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Text Book

FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIOLOGY

Fundamentals of

THE AUTHORS

Seba Eldridge, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, *Brewton Berry,* PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, *Harold A. Gibbard,* PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY, *Noel P. Gist,* PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, *Carl M. Rosenquist,* PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, *Malcolm M. Willey,* VICE PRESIDENT, ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

SOCIOLOGY

A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY

New York - 1950

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PREFACE

One of the paradoxes encountered by college teachers is that they learn far more from the courses they teach than do their students. The reason for this seems to be that the teacher must engage in creative activity of a relatively high order in assembling, selecting, organizing and administering materials for a course, whereas the student all too often plays a relatively passive role, giving back to the teacher by means of tests and quizzes what he has memorized from his teacher's lectures and reading assignments.

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of this book is that it represents an attempt on our part to solve this paradox by putting the student in somewhat the same situation as the teacher. Accordingly, we have designed this book for use not only as a text but also as a sort of workbook. In keeping with this purpose, we have throughout placed emphasis on the independent study of life problems by the student. To this end, abundant illustrative materials are included and, at the ends of chapters, discussion questions and work projects requiring real thought and investigation by students. Rightly regarded, solving significant problems in sociology courses is as necessary as in, for example, physics or mathematics courses. Knowledge like charity begins at home, and so the questions and projects involve the application of sociological principles in the study of the experiences and observations of the student himself and of the groups and communities of which he is or has been a member. The teacher will of course adapt these suggestions to suit himself.

Most students of introductory sociology take no other course in the general field. Our text has been planned with this fact in mind. Although the book will serve students expecting to major in the subject, it is designed to meet the future needs of all students taking

the introductory course. All need a deeper comprehension of themselves and of the world with which they are identified—need it far more, we feel, than a highly conceptualized treatment of the subject having little resemblance to their own experiences and interests.

The claim that we have made at least a small contribution to the science of sociology is a modest one. Our belief is that if various specialized approaches in the study of sociology—ecological, cultural, groupal, populational, processual, and other interrelated approaches—all lead to substantial contributions, then not only a combination of these approaches but their genuine synthesis will yield still further contributions.

Despite the multiple authorship of the book, it is by no means a symposium, at least in the usual sense of the word. From the very outset all of us have shared in planning the project and criticizing one another's manuscripts at their various stages of development. Furthermore, keeping in mind the needs of underclass students, we have all striven to make the book thoroughly readable.

We are all deeply conscious of the contributions made to our information and insight by many other persons, so many in fact that it would be invidious to name only a few. On the other hand, of course, we accept complete responsibility for all intellectual content of the book.

Seba Eldridge
Brewton Berry
Harold A. Gibbard
Noel P. Gist
Carl M. Rosenquist
Malcolm M. Willey

April, 1950

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Part One

THE COMPOSITION OF SOCIAL LIFE

IN A highly entertaining but somewhat irreverent story—*Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven*—Mark Twain tells of an old sea captain's journey to paradise and what he found there. The good captain had been dead thirty years and had been traveling all that time at a tremendous speed toward the pearly gates.

Then, as luck would have it, he got into a race with a comet which deflected him from his course, with the result that he finally fetched up at the wrong gate. The attendants in charge of admissions had never heard of the captain's home town, state, or country, nor even of the earth or solar system. But naturally they were very accommodating, and proceeded to make inquiries. A clerk was sent up in a balloon to explore a map about the size of Rhode Island; after more than a day's search he reported that he thought he had found the solar system, although it might only be fly specks. He got a microscope, went back, and "rousted out our system, sure enough," which the attendants had already conjectured was "one of the little new systems away out in one of the thinly worlded corners of the universe." After getting from Captain Stormfield a description of our planet and its distance from the sun, the clerk said to his chief, "Oh, I know what he means now, sir. It is on the map. It is called the Wart."

The captain found heaven a very human sort of place. Pain and suffering were not unknown there, simply because they are the opposite of happiness and give it meaning and value by contrast. Heaven, in point of organization, was a vast hierarchy, with rank superimposed on rank from the great untitled masses at the bottom to the patriarchs and prophets at the top, all being under the rule of the Royal Family headed by the Deity Himself. But everyone got his rightful rank—on a strict merit basis—regardless of his earthly position or fortunes.

Thus, while Shakespeare and Homer ranked very high as prophets, both walked behind a common tailor from Tennessee named Billings. Billings had written poetry that "Homer and Shakespeare couldn't begin to come up to; but nobody would print it. Nobody read it but his neighbors, an ignorant lot, and they laughed at it." Similarly, Caesar and Napoleon and Alexander were outranked by a number of people who had never handled a sword or a gun in their lives, but were endowed with superior military genius "although they never had a chance to show it."

Here, as in his other stories, Mark Twain does something more than entertain his readers; he works in his own characteristic philosophy of human life and human society. He tells us that, while genius and talent are hereditary endowments, their recognition depends on the opportunity to demonstrate them and even on the ability of others to appreciate the demonstration; and that man's destiny is bound up with that of a minor planet of a second-rate star (a planet so small that light could travel around it in one seventh of a second, compared with a known universe so great that it takes light about a billion years to go through it).

There is much more to Mark Twain's story, but what we have given above may serve as a brief introduction to a statement of the perennial problem of sociology—just what do heredity and environment, respectively, contribute to human life, and which of the two is the more important in making a person what he is? Mark Twain puts the case crudely and none too accurately, yet his story summarizes certain widespread popular notions on the subject.

Part One of this book presents a sociological conception of human behavior and experience; it serves as an introduction to later sections. Chapters 1 and 2 discuss the basic factors in social life—geographic environment; customs, beliefs, sentiments, technologies, and other human achievements developed in the course of social evolution; and man's biological constitution. Finally, Chapter 3 is a summation and elaboration of the preceding two chapters. It shows in particular that everything in social life affects everything else—at least within certain limits; yet methods of dealing with these complexities are, as we shall see, being developed.

Chapter 1

PRIMARY FACTORS

ALL forms of life, including *Homo sapiens*, are part of the earth's surface phenomena. Indeed, one writer has gone so far as to suggest that life may be merely a disease of the earth's old age. Certainly life did not appear until long after the earth's fiery youth had been spent. Countless millions of years ago the earth was a very hot, sterile planet without an atmosphere or water, during which time life was not possible. Thinking of life as a form of disease may be only a cynic's idea. More to the point is the fact that men and animals, plants and stones are not only earthbound but are actually specialized bits of the earth itself. Quite obviously we depend day by day, even moment by moment, on the air, water, and foodstuffs supplied by the earth.

The meaning of these facts must be firmly grasped before we can understand man and his social life. Our bodily structures and indeed the organism as a whole are engaged in a ceaseless traffic with the world about us. Our bodies and their activities consist essentially of chemicals and energies derived from the earth (and ultimately from the sun); there is a constant interchange of these chemicals and energies between the organism and its geographic or "natural" environment. From a material point of view, our lives are in no small measure made up of such interactions.

In all these characteristics man is much like other animals, and to a lesser degree resembles plants and even inanimate machines. But he also differs materially from other animal species. We differ from our nearest animal cousins in having an upright posture, arms and hands (forelegs in our remote ancestors) freed from use in locomotion, and a brain far more powerful than that of any other species. We are not so distinctive as is generally thought in the matter of manual dexterity, vocal apparatus, and stereoscopic vision,

but these abilities are nevertheless crucial in the emergence of higher activities. During the long course of evolution human infancy came to be greatly prolonged compared with that of other animals. An extended period of maturing and learning is required before young people can fend for themselves. This slow maturation is a hereditary characteristic of great importance.

These critical characteristics evolved together, so far as we can judge. The large brain developed basically as an organ for directing the hand and eye in the varied and increasingly skilled manual activities made possible by man's upright position. Gradually, man's growing brain permitted finer and finer discriminations between the objects about him, between the manifold qualities and properties of those objects, and between the varied activities of human beings themselves. Gradually, too, vocal sounds as well as gestures could be used as symbols for different objects, activities, and relationships. The vocal apparatus is so versatile that as many vocal symbols and combinations of symbols could be invented as changing situations demanded. Written language came later. With the aid of such symbols, memory and imagination came under a measure of control; man could put two and two together, perceive or infer the interrelationships of objects and activities, and in the end resort to reflective thought as a way of working out tentative solutions of his problems as a preparation for action. As we know, this line of advance has now been carried very far, as is evidenced by our complex languages, sciences, philosophies, arts, technologies, and institutions.

These advances were not made by isolated individuals, but by groups of individuals. Language is a system of communication, a social process involving two or more persons. Very large numbers are reached by the printing press, radio, television, and motion pictures. Likewise, the human brain depends for the realization of its powers on normal group life, whether those powers be applied to manual or to other activities. Conversely, the brain is the organ par excellence of social life on the human level.

Men's capacities for discovery and invention and for teaching and learning have resulted in the creation of something entirely new in the world, something that did not exist before the dawn of civilization. We mean the ever-growing body of knowledge, beliefs, arts,

skills, customs—in short, everything in the way of ideas, practices, sentiments, and attitudes that are learned through parents, teachers, and friends. Because of this accumulated knowledge it is possible for each individual and each generation to benefit from past social achievements and to extend them still further. This process has been going on for thousands of years, and explains why art, science, and technology are so much more developed today than they were, say, in Homer's or Shakespeare's time.

No quite satisfactory single term has been found to designate these ever-expanding human achievements. They have been variously called customs, folkways, the social heritage. In recent decades anthropologists and sociologists have pretty well agreed on the word *culture* as the comprehensive term for this class of factors. Thus used, culture is a *scientific* term, to be distinguished sharply from the popular meaning of the word, which is generally synonymous with art, literature, gentility, and the like. In its scientific sense culture means agriculture as well as aesthetic culture. It takes in all extant languages, literatures, arts, sciences, philosophies, religions, laws, moral codes, customs, styles, games, sports, dietaries, technologies, and institutions—to name only major subdivisions.

Obviously, culture may vary widely from one region or one group to another. Thus, of the major powers involved in World War II, all used much the same patterns of armament production, military organization, and combat tactics. Their political and economic institutions, however, as well as their languages, literatures, religions, morals, and even dietaries, were quite diverse, as the most casual comparison of Japan, Russia, and the United States will show. Britons and Americans have much in common in language, literature, and government. Cultural similarities and dissimilarities are found in different communities and regions of the same country. Compare, for example, New England and the deep South, or a rural community and a large city.

PRIMARY FACTORS IN SOCIAL LIFE

We are now ready to work out a classification of the primary factors, or components, of human life as studied by the sociologist.

With possible exceptions to be noted later, we can reduce those factors to three main classes:

(1) The geographic or natural environment, including climate, soil, minerals, water resources, altitude, topography, flora and fauna, and geographic location. Gravitation, electromagnetic phenomena, the sun, moon, and stars are part of the wider environment. Two specific subclasses are important enough to deserve special mention: (a) disease-producing bacilli and viruses; (b) bodies of water, ranging from brooks to oceans. All the surface phenomena vary in some degree from one part of the earth to another.

(2) The hereditary characteristics and capacities of the organism—those the baby is equipped with at birth or, more precisely, at the moment of conception. Some of the anatomical, physiological, and psychological characteristics have already been mentioned in showing how the organism is related to its geographic environment. A great deal is known about human anatomy and physiology; much less about the intellectual, emotional, and behavioral sides of our "original nature." Modern psychological research has yielded considerable information about such topics as speed of reaction to external stimuli, mechanisms of sense-perception, conditions of learning, processes of remembering and forgetting, structure of reflective thought, nature of specific aptitudes, and general intelligence levels. But comparatively little is known as yet regarding such important topics as the nature of inborn "drives" or urges, the hereditary components of feeling and emotion, or the constitutional foundations of disposition, attitude, and interest. Much study is being devoted to these problems, and there is much controversy over them.

(3) Culture traits, complexes, and patterns in the comprehensive, scientific sense indicated above. Culture is assimilated by the individual in the form of habits, skills, ideas, sentiments, attitudes. Simple as this idea seems, experience shows that the novice sometimes has considerable difficulty in grasping its full significance. If one thinks of it in terms of one's own experiences, and sees how it consists of virtually everything in the way of language, manners, morals, religious beliefs, political preferences, vocational skills, modes of locomotion, styles of dress, and standards of living, as learned through one's family, one's community and country, one

begins to understand the nature and scope of these factors. Or compare all these things plus styles of architecture and furniture, tools and machines prevalent in our country with those of Japan or such primitive peoples as the Samoans, the Eskimos, or the reservation Indians of the United States. Almost any issue of *The National Geographic Magazine* will supply illustrations of such culture contrasts.

Rice fields near Kowloon, China. An examination of the elements in a typical scene such as this one affords a revealing analysis of the specific combination of geographic, hereditary, and cultural factors that develop in any particular environment. (Ewing Galloway)

Everything about us and our social life can be reduced to these three great classes of factors, with five or six possible exceptions. These are space, time, mathematical relations, logical principles, disembodied spirits, one or more deities (and perhaps devils, too) such as are affirmed by various religious creeds. These are noted as *possible* exceptions, because there is no way as yet—and perhaps there never will be—of demonstrating the independent existence of these things, or their several natures if they do exist. Sociology, however, like other sciences, deals with what is taken to be these existences

where they affect its special problems. In particular, its researches are carried on increasingly in mathematically exact terms; it necessarily gives much attention to the spatial patterns and time dimensions of social phenomena. Sociology must also deal with beliefs about a God or gods, heaven and hell, and personal immortality, because such beliefs have been extremely influential in social life.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF PRIMARY FACTORS

There are two things to be shown about primary factors as classified above: (1) how they are combined in the experiences and activities of daily life, and (2) how they are related to one another. This can best be done with the aid of familiar examples.

Food

Let us begin with the procurement, preparation, and consumption of food. As we know, the human organism, through heredity, requires a vegetable, meat, or mixed diet containing essential quantities of proteins, fats, carbohydrates, besides various vitamins and mineral salts. By virtue of its hereditary setup the organism can and must break down ingested food into its elements and out of these build up its own, peculiarly human molecules—proteins, fats, sugars, and others. Moreover, it is endowed with the capacity for getting hungry periodically, which drives it to seek food. There is even evidence that it inherits appetites for different kinds and amounts of food substances to constitute a reasonably well-balanced diet.[1]

Note that in this sketchy account one cannot even think of hereditary characteristics involved in procuring and consuming food without thinking at the same time of food substances coming from the geographic environment that meet the hereditary requirements. That is true even of the breast-fed infant; although its mother should not be regarded as a mere geographic item, her milk comes from food that is geographic in origin. Remember, too, the ceaseless interchange of materials and energies between the human organism and its environment. We cannot so much as imagine any living

[1] W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1940, p. 54. In citing this evidence the authors state that "newly weaned babies were offered a free selection of 35 foods, and are reported to have secured the variety necessary to supply their various chemical needs."

organism existing apart from environmentally derived substances built into its own tissues and activities.

