientific study of the personality influence of various culture traits and complexes.

The Selective Reaction of the Person. The foregoing discussion of the environmental influences upon personality might tempt us to the conclusion that it is the environment that makes the person. There is no doubt that much of the present-day thinking and writing comes perilously near to this view—a revival of the *tabula rasa* philosophy of Locke and Hume, that the mind is a blank tablet upon which environmental stimuli do the writing and create the completed page. This is not the case. The mind itself is creative, and reacts to the stimuli of the environment, thus having a share in the development of the personality.

F. H. Hankins has an interesting discussion of this phase of the subject, in which he brings out a much needed emphasis upon the determining influence of the organism itself.[9] Every organism, he says, develops an organic pattern according to its own nature. Sea water, for example, abounds in many different forms of life. Each form reproduces after its own kind and draws its own portion and particular kind of nourishment from this common environment. An alteration of environment results in some alteration of the development, to be sure; nevertheless, each form of organism responds to certain stimuli of the environment and not to others, and its own development is determined chiefly by this fact.

"Hence we may say that *the nature of the organism determines whether or not a response shall be made* to a given stimulus. In like manner, we may say that the *kind of response* made to a given stimulus is determined, not by the stimulus, but by the nature of the organism. . . . It is a good deal of a question, in the light of such a fact, whether

[9] "Organic Plasticity *versus* Organic Responsiveness in the Development of the Personality," in *Personality and the Social Group* (1929), Edited by E. W. Burgess, p. 45ff.

we use exactly the right term where we say that the stimulus *produces* the response. A more exact statement would be that the stimulus *arouses, elicits,* or *releases* the response. The stimulus does not seem to be correlated with the response or in any way integrated therewith, *except through the nature of the organism.* . . . The organism is not a piece of plastic clay which can be molded according to any and every sort of environmental stimulus and pressure. It is rather an actor adjusting himself to his stage setting, behaving differently, to be sure, in different settings, but never losing the primary trait of utilizing the setting according to the bent of his own peculiar genius."[10]

But, Hankins asks, What has all this to do with the development of human personality? Very much, he answers, if the above propositions apply also to the human organism, as he thinks they do. Omitting technical psychological terms, the human organism is not plastic in the sense that the environment molds it willy nilly, without the special reaction activity of the individual. The habit systems which individuals develop represent their own more or less unique and selective responses to the numerous stimuli about them. It is for this reason that such unlike personalities come from social environments as nearly alike as are humanly possible. "While they to a large extent share a common culture, it is also true that each of them reveals a distinct personality. As we watch the evolution of our children we observe each of them weaving an individual garment of behavior patterns out of his differential responses to the cultural environment."[11]

Interests and Attitudes. The foregoing considerations help us to understand the important place of interests and attitudes in the development of personality.[12] Human reactions, which in the baby are blind drives without conscious direction, become consciously directed in later years toward definite goals of achievement, which now draw the individual toward themselves. These goals, one after another throughout the person's life, represent his interests or evaluations of what things are most worth while. In every situation, he assumes purposeful attitudes or "sets" of personality, favorable or unfavorable, toward these various goals which beckon him to action.

[10]*Ibid.* Italics are a part of quotation.

[11]*Ibid.*, p. 53.

[12]For a discussion of wishes and attitudes as social drives see Ch. XVIII. In the present connection, attention is called only to their significance for personality.

Attitudes are thus reactions of the whole human being to the situation; and interests measure the values which appeal to him as good. Both interests and attitudes, therefore, are self-pronounced judgments upon a man's personality, as to what sort it is; in large part they constitute his personality. These wishes and attitudes, however, are not the product of environmental situations alone, as we saw in the preceding section. The individual organism has been making its own selection of stimuli and its own reactions in each situation, according to its own character. And in reacting to each new situation, it is the personality up to date that reacts, with its previously developed attitudes and beckoning interests. Thus the process becomes cumulative and the personality grows. If the personality is to change, the attitudes and interests must be changed. This is the problem of socialized education,—to establish social situations and institutions in which larger and larger numbers of people shall find the stimuli to which the best that is in them will react in desires and attitudes that will make it possible for them to create for themselves increasingly full and rich personalities.

Personality and Character. What is the difference between personality and character? Personality is the more inclusive. Character is a part of it. Character is personality in its more permanent phases, and especially in its moral aspects. It has to do largely, therefore, with personal attitudes and the quality of the interests that constitute the goals of action. Attitudes, as we have seen, are sets or tendencies toward acts; they are acts decided upon but not yet performed in overt behavior. The acts themselves and their consequences are a part of social morality, and are not without influence upon personal character also. But character is chiefly a matter of the more or less definitely established disposition, habits, decision, purpose, set, or attitude of the person, even without the overt act itself. These attitudes, in fact, do not always result in overt acts, which are often beyond our control because of circumstances. Hence attitudes do not always have direct social consequences, but they are nevertheless a part of the character. This is what Jesus meant, for example, when he said that the man is a murderer who has hate in his heart, or the intent or purpose to kill; and that the man is already an adulterer at heart who looks at a woman with lustful desire.[13] It was this con-

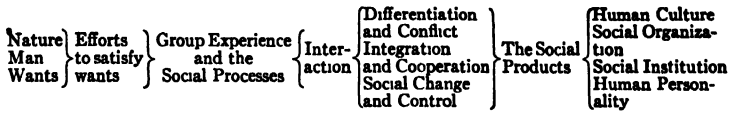
[13]Matthew 5; 21–22, 27–28.

ception, also, which led Immanuel Kant to the conclusion that the only ethical good is a good will. That is, it is the attitude itself which constitutes the character. The overt act is only the expression of it. This conception, however, needs to be supplemented by a keen realization that acts themselves and their consequences to ourselves and to others are a part of social morality and cannot be ignored in personal character.

Summary. Personality is that which constitutes and characterizes the person. It is the outcome of living—the combined product of inherited equipment, situational environment, institutional and cultural contacts, and personal reactions, attitudes, and overt deeds. It is the supreme product of the social process and its several processes, and is the ultimate test of the value of human culture, social institutions, and social organization.