Consider now the cultural basis of food getting and consuming. For countless thousands of years our ancestors ate only what nature supplied directly—nuts, berries, insects, animal carcasses, edible shoots, grasses, and the like—and ate it raw. It is true that fire and

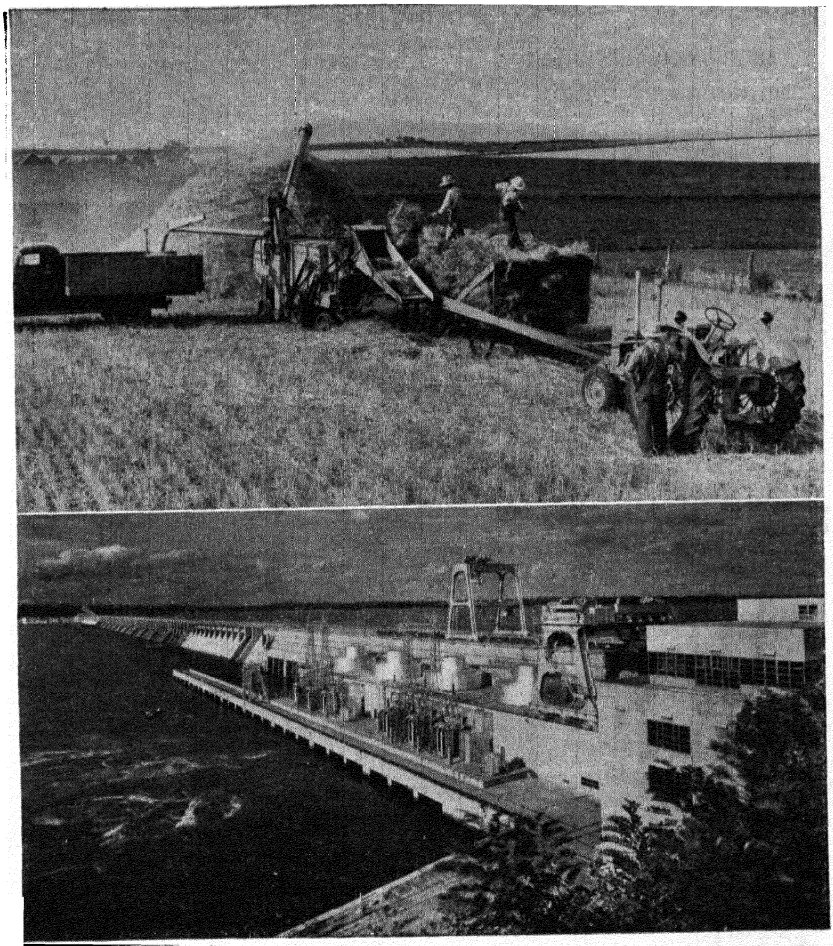
On the site where Memphis (Egypt) in her ancient glory once stood, the ox-drawn plow now breaks soil, and caravans of camels carry loads of rich mud from the Nile to fertilize it; cotton and grain are grown. Like the Chinese scene on page 7, this illustration provides a specific combination of geographic, hereditary, and cultural factors in a particular environment that may be analyzed. (Ewing Galloway)

its use in cooking food were discovered early, but the domestication of animals and the invention of agriculture—on which food-production is now based—came much later. The great bulk of our food today comes from crops or animals that man has learned to raise, to process, and to prepare for the actual eating. Exceptions are found in wild fruits, nuts, game, and fish, but even these are obtained and prepared with the aid of knowledge and skill that slowly accumulated for thousands of years.

Note how all this mass of knowledge, technology, and machinery is related both to our hereditary characteristics and to geographic conditions. Food plants and animals are raised only where soil, temperature, and rainfall permit. Different combinations of these conditions favor particular crops and animals but not others. Citrus fruits are grown in semitropical areas; the corn-hog combination prevails in Iowa, Illinois, and parts of other states; wheat growing predominates in Kansas and Minnesota. In contrast, cotton (not a foodstuff, of course) is limited to the Southern states. Only in that region is the combination of temperature, rainfall, soil, and topography suited to that crop. Incidentally, length of growing season and amount of rainfall (together, in many instances, with peculiarities of soil and topography) govern the distribution of different crops and animal husbandries of the country, as is illustrated by the corn belt, the winter-wheat area, the cotton belt, and the grazing regions of the West. Together with related trade and manufacturing enterprises these conditions largely determine the economies of whole regions and in turn affect densities of population, types of communities, forms of local government, provisions for education, and other phases of social life.

The culture of crop growing and stock raising—the tools, machines, applied sciences, and the rest—consists of ideas, methods, and systems of dealing with soil, climate, plants, animals, and other geographic elements, and does not exist apart from those elements. Try to imagine what use a garden tool or a plow would be without any soil, or the hybridizing of corn without any corn, or the machinery of a flour mill without any grain.

All this culture as applied to geographic conditions has as its object the satisfaction of hereditary food requirements—requirements, however, that are themselves dictated by prevailing notions and prejudices as to what is and what is not good to eat. Actually, we Americans spend much of our effort in procuring needlessly expensive foodstuffs such as beef, lamb, and poultry products, because by virtue of our rich land we can afford them. Some peoples go in for much less expensive diets that are quite as adequate in terms of nutrition. In China and Japan, for instance, rice, fish, and soybean products can serve the same nutritional purpose as our expensive meat and cereal dishes.



Mechanized agriculture, as shown in the upper picture, has meant greater production of farm commodities. The generation of cheap electrical power, as illustrated in the lower picture showing the Wheeler Dam in the Tennessee River, has made possible its application to industrial production in place of steam. These views represent two different syntheses of geographic, hereditary, and cultural factors that offer an interesting comparison with the two from other lands depicted on pages 7 and 9. (Courtesy J. I. Case Co.; TVA)

Music

Let us consider briefly a few other factorial combinations at work, beginning with music. We might describe music as the processing of air into wave patterns productive of melody and harmony. We can hardly imagine music in any other physical medium than air, though possibly music might be produced under water. The cultural side of music is exemplified in musical instruments, voice training, the prevailing musical scale, the varieties of musical composition, the existing body of musical literature, and in concerts, recitals, and recordings. The differences between primitive Indian and modern American music, or between Oriental and Western music, or between classical and popular music are all matters of differences in culture. The hereditary basis includes various characteristics, among which are the largely innate and now measurable aptitudes, ranging from those of the tone-deaf person at one extreme to the genius of a Mozart or a Stephen Foster at the other.

Note, as before, how in music the hereditary, physical, and cultural elements must be described in terms of one another. Music is propagated by the longitudinal sound waves set up by instruments and vocal apparatus that cause the air to vibrate. Then there are the personal aptitudes expressed in terms of air-wave patterns and trained, if at all, in those patterns and in the prevailing musical culture. To add a few details, instruments are made of materials from the physical environment, as are the hands of the instrumentalists, the vocal cords and larynx of the singer, and the brains of all concerned, composers and listeners alike.

Warfare

To descend from the beautiful to the ugly, consider modern warfare. The fact that the instruments and munitions of war are derived ultimately from the earth is so obvious that little need be said about it. Obviously, too, the side that possesses more iron, petroleum, coal, and—in the atomic age—uranium has the advantage, other things being equal. Consider also the enormous influence of geographic position. The United States, bounded by two oceans, a gulf, and bordered by friendly neighbors north and south, has quite

different problems from those of landlocked Russia, for example, which has potentially unsympathetic nations on her western and southern borders.

The Monroe Doctrine reflects our geographic position in the Western Hemisphere, as well as our great economic power that is due mainly to the rich natural resources of our country. The cultural factors include the mechanical inventions utilized in modern war, conflicting national ideals and institutions, and the patterns of mobilization for total war. One can get a vivid notion of the cultural factors by comparing the weapons, munitions, and conflicting ideologies of the Revolutionary and Civil Wars with those of World Wars I and II. Inventive genius, talent for organization, a capacity for bravery and heroism—and, we might add, a certain amount of native stupidity—are among the hereditary foundations of modern warfare with its ever-growing power of destruction and its senseless, suicidal character.

Interpersonal Relations

Much of our behavior and experience is primarily concerned with other persons—parents, siblings, lovers, spouses, children, friends, schoolmates, work associates, and the like. Does our threefold factorial approach apply in this field? Obviously hereditary make-up and culture are involved, as is shown by our inborn capacity for speech and by the particular language of communication, as well as by our marriage institutions and sexual reproduction. How does the geographic or physical environment enter? The connection is mostly indirect, but nevertheless a geographic basis is always present. These person-to-person interactions are in no small measure concerned with the geographic, as in talking about the weather, or teaching geology, or discussing crop prospects. Communication commonly uses air waves, or light waves, besides newsprint, telephone wire, and the electromagnetic medium of radio and television. The more intimate interpersonal behavior—the lovers' embrace or the maternal caress, let us say—takes place in a physical environment comprising air, ground or other support, gravity, as well as many other physical factors.

Fields of Specialization

A final series of illustrations will indicate roughly how modern societies distribute their efforts in extending and applying their knowledge of these primary factors. Any body of knowledge with the related practical arts is in itself a division of *culture,* as are also the techniques of observation, experiment, and analysis employed in advancing knowledge and the arts. Obviously, hereditary traits and capacities on the human level come into play in the advancement of a science, art, or technology. But the field in which any such "discipline" falls may be a part of the natural or geographic environment, or a phase of human heredity, or some subdivision of culture, or a synthesis of factors from two or all three categories.

Boundary lines between the disciplines are not and cannot be precise, because some branches of science straddle parts of two or all three fields. Moreover, the various branches of science, art, and philosophy must utilize each other's contributions in one way or another, since they are all dealing with different aspects of the same world.

The sciences and technologies centering in the geographic are far ahead of those focused on human heredity and both these divisions are more advanced than the specialties concerned with culture.

Coming for the most part within the domain of the geographic (together with the wider environment of the universe) are astronomy, physics, chemistry, geology, botany, bacteriology, and zoology. The biological sciences have branches dealing with our own species. These branches include human genetics, anatomy, physiology, bacteriology, and biochemistry. Heat, gravity, pressure, surface tension, electrical energy, and other purely physical phenomena also figure conspicuously in these branches of science.

The subdivisions of the various sciences mentioned above take in a large part of the hereditary as well as environmental factors in human life. Other phases of human heredity—those involved particularly in conscious behavior and experience—are investigated by anthropology, psychology, and sociology. These three sciences also deal in various ways with cultural and geographic influences.

Culture is studied by all of the social sciences—cultural anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, jurisprudence, ethics,

and certain branches of history—but these sciences focus much of their attention on concrete social phenomena without singling out the cultural factors for special consideration. Thus, for example, sociologists investigate the activities of family groups; economists, the operations of business corporations; political science, the services rendered by government departments.

If space permitted, "practical" vocations could be similarly analyzed. All of them have their technologies, utilize specific bodies of knowledge, and operate on some selection of our primary factors. The very names of some vocations indicate the particular factor or combination of factors to which their efforts are applied. This is true of personnel administration, animal husbandry, agronomy, mining, metallurgy, chemical engineering, electrical engineering, aeronautical engineering, and many other vocations or professions.

Three cardinal truths have been featured in the foregoing discussion. We may summarize these as follows:

(1) Human beings and their social groupings are the creatures of (*a*) the natural or geographic environment; (*b*) their own hereditary characteristics; and (*c*) the culture which they and their forebears have created. We are composed of these elements and of nothing else; even the newborn babe begins assimilating the culture of his family group almost with his first breath.

(2) These three classes of factors *always operate together* so far as flesh-and-blood people are concerned. Culture is recorded in books and artifacts; the earth and the solar system have an existence apart from our own species; biological heredity itself is not exactly the same thing as its physical basis; yet these factors have no existence for humankind except as they are combined in living members of the species.

Actually, we have to define geographic environment, heredity, and culture in terms of each other. The environment is our environment, which is quite different from the environment of a dog, bird, bacillus, or Papuan tribesman, though having many elements in common with these. Moreover, man is steadily increasing his knowledge of the environment and his means of utilizing or adjusting to it; this *culture* actually makes the environment different from what it would be otherwise. Again, man's hereditary make-up is

composed of mechanisms and processes that react to energies and stimuli from the environment, and equip him for mating, communication, and other interpersonal relations. Culture in the scientific sense consists largely of our conceptions and technical controls of the environment, of hereditary structures and functions, and of the current stage of our civilization itself. Thus a chemical equation has no existence apart from the environmental substances entering into it; human genetics has no existence apart from the hereditary characters it investigates; and the knowledge of culture has no existence apart from the culture that is being observed and studied.

(3) Yet for all their interdependence these three sets of factors are partially separable. No particular selection from one set is necessarily bound up with a particular selection from another set. Which selection shall be combined with another is largely a matter of accident. With possible exceptions, any one of us could have grown up on any habitable part of the globe, whether in the arctic circle, the temperate zone, or the tropics. Any one of us could have learned to speak any of the hundreds of existing languages and have acquired the culture of any existing people, however primitive or advanced. What applies to us applies to individuals and groups all over the world. Regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," any member of the human race (barring idiots and imbeciles) can learn our language and assimilate our moral codes, our political ideals, our educational practices, and the rest of our culture pattern. We know this to be true because members of every racial group under the sun have done just that.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What reasons are advanced for describing human life as part of the earth's surface phenomena? How does this idea compare with popular notions of man's origin and destiny?

2. Name and illustrate from your own experience the three primary classes of factors in human life.

3. Compare selected cultural factors in this country and some foreign land you know something about. How do geographic factors in your part of the country differ from those in some distant region? Name some obvious hereditary similarities of Indians, Negroes, and whites. Name some obvious differences.

4. Show how geographic, hereditary, and cultural factors figure in your favorite dinner menu.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Study the curricula of the different departments of your college and classify each department according to the category of primary factors, or combination of factors, on which it concentrates.

2. Analyze an occupation with which you are acquainted, showing how it combines geographic, hereditary, and cultural factors.

SELECTED READINGS

KAHN, FRITZ, *Man in Structure and Function*, 2 vol., Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1943.

Gives a fascinating, nontechnical account of human physiology and anatomy, with their relations to the natural environment. Chapters 1, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 29, and 31 contain especially significant material.

KELSEY, CARL, *The Physical Basis of Society*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1916.

The first three chapters describe man's dependence on the geographic environment, including lower forms of life, and his growing control of nature.

Chapter 2

HEREDITARY MAKE-UP

We cannot go far in understanding social life without a fair working conception of man's biological inheritance. Many things we are compelled to do by our hereditary make-up if we are to go on living; many other things it allows us to do, external circumstances permitting; and many, many things it prevents us from doing, no matter what the circumstances.

It is within the second category—what is allowed but not compelled—that the area of choice lies. Even here the prevailing culture limits the alternatives open to us. We are obliged to choose from the vocations included in our highly complex economy; to learn our mother tongue; to accept in the main the prevailing moral codes, political institutions, and standards of living. Yet within these limitations a large area of choice confronts us; in fact, our daily lives are full of questions to be answered and decisions to be made, whether in large things or small.

HUMAN TRAITS AND CAPACITIES

In offering a necessarily sketchy, incomplete, and (in many respects) tentative account of man's hereditary make-up, we may take for granted anatomical and physiological characteristics and focus our attention on other traits and capacities especially significant for social life.

Our hereditary equipment fits us for specific kinds of experience and behavior. We are sensitive, for instance, to only a small portion of the physical vibrations that fill the world about us. Cosmic rays go right through us without our knowing it, and we are also insensitive to x-rays, high- to ultrahigh-frequency radio waves, and a large part of the known electromagnetic spectrum. Science dis-

covers these otherwise imperceptible vibrations through their physical or chemical effects. The virtually accidental discovery of x-rays is the most familiar illustration.[1]

The general point is so important that a more elaborate example may be given. An eminent scientist has given a remarkable picture of what man and nature would look like were our retina sensitive to certain kinds of waves beyond the actual limits of visibility. "For instance, should the retina record infra-red rays of great wave length, nature would take on a different visage. The color of water, rocks, and trees would vary with the seasons because of the changes in the temperature. July's clear days, when the smallest details of the landscape stand out sharply against dark shadows, would be obscured by a reddish haze. Heat rays, being visible, would conceal all objects. In winter, the atmosphere would become clear and the contours of things precise. The aspect of men, however, would remain very different. Their outline, vague. Their face, hidden by a red mist issuing from their mouth and nostrils. After violent exercise, the body would seem to increase in size, on account of the heat released by the skin and surrounding the figure with a larger aura. In a like manner, the cosmic world would assume another appearance if the retina became sensitive to ultra-violet rays, and the skin to light rays. Or if the acuteness of all our sense organs were considerably augmented." [2]

Other sense organs are just as selective as the retina. Through them we can perceive much that is in the world, but there is a lot more that we cannot perceive. What a difference it would make if, for example, we could smell or taste disease germs! Only after the invention of the microscope could they be seen; many germs are so small—not to mention the nonfilterable viruses—that even our most powerful microscopes do not make them visible.

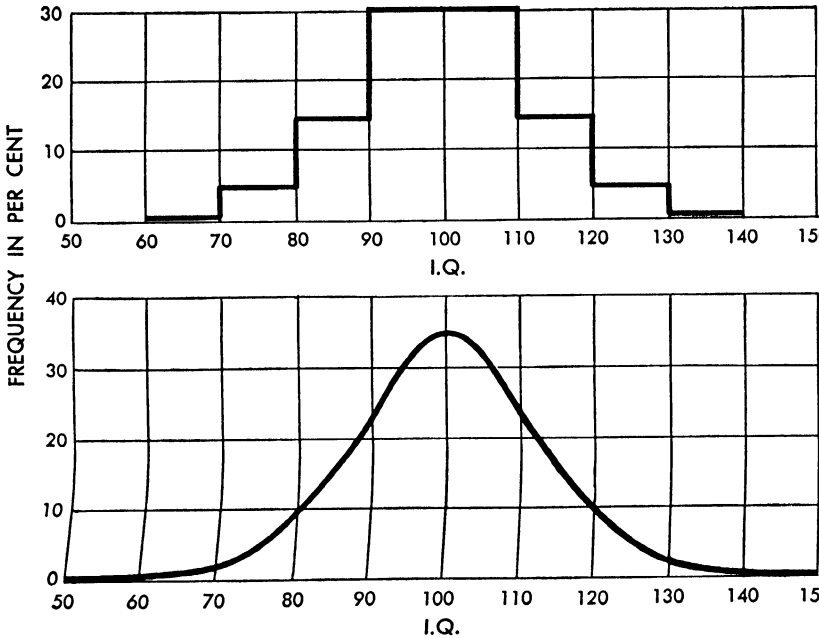
What is true of sense organs is true in varying degree of other hereditary mechanisms. The reflexes—sneezing, swallowing, blinking, shivering, and the like—are highly specific and subject to little modification. Inborn drives—those identified with hunger, thirst, and sex, for example—are specific, too, but subject to a greater

[1] For further information on the general subject see C. J. Herrick, *Introduction to Neurology*, 5th ed., W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1931, especially Chap. V.

[2] Alexis Carrel, *Man, the Unknown*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1935, pp. 66–67. By permission of the publishers.

measure of control. The brain is perhaps the most plastic structure of all, although the highly versatile hand, with its mobile fingers and opposable thumb, is at least a close second.

Apart from abnormalities, the members of our species have many



A graphic representation of the frequency in the population of different values of the I.Q. The upper graph shows the frequency of each step of ten points; the lower graph shows the same distribution in steps so small as to give a continuous curve. The smooth curve is the well-known "distribution curve" (sometimes called the bell-shaped, or the normal, curve of distribution). As suggested in the text on page 21, other personality traits of a typical population may be similarly distributed. (R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology*, rev. ed., 1929, p. 37. By permission of the publishers, Henry Holt and Company, New York)

characteristics in common. This is what makes us one species. Yet differences are just about as pronounced as similarities. Many of the differences are correlated with sex, race, and family stock. There is also a life cycle—from birth to death—in the appearance, development, and decay of hereditary traits and capacities. This cycle

might be called the age dimension of an individual's heredity. Different aspects of heredity manifest themselves in childhood, maturity, and old age.

Moreover, there are individual differences in hereditary endowment over and above the general class differences just noted. These are only one illustration of variation and difference found throughout living nature. No two leaves of a tree are exactly alike, and in all probability, the anatomical structures, physiological functions, and intellectual capacities of no two human beings are exactly alike. It is not unlikely that brains and nervous systems, native drives and dispositions have as strongly marked individualities as facial features. Except for identical twins, we could never mistake one of our close acquaintances for another; and even identical twins are not so identical as the strict meaning of the word would suggest. All of which means that individuality of hereditary constitution must be taken into account by the social sciences no less than hereditary similarities.

Certain kinds of differences between individuals are subject to measurement, such as height, weight, and intelligence; all these, however, are more or less affected by nurture and circumstance. Generally speaking, measurable differences are distributed according to the familiar bell-shaped pattern, with few idiots and potential geniuses at either end of a curve representing intelligence quotients for a normal population, and most people of average intelligence coming not so very far from the apex of the curve.

This fact suggests that other trait differences not yet subject to measurement, such as differences in hunger, sex, maternal, and other drives, might have a similar distribution. The question can be settled only through scientific investigation. The main point is that the individual's position on any curve of trait distributions may be a very important matter. This is true of the I.Q., of special aptitudes, and even of purely physical traits like height, weight, and body proportions.

We may present, in order, hereditary characters involved in (*a*) sensations, (*b*) drives, and (*c*) general capacities, such as are involved in learning, habit formation, discovery, invention, and self-direction. We must bear in mind that all of these characters function in conjunction with geographic conditions and cultural factors.

SENSATIONS

Social scientists have given surprisingly little attention to sensory experiences, no doubt because they consider them to be the business of psychology. Psychology does have the primary responsibility here, but social scientists cannot merely take the subject for granted if they are to tell us what social life is all about. A very large part of our lives is concerned with sense experiences and with making these experiences as satisfying as possible.

Human beings have more than the five senses recognized by popular tradition. We may follow Dr. C. J. Herrick in enumerating the kinds of sensation so far identified. He states that his list is by no means complete and in some parts is merely provisional.[3] Two main divisions are distinguished, each with two subdivisions. The first comprises the "somatic receptors" (sense organs) concerned with adjusting the body to external or environmental relations; the second, the "visceral receptors," which, as the term suggests, are sensitive to various internal stimuli. Certain sensations—notably taste and smell—are on the borderline between the two divisions, and smell as well as pain actually appears twice in Herrick's list.

Herrick, being an anatomist, designates the several sensations in terms of the organs identified with them. In the listing that follows, the classes of sensations are named, not their anatomical structures. Altogether, 23 classes of sensations are recognized. Herrick's numbering for the list as a whole is preserved here throughout.

Somatic Receptors

The two subdivisions of the somatic receptors are (*a*) the "exteroceptive group," which is "stimulated by objects outside the body and typically call forth reactions of the whole body, such as locomotion, or of its parts, so as to change the relation of the body to its environment;" and (*b*) the "proprioceptive group," which is stimulated by the functions of skeletal muscles and other structures involved in movements of the body or its parts.

The exteroceptive group includes (1) touch and pressure; (2) sensibility to cold; (3) sensibility to heat; (4) pain; (5) general

[3] C. J. Herrick, *Introduction to Neurology*, 5th ed., W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1931, pp. 93 ff.

chemical sensibility; (6) hearing; (7) vision; (8) smell. The proprioceptive group includes (9) muscular sensibility; (10) tendon sensibility; (11) joint sensibility; (12) static and equilibratory sensations.

Visceral Receptors

These are subdivided into (*a*) a general visceral group, and (*b*) a special visceral group. The first subdivision includes (13) hunger; (14) thirst; (15) nausea; (16) respiratory sensations—those experienced, for example, in suffocation, shortness of breath, and normal breathing; (17) circulatory sensations—flushing, heart palpitation, etc.; (18) sexual sensations; (19) sensations of distention of cavities —e.g., stomach, bladder, rectum; (20) visceral pain; (21) obscure abdominal sensations (associated with strong emotions, such as fright, rage, love). The second or special visceral group includes (22) taste; (23) smell.

The great range and variety of both the stimuli and the sensations coming under these general heads are indicated in Herrick's book or in any standard treatise on general psychology. Herrick cites—to mention only two examples—Titchener's estimate that the average human ear can distinguish 11,000 different pitch qualities, and Von Kries's estimate that the eye can make between 500,000 and 600,000 discriminations of color, brightness, and their combinations. No other sensations match these in variety. There are, in contrast, only four true taste sensations; the flavor of our food and drink comes largely from smell, temperature, and touch sensations.

At bottom the various sensations have highly practical functions. They are guides or cues to action, and are connected with the body's action mechanisms through the sensory nerves and central nervous system. As Herrick puts it, the chief function of sense organs is "to effect an analysis of the forces of nature so far as these concern the welfare of the body."

A few illustrations will suggest the central role of sense experience in social life. Some years ago Dr. Edward L. Thorndike attempted by various scientific methods to determine the reasons why people in the United States spend their money the way they do. He concluded that less than one third of our expenditures "goes to keep us alive, while more than two thirds goes to keep us amused and socially

important and to prevent our being laughed at or regarded as queer or homely." [4] Of the 700 million dollars spent annually on cosmetics and beauty parlor treatments, Thorndike estimated that "one seventh goes to make us look and smell right, one fourth for courtship, one third to do the 'right thing' socially, one eighth to secure inner self-approval, and one tenth to secure domination over others." One may doubt the possibility of determining so precisely the strength of different purposes, but we do have here a convincing illustration of two things: (1) the vital role of deliberately controlled sensations in social life; (2) the close tie-up between sensations and deep-seated human motives. Note, however, that even these motives are expressed through the sensations. The rouge, powder, hairdo, and perfumery of the cosmetic and beauty-parlor business do their calculated work through visual and olfactory sensations; touch and taste sensations are at most only secondary. The significant role played by courtship indicates that sexual sensations are a powerful underlying motive.

This illustration suggests one further fact, namely that visual sensations are of peculiar importance in social life. Indeed, there is a universal, absorbing interest in obtaining group approval for one's personal appearance, actions, products, and possessions in so far as these qualities are visible. While not so urgent as the hunger, thirst, and sex drives, this desire for approval in all probability causes more effort to be spent in making things look the way we want them to than in any other pursuit. This effort goes beyond visual experiences as such and embraces many symbolic objects. Keeping up with the Joneses, for instance, means the display of expensive-looking cars, clothes, jewelry, and other visible possessions—what Veblen termed the conspicuous consumption of wealth.

Much individual and social effort is expended, too, in making sounds more pleasant than they would be otherwise. The same is true of taste and smell, particularly in the selection and preparation of food and drink; this effort goes beyond that dictated by hunger and nutritive needs as such.

Actually one finds entire vocations specializing in some particular type of sensory experience or a select combination of types. Paint-

[4] This and the following quotation are taken from Albert Edward Wiggam's syndicated newspaper column (Feb. 4, 1941). The yearly expenditures today on cosmetics and beauty parlor treatments are very much higher.

ing, drawing, sculpture, architecture, interior decoration, landscape gardening, and music are all familiar illustrations. Indeed, in the final analysis, all organized social effort is concerned directly or indirectly with the part played in our lives by sense experience, and in controlling it to suit our purposes.

DRIVES

The subject of inborn drives has been a matter of heated controversy for decades. Some years ago the dispute centered on the concept of instinct, to such a degree that the word itself fell into disrepute and various synonyms came into vogue. The most common term at present is "drives," which we have accordingly adopted here.

The difficulty of arriving at a clear-cut definition stems from the fact that our drives are conditioned by culture and geographic environment to a far greater extent than those of any other species. Our actual behavior, as we have pointed out, is a synthesis of factors from three different categories; it is therefore far from easy to distinguish the immediate factor involved. It cannot be done through the direct inspection of behavior except for the appetites and impulses of early infancy. One must resort instead to a complicated behavioral analysis covering widely separated peoples and long stretches of time. Even in this field of research progress has been very slow because no generally acceptable criteria of what is and is not hereditary have as yet been devised.

Without reviewing differences of opinion on the subject, four distinct but overlapping criteria for the identification of drives may be offered.

(1) The universality, or near-universality, of a behavior trend, despite diversities of culture or geographic environment or of heredity itself, is prima facie evidence that the trend is part of, or determined by, hereditary make-up. This criterion must be used with caution, since many behavior traits apparently meeting this test may be due to varieties of social conditioning (as in the family group) that are well-nigh universal.

(2) The criterion of universality is clearly applicable to two classes of hereditary characters not here in question—the anatomical struc-

tures and physiological systems of the organism. Sense organs and the corresponding kinds of sensation are a special example. A second criterion may be derived from a consideration of structural and physiological systems; where a behavior trend of a particular sort is necessarily involved in the functioning of a basic system, such a trend may be regarded as a drive or instinct. Hunger and reproductive drives are obvious examples.

(3) Marked resemblances of human behavior trends and those of animal species nearest us on the evolutionary scale may be taken as evidence that those trends are true drives or instincts. The species in question are the primates and the larger class of mammals—of which *Homo sapiens* is a member in good standing. Consider the specific ways in which we resemble, say, either chimpanzees or cats.

(4) A criterion closely related to the second one is *survival value*. Put in question form, this criterion asks: Just what behavior trends have been essential to the perpetuation of our species, more especially during the greater part of man's natural history when he knew little or nothing about survival value? If we can spot certain trends that meet this test, they are in all probability part of our hereditary equipment today, for, as anthropologists affirm, the original nature of man has changed very slowly, and there is little difference, so far as the character and range of hereditary traits are concerned, between ourselves and our ancestors of many thousands of years ago.

These criteria can be used as checks on each other. Where a behavior trend definitely meets all or most of these tests it would seem pretty safe to put it down as hereditary. Conclusive applications of these and similar tests, however, will involve long and painstaking investigations yet to be undertaken. Here the applications must be based on a fairly direct inspection of established facts bearing on the problem. Comprehensive enumeration will not be attempted; rather the quest will be for broadly defined drives, instincts, or trends that, with culture and geographic environment, largely account for social life as we know it. The list is to be used as a tool for sociological study, and to be tested, reshaped, and amplified in practical experience.