Looking back over the chapters in this Division on human culture, social organization and institutions, and human personality, which constitute the chief products of the social processes, we are in a better position to see the reciprocal relations of the processes and their creations. At each stage of development the social culture and institutions already in existence constitute the theater of action in which the social processes continue their operation. The community as it is today is the basis upon which the social processes build the community of tomorrow. Moreover, it is into this community as an organized going concern that all new members come, whether by birth or by migration, and they are thenceforth influenced by all phases of its life with which they come in contact. Nor is any community isolated in these days from the rest of the world, but through transportation and communication of manifold kinds the cultural institutions throughout the entire world become in greater or less degree a part of the environment of the local community and its members. The products of the social processes thus react in turn upon the processes themselves in exercising a controlling influence upon their further development and that of the individual members of society. Processes create cultural products, and culture conditions the ensuing processes, both for the individual and for his groups.

The following diagram may help to visualize the conclusions of the last two Divisions, dealing with the social processes and their products, beginning with human wants, which constitute the drives to action, and following through to human personality:



PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. How do you form your estimates of the personalities of the people with whom you come into contact? How trustworthy are these estimates? Why are the judgments in the case of those whom you know well more trustworthy than concerning those whom you know casually?

2. Describe the environment which in your judgment would be most conducive to the development of wholesome and efficient personality.

3. In what ways does your home-town measure up to this, and in what respects does it fail to do so?

4. Discuss the differences between personality, individuality, and character.

5. What are the most important traits of personality? Which of these are especially significant from the point of view of leadership?

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D. SOCIAL VALUES AND HUMAN PROGRESS

CHAPTER XXVII

Social Values

After considering the various phases of social life as they manifest themselves in the contemporary community and in society, a summary statement of the nature of society will serve as a review, and will enable us to discern more clearly the values of social endeavor. What is society? Why do people engage in numerous and complicated activities, such as those described in the preceding pages? What values are they striving for? Finally, an inquiry as to the possibilities of human progress represents a fitting conclusion to the series of topics that have been treated in this volume.

THE NATURE OF SOCIETY

What is Meant by Society. Many definitions of society have been given by different authors. A formal definition is not so important as an insight into its inner relations and living processes. Society may be thought of in two ways. In the more restricted sense, it is a group of people who have interests in common, such as like purposes, or coöperative activities. Hence there are educational, religious, recreational, economic, political, and many other societies. In the larger sense, society is synonymous with humanity, the "great society," or at least is inclusive of the more formal aspects of human relations,—the sum and organization of social groupings and institutions. Accordingly, all societies in the narrower sense of the term are a part of the larger whole, which includes them all. There is, also, the newspaper sense of the term, which refers to the élite, the upper strata of the community. But this usage has no particular scientific significance and may be omitted from our consideration.

Whether we think of society in the larger or in the more restricted sense, the important thing to remember is that it repre-

sents a form of human association, the interaction of a number of persons who are united or organized for purposes of common concern. The limits of society are coextensive with social interaction. Hence any group of interacting people who have common interests in their social relationships, and are coöperating in their chief concerns and activities of life, may be regarded as constituting a society.[1]

It has already been stressed that society is dependent upon nature. The physical setting represents the background of conditioning factors. Man lives his life within the limits set by the physical universe, particularly those of climate, soil and other natural resources, topography, and location. Within this natural environment, individual human beings, the biological units, with all of their inherited characteristics, constitute the original elements that make up a society. But the biological selves immediately begin to accumulate acquired characteristics by reaction to their contacts. The two essential elements of society, therefore, are (1) persons, including both their inherited and acquired traits, and (2) the association of these persons in groups forming centers of interaction. Society is thus gregarious and interactive in character. Whether from natural desire for companionship and association, from biological necessity, or from the exigencies of food-getting and protection, people have always lived in groups, in societies, and human personality has developed only in interaction with other human beings.

Society is structurally and functionally organized. The activities of people in their efforts to satisfy their wants, biological or social, constitute the processes and functions of society in their endless variety. The persons and groups that coöperate to carry on these activities may be designated "organs" or agencies of social life, which, taken together, make up the structure or framework of society. Both the activities and the structure are integrated into groups forming a vast network of institutional social life and coöperative achievement, articulated and directed in the interests of the common welfare by the agencies of social control. Society is thus a vital and dynamic organization of persons and

[1]Compare F. H Giddings, *Principles of Sociology* (1896), pp. 3–5; E. A. Ross, *Outlines of Sociology* (1923), p 69; C A Ellwood, *The Psychology of Human Society* (1925), p. 7; Gillin and Blackmar, *Outlines of Sociology* (1930), p. 8; and other texts in sociology.

groups progressively functioning in interacting associative relationships.

Society and Its Members. The nature of society becomes still clearer from a consideration of the relation between it and its members. Society is not an abstract entity. It is made up of individual persons. What, then, is the relationship of the individual units to society as a whole?

The ancient conception was that the *individual is incidental to the group.* During primitive times survival itself required the preservation of the group. If it perished the individual must perish with it. The long-continued struggle for existence built into the primitive group the deep-seated racial attitude of collective values. This led to the conception of the relative unimportance of the individual and the dominance of the group, which was not generally outgrown in antiquity; as is evidenced by the almost universal existence of slavery, the subordinate status of women, without legal and with few personal rights, the exposure of infants to death, and the writings of ancient philosophers. Most anthropologists now agree that the group vigorously dominated and controlled its members during the more primitive stages of life, leaving little freedom for the individual. Indeed, the conception of the subordination of the individual to the group has prevailed until recent years, and still persists in many sections of the world.

The opposite, or *individualistic conception,* holds that the individual rather than society is the important factor. The first clear idea of individualism among the Hebrews goes back to the prophet Jeremiah. Aknaton, the great Egyptian reformer, and the Greeks, especially the Sophists, made their contribution. In other groups, also, the theory was advocated by prominent leaders who had the ingenuity and the courage to think and act for themselves. But innovators were rare during the early days. They were generally persecuted or ostracized, or even killed. Deviation from traditional ways of thinking and doing usually depends upon wider outside contacts and fusion of cultures than existed in primitive times.