It is at once apparent that appetities in the broad sense meet all four of our tests, with the partial exception of sex and related repro-

ductive impulses. Physiological abnormalities or social influences often prevent "normal" functioning of the latter; but we can still safely put them down as inborn drives. They meet all the other tests: anatomically and physiologically considered, they are essential to the functioning of the reproductive system; other mammalian species, including other primates, have them; without them, our own species could not have been evolved or perpetuated. Of this class of drives, hunger, sex with related reproductive behavior, and temperature adjustment are together responsible for a large share of human effort.

Closely related to these appetitive drives are two (possibly three) behavior trends that meet one or more of our tests. They are *maternal* and *paternal* tendencies respectively; the third may, for lack of a better term, be called a *filial* tendency. The maternal tendency meets all tests except universality, although it is sufficiently widespread to assure the survival of the species.

The case for a paternal tendency is not so clear. There would appear to be a "natural" interest in babies and young children on the part of most men; adult males in all types of family groups have commonly assisted in caring or providing for the children (not necessarily their own); and much the same thing is found in family groups among other primates. It is rare, however, among other mammalian species, but common among a more distant class of vertebrates, the birds. Perhaps we should be justified, all things considered, in admitting paternal tendencies to a sort of probationary status on our list of drives.

A filial tendency is, so far as information at hand indicates, a newcomer among the drives, and for the present it is to be admitted only on provisional status. The evidence for it is of various sorts. Nursing, cuddling, and other forms of mothering behavior are usually accompanied by corresponding types of responsive behavior on the part of the child. The processes involved have usually been described as reflexes, but this hardly does justice to the complexities of the case. Evidence shows that the young infant "needs" a lot of cuddling and tender care, that by processes we cannot describe he "senses" and reacts to deprivation of such care and affection. If a child is to develop a balanced, emotionally mature personality he must feel that he is wanted, loved, and appreciated. So far as one may judge on the basis of available evidence, this alleged tendency

measures up to all four of our tests. The young of all primate and mammalian species depend on and are responsive to mothering care until they can fend for themselves. "Mother substitutes" are of course possible and may even be fairly common.

An additional half-dozen behavior trends, all very important in social life, appear to meet our four tests, but maturation and learning are so conspicuous in their concrete manifestations that their status as drives is debatable. These trends are expressed, respectively, as (1) escape behavior, (2) combative behavior, (3) self-assertive (or dominating) behavior, (4) exploratory (including manipulative) behavior, (5) overt bodily (including play and exercise) behavior, (6) gregarious (or socially sensitive) behavior. Certain emotions are common accompaniments of three trends in particular: fear goes with escape behavior, anger with combative behavior, and curiosity with exploratory behavior.

The evidence for and against consideration of these traits as drives cannot be reviewed here.[5] The fact that they are virtually universal in our species, shared, so far as we can judge, by all subhuman primates and mammals, and contributory if not essential to the evolution and survival of *Homo sapiens*, particularly during earlier periods, would indicate that our organisms are so constituted that these trends inevitably manifest themselves in the course of development. Moreover, they show up in rudimentary forms during early infancy, and even meet passably well the test of our second criterion; with a possible exception, they are necessarily involved in the functioning of certain structural and physiological systems. W. B. Cannon and others have shown that far-reaching changes occur in the body as accompaniments of fear and anger—changes that put the organism on an "emergency footing" for escape or fighting reactions, as the case may be. Corresponding evidence for the other drives is less direct. The body is obviously constituted for action of many kinds, and some sort of general tendency (over and above more specialized drives) would seem essential to its appropriate functioning. Man's relatively enormous brain requires for

[5] For painstaking surveys of evidence, see R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1929, Chap. VI; Gardner Murphy, Lois B. Murphy, and Theodore M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1937, Chap. III; and Mandel Sherman, *Basic Problems of Behavior*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1941, Chap. I.

normal development a lot of curiosity and related exploratory impulses. Nor does the brain develop normally in the absence of social life, as the cases of feral men (individuals reared from infancy with few or no human contacts) vividly illustrate. Our inborn capacities for learning, discovery, and invention depend on normal social life for their realization. With one exception, we are able to identify structural and physiological systems that could not function adequately without these several tendencies. The exception is self-assertive (or dominating) behavior, wherein the organism as a whole is involved.

Murphy and Newcomb in the work cited assume the existence of *aesthetic* drives. The large share of human effort devoted to the control or creation of visual, auditory, gustatory, and olfactory sensations apparently supports this view. Moreover, this class of alleged drives meets quite well our first and second criteria and to some degree the third and fourth ones also. Fundamentally, however, sense perceptions of these classes are instrumental to more primitive and indispensable behavior traits—hunger and food getting; sex, parental, and filial impulses; escape and fighting reactions. But we may at least admit aesthetic drives to a probationary status on our list of the highly important drives in human behavior.

To summarize, this list of drives includes (1) hunger, (2) sex with related reproductive drives, (3) maternal impulses, (4) paternal impulses, (5) filial impulses, (6) temperature adjustments, (7) escape tendencies, (8) fighting tendencies, (9) self-assertive tendencies, (10) exploratory tendencies, (11) general activity tendencies, (12) gregarious tendencies, and (13) aesthetic drives.

GENERAL CAPACITIES

Under this head come the hereditary traits and potentialities that come to be expressed in "general intelligence" and special aptitudes; in habits, ideas, and skills; in discovery, invention, and leadership; in the discipline of feelings and attitudes; in planning and (to some degree) in carrying out a scheme of life. These capacities have been expressed up to now in an immense and growing volume of knowledge, technology, folkways, mores, beliefs, and institutional patterns, with all their formative influences on human life.

Psychologists have devoted much attention to the problem of distinguishing specific capacities, but much remains to be done and some doubt the existence of capacities distinct from one another. It is not possible of course to observe hereditary capacities in a pure form; the intelligence and aptitude tests "measure" abilities of various sorts in which previous experience has played a part.

Nevertheless such tests are becoming increasingly valuable in educational work, vocational guidance, and in professional counseling covering a wide range of personal problems. Besides the familiar I.Q. tests, there are special tests for musical, mathematical, linguistic, mechanical, and other aptitudes. The results of such tests do not by themselves provide a basis for vocational choices. Job opportunities in various fields, the dominant interests of the individual, his previous scholastic or work records, and his particular combination of personality traits must all be taken into consideration. Incidentally, with growing leisure and the growing number of mechanized jobs, avocations have an increasingly important place in well-rounded schemes of life; and intelligence, special aptitude, and related tests are all obviously useful in choosing and preparing for them.[6]

These various capacities operate in conjunction with other hereditary characteristics—anatomical structures, sense organs, reflexes, and drives; and also, of course, in combination with geographic and cultural factors. The prevailing patterns of social life largely determine how these capacities shall be developed, and how much or how little they shall be used. But they in turn are ever contributing to the great stream of culture and are thus constantly changing social life.

Sociologists often stress the part played by culture, natural environment, and the social group in shaping a person's life—sometimes to the extent of representing the individual personality as the product of these environing forces. They recognize partial exceptions in the case of scientists, inventors, artists, statesmen, and original persons generally; but when it comes to the "common man" they are likely to stop with a somewhat grudging admission of his

[6] Harrison S. and Grace L. Elliott, *Solving Personal Problems*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1936, Chap. X, "Vocational and Avocational Adjustments," offer a simple and wise discussion of this important topic.

individuality. Accordingly, in discussing the social development of the individual, they speak in terms of learning, adjustment, "acculturation," socialization, and similar processes. They underestimate the inherent powers of the individual to shape his own career, to make his life more or less what he wants it to be.

That these powers are limited and often denied a chance is obvious enough, but that they are real and active in our daily lives should be no less obvious. The mastery of a subject or development of a skill is a truly creative process. It is something created from within. The brain, nervous system, and other bodily structures develop the new ability themselves, together with stimulations and models from the outside. Consider the fact that the average child masters the fundamentals of English—one of the most difficult of languages—by the age of five: truly a marvel of creative activity. Consider, too, the all but ceaseless stream of choices we make during the day, choices that shape our activities and experiences in accordance with our desires, and that often involve a partial re-creation of conditions about us.

HUMAN INDIVIDUALITY

The discussion of hereditary make-up may be concluded with an elaboration of individual differences in specific characters and the marked individuality they produce in every human being. Several kinds of differences merit consideration.

(1) Gross physical characteristics—stature, body proportions, posture, and "carriage," as well as deformities and other deviations from the normal—have no small influence on the career of the individual and his role in social life. The same is true of mutilations and disabilities due to disease or accident. The reaction of other persons to one's physical traits and its effect on one's conception of oneself is commonly the crucial factor. The generally unfavorable effects of shortness in men and of tallness in women are widely recognized, as are also similar effects in serious cases of lameness, disfigurement, blindness, and deafness. Fortunately, persons suffering such disadvantages are often intelligent enough to prevent their lives from being spoiled as a result; moreover, many persons compensate for such defects by winning recognition along lines where their

defects can be turned to advantages. Instances of this type are well known.

(2) Superficial characteristics—complexion, hair, physiognomy, natural charm, perhaps even body odor—have far-reaching influences on the reactions of other persons and hence on one's own attitudes toward oneself. Incredible as it may appear to us, differences in these superficial traits are the basis of the race cleavages, race conflicts, and race discriminations that have wrought such havoc in the world. However, the cultural backgrounds of different races are also a powerful factor in the origin and growth of racial conflicts.

Traits of the same order, nonetheless, do represent a potent influence within a given racial group. Consider, for example, the opposite reactions of almost anyone to an extremely attractive and an equally unattractive person of either sex. To take a more specific illustration, the reactions of young men to an exceptionally beautiful young woman are poles apart from their reactions to a particularly homely one. And in all such instances the men's reactions are reflected in the women's conceptions of themselves.[7] A very handsome child or young adult of either sex is easily spoiled unless fortified with an exceptional measure of good sense and blessed with sensible parents. It is the common testimony of young men that reasonably homely girls are "nicer" than their pulchritudinous sisters (doubtless they have to be!); and young women in turn are said not to prefer handsome men as husbands because they fear that other women will lure them away. All told, these superficial characteristics rate as a powerful influence in interpersonal reactions and hence in the development of the individual personality.

(3) Diversity and individuality are no less characteristic of internal physiological characters and their expression in overt behavior. To cite illustrations at random: there are individual differences in digestive processes and food requirements; [8] in the functioning, with the degree of balance or imbalance, of thyroid and other ductless glands; in resistance to various infections and other toxic agents; in "pep," energy, and endurance in meeting the demands of everyday

[7] Eleanor Roosevelt in her autobiography, *This Is My Life*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1937, has shown how deeply her homeliness influenced her attitudes during girlhood.

[8] Fritz Kahn, *Man in Structure and Function*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1943, p. 359.

life; in the menstrual cycle in women; [9] in the rate of basal metabolism; and in the comparative longevity of family stocks. The bearing of such differences on the life career of the individual and his part in social life is so obvious as to need no illustration.

(4–7) Individual differences in the several classes of sensations, reflexes, drives, and general capacities have been touched on previously and only a few random illustrations need be offered here. In sensory capacities we have variations ranging from the color discriminations possessed by great painters to the total absence of such a faculty in the completely color-blind; from the semitonal perceptions of great musicians to the insensitivity to pitch differences of the tone-deaf; from the discriminations of the professional tea or wine taster to the dulled tastes of the heavy drinker. Passing over the reflexes,[10] and considering next the drives, we have the range of differences illustrated by persons of either voracious or markedly poor appetites; or by the oversexed adult, the impotent male, or frigid female. In general capacities, there is the range from idiots to geniuses, or from persons having the highest musical, mathematical, or other specific aptitudes to persons lacking these aptitudes.

(8) Perhaps the most striking evidence of human individuality is supplied by the electroencephalograph, an instrument for recording electrical phenomena arising from brain activity. This instrument shows that no two brains act in the same way. The late Dr. Logan Clendening, the well-known medical columnist, wrote that "each of us has a perfectly characteristic and different brain pattern, just as we have characteristic and different fingerprints." On the basis of experience thus far, Clendening anticipated that, in vocational choices, "the long periods of trial, error, and adjustment will be done away with and the round peg fitted to the round hole immediately." [11] This may be overly optimistic; but the significance of this new method transcends its use in vocational guidance.

[9] See George W. Gray, "The Electrical Basis of Life," *Harper's Magazine*, November, 1943, or the summary in *The Reader's Digest*, December, 1943. Incidentally, this discovery would seem to dispose of the highly publicized doctrine of the "safe period" and the birth-control policy based on it.

[10] Not that individual peculiarities here are unimportant; see, for example, data on differences in the sucking reflex and in penal tumescence and detumescence in young infants, reviewed by Robert R. Sears, *Survey of Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts*, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1943, pp 2–18.

[11] *Kansas City Star*, September 13, 1943.

Two general comments on man's individuality may be in order:

(1) We may find in the many facets of human individuality a partial answer to a long-standing question: Is there such a thing as inborn temperament and, if so, how many kinds are there? One psychologist notes that "from the moment of birth there are clearly marked differences in nervous behavior among babies. One baby is placid and contented; another is fidgety, restless, and enterprising." [12] Is this not simply a characterization of polar extremes, between which a representative group of babies would be distributed according to the familiar bell-shaped curve? Dr. C. J. Herrick cites studies by various investigators which reveal differences in rate of basal metabolism between certain peoples, indicating a correlation between this rate and the general tempo of life. Herrick concludes from a review of this and other evidence that "these constitutional differences between people, their temperaments and emotional attitudes, depend on a large number of inherited and acquired peculiarities in very complex interrelationship. Just how the ductless glands operate in this complex has not been fully determined. Apparently they play a large part in it." [13]

Do the several classes of "peculiarities" noted by Herrick and the complex syntheses thereof, called temperaments and emotional attitudes, lend themselves to classification under mutually exclusive types? One cannot answer with any finality; but it is more in line with what we know about living things to assume that, instead of sharply demarcated types, we have endless differences in the component peculiarities—differences forming continuous series—and a like array of temperaments, with individualities as pronounced throughout as common hereditary patterns.

(2) Social thought and social practice must treat human beings as *individuals* no less than as members of groups if they are to discharge their responsibilities. Sociological laws, principles, formulas, rules, and statistical generalizations applying to significant social situations can be most valuable, but they do not in themselves tell us more than half of the important facts about John Jones or Mary

[12] Quotation adapted from H. C. Cameron, *The Nervous Child*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1925, by H. T. Wooley in Carl Murchison (ed.), *Handbook of Child Psychology*, Clark University Press, Worcester, 1931, p. 29.

[13] C. J. Herrick, *The Thinking Machine*, 2nd ed., University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932, p. 131.

Smith. The facts they do not reveal must be discovered through the study of John and Mary as individuals, although family, community, and social background generally must be covered also in all such studies.

A great deal of information and knowledge is necessary in expanding social and allied sciences to their proper limits. The individuality of the electron, molecule, and bacillus can be ignored by the physicist, chemist, and bacteriologist; the individuality of the human cannot be ignored by the social scientist or psychologist. This important fact is gradually being recognized.

Individuality of the person is more adequately appreciated in professional services. The physician knows that each patient must be studied and treated as an individual. The clinical psychologist, mental hygienist, and social case worker all deal with their clients as individuals. Efficient high-school and college counsellors do likewise.

No individual can, unaided, learn as much about himself as he needs to know, a fact that is commonly recognized in medicine and public health. It is no less true of vocational problems, family problems, and emotional or other personality problems. Such problems arise again and again throughout life. Thus one can use expert professional assistance in finding out what type of vocation one is best suited to; in getting at the root of marital or child-behavior difficulties; in finding a suitable opportunity of sharing in community responsibilities; and in working out troublesome emotional problems.

INDIVIDUAL, GROUP, AND COMMUNITY

Much of our behavior and experience is governed by the groups and communities of which we are members, the members themselves governing as collective units. Much is determined by the individual himself without any special regard for his group and community connections. Moreover the individual, so far as he is interested, works under his own power and on his own initiative for his groups and communities, and also collaborates with the other members in evolving and carrying out collective policies and programs. The basic types of groups and communities in our society may be briefly characterized.

A *primary group* is a form of association "in which a small number of persons meet 'face-to-face' for communication, mutual aid, the discussion of some common question that concerns them all, or the discovery and execution of some common policy. The face-to-face group is the nucleus of all organization, remaining, in a modified form, within the most complex systems. It is, as it were, the unit of all the social structure." [14] Familiar illustrations are the family, play group, and work associates. The definition does not mean that all communications within a primary group are necessarily of the face-to-face variety. Members of a family may be temporarily separated and communicate by mail, but such a family does not cease to be a primary group.

"Primary groups are characterized by intimate face-to-face contacts," says L. D. Zeleny, "while secondary groups consist of persons in social relations but not in face-to-face contact." [15] Examples are the citizens of sizable political units like a city, county, or state; or members of the Democratic or Republican party in such a unit. The definition does not mean that there are no face-to-face contacts of individual members, but that the members never assemble as a body in the furtherance of group interests. Moreover secondary groups always include some primary groups—those maintaining long-distance communications among the membership or conducting other services for the members. Public officials in close personal contact or the members of a local party committee are significant illustrations.

The term *intermediate group* is rarely used in sociological discussions, but it stands for a most important kind of grouping in a complex society. In W. R. Smith's words, "intermediate groups are those in which associational contacts are partly direct and partly indirect; [they] have local units in which association is intimate and direct, but depend also upon wider institutional forces for their spirit and direction." [16] Among the groups answering to this description are many nationwide organizations with local branches or affiliates, such as the National Education Association, American Medical

[14] R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1937, pp. 236–237.

[15] L. D. Zeleny, *Practical Sociology*, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1937, p. 48.

[16] W. R. Smith, *Educational Sociology*, rev. ed., Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1929, p. 56.

Association, National Farmers' Union, United States Chamber of Commerce, and the League of Women Voters of the United States. Many intermediate groups are included entirely in cities, counties, or states. Such are school systems in populous districts, and welfare workers having both local setups and state organizations.

The term *community* is variously used in sociological literature, but we may define it for our purposes as the body of persons inhabiting a specified area, having both common and diverse interests, with various agencies implementing and coordinating those interests. Thus defined, we have national, regional, and local communities. These are commonly coterminous with political units (as a city, county, or state), but they take in all the groups and institutions of the area, not only the political and governmental agencies. Thus the community of Lawrence, Kansas, is more than the municipality of this name. The leading agencies for implementing and coordinating the various interests are the municipal government, the Board of Education, a daily newspaper, the Chamber of Commerce, the Community Chest, the League of Women Voters, the Ministerial Alliance, the county government, and the Lawrence Post Office.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Name forms of activity that are (*a*) compelled, (*b*) allowed, and (*c*) prevented by man's hereditary make-up.
2. Of the 23 classes of sensory experience distinguished by Herrick, which are extremely influential in social life? Which are of comparatively minor importance?
3. What is the chief function of sensations, according to Herrick? Give examples.
4. Why is it so difficult to determine the nature and number of inborn urges or drives to action?
5. Name and illustrate the four criteria for identifying drives.
6. Show how each of the 13 drives recognized in the text is exemplified in economic or other phases of social life.
7. What inborn capacities are common to all "normal" members of the race? According to psychological tests, what capacities vary widely from one individual to another?
8. What is meant by the creative powers of the individual? Give illustrations from child development.
9. Indicate other ways in which individuals differ from one another, and show by means of illustrations how such differences affect personality development and social relations.

10. Illustrate from your own experience the roles played by primary, secondary, and intermediate groups, and by communities.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Analyze your own activities and experiences for part of a day, and identify as best you can (*a*) sensations, (*b*) drives, and (*c*) capacities involved. As a special problem note how drives and sensations are interrelated; also, how all three classes of characteristics are affected by culture and geographic conditions.

2. Compare two close acquaintances of yours, noting obvious differences in their biological make-up and any apparent influences of those differences in their relations with other persons.

3. Interview two or three acquaintances to find out what methods of dealing with troublesome feelings and emotions they have learned, and how their degree of mastery in this matter compares with that attained in intellectual pursuits.

SELECTED READINGS

HERRICK, C. JUDSON, *Introduction to Neurology*, 5th ed., W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1931.

The chapter on "The Receptors and Effectors" describes the various sense organs and the range of stimuli to which they are severally responsive.

MURPHY, GARDNER, *Personality*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1947.

Chapters titled "The Individual Constitution," "The Elementary Biology of Motivation," and "The Biology of Motive Patterns" are searching analyses of the hereditary traits considered in the present chapter.

MURPHY, GARDNER, LOIS BARCLAY MURPHY, and THEODORE M. NEWCOMB, *Experimental Social Psychology*, rev. ed., Harper and Brothers, New York, 1937.

Chapter III, "The Biology of Motives," presents experimental data on drives and reflexes.

Chapter 3

THE ALL-IN-ALL PRINCIPLE

We now carry our situational approach one step further. Previous discussions have indicated many ways in which factors or components of social life influence one another and yet retain their individually distinctive contents. We can generalize this principle and show that every factor in a social situation affects all the other factors. This may be termed the all-in-all principle in social life. Perhaps the full import of the idea can best be brought out by means of an example taken from the field of national health.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATIONAL HEALTH

In the early 1940's a bill was introduced in Congress extending and otherwise revising the Social Security Act. The number of persons covered by old age and survivors' insurance was to be greatly increased, unemployment insurance was to be converted from a state-controlled to a national system, and provisions for health insurance were to be included. The latter, it was recognized, would be an innovation in the United States, though other countries have long had health insurance systems. Attention here will be confined to this feature of the measure, which came to be known as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, from its sponsorship in the two houses of Congress.

The bill provided two classes of benefits: (1) cash payments to workers disabled through sickness or injury, designed to compensate for part of the employee's loss of earnings; (2) medical care, including hospitalization as needed, for insured workers and their dependents. Funds were to be obtained through payroll taxes borne equally by employers and employees. The medical benefits were to be administered by the Social Security Board and the Surgeon General

of the United States, assisted by certain advisory councils and in cooperation with state and local agencies.

Senator Wagner thus explained the medical features of the bill:

> Each insured worker and his dependent wife and children would be entitled to the services of a physician who is a general practitioner, and, on the doctor's advice, to specialist, consultant, and laboratory services (including x-ray, appliances, eyeglasses, etc.) and necessary hospital care. Freedom of medical practice is carefully safeguarded. Each insured person is entitled to choose his own doctor from among all physicians in the community who have voluntarily agreed to go into the insurance system. Each doctor is free to go in or stay out of the insurance system. Those doctors who participate are free to accept or reject patients who may wish to select them as their family doctor, and the participating doctors are likewise free to choose the method of payment from the insurance fund. . . . Thus, existing arrangements for choosing a doctor and obtaining medical, laboratory, or hospital care would not be disturbed except that payment would be out of the insurance system.[1]

The object of the proposed system was twofold: (1) provision for the financial hazards of sickness through insurance, in much the same way as fire hazards are covered by fire insurance; (2) assurance of standard medical care to all persons covered by the measure (a great majority of the population), including millions of persons unable to obtain such care.

This measure has aroused bitter controversy. Apparently a majority of the medical profession are opposed, following the lead of the American Medical Association, presumably on the ground that the present fee system of medical payment is preferable. An organization supporting the measure stated in March, 1944 that "15,000,000 pamphlets, it has been reliably estimated, have been published to date by the American Medical Association, the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, and subsidiary organizations in their nationwide campaign against the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social Security bill."[2] This communication goes on to say that "these handbills and booklets, dispensed through the local drug stores and left beside sickbeds, employ catchwords such as 'rationed medical care,' 'political medicine,'

[1] *Congressional Record*, June 3, 1943.
[2] Letter from National Consumers' League.

'medical fascism'—inaccuracies designed to capture the imagination of the uninformed."

The merits of this measure do not concern us here. But one of the pamphlets mentioned by the Consumers' League illustrates so effectively certain widespread fallacies regarding social causation that it may serve as a text for discussion at this point. We will skip the dire predictions of what will happen to medical practice if the measure becomes law, and simply quote the statements given in the pamphlet under the caption, "What Has American Medicine Done?"

> Under the American system, American Medicine—American Doctors—have developed the most effective and the most widely distributed medical care that has ever been provided for any comparable number of people anywhere at any time. In 150 years, the average number of years a man will live has been nearly doubled. In 1790 the average was 35 years. Today it is 62 years. A child born in 1942 has the prospect of living 12 years longer than a child born in 1900. In the last 40 years, the death rate per 100,000 people has been reduced from 1,755 to only 1,060. During this period, typhoid fever almost has disappeared; smallpox has been subdued; diphtheria practically has been conquered; pernicious anemia, tuberculosis, diabetes, and a score of lesser ailments are being brought under control. In 1942 the United States had the highest general level of health and the lowest death rate ever known for a like number of people under similar conditions.[3]

We can assume that the figures given in this quotation are correct. But what about the implied claim that doctors are largely responsible for bettering the health and prolonging the lives of the American people? The whole tone of the pamphlet suggests that it is the private practitioner whom we must thank for this great achievement, and that is doubtless the impression the sponsors wanted to convey.

But such an impression does not square with the facts. Our national health, good or poor, as well as our manifold health problems, reflects all the factors that affect our lives. The principal conditions today have been wrought by the population as a whole, past and present, in science, in education, in homemaking, in industry, in government, and in community work. We could take up

[3] The National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, *$3,048,000,000.00 of Political Medicine Yearly in the United States*, p. 5.

the various classes of factors previously discussed and show that all of them without exception are involved in health conditions and problems.

Take as one illustration the *cultural* factors in American medicine. The authors of the pamphlet seem to be unaware that most of the knowledge underlying present-day medical practice in this country was contributed by workers in other lands. That is no disgrace, because all friendly countries freely exchange scientific knowledge. Insulin treatment of diabetes is the contribution of Canadian investigators; the sulfa drugs began their remarkable career in Germany; quinine, much earlier, came from South America; digitalis and penicillin from Britain. By far the greater part of medical knowledge has not come from private practitioners at all, but is the collective achievement of specialists in many fields, including anatomy, bacteriology, biochemistry, pharmaceutics, physiology, zoology, pathology, and even psychology and sociology. Figures are not available, but it is certain that a great majority of the scientists in these fields are not doctors of medicine. Indeed, one of the principal founders of modern medicine, Pasteur, who established the science of bacteriology, was not a physician but a chemist by profession. To add another detail, countless inventors have contributed to the instruments and mechanical devices of modern surgery and medicine.

Note that the pamphlet ignores the direct services to patients of other professional groups—nurses, pharmacists, biochemists, laboratory technicians, and the like. Actually, it is the considered judgment of some observers that in serious illnesses the nurse has as much to do with a patient's progress as the physician; in any case all these professions make indispensable contributions.

Turn next to phases of medical work not conducted by the individual practitioner. Ninety per cent of all hospital facilities in the country are provided by government or other nonprofit agencies. The most advanced hospitals and clinics have on their staffs medical social workers or psychiatric social workers, because it is coming to be recognized that both the causation and the treatment of illness is social as well as organic or physiological in nature. Almost all the professional training of physicians is provided by medical schools connected with universities and hospitals, much of it financed

through taxation. By far the greater part of medical research is sponsored by universities, hospitals, research foundations,[4] and government bureaus. Much of this, too, is financed from public revenues.

Public health services come in the same category. They are conducted mostly by local, state, and federal governments, including public-school districts providing medical examinations and other health services for pupils. Special services also are provided by many nonprofit organizations. Among these are the National Tuberculosis Association with state and local branches throughout the country; the National Committee for Mental Hygiene with the associated state and local mental hygiene societies; the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis with its thousands of county chapters; the American Cancer Society with its state and local organizations; and the American National Red Cross with its local health services. These are by no means all the important national agencies in this field.

The public health services concentrate largely on preventive medicine, including the control of communicable diseases such as typhoid, tuberculosis, and diptheria, and the reduction of infant mortality. It is rather preposterous for the National Committee of Physicians to credit private practitioners with the spectacular reduction of death rates and preventable illnesses when it is due primarily to the efforts of public health agencies. Many private physicians do help, but the bulk of the work has been done by the staffs of those agencies. Incidentally, the professional specialists on these staffs include not only doctors of medicine, but bacteriologists, sanitary engineers, vital statisticians, nutritionists, visiting nurses, health educators, social workers, and other specialists.

Governments make many other contributions, among them the enactment and enforcement of pure food and drug laws; regulation of the labeling and handling of milk; prohibition of unsafe and unsanitary working conditions; inspection and licensing of eating establishments; enforcement of minimum housing standards; regulation of hours and wages in private employment; restriction of child labor; maintenance of play and recreational facilities; provision of

[4] The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research is famous throughout the world for its medical discoveries. It is, fortunately, not the only organization of its kind.

medical care for the indigent; and finally the licensing of physicians themselves. None of these things, perhaps, is done as well as it might be, yet they represent health contributions of incalculable value.

Yet this is hardly more than a beginning of the story. Think of what the schools do—from kindergarten to college—in teaching the elements of hygiene and sanitation, besides correcting the dietary deficiencies of school children through free-lunch programs. Newspapers, periodicals, books, and a great variety of government publications take over where the schools leave off and supply adults with up-to-date information on health matters.

Much of this educational effort is for the benefit of homemakers or students of home economics. Not a few make a genuine profession of it. There is no end to the knowledge and technical skill that can be applied in home nutrition and child care. Mental as well as physical health depends on the homemaker's competency in these tasks. Credit cannot be exactly apportioned, but it is safe to say that housewives do as much if not more than physicians in keeping the nation healthy. They actually do more in applying medical knowledge, because they bring it down to terms of everyday life—diet, hygiene, and morale.

The most important factor in health remains to be mentioned. This is the unprecedented growth of our productive capacity, the actual amount of production, the distribution of national wealth, and its expenditure on goods and services. Family income is of basic importance. In the past a large percentage of American families have had sufficient incomes for healthy living. Another large percentage have not. Whatever the proportions, family incomes have had a far greater role than private medical practice in lowering death and disease rates. We know now that we could produce plenty of wealth for everyone—enough to provide ample food, a good home, excellent medical care, adequate preventive medicine, suitable education, and wholesome recreation for all of the people all of the time. Our war record leaves no room for doubt about this possibility.