The Renaissance and the Lutheran Reformation represent the two important initial movements of recent centuries to emancipate the individual. They marked the beginning of the modern era, in which individual freedom is such an outstanding characteristic. This idea, however, was not original with the Reformation, but received its inspiration from early Christianity, which in turn

was influenced by the Hebrew prophets. The teachings and activities of Jesus for the most part centered around the idea of the Kingdom of God composed of socialized persons. The socialized individual, living in a social order characterized by righteousness and love, rather than the establishment of an earthly kingdom, was the object he had in view.

It was the revival of this early Christian idea of the worth of the individual that caused the Reformation to burst with all the force of a new discovery upon a world made ready for it by the Renaissance and the growing scientific spirit. The results became apparent in subsequent history. The unified church split up into scores of Protestant sects. Monarchies gave way to representative forms of government. The patriarchal family was transformed into a more democratic group. Women and children were accorded a new status in society. Slavery was abolished, and everywhere men demanded their freedom. Individualism asserted itself in thought and action. In every direction, the modern world has witnessed a remarkable reversal of the earlier conception of group dominance. Today we have an exaggerated individualism.

Neither of these extreme views is satisfactory, as judged by the results of sociological study. Both are one-sided and inadequate. Both have grown out of social situations which led to undue emphasis upon either the group or the individual, not realizing that the two necessarily go together, as *correlative aspects of the same social reality,* which is the more recent conception. The separate individual is an abstraction of the imagination. Man is born of and into a society which is a going concern, and all that he knows has been learned within human relations. Society, on the other hand, has no being apart from the individual members composing it, with their interactions, interadjustments, and coöperative endeavors. Both the group dominance conception of the ancients, and the individualistic theory of the eighteenth century, should give way to the realization that society and its component individual members are necessarily supplemental and correlative, mutually dependent upon and conditioning each other.

SOCIAL VALUES

The foregoing discussion has been introduced at this point because it vitally affects the subject of social values. If one believes that the individual is incidental to the group, slavery and class

distinctions may be defended, as Plato did in his Republic. If the individual is regarded as independent of the group, self-interest supersedes patriotism, and selfish aggrandizement becomes the law of social interaction. If, however, both the individual and the group have their legitimate and supplemental claims, then social values will be found somewhere within their mutual relationships.

It is not our purpose to consider the theoretical aspects of value. This would take us too far afield into the realm of ethics. It is important, however, to understand the nature of values and to recognize their place and significance in contemporary society.

The Meaning of Values. Stated in simple terms, *values are meaningful objects.* Anything that means something to us, that possesses a worth and performs a positive or negative part in our program of life, is a value. Anything capable of being experienced and wished for has a worth. Lumley[2] illustrates the meaning of a value by relating a childhood experience. When he was a boy he "wished for" a watch. The watch became a valued object of endeavor. An exalted moment of his life came when his mother unexpectedly presented him with the desired object. Because the watch had an enormous value to him the attainment of it was a significant event in his life. Objects are intimately connected with events, i.e., they become a part of experience. In a way they constitute events.

The value of an object for an individual depends upon its relation to his experience.[3] Values do not inhere in detached things. Objects have worth not in themselves but in relation to the attitudes, interests, aims, and purposes of life. They represent possibilities for the satisfaction of wants and desires. In other words, social values are the externalizations of attitudes.[4] We do not need to consider here the problem as to whether values attach to attitudes (or interests) or attitudes adhere to values. They occur together in experience as the objective and subjective aspects of the same thing. When attitudes and preferences are expressed for

[2]F. E. Lumley, *Principles of Sociology* (1928), p. 507.

[3]Compare F. E. Lumley, *op. cit*, pp. 507–508; also J. K. Folsom, *Culture and Social Progress* (1928); C. C. A. Bouglé, *Evolution of Values* (1926); and R. B. Perry, *The General Theory of Value* (1926).

[4]See W. I. Thomas, *The Polish Peasant* (with F. Znaniecki) (1927), Vol I, pp 31–32 and *The Unadjusted Girl* (1923), pp. 232–33; compare Bogardus, *Contemporary Sociology* (1931), pp. 184–85.

objects they become positive values, whereas negative values are those toward which unfavorable attitudes or preferences are expressed.

Multiplicity of Values. The values of life are as numerous as there are objects capable of being appreciated and desired. In a sense every effort of man is directed toward some object or attainment which is regarded as a value. Thus, instead of a few values or a single great good, as some of the earlier ethical theorists maintained, there is a multiplicity or constellation of values. All of us are seeking values of many different kinds, just as life reaches out in many different directions and is varied in its contacts. There are the elementary wants and needs of man which must be satisfied, and beyond these many additional wants arise in the course of experience as man makes new contacts and acquires wider culture. Institutions and organizations constitute clusters of values that satisfy the manifold needs of man.

It would seem, therefore, that life as it actually is, represents many values which men may legitimately seek. W. G. Everett classifies these as follows:[5] Economic values, bodily values, values of recreation, values of association, character values, aesthetic values, intellectual values, and religious values. Perhaps the analysis of life in the community presented in Part One of the present volume gives as good a summary as any of the various needs whose legitimate satisfactions constitute true social values: the interests gathering about family life, making a living, acquiring an education, play and recreation, the moral and religious life, government, planning and beauty, and the care of personal and social maladjustment. These represent the concrete values which men and women are seeking, and without which it would be impossible to develop personality and to achieve social well-being. All of them are good and legitimate ends to seek. Taken together, in their proper proportions, they constitute the *summum bonum,* or greatest good of life, and are essential factors in its completest realization and fulfillment. "This is living; it is life at its best; and, as far as human experience goes, the one thing that seems to have inherent and therefore a sort of absolute value is life. All other values are derivative from this."[6]

[5] *Moral Values* (1925), p. 182.

[6] J. O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions* (1929), p. 150.