We can now see in proper perspective the important services of the private physician as an integral part of the larger whole. It is the entire nation, including all major phases of human effort, that

makes the nation's health what it is. The part of the medical profession in this achievement is a distinguished one; it can be even more important in the future as good medical care is brought within the reach of all.

What the Case Illustrates

As intimated above, it could readily be shown that all major factors in human life are involved in health matters. The influence of feelings, attitudes, and points of view is now so widely recognized that psychotherapy is becoming a part of standard medical practice, and a virtually new school of medicine, psychosomatic medicine, is being evolved. The connection between biological heredity and medical problems needs no illustration; if one is wanted, however, that of appendicitis or any organic defect will do. Geographic influences are illustrated, among other things, by disease germs or by a shortage of iodine in the soil.

Such cases as the one cited above, when duly elaborated, indicate four things:

(1) Every major component of social life shapes and is shaped by every other major component. This statement takes in what is variously termed social factors, influences, and causes.

(2) Each such component or factor, despite these reciprocal formative influences, has a distinctive content of its own. Our hereditary constitution is embodied in matter and energy derived from the geographic environment, and functions in interaction with that environment, but it cannot be described in geographical (including physicochemical) terms alone. Similarly, ideas and feelings and overt actions affect one another throughout life, but beyond a certain point neither can be explained in terms of the others.

(3) These two propositions together mean that in social life everything of major importance is, in part, both a cause and an effect of everything else of major importance. The proposition as formulated recognizes that the reciprocal cause-and-effect principle applies only to factorial or componential units of a certain magnitude. For example, industrial technology (as a phase of culture) influences and is influenced by all major phases of social life; but the technique of making an apple pie does not have such a causal nexus.

(4) If the foregoing propositions are true, the direction or modi-

fication of one phase of social life depends in part on the control of other phases, and in part on operations applied to the given phase itself. Fears may be eliminated in part by changing one's ideas (about the existence of Hell, for example), or by removing the external causes of fear (such as irrigating the land to eliminate fear of drought), and in part by psychotherapy, or in reassurance by friend or counsellor.

These propositions may seem to add complexity to an already involved social pattern, but we should not reject any sociological analysis merely on the grounds of complexity. Anything like complete comprehension of a society or of an individual personality may be impossible, owing to this complexity; yet much highly significant knowledge can be derived, which, as it accumulates, provides an increasingly sound basis for social and personal adjustments.

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF SOCIAL LIFE

Sociologists have often deplored the fact that scientific experimentation in their field is drastically limited. While considerable experimentation of certain kinds is feasible,[5] experiment going counter to the mores or proprieties of social life (for example, "controlled" eugenic mating) would not be countenanced. Sociology is really no worse off, however, than astronomy or geology, where little experimenting is possible. Moreover, as will be shown later, there is a vast amount of social experimentation having practical ends in view, which, nevertheless, can teach much about social life.

Sociologists in their researches follow various methods of dealing with the complexities of social causation. Some examples may be offered, with the understanding that only a few of the many methods in current use can be illustrated.

Two famous studies of a fairly typical Midwestern city have followed the *cultural* approach, much after the manner of cultural anthropology.[6] The authors characterized the first volume as "a

[5] Cf. Gardner Murphy, Lois B. Murphy, and Theodore M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1937, which summarizes and interprets a wide variety of controlled observations and experiments; also Ernest Greenwood, *Experimental Sociology*, King's Crown Press, New York, 1945.

[6] R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929, and *Middletown in Transition*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937. The town studied was Muncie, Indiana.

study in contemporary American culture," the second as "a study in cultural conflicts." With the aid of a research staff, systematic observations of that community were made and a great deal of data gathered. The investigators mingled socially with the townspeople and were thus able to get their viewpoint on many things.

The two reports give a highly interesting description of the technologies, beliefs, sentiments, standards, tastes, and other culture traits of the people, and show how cultural changes are profoundly modifying their lives. Since culture is a universal component of social life, however, the Lynds in describing Middletown's culture had to give a pretty thoroughgoing description of its social life generally, even including noncultural factors. In the first volume they give a brief account of the geographic setting, noting particularly the effects of an earlier discovery of natural gas on the town's development. In the same volume they distinguish six "main-trunk activities" of community life—getting a living, making a home, training the young, spending leisure time, engaging in religious practices, and taking part in community activities. Their exposition indicates, among other things, how these phases of social life affect one another. The Lynds divide the population into a business class and a working class, and show that this cleavage runs through all phases of social life. A more elaborate class system is reported in the 1937 volume; in the intervening years politics and government had assumed major importance.

Two studies of marital relationships may next be cited.[7] An interesting feature of Terman's study (covering 792 married couples) was a systematic investigation of the grievances of husbands and wives toward each other as reported by the partners themselves. Terman found serious grievances of 35 kinds, and arranged them in approximate order of importance, the order naturally differing for husbands and wives.

Before considering the list given below, it should be pointed out that these are the total grievances found for the entire group and that, ordinarily, one spouse has only a few grievances toward the other spouse. It should also be noted that the "grievances" repre-

[7] L. M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938, esp. p. 105; E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1939, esp. pp. 357–359.

sent only one type of marital attitude, embracing feeling, thought, and action components. As given in the list, grievances with some exceptions are really the spouse's traits, actions, or relationships figuring as factors in the grievances.

The reasons husbands feel aggrieved toward wives, arranged in order of descending importance, are: (1) not affectionate; (2) selfish and inconsiderate; (3) complains too much; (4) quick-tempered; (5) conceited; (6) insincere; (7) criticizes me; (8) narrow-minded; (9) argumentative; (10) untruthful; (11) spoils children; (12) management of income; (13) in-laws; (14) insufficient income; (15) nervous and emotional; (16) influenced by others; (17) jealous; (18) lazy; (19) amusement and recreation; (20) too talkative; (21) choice of friends; (22) interested in other men; (23) lack of freedom; (24) respect for conventions; (25) intellectual interests; (26) attitude toward drinking; (27) not faithful; (28) religious beliefs; (29) education; (30) swears; (31) tastes in food; (32) wife older; (33) smokes; (34) drinks; (35) younger.

The list of wives' grievances toward husbands is not given here. The relative importance of many grievances is about the same for both husbands and wives—for example, "religious beliefs," "tastes in food," and "complains too much;" but there is considerable disparity in the case of other grievances, as for example, "not faithful," which ranked tenth among the wives, "spoils children" ranking (24), and "quick-tempered" (18). These disparities probably reflect to some degree differences in the incidence of traits in husbands and wives.

The Burgess and Cottrell study covered 526 couples and sought to discover, among other things, "premarital factors conducive to success in marriage." They distinguished 33 such factors, some of them applying only to the husband or wife, the others to both spouses. The whole list with necessary explanations would occupy too much space here, so a few significant examples will be given, taken from factors applying to husband and wife alike. These factors are: acquaintance of two or more years; close attachment to father and mother; an engagement of nine months or more; moderate income; parents' approval of marriage; happy marriage of parents; similar family background; married by minister, priest, or rabbi.

Note that here as in the case of marital "grievances" many factors

are variously combined to produce the same general result. Burgess and Cottrell on the basis of their study indicated the possibility of predicting with a fair degree of reliability the success or failure of a marriage by analyzing the premarital factors involved.

Still another way of coping with the complexity of cause-effect relationships is illustrated by a study made some years ago of voters' attitudes and opinions.[8] The study covered 1,250 voters, with college students serving as field assistants in getting questionnaires filled out. A sort of true-false test of political intelligence was devised, consisting of statements regarding the League of Nations, the protective tariff, and compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes (the last-named involving capital-labor relationships). Voters were scored on this test (which incidentally was presented to them merely as a series of statements on which opinions differed). Voters also reported their political party preferences and their fathers' preferences. Various life-history data were recorded, including the voter's sex, age, occupation, amount of schooling, number of daily newspapers read regularly, and names of periodicals read regularly.

The validity and reliability of the true-false test were duly considered but need not concern us here. The test was concerned with current issues (1924 to 1927, inclusive), and various comparisons indicated that, so far as showings on this test were concerned, the voters studied were fairly representative of the electorate generally. There was no way of telling whether the influence of fathers' politics on children's politics as exemplified by this group was similarly representative.

Reduced to a percentage basis, the individual scores ranged from −70 to +100. (On analysis it was concluded that, unlike ordinary psychological tests, the negative scores in this test were significant, indicating that the given voters had absorbed more erroneous than correct judgments on public questions.) The average score for the 1,250 voters was 21.4. Only 24.4 per cent received scores of 50 or above, a score of 50 being assumed, somewhat arbitrarily, as a criterion of civic competency.

These findings seemed to indicate a pretty low state of political intelligence in the country, but that is not the point of interest here. The study showed that many significant factors are associated with

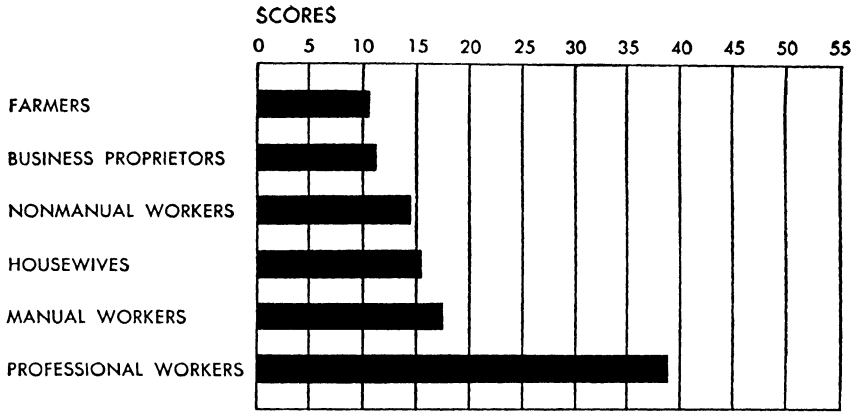
[8] S. Eldridge, *Public Intelligence*, University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, 1935.

political intelligence. Women were three points ahead of men, although this may have been due to accidents of selection. Average scores declined with age, but the statistical analysis showed that, when allowances were made for differences in schooling and other measurable factors, age as such made little or no difference. Average scores of occupational groups varied between 7.7 for merchants and 51.8 for college teachers. Of seven broad vocational classes, the scores ranged from 10.2 for farmers to 38.5 for professional workers, the business proprietors coming next to farmers with an average of 10.8 and manual workers next to the professional class with a score of 17.1. Of the political groups, Democrats had an average score of 27.1; Republicans, 15.8; Socialists, 55.0; Independents, 34.7. (Any reader feeling aggrieved by these showings will find qualifying—and in some instances mollifying—interpretations in the report itself.)

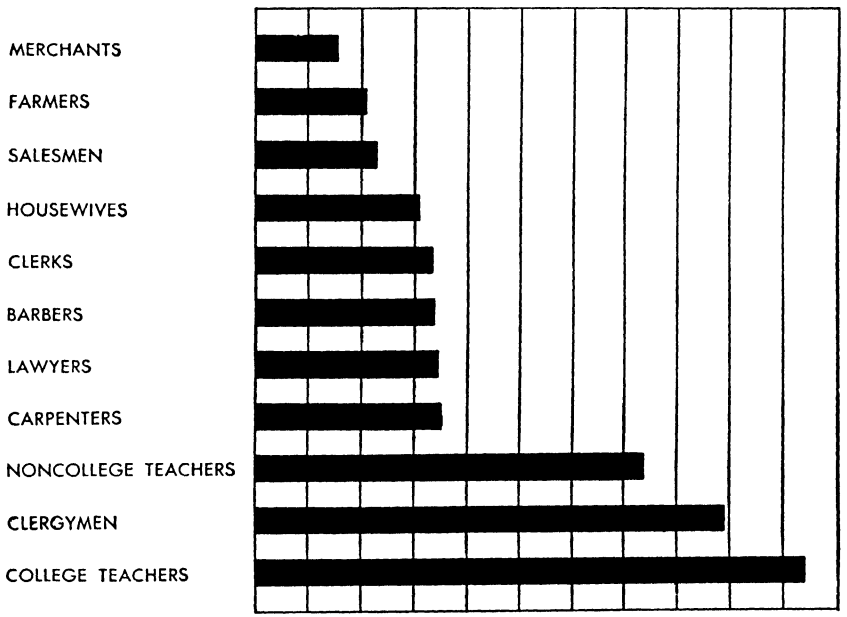
For certain reasons, the connection between test score and number of daily newspapers read could not be definitely determined. Reading at least one newspaper regularly had a favorable bearing on scores, but reading a large number apparently had little effect. It was quite otherwise with periodicals, scores increasing definitely with the number of periodicals read regularly. Indeed, the statistical analysis showed that reading periodicals has about as close a connection with political intelligence as schooling.

The connection between test scores and amount of schooling occasioned much surprise. How much or how little schooling a voter had made practically no difference in his score, unless he went beyond high school. College education was found to have a high positive correlation with political intelligence.

A comparison of schooling with a certain type of periodical proved exceptionally interesting. The average score of college graduates (16 years of schooling) was 30.3. Compare this with the scores of readers of certain journals dealing with current events. *New Republic* readers led all others with an average score of 66.0; next came readers of the *Nation*, 62.0; *Survey*, 58.3; *Christian Century*, 57.2; *Time*, 48.3. If the test scores are a fair indication, acquiring the habit of reading a periodical anywhere in the range from *Time* to the *New Republic* contributes more than four years of college to the political intelligence of the voter.