A System of Social Values. The goods of life are not merely a constellation, however. They constitute a solar system of values. All are not of equal worth. Some are of central and dominating importance; others are of lesser significance and revolve around these. But in what order of importance do they come, to convert the potentialities of human living into the realities of achievement? In what proportions are the ingredients of life's values to be mixed in order to attain personality in greatest fullness? If we knew with certainty, it might be possible to so arrange the social order and to so control the social processes as to attain the desired results. For personality and achievement are not gained by wishing alone, nor usually by aiming at them directly, but by the right kind of living in seeking the right concrete values of life. But unfortunately social science is not yet advanced far enough to be sure as to the relative significance of these various values. Here is an attractive field for sociological research.

The difficulty of classifying values into a system or hierarchy, however, does not alter the truth that such a gradation exists. And the fact that people are busily engaged in seeking the concrete goods of life should not deter them from giving attention to the ultimate values and purposes of life. This is a part of the human birthright and an urge that distinguishes men from the beasts. The situation may be compared to the erection of a great building. The workers are occupied from day to day with their special tasks of construction, thinking only occasionally of the plan of the building as a whole. And yet every worker knows that his concrete aim and task today fits into the general plan and has its final significance as part of the completed structure. He knows also that his own special piece of work will be checked up by that general plan and the success of the enterprise, and that this will test its ultimate worth. Life in its infinite variety has its manifold immediate values and the daily tasks connected with them. These are all more or less worth while in themselves, it is true, but they get their final evaluation from the ultimate outcome in the resulting personality. It is this that constitutes the central value of life, the highest and dominating good in the system of values.

There is a general tendency among social thinkers today, contrary to popular individualistic pleasure-seeking attitudes, toward finding this central good in the identification of individual

and social values. In the words of Cooley,[7] "One is never more human, and as a rule never happier, than when he is sacrificing his narrow and merely private interest to the higher call of the congenial group." Dewey and Tufts[8] stress that finding one's good in the good of others is the highest value and mark of achievement. "Only a voluntary preference for and interest in a social good is capable, otherwise than by coincidence or accident, of producing acts which have the common good as their result. Those who care for the general good for its own sake are those who are surest of promoting it. . . . Such an one forms his plans, regulates his desires, and hence performs his acts with reference to the effect they have upon the social groups of which he is a part. He is one whose dominant attitudes and interests are bound up with associated activities. . . . The good for any man is that in which the welfare of others counts as much as his own." Ellwood, in advocating a system of morality that will meet the needs of our complex civilization, says, "It would seem that only a system which would put first the development of humanity as a whole, rather than the development, or happiness, of the individual, would be adequate for the solution of the social problem. . . . Practically this means for the individual that his moral ideal shall be that his life is for the service of humanity; that his self-development and even his happiness are but means to that service."[9]

The above quotations, and many that might be added from other social thinkers, give emphasis to a conception of the central place of values of a social nature that is of the greatest importance in present-day society. The abundant life and the highest type of personality cannot be realized by the individual living for himself alone. They are attained only in social relations. Nobility of purpose, breadth of outlook and sympathy, and greatness of achievement do not spring from selfish and individualistic conceptions of values, but from recognition of social solidarity and responsibility. Society, on its side, cannot hope to "get golden conduct out of leaden instincts," but must depend for its welfare, and even for its survival, upon the personal integrity and social-mindedness of its individual members, and their devotion to the common good. Society is a unity the manifold parts of which are so vitally interde-

[7] C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (1915), p. 38.
[8] *Ethics* (1909), pp. 286, 292–98, 315–17.
[9] C. A. Ellwood, *The Social Problem* (1915), pp. 208–11.

pendent that neither society nor its members can succeed except through recognition of and devotion to their reciprocal interests. This is not an arbitrary dictum. The two kinds of interests are bound together *in fact*, in the reciprocal character of individual and social life.

Nevertheless, without minimizing the importance of both of these mutually dependent factors of social value, one of them exists for the other,—society exists for its members. In the light of our present understanding of the reciprocal and supplemental relationship of personal and social life, and the processes and products of their interaction, we reach the conclusion that human personality is the highest known value among men, and that the social order and all social institutions gain their importance from the fact that they contribute, or may contribute, to this result. "When objectively considered, institutions must be appraised according to some social-value scale, and this scale must rest upon a conception of an ultimate social end. . . . The real and final end is the production of human beings, personalities, men of full stature. . . . They are the last irreducible elements of reality. . . . The final test of the efficiency of institutions is the degree in which they serve life, and the extent to which they render possible the full realization of personality."[10]

We may now venture a statement of the chief good among the many concrete goods of life, the central value in the system of social values, about which the others revolve: (a) *the progressive development, in ourselves and in others, of rational and rich personality, functioning with efficiency and satisfaction in wholesome coöperative living; and* (b) *the establishment of a social order conducive to this end.*

SOCIAL AIMS AND MOVEMENTS

The values of life constitute the aims of social endeavor, and determine the direction of social movements. During much of the process of human life, the values aimed at have been the concrete goods needed for survival and the satisfaction of fundamental needs. Primitive man could not see his way very far ahead. He went forward gropingly, as best he could. But even from the beginning of conscious human life, glimpses of the more central values were had, especially by the seers and prophets of the various

[10] J. O. Hertzler, *op. cit.*, pp. 149–51.

social eras. These tried to raise their fellows up to their own higher conceptions, but often were rewarded only with martyrdom. As time passed and social experience and culture accumulated, the perception of the relative importance of values became clearer, not in uniform development, but intermittently here and there as situations and leaders of insight made possible.

We are yet lacking in well-defined social objectives, but they are constantly becoming clearer to more and more people, while the masses are still seeking as best they can the various concrete values that appeal to them. Nevertheless, a growing perception of worth-while social aims is one of the distinguishing characteristics of modern times, and opens the way for an increasingly conscious direction of social life toward chosen goals. The genetic social process is becoming telic; that is, unconscious evolutionary change is becoming purposive development, directed toward chosen ends. This is well illustrated in the modern attitude toward poverty. All through human history poverty has been accepted as a necessary evil incident to differences in abilities and classes, or to lack of opportunity and to misfortune. The best that could be done was for the more privileged and fortunate to relieve the distress of those who were in need. Today the conception is gaining ground that poverty is not a necessary and foregone conclusion, but is due, in large part at least, to faulty economic, political and social conditions which can be understood and controlled. Society is therefore more and more definitely setting before itself the aim, accentuated by the present world-wide depression, of finding the way to avoid recurring financial depressions, prevent unemployment, devise more satisfactory methods of economic distribution, eliminate political and social maladjustment, increase individual efficiency and foresight, and thus eventually abolish poverty itself as a common evil in society.

The great movements of history have been directed toward the attainment of certain social values, which give the movements their significance. These values are not always fully discerned or clearly defined in consciously expressed aims, but emerge as the movements develop. These are then often enlarged, or may take a different direction through experience. The American Civil War, for example, was ostensibly started on the issue of the right of the states to secede from the Union, but the issue of human slavery was involved in it, and more and more emerged during

the progress of the war as a definite aim to free the slaves. In modern times, especially, social movements have been consciously directed toward definite goals. This has been true of political movements, in the interests of greater freedom, as in the French Revolution and the war for the independence of the American Colonies; in the organized labor movement, for better wages and working conditions, and the right to bargain collectively with employers; in the woman suffrage movement, for the education and emancipation of women; in the prohibition movement, for the abolition of the saloon and more effective control of alcohol; in the peace movement, for the elimination of war and the increase of international goodwill and harmony. The list might be indefinitely extended.

All movements grow out of social situations which involve a condition of maladjustment or the new perception of some social value imperfectly attained. This is often perceived at first by comparatively few. But through discussion and the creation of public opinion in their support, values crystallize into definite social aims to be striven for. When successful, they eventuate in changed social conditions or even in new social institutions embodying the desired values.

Summary. The drama of life moves forward in the world of affairs of which we are a part and in which life's values are found. Both for the individual and for society, the initial drives which start the social processes by pushing us forward, are transformed through experience into consciously perceived values beckoning us onward. These values, which are many, gradually take the form of a system or gradation into those of greater and those of lesser importance. The form which this system assumes gives direction to the social processes, guiding the current of personal life and determining the character of social movements. In order to achieve the greatest good among the many concrete goods of life, this system of values recognizes as its dominating center the essential solidarity of society and its members, and adopts the conscious goal of developing socialized persons in a socialized society.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Discuss the relation between your home community as a whole and its citizens, and the relation of its various groups to their members.

2. If the group and its members are interdependent and only two

aspects of the same thing, do their individual and group interests always coincide? Illustrate your answer by special cases.

3. Give and discuss the values which you think represent what the average men or women of your community are seeking to gain, arranged in a system of gradation as you think they regard them. Criticize this system, and defend your answer.

4. Give and discuss an illustration other than the one given in the text of social action that has become consciously purposive in modern life.

5. Read and discuss the chapter on Everett's classification of values in his book on *Moral Values*.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

HUMAN PROGRESS

Sociology as a science is interested primarily in the collection, description, analysis, and interpretation of social phenomena. It adheres closely to a consideration of what is, rather than what should be. It is a science, and thus differs from social reform. This does not mean, however, that sociology is not interested in social improvement. In the last analysis, the justification of all science is its contribution to human welfare. There is no value in social research, or any other scientific pursuit, unless it adds to human betterment. Sociology, since the days of Comte, has received its inspiration from the hope that its findings might minister to the well-being of mankind. It is therefore keenly interested in the subject of human progress.

THE NATURE OF HUMAN PROGRESS

What Is Meant by Progress. Various definitions and theories of progress have been advanced, based upon one or another factor regarded as chiefly influencing the process.[1] These emphasize, respectively, the physical, the biological, the psychological, the economic, and the cultural factors. Human progress, however, is too complex to be explained without reckoning with all of the factors that have entered into and influenced it. But here lies the difficulty. What are the essential factors of human progress? Do they center around socialized personality and better moral character in men and women, or in improved social relations and organization, or in higher ethical standards of living, or, perhaps, in the success of specific measures of reform, such as prohibition or universal suffrage? In what direction shall we look for progress, and how shall we know it when we see it? Suppose changes could be brought about in such matters as those just mentioned, how

[1]For statements of various theories, see A. J. Todd, *Theories of Social Progress* (1918), Part III; C. M. Case, *Social Process and Human Progress* (1931); Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924), Ch. XIV; C. A. Ellwood *Psychology of Human Society* (1925), Ch. XIV.

can we be sure that, in the long run, these changes mean progress?

To most people, making progress means achieving certain specific results, especially those greatly desired by themselves. But unfortunately the achievement of success along certain lines or in certain fields does not always lead to improvements in other directions or to the general advancement of standards and conditions of living. Thus what progress really is, does not appear on the surface. It is not the same thing as social change or evolution. When the barbarians of central Europe swept down upon Rome, there resulted a radical social change, but the overthrow of classical civilization was not necessarily progress. Whether it was or not depends upon other considerations than those of change itself. We must take a long-range view and know what were the ultimate effects of the changes that took place. While change is doubtless necessary for progress, becoming different is not always becoming better, which progress requires.

If we turn from theoretical conceptions to practical estimates of what progress is, there is general agreement. "Everybody understands 'progress' to mean *change for the better*. And as for social progress, there is likewise agreement in the vague notion that it means change for the better with respect to the common or collective life. In short, social progress means, for all of us, ignorant or learned, simply social improvement, the betterment of society, or, more briefly and exactly, societal betterment."[2] Yet there still remains the problem of what constitutes societal betterment and how it may be measured.

Social Values as Standards of Progress. These considerations seem to indicate, on the one hand, that programs of human betterment must be interpreted in the light of social values and aims, and, on the other hand, that there must be some criteria or measuring-rods by which it may be determined whether society is headed toward these goals and how far it has gone on the way.