MEAN SCORES BY VOCATIONAL CLASS



MEAN SCORES BY SPECIFIC VOCATION

Graph showing relations of scores on a true-false test of political intelligence to vocation and vocational class. For a discussion of the significance of these results, see the text on pages 49–50. (S. Eldridge, *Public Intelligence*, University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, 1935, p. 21)

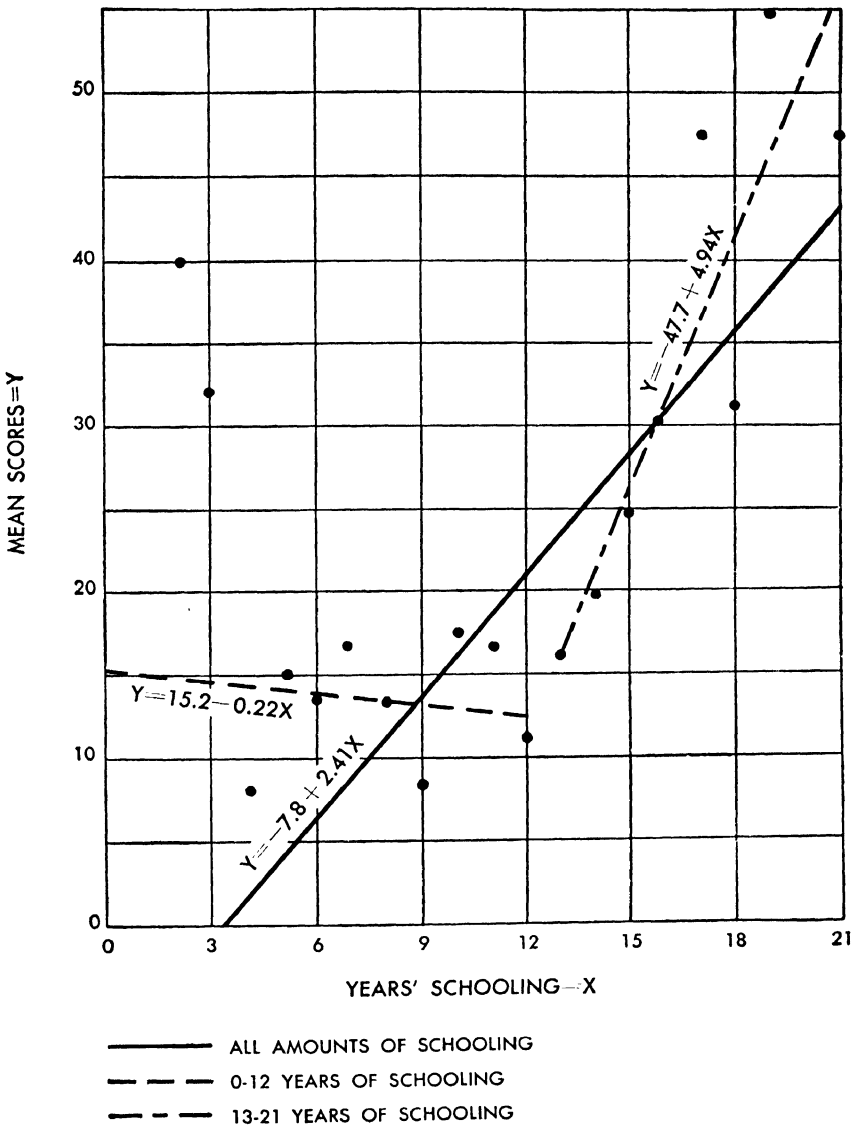
We may make one comment on the relations between voters' and their fathers' party preferences. Roughly, three fourths of the voters had the same preferences as their fathers. This does not take in the group called Independents, since they are not partisans. The statistical analysis indicated that 40 to 50 per cent of all voters had partisan preferences definitely due to "paternal and associated influences"—influences shown to have no relevance to the merits of political issues. This of course demonstrates the power of family "conditioning."

This whole study illustrates one method of coming to terms with the complex factors in social phenomena. Note that influences identified with family, school, vocation, party, newspapers and periodicals have a definite connection with political opinions and habits, and that significant comparisons of such influences are possible.

The final example to be presented in detail is a study by a group of 30 investigators [9] that had two main objectives: (1) identification of the primary factors in the growth of publicly and other collectively owned enterprises, particularly in the United States, and (2) exposition of these enterprises as going concerns, including their administrative structures, financial policies, and various other features. The subject is highly important in view of the steady and accelerating growth of collective enterprises and the emergence of a predominantly collective economy. The investigation covered 20 major fields, ten of them already collectivized for the most part, and ten undergoing collectivization. In the first ten were included such important fields as police and fire protection, construction and maintenance of roads and streets, and postal services, education and research; the second ten included, among others, low-rent housing, minimum-income insurance, medical service and health care, recreation and leisure-time activity. Obviously a historical study of each field had to be made in order to find out what actually had been the primary influences in developments on a collective basis.

The emergence of a collective economy is bound to affect and be affected by all major factors in social life. Public ownership is in itself a cultural trait. It is everywhere related, directly or indirectly,

[9] Seba Eldridge and Associates, *Development of Collective Enterprise*, University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, 1943.



Relation between schooling and political intelligence as measured by true-false tests. See the text on pages 49–50 for an interpretation of this relationship. (S. Eldridge, *Public Intelligence*, University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, 1935, p. 29)

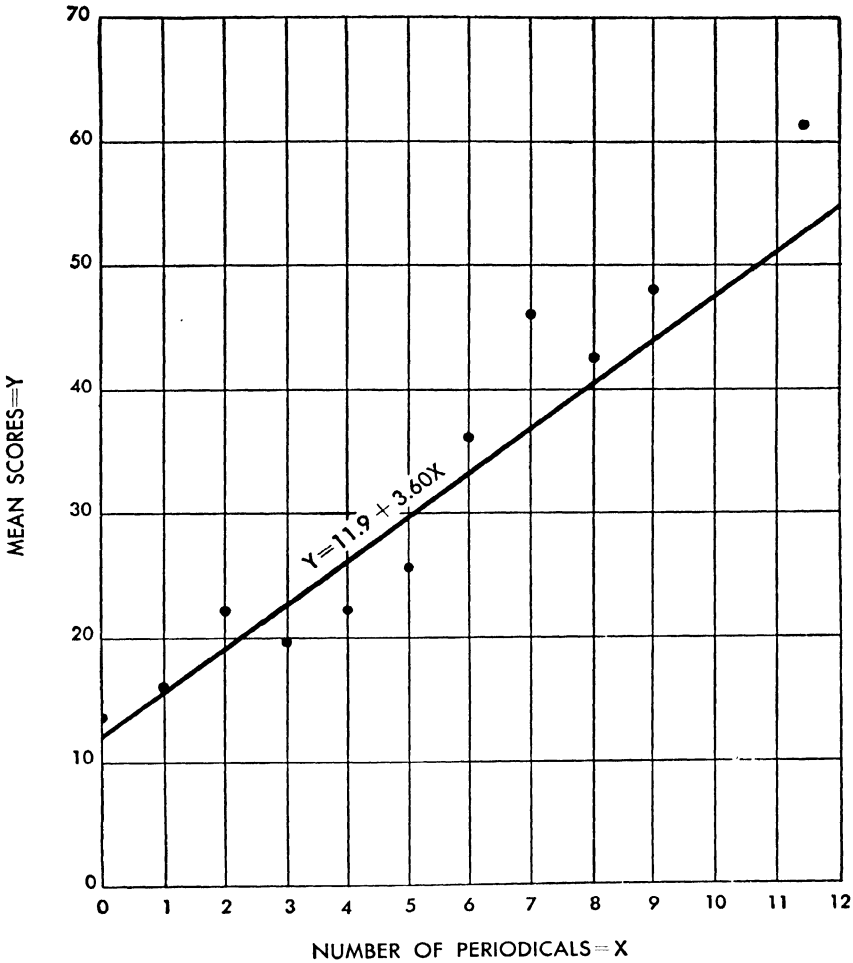
to geographic conditions, and only *Homo sapiens* goes in for ownership of this type. Just as vitally involved are ideas, feelings, actions, attitudes, wishes, interests; individual personalities, groups, and communities; competition, conflict, cooperation, accommodation, assimilation; and a variety of space-time patterns, such as a growing need of social services with the concentration of population in cities.

What, then, is a "primary factor" in such a trend? It might be thought of in terms of ideas, since the public evidently changes its mind as to what kinds of collective ownership are needed. The primary factor might also be thought of as changing wishes or attitudes. Or the approach could be cultural, based on the fact that culture changes in one field bring about adaptive changes of culture in another field. Again, the movement might be depicted in terms of social interactions. Every great advance in public ownership has involved fierce conflicts between those in favor and those opposed. Similarly, one could take any major category of factors in social life and regard it as the primary one.

The decision in such a case depends on the specific problems one wishes to explore. The basic interest of the study was to find out what classes of people play the crucial role in advancing collective enterprise and to learn what makes them play that role. There were already two current theories on this subject. The more celebrated theory was that of Karl Marx, who held that the laboring class may be depended on, when the time is ripe, to set up a collectivist regime in short order. Wage earners, he contended, are exploited by their capitalist taskmasters and may therefore be expected, once they are powerful enough, to overthrow the capitalist class and establish their own system. The second theory, which has only recently been formulated by James Burnham,[10] suggests that corporation executives, who have largely displaced capital owners as the ruling class, will effect the transition to a collective economy as conditions necessitate.

Neither of these theories had previously been tested by a study of actual collectivist developments, and preliminary studies led the investigators to suspect that both theories were wrong. Each theory, however, had been built around a basically important class—wage earners in the one case, corporate executives in the other. The hy-

[10] James Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution*, John Day Company, New York, 1941.



Relation between the number of periodicals read regularly and scores on a true-false test of political intelligence. See the text on pages 49–50 for an explanation of this relationship. (S. Eldridge, *Public Intelligence*, University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, 1935, p. 35)

pothesis followed is that a combination of consumers and the general public has the crucial role in collectivization, and that this is so because these groups have needs or interests that can be satisfied only in this way. As one example: tax-supported schools were established in order to assure a minimum of education for all children (the "consumers" in this case) and thereby to advance the public welfare. Teachers and administrators have vitally influenced the developments, but they are of course employed to serve the children and the public.

Accordingly, group interests were made the frame of reference, with factors from other classifications included where necessary. As these terms were used in the investigation, *groups* meant personnel, including pioneer leaders, organization executives, and specific communities as well as primary and secondary groups, while *interests* took in attitudes, ideas, and other components. The investigators searched for primary factors in these terms.

The plan of the investigation as a whole, however, called for a description of the organization and operation of undertakings that had been collectivized (public libraries and museums or mutual fire-insurance companies, etc.) including such data as type of ownership and control, status of employed personnel, and level of operating efficiency. This phase of the investigation, together with the search for collectivizing factors in terms of group interests, brought into the picture many additional factors.

To illustrate: the historical developments in each field had to be studied, as well as the geographic distribution of collectivized services. Again, the cultural side was pretty well covered in describing the historical developments and the existing services, for this involved attention to technology, financial practices, administrative arrangements, legal controls, and related features. The two coordinate categories—man's hereditary make-up and the natural environment—did not call for such comprehensive treatment. Phases of the geographic environment were definitely to the fore, however, in the studies of forestry, land reclamation, harbors and waterways, and, to a less degree, rural resettlement, electric power, water and sewerage works, roads and streets.

Perhaps less attention was given directly to competition, conflict, and related forms of social interaction than to other factors.

Yet significant happenings in the various fields were necessarily described to a considerable degree in terms of such interactions. The socialization movement in most fields has been led by one or more national organizations. For example, the National Recreation Association and American Association for Adult Education, together with several national youth service organizations, are prominent in the field of recreational and leisure-time activity, providing illustrations of cooperation on a large scale. In some fields conflicts between private-producer interests and consumer or public interests have been conspicuous, notably in the case of forestry, electric power, and land reclamation.

One specific type of social interaction that figured prominently was called *imitative socialization*. A successful innovation—tax-supported schools or community playgrounds, say—was found to be about as catching as the measles, to paraphrase Dr. Clark Wissler's remark about culture. Not only have our states and local communities imitated one another, but our country has borrowed ideas from abroad, notably in such fields as social security, property insurance, social clubs, and fraternal societies. Other countries return the compliment by borrowing from us.

An additional illustration may be cited. The question arose why consumers and voters rather than wage earners as a class should be the dominating force in collectivizing a field like education in which all members of the community are vitally concerned. The answer apparently lay in our political ideals and institutions. Wage earners have never organized on a community or nationwide scale to undertake such programs—they have been more interested in better pay, a shorter work day, and union recognition. They backed the idea of tax-supported schools, but they did so as consumers (or parents of consumers) and as members of the public, along with other people of the same categories. Collective enterprises such as social clubs and fraternal societies that are not government-owned also grow through the support of consumers, who in this case are the members themselves. The extent of any field is measured by the use made of its services, that is, by the action of the consumers in that field.

This conclusion does not mean that other groups concerned in a field are less important, but only that they have different roles to play. The group with the biggest stake in any field is the work per-

sonnel, including managers and other leaders as well as wage earners. They create the service, set its standards, and largely determine the strength of its appeal to the customers. This has much influence on consumer and public demand for the expansion of services already socialized and for the initiation of related services. Besides managers, wage earners, consumers, and the general public, the state is a powerful influence in economic undertakings, whether collectively or individually owned. It is also the principal owner of collective enterprises, and in these instances employs the managers and the wage earners. The main point is that the five groups specified, in their various ways, make a collectivized field what it is; indeed, they constitute the field itself. The proposition that consumer and public interests are the primary factors in socializing a field is to be viewed in the light of that fact.

PRACTICAL EXPERIMENTATION

In a dynamic society like ours a vast amount of social experimentation is going on all the time. Almost all of it has practical adjustments in view, yet in addition it teaches us much about social life and social control. The investigation just described was a study of social experiments and movements fundamentally modifying our national economy. Its object was to discover the scientific laws governing the process of collectivization and the primary factors involved. This knowledge can be applied in considering further socialization questions and in arriving at practical decisions about them.

There is much social experimentation and social invention to be found in contemporary society. Every new law or substantial amendment of an old one is an experiment; so is every new method tried out in school as, for example, the famed project method; the community or undenominational church is an experiment in another field; so is the holding company, a sort of corporation of corporations. Sometimes the outcome of such experiments is fairly obvious, but often a painstaking study must be made to get at the facts. Laws, methods, systems, and procedures are ever being modified in the light of their practical results. Some detailed illustrations are given below.

The child labor movement was organized on a nationwide scale with the formation of the National Child Labor Committee in 1904. Under its leadership and with the backing of state and local organizations, fairly adequate child labor legislation was enacted in many states, but little headway could be made in other states. The Committee, with widespread public support, procured the enactment by Congress of two successive laws that greatly restricted child labor in the United States, but these laws were declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. The Committee then promoted an amendment to the Constitution authorizing Congressional legislation on the subject. However, the proposal has not yet been ratified by the required number of state legislatures to effect its adoption. More recently the Fair Labor Standards Act passed by Congress in 1938 has served much the same purpose, although there is still a need for the long-pending amendment to the Constitution. The National Committee has been guided throughout by its experience with actual legislation and law enforcement.

This is the normal procedure with all competently staffed agencies. They regularly investigate the results of legislative or other social action in their several fields, evaluate their own techniques in the light of experience, and shape their programs accordingly. This is as true of governmental as of private agencies. The Social Security Board is a striking example. Administration of the original Social Security Act revealed defects in the law and pointed the way to needed revisions. Far-reaching amendments in 1939 provided insurance for the dependents and survivors of workers; it was later proposed to federalize the unemployment insurance system because the state systems provided for in the original act have not proved satisfactory.

Such procedures are not confined to the administrative branches of government. The standing committees of Congress, for example, employ experts to give advice regarding bills under consideration. Special investigating committees have availed themselves of similar assistance. Recently a few state legislatures have been trying out a plan that may turn out to be a first-rate social invention. This is the so-called legislative council composed of lawmakers and established particularly to study and prepare reports on legislative problems in the intervals between sessions of the legislature. A research staff assists the council by collecting and interpreting evidence bearing on proposed measures, including experience with similar legislation. Considering the short and infrequent sessions of legislatures in most states, and the demands of other interests on the members, the need for some such plan is obvious.

The importance to lawmaking of investigations sponsored by legis-

lative bodies can scarcely be exaggerated. President Truman, at the time when he was Chairman of the Senate Committee investigating administration of the war program, held that the functions of Congress may develop to the point where its power to investigate becomes "equally if not more important" than the power to legislate. "Since there is an increasing public consciousness of the value and necessity of intelligent and energetic investigation by Congress of the activities of administrative agencies," he said, "I believe that in the future there will be more, rather than fewer, Congressional investigations and that the benefits the public will obtain thereby will be very great." [11] A similar statement would apply to state and local legislative bodies. Legislative investigations are of course not limited to administrative agencies.