As stated in the preceding chapter, the highest goals of human endeavor are: (1) the development of rational and rich personality, in ourselves and in others, functioning with efficiency and satisfaction in wholesome coöperative living, and (2) the progressive establishment of a social order conducive to this end. The ultimate standard of progress, therefore, is the degree of success attained

[2] C. M. Case, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

by society and its members in this two-fold socializing process. Progress must be interpreted in the light of the highest human and social values. The social-mindedness of a person is an index to his state of development. It measures the degree of his socialization, by which is meant the we-feeling, or awareness of one's participation in the life of the group, together with the performance of his rôle as a member of it. Those who are not sufficiently socialized to live rationally or maturely with their fellows, though otherwise fully normal, are social infantiles.[3]

CRITERIA OF PROGRESS

How is it to be determined whether society is making progress toward achieving such social values and aims? Various tests have been proposed[4] in which the outstanding criteria or indexes of progress are held to be order, domination over self, and the conquest of the material world. More concretely, F. A. Ogg suggests as measuring-rods, the abolition of privilege, establishment of equality, freeing of thought and expression, scientific discovery applied to human amelioration, and a multiplicity of forms of insurance.[5] Professor Hobhouse proposes, the extension of social order, solidarity, widening of the social unit, impartial justice, rational morality, mutual forbearance and aid. And in another place he says that social progress means the growth of social life in respect to those qualities to which human beings attach or can rationally attach value.[6]

After reviewing many statements, A. J. Todd concludes with his own criteria, as follows:

"By grouping these several concrete tests we reach a number of well marked indices of progress,—industrial, educational, humanitarian, institutional. Or, expressing these ideas in somewhat less highly generalized form, we find a higher level of material wants, and means of satisfying them; expansion of the numbers of men, their energies and their contacts; greater emphasis upon intellectual values; wider participation in all material and intellectual gains; therefore, wider concepts of truth, greater liberty, greater order, and finally greater solidarity; for we are freest when love and intelligence constrain us to identify ourselves with our fellows."[7]

[3]See C. M. Case, *op. cit.*, p 137, and Ch VII in general.
[4]For statement of many of them, see A J Todd, *op. cit.*, Part III.
[5]F. A. Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe* (1912), Ch. I.
[6]L. T. Hobhouse, *Social Evolution and Political Theory* (1922), pp. 8, 152–3.
[7]*Op. cit.*, pp. 118–19.

In another connection, he sums up his conclusions by saying, "As nearly as I can state what to me is the end of human progress, it would be somewhat in this form: that the final goal of all things . . . is the identification of personal interest with social interest to an increasing degree."[8]

Gillin and Blackmar suggest the following as criteria of progress:

"Closer integration of society; differentiation of structure and function; closer articulation of parts; better conditions of life for each succeeding generation; improvement of race or stock; equalization of opportunity; increased service of wealth in the interests of all; social direction of society in the interests of the individual; and control over the forces of nature,"[9]

According to C. A. Ellwood:

"Social progress is increasing rational control over all the conditions of social existence, whether these are internal or external; resulting in greater capacity for survival on the part of individuals and groups, in greater efficiency in performing the tasks of life, and in greater harmony among individuals and groups in their relations with one another."[10]

It is in the light of such tests as these that we must answer the question whether society is progressing, in the sense of the increasing attainment of human values. Without attempting an answer in detail, a broad comparison may be made between primitive conditions and those of modern civilization, with the inquiry whether progressive trends are found.

Control Over Nature and Material Achievement. Primitive man was ignorant of the world of nature and had no control over it, nor even thought of such control. Throughout the process of human life on earth, man has achieved increasing control of the material universe and has learned how to utilize its resources to his advantage.

During the course of history man added tool after tool, learned to use metals, domesticated plants and animals, and discovered how to produce and operate power driven machinery, until today our civilization is renowned for its mechanical achievements. It is needless to enumerate the scientific discoveries and inventions of the human race, for there are evidences of accomplishments in every

[8] *Ibid*, p. 545.
[9] *Outlines of Sociology* (1930), pp. 512–13.
[10] *The Psychology of Human Society* (1925), pp. 426–27.

field of human endeavor. Man has learned how to supply his material needs in a remarkable way. Modern agriculture, together with an industrial and commercial system that has outstripped the dreams of optimists, have made it possible to produce, transport, and market all the commodities necessary for human existence and comfort. The increase of wealth during recent centuries has been enormous.

Some may question whether material achievement means progress. There is no doubt that our machine age has made life hard for many people, and that it is seriously defective in the distribution of the profits of industry. Yet if one compares the intense and precarious struggle for existence and the meager life of early man, or even men of more recent centuries, with the present efficiency of production and the comforts of living, one cannot but see a vast improvement. In any case, whether material achievements in themselves constitute progress or not, there can be no doubt that they immeasurably enhance the possibilities of progress along all lines of human welfare.

The Quality of Population. The increase of production of food and other necessities of life, together with the advances in the control of health, have made it possible to double the population of the world during the past century. But mere increase of the population is not necessarily an indication of progress. Quality as well as numbers enters into the problem. The pressure of increasing population upon food supply may mean disease, famine, hunger, and starvation. The prolongation of life is an evidence that man has learned how to control the processes of living, but has he learned how to improve the racial stock? He has learned how to conserve life, but in so doing he has also kept alive the unfit. Even if this is right, it is not justifiable that they have been permitted to propagate their kind.

While it is true that the weak as well as the strong have been preserved, yet better food and protection against disease and the ravages of nature, better habits of living, as well as the segregation of the defectives, have at least made possible a better racial stock, and some actual improvement seems at hand.[11]

Growth of Knowledge and Culture. There is today vastly increased knowledge of the world of nature, as compared with primitive times. This is apparent the moment we recall the uncer-

[11]See Ch. XIII for fuller discussion of population.

tainty and mystery that enveloped the world in which primitive men found themselves. They knew nothing of the earth's surface beyond their own immediate surroundings, were wholly in the dark as to its size and shape, the extent and character of its resources, its relation to the sun, moon, and stars over their heads, and had no knowledge of its composition or the laws of its operations. Our knowledge is none too great today, but nevertheless nature now presents itself as an orderly world, with the main boundaries of knowledge outlined, and with a method of investigation that is daily adding more detailed understanding of its unexplored territories. Man's growing intellectual conquests, and especially the achievements of modern science, have pushed far out into the universe the frontiers of human knowledge.

As little was known by primitive groups about social relations as about the world of nature. They learned only slowly, by the experimental method, to effect social adjustments as well as adaptations to nature. During the long process of human life on the earth, social experience in learning how to live together has been gradually increasing and becoming more intelligent. Although much is yet to be learned, the scientific study of society has emerged during the past century, comparable in spirit and method with the remarkably fruitful study of the world of nature, and steady progress is being made in the better understanding of social relations.

The material and intellectual achievements of knowledge and invention, together with the social processes and products of cooperative living, represent the accumulated social experience of mankind, of all periods, tribes, nations, and races, culminating in modern civilization, with its vast array of material and immaterial expressions. No one will question the human values in this cultural heritage as an indication of genuine progress, both in itself for the present generation, and as making possible still further achievements in the future.

Increasing Coöperative Efficiency. Paralleling the expansion of knowledge and culture, there has developed an increasing efficiency in social coöperation. Through division of labor and social organization, men have learned how to work together in great enterprises. As long as each man had to fare for himself and depend upon his own hands to make all of the things he needed, there was not much opportunity for advancement. The modern

social situation has brought the various parts of society into dependence upon each other and forced their coöperation. This has made possible the great advancement of modern times, and furnishes the basis of coöperative achievement on an unprecedented scale. In this respect real progress is indicated. It cannot be denied, however, that serious social problems are involved in the new situation. We are still far from success in securing justice and harmony in the adjustment of relations between the various elements attempting to work together. Social justice and human brotherhood are not as yet fully achieved. There is some danger to individual independence, and to the security of individuals and groups through maladjustment of parts. And it is not certain just how great a load of efficient large-scale organization can be successfully carried by human capacity and leadership. Yet the possibilities existing in the new coöperative situation for better social living cannot be gainsaid, if they can be reduced to workable terms.

The Emancipation of Individuals. Both the emancipation of the individual and the socialization of personality have been referred to in various parts of the present volume. In primitive times the individual was dominated by the group. During the course of history the masses were suppressed by the privileged classes. While privileged status has not yet been wholly abolished, much has been done in the direction of greater equalization of opportunity, the education of the masses, and making the advantages of the cultural heritage available for all. This has led to extensive expansion of energy and individual achievement.

The new social situation has provided greater freedom for the individual. If by this it were meant that every man is now freer, the statement would not be true, for the conditions of modern civilization have probably caused in individual cases hardships of life as burdensome as have existed in any age. But the possibilities of freedom for the individual man now existing were out of reach for any man in primitive times. It is also true that these possibilities are becoming actualities for the common man in increasing numbers. On the whole, he enjoys greater opportunities today than ever before for the free exercise of liberty and for active participation in the advantages of community life. The problem remaining is to make these advantages available for all men and to prepare all men to profit by them.

The extension of liberty has meant also a growth in the recognition, at least in civilized societies, of the worth of the individual, and an accompanying development of the humanitarian spirit. This represents a new perception of human brotherhood and the feeling of mutual responsibility for the common welfare. This spirit has not become universal, by any means, but it is a notable characteristic of modern life as compared with the ancient world in which human slavery was taken for granted and even advocated as a necessity by such great philosophical thinkers as Plato. Today we are, at least theoretically, *for* the common man, and this is a long step forward on the road toward his emancipation.

Modern times have also witnessed a great expansion of mental outlook and the range of thinking, as also of the ability to think clearly. This is only the reverse side of man's achievements. In conquering the world of nature and building up the world of culture, he has also built up the world of thinking within himself and put its processes in order. They all go together as inseparable parts of one process. The result is that men today look out with clearer and broader vision into the universe in which they live. They are infinitely more at home in an incomparably larger world than characterized the situation of primitive man.

Moral and Religious Values. There is probably in modern life a clearer perception of moral values, and corresponding gain in moral conduct, but this is not so certain. If by morality we mean that the individual is devoted to the interests and welfare of his group, ancient morality has probably not been improved upon. If, however, morality involves free alternatives of action and voluntary choice of intelligently approved ends, decided advancement has been made. Perhaps it will not be far wrong if we say that there is now a clearer perception of moral values, but that the corresponding achievement of genuine moral conduct adequate to the new social situations is still in the making, both for the individual and for society, and remains one of our major social problems. Here again, however, the clearer perception opens at least the possibilities, otherwise unattainable, of a better moral social order. It must also be recognized that different periods of history, different countries, and varying social conditions have diverse needs, and thus differ in their standards of values. Our present age requires more than has any preceding period. The

more complex a civilization becomes the greater the difficulty in establishing and applying ethical principles.

The modern world has made a great advance in more intelligent and comprehensive religious conceptions. We cannot make as sweeping a claim as we would like, for it is not at all certain that religion is actually more influential in modern life than it was in the primitive, ancient, and mediaeval periods. There is no doubt, however, that religious thinking is much more intelligent and less superstitious than in earlier times, and is characterized by a new wholesomeness and freedom of spirit which are indispensable in any religion that can make a genuine appeal to the modern world. It probably must be admitted that these very qualities have tended to weaken strong religious conviction and devotion to religious values. Yet the new possibilities have been made actual in the lives of thousands of men and women whose enlarged faith and devotion have reckoned with the new world and are commensurate with it.

Consciousness of Social Aims. There is a growing emphasis upon, and a clearer conception of, the aims and purposes of human endeavor. Primitive man could not see his way very far ahead. He went forward more or less blindly by the experimental process. He had no clear idea as to the results of his efforts. We are still lacking in well-defined objectives of life but we are moving in that direction. A clearer perception of aims opens the way for a conscious direction of social life toward the chosen goals.