Activities such as these are not ordinarily rated as scientific in the strict sense, since they are not concerned with the discovery of general principles or laws such as the scientist seeks. Specialized scientific studies of social action are, however, made, though not so frequently as they might be. Among such studies is the one made some years ago by Mary E. Richmond [12] formulating the principles and procedures followed by the better case-work agencies in the study and diagnosis of individual cases. This investigation was a major contribution to the development of social case work on a professional basis. A study by Peter Odegard is quite different in scope.[13] Odegard described the Anti-Saloon League, its leadership of the prohibition movement, its mobilization of churches and other cooperating agencies, and its methods of bringing pressure to bear on politicians and legislators. More different still is an investigation of the play movement [14] in this country, which covered the early beginnings of supervised children's play in the large cities, the stages of the movement, the underlying factors, and the pioneering leaders and organizations.

These examples will indicate something of the scope and variety of social experimentation in the United States, its contributions to the understanding of social phenomena, and the inexhaustible opportunities it offers for the scientific study of social life.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Summarize the provisions of the health insurance program covered by the Wagner–Murray–Dingell bill.

[11] Quoted from the *Kansas City Star*, May 25, 1944.
[12] Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1917.
[13] Peter Odegard, *Pressure Politics*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1928.
[14] C. E. Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922.

2. What criticisms of the Wagner–Murray–Dingell bill were made by spokesmen of the medical profession?

3. How much of the credit for preventing illness and prolonging life can reasonably be claimed by medical practitioners? What other factors have contributed to this achievement, and what vocational groups share the credit?

4. How are geographic, hereditary, and cultural factors involved in the causation and treatment of disease? What four features of social life are illustrated by the same phenomena?

5. Show how the complexities of cause-effect relationships are dealt with in (*a*) the Lynds' studies of Middletown; (*b*) Terman's investigation of marital grievances; (*c*) Burgess and Cottrell's analysis of success and failure in marriage; (*d*) Eldridge's study of voters' attitudes and opinions; (*e*) Eldridge and Associates' study of the development of collective enterprise.

6. What types of social experimentation are ruled out by moral considerations? In what fields of social life is practical experimentation emphasized? Give specific illustrations. What value has the study of the results of practical experiments?

7. Describe briefly each of the three purely scientific studies of social organization cited in the text.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Make an analysis of family life as you have experienced and observed it, showing the multitudinous influences affecting it, using as a model the causal analysis of health and disease given in the text.

2. As an alternative to Problem 1, make a similar analysis of a high-school or college curriculum, showing how it reflects a wide range of outside interests.

SELECTED READINGS

COOLEY, CHARLES HORTON, *Social Organization*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1909.

Chapters VIII–X, although quite dated, describe the far-reaching effects of communication on all phases of social life.

OGBURN, WILLIAM F., AND MEYER F. NIMKOFF, *Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1940.

Complexities of social causation are effectively illustrated in Chap. 23, "The Interrationship of Institutions," and Chap. 26, "The Social Effects of Inventions."

Part Two

SOCIETY AND ITS CULTURAL HERITAGE *

CULTURE is virtually a universal component of social life and hence of human behavior and experience. This much was made clear in Part One. Part Two goes much deeper into the subject and shows in detail not only how human life is shaped by the prevailing culture, but also what causes culture to change and spread, how it is localized, and what are its relations to social maladjustments. Specifically, Chapter 4 explains how culture contributes to the essential orderliness of human behavior, while Chapter 5 discusses the nature of this all-pervasive influence. Chapter 6 describes the structure of culture from its smallest unit, the cultural trait, to the patterns identified with an entire civilization, and even to what has been termed "the universal culture pattern."

Chapter 7 is concerned with the growth and diffusion of culture, particularly the cumulative nature of culture, the role of invention and inner cultural changes, and the relationship between volume of culture and rate of cultural change. Finally, Chapter 8 deals with the maladjustments and problems arising from unequal rates of culture change in two or more interdependent fields. It also goes into the relationship of culture to race, and explodes the popular theory that cultural backwardness or advancement is a reflection of racial capacities.

* In writing Part Two the author, Malcolm M. Willey, has drawn upon his earlier exposition of culture that appeared in Jerome Davis, Harry Elmer Barnes, and others, *Introduction to Sociology*, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1931, by special arrangement with the publishers.

Chapter 4

ORDERLINESS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR

The twentieth century has often been characterized as the age of speed. By this is usually meant that things and individuals are moving fast, that changes are rapid, that extraordinary movements are in progress, and that much nervous energy is being expended in enterprises that are unreasoned and planless. The unusual seems to be the rule, and what the next day may bring forth often appears to be a matter of guesswork. It is the unique that is uppermost. Nothing seems dependable.

OUR TENDENCY TO STRESS THE UNUSUAL

This tendency to think of social and individual behavior in terms of the unusual is nowhere better reflected than in the newspaper and radio. Here only exceptional occurrences are stressed, while the expected events and the routine happenings find little or no place. News is now defined as something out of the ordinary. Thus we find one of the largest daily papers in New England, in its instruction book to its reporters, stating this principle:

> The *Telegram* wants immediate news of murders, suicides, fires, explosions, robberies, railway wrecks, shootings, stabbings, drownings, poisoning cases, epidemics, quarantine for contagious disease, arrest or pursuit of offenders on serious charges, absconding officials, increase or reduction in wages, strikes, riots, violent storms, floods, serious injury to people, deaths, marriages, results of sporting events, resignations of town officials or pastors, town meetings, big business transfers, important building or industrial enterprises, and all unusual happenings. The UNUSUAL counts in getting news. . . . Always watch out for the UNUSUAL.

Small wonder, then, with newspapers built upon this conception and with countless other stimulations of a similar sort impinging on

us constantly, that most of us tend to minimize the normal events of daily life, and to overlook the great regularities that actually underlie most of the things that we do in the course of our lives.

THE ACTUAL ORDER IN MODERN SOCIETY

It is the overlooked regularities in social life, however, that are most important from the point of view of understanding group behavior. From the standpoint of social organization, the habitual things are most fundamental. And, surprising as it may seem at first thought, it is habitual and regular activity that dominates the lives of all individuals. Out of this regular and habitual activity social order develops. Only by careful scrutiny can we actually see how much of our daily activity is prescribed for us, and how little is the result of our own volition.

Most of us rise about seven o'clock in the morning. Our first step is to perform a fairly elaborate toilet. We wash the entire body, or at least certain parts of it. Men shave their faces, for beards are no longer fashionable. We dress ourselves in standard types of clothing, pressed and folded in the latest fashion. From season to season the clothing may differ, but we always attempt to change in conformity with thousands of others like ourselves.

Next, we descend to breakfast, where the ubiquitous morning paper greets us. Our food is of a standard type, served in a standard sequence, prepared in a standard way. Never does a soup or roast appear on the breakfast table, nor do we have dessert. We rigidly conform to fixed eating habits without questioning or even thinking about them.

We start out to school or work wearing (if it is chilly) our mass-produced felt hats and topcoats. If it is warm, a straw hat and light suit is enough. When it rains, we put on rubbers and raincoats or carry umbrellas. We greet our friends with the same familiar salutations. Three hours of work, then an hour for lunch. Here a different combination of foods, prepared and served in a different manner, is eaten. This time there is no cereal or toast, and we take the coffee at the end of the meal. Back once more to school or work.

A few more hours and the day is done. Home again. Dinner. Again a different set of foods for us, served in regular order, eaten in

a different way with certain definite table implements, following definite customs. Why do we not sometimes begin with nuts and end with soup? Or serve roasts at breakfast and cornflakes in the evening?

Day in, day out, our lives run the accustomed course prescribed by our social groups. Customs of education, customs of business, our part as citizens and voters, family customs, religious customs, social customs, and many others—to all of these we conform rigorously. Nowhere are things haphazard: even the procedure in courtship is prescribed by rule and custom. Every aspect of life from birth to death is dominated by a formula of behavior that exacts compliance from us all.[1] These ways of doing things are not altogether our own, nor were they initiated by us; they are group ways that we have acquired.

The foregoing description of certain obvious behavior patterns should serve to show that the characteristic thing about human behavior is its conformity to type. The thoughts we think, the things we do, and the things we employ in doing them are not left to us to develop at the moment according to our own whims or inclinations, but, for the most part, are given to us ready-made. The result is that habitual or *conformitory* performance predominates over unique or individualistic behavior. This does not mean, as we shall see, that social behavior is characterized by drab uniformity, but simply that order and regularity prevail.

Orderliness in social behavior is a universal characteristic. It is found in the most primitive societies as well as in the most advanced. The network of custom that holds modern society in check binds with equal strength the society of the Hottentot or Eskimo.

THE FOLKWAYS AND THE MORES

The numerous behavior habits that underlie the orderliness of man's social life are usually known as folkways and mores, words first used in this sense by William Graham Sumner. Folkways and mores are the behavior customs of the group that are important to its

[1] It must not be thought that every member of society has precisely the same customs. The formula of behavior varies from class to class, and from group to group. The essential point is that every individual is a member of some class and group, and as such is subject to its customs.

survival. They arose out of man's original need of adapting himself to his environment in order to keep alive. As Professor Sumner points out, man's first task was and is to survive.

Just how man in any particular situation first achieved a solution it is difficult to say. Sumner believed that man, guided by a desire for pleasure and an avoidance of pain, proceeded by the old trial-and-error method. He did not, it was assumed, first sit down and work out a complete and reasoned solution of a difficulty confronting him. Instead, Sumner thought, he tried more or less random experiments, blindly trusting that one would bring satisfying results, in much the same way that an animal tries to get out of a locked cage. Eventually an adjustment was made or a solution hit upon.

Later work of the psychologists, especially those specializing in animal behavior, tends to show that reasoning has played a larger part than was hitherto thought. Thus the experiments of a German scholar, Dr. Wolfgang Koehler, show that some of the higher apes solve their problems upon what is obviously a rational level.[2] However, the point is that methods and techniques were discovered and imitated. People generally began to do certain things in certain ways, whether it was the preparation of food, the growing of grain, the winning of a mate, or the propitiation of a god. A workable manner of meeting a life situation was established, copied by other folk, and the folkway of doing or thinking about that thing brought into existence. In this way man invented tools, developed moral practices, established types of housing and clothing, evolved religions and systems of ethics and brought into being all the other ways of doing things to which we now conform. Once these folkways appear they tend to persist and to gain social approval. Sumner says that as time goes on they become more arbitrary, positive, and imperative. One conforms to them because one's ancestors did. They underlie the orderliness of social behavior of which we have been talking.

Later these folkways often are recognized as of such importance that the group as a whole declares that all its members must conform, for not to do so would produce disaster. Raised to this level, the folkways become *mores*. The mores are even more powerful than

[2] W. Koehler, *The Mentality of Apes*, English Tr., Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1924.

the folkways in producing social regularity. They prescribe for each group what may or may not be done; they constitute the basis of our codes. It is they we fear when we ask, "What will people say?" The distinction is illustrated in the fact that the mores necessitate the wearing of clothes while their style is regulated by the folkways.

Every group has its own folkways and mores. Any one society—the United States, let us say—is really composed of a multitude of groups ranging all the way from political parties and the organized state to college fraternities and Ladies' Sewing Circles. For each of these innumerable groups there is a set of folkways and mores. Often they overlap, as when the moral code applies to all the groups. The mores, being more fundamental, are more extensive than the folkways, which frequently do vary from one small group to another. The folkways of a college fraternity are not the same as those of the Sunday school, although the mores of the two groups may be alike. In any case the individual has his behavior influenced by the folkways and mores of the group that he happens to be in at any time.

HUMAN BEHAVIOR AS ADJUSTMENT

Man is compelled to adjust himself to the physical environment. He must adapt himself to the plains and the mountains, to the valleys and the hills. He must protect himself from the heat of the tropics or the cold of the Far North. He must survive the rains and the snows and the winds. He must get food from the soil and animals from the forest or field.

He must also adjust himself to other people. There are psychological adaptations to be made if man is to carry on his group life. But there is one other important set of adaptations that man must make, namely the adaptations to things that man himself has created, including much of what we refer to as the "social environment." Specifically these man-made things are called the cultural heritage of the group, or simply "culture."

ADJUSTMENT TO THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

This cultural heritage is so called because we are all born into it; it is a gift to each generation from the generations that have gone

before. The newborn child grows up in it, absorbs it, adjusts himself to it, and usually accepts it without question or complaint.

The cultural heritage, regarded as something to which man is adjusting himself, must be further analyzed. It is important to notice that one part of it consists of material things like automobiles, fountain pens, houses, shoes, golf sticks, printing presses, and safety pins. These are tangible. The other part consists of such things as belief in a God, the habit of tipping one's hat to a lady, a method of whittling a stick, the multiplication table, the philosophy of democracy, or a belief that the number 13 is unlucky. These are intangible ways of doing or thinking about things.

To both these phases of culture man must adapt himself. It is evident that the elements in each have come down from the past, that the baby is born into a society and inherits, accordingly, the automobiles, fountain pens, houses, and radios that are a part of the existing culture. But the baby as he grows must learn to dodge the automobile (which is the same as saying he must adapt himself to it); he must learn to live in a house or an apartment; he must learn to write with a fountain pen, to tune in a radio, and so on. It is thus evident that all of us adjust ourselves from birth onward to the vast heritage of material goods in the society we were born in. These material goods are important factors in shaping our behavior. We may not like the automobile, but if we disregard it while crossing a busy intersection our days will be numbered.

It is also clear that we adjust ourselves to the nonmaterial elements in the social heritage. We acquire a religion and conform to it; we learn the rules of etiquette, and these shape our contacts with the opposite sex; we learn how to do all kinds of things, from whittling a stick to building a house. And so we might go on: our codes, attitudes, ways of doing things—in short, the folkways and mores—are all here when we arrive. We fit ourselves in. We may not wish to conform, but if we do not, unpleasant results are certain to follow.

The nonmaterial elements of the social heritage also include innumerable modes of feeling and emotion. Almost all our fears and desires are acquired from the prevailing culture. Thus fear of unemployment is possible only in a complex economy under which many people depend on wage labor for a livelihood. The senti-

ments associated with religion, with nationalism, with one's alma mater, all have cultural components. Anger at dishonesty or falsehood is an emotional reaction to a violation of the mores. These culturized feelings and emotions are basic components of human behavior and experience.

In the light of these facts it should be clear that each large geographical group has its own folkways and mores. Those of the Eskimo are different from those of the Australian Bushman, and those of the latter in turn differ from our own. This results from the fact that each group is adapting itself to a different natural environment and different material goods. Furthermore, in the trial-and-error process, different ways of meeting the life situations naturally develop.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Demonstrate with the aid of illustrations the essential orderliness of social behavior. How are we to account for the modern tendency to stress the unusual rather than the normal in social events?
2. To what conditions must man adapt himself in order to survive? Which of these conditions are social in nature or origin?
3. What do we mean by *folkways* and *mores*, and how do they differ from one another? Give illustrations.
4. Indicate with the aid of examples how individual reactions to a life situation can develop into a group folkway.
5. How are feelings and emotions affected by the cultural heritage? Give illustrations.
6. How are mores and folkways related to geographic conditions?
7. Show with the aid of illustrations taken from your community or your state how groups