Social Organization and Control. The attainment of social values will be achieved only by social effort, not through spontaneous development. Progress is attained through societal self-direction.[12] This means the deliberate and purposeful improvement of society by the conscious direction of social processes toward chosen values, as suggested above. It finds expression in social organization and control. There has been a remarkable extension of the social order in modern times through social organization. Greater social solidarity has been gained by the closer integration of the ever-increasing institutions and agencies of societal welfare. Success has not been so marked in the case of social control. Without doubt this represents one of the greatest problems—some say the chief social problem—of modern life,

[12]This phrase is borrowed from C. M. Case, *op. cit.*, Chapter V. Lester F. Ward used the caption, "social telesis."

and particularly of democracy. With increasing world contacts, interrelations, and complexities, the difficulties become increasingly greater. Genuine social progress will not be achieved until the social processes can be effectively controlled and intelligently directed toward the desirable goals, without interfering unduly with personal liberty and social activities.[13]

HUMAN PROGRESS IN THE FUTURE

From this brief review of the situation, the student may draw his own conclusions as to whether the world is making progress. He may be convinced that the criteria enumerated above are unmistakable evidences of progress, or he may conclude, as has been suggested, that progress is largely still to be won. Many of the instances cited are indicative only of the possibilities for real social conquests. If society does not continue to explore new fields of endeavor and does not control the social processes, the achievements made thus far may be largely lost. All of the advances hitherto made in material development, wider knowledge, clarified ideas, and social organization, make possible, but do not assure, a fully functioning wholesome personality for all men and a social order of justice and brotherhood devoted to the achievement of this end. "It is one thing to point out the need and meaning of a moral society, it is another thing to bring such a society into being. It has become evident during the past century that this is the central problem for human reason to solve."[14] Perhaps it would be better to say, for human reason and devoted endeavor to solve; for it is a program calling for determined action on the part of enlightened men and women. What has been gained so far is not much more than a vastly increased opportunity, indispensable to be sure, for the achievement of a magnificent social order made up of socialized members coöperating in harmonious efficiency of social living.

The possibility of progress may be discerned in the fact that human beings can be educated and thus social control can be achieved. Human personality is largely a social product, and is modifiable. The ideas, habits, attitudes, and character of a child are largely built up and directed by the nature of the social stimuli

[13]See Chapters XXII and XXV for discussion of social control and social organization.

[14]Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics* (1909), p. 167.

to which it is exposed, within the limits of its inherited equipment. As these stimuli are now predominantly social in character, the child can be developed into a social-minded and coöperating personality by means of selective social environment and guidance. This is the task of the educational process, conceived of in the broadest sense. Correlative with the possibility of educating and developing the person in accordance with desired ends, is the fact that human culture itself, and all cultural institutions, are also modifiable. Having been created by man, they can be changed by him. Thus a psycho-social environment can be built up which will provide the young with social stimuli adapted to the development of socialized personalities.

Social progress, as contrasted with biological evolution, is thus subject to human control, and must be so controlled if there is to be any certainty of success. A *laissez-faire* policy will not achieve the desired results. There is no indication that the social process left to run its own course will automatically eventuate in progress. Indifference and neglect may result in the counter movement of regress, or decline and degeneration.

The advancement of civilization is a slow process. Revolutionary progress is only spasmodic. There may be periodic sudden changes and rapid advancements in certain periods of social life, but steady progress is achieved only by consistent and continuous effort. To make human progress more certain we must have a more thorough understanding of its nature, a clearer conception of the aims and values of social endeavor, and a greater mastery over the social processes out of which achievements emerge. This more adequate knowledge, moreover, must be made effective by a spirit of good-will and human brotherhood that will assure its utilization in the interests of the common welfare, and by such practical social techniques and organization as will make right adjustments possible in the actual world of affairs.

Summary. The concept of social progress is comparatively modern. The ancients thought of the dominance of fate, or of social movement in cycles. Now that we have the idea of progress, it has captured the modern imagination, but not so fully modern thinking. It is almost taken for granted, in a popular way, as if there were something in the nature of things that assured progress. Is the world progressing? Of course it is. But how do we know that it is? How do we even know what progress is? We

know that social life is undergoing historical changes, but progress is not synonymous with change. How are we to see out from the social process in which we find ourselves and evaluate its worth as a whole, both as to its goals and as to whether the social process is bringing humanity closer to them?

The best that we can do is to form judgments in the light of human social conditions as revealed by the process itself and the values which seem to be thereby approved as of permanent worth. As so tested, rational and rich human personality seems to stand out as the ultimate goal to be sought in the social process, with the subsidiary goal of the establishment of a social order that furthers that end. To the extent that we approach these goals we judge that progress is being made.

Various criteria have been proposed by means of which an estimate can be made as to how far society has advanced toward the attainment of the accepted goals. By a broad comparison of primitive individual and social conditions with those now existing, it appears evident that real progress has been made, but that much which is called progress may be only the establishment of preliminary conditions making real progress possible. This leaves genuine human progress in large measure yet to be won. Even as we approach the goal as we now see it, fuller possibilities of human personality and the institutional social order favorable to its development are practically certain to push the goals of progress still further on ahead. In a sense, therefore, the social process which seeks human values becomes itself the goal, and is the sum of the whole matter.

PROJECTS AND EXERCISES

1. Is your home community making progress? Give the reasons why you think so and defend your answer.

2. In what sense are social values the standards of progress? Give the statement of social values contained in the text. Give and defend your own statement of the goal or goals of progress.

3. What is meant by criteria of progress? Compare the criteria as given by Todd, Gillin and Blackmar, and Ellwood. Which do you prefer, and why?

4. State, compare with these, and discuss, the criteria of progress as given by some other social writer.

5. If a man sets out to climb a cliff and gets two-thirds of the way up, has he made progress? If he falls to the bottom and kills himself

before he reaches the top, did he make progress? Apply this illustration to the question of social progress.

6. Discuss the present economic depression with reference to social progress. Has the development of machine production ministered to human welfare? Justify your answer.

7. Discuss the relative merits and relations of evolutionary and revolutionary progress. Illustrate by the American Revolution, the recent World War, and intermediate periods of peaceful development.

8. Read and discuss a chapter in the book, *Whither Mankind,* edited by C. A. Beard, which bears on the subject of human progress.

9. Read and discuss a chapter in the report of the President's Commission on Social Trends which has reference to social progress.

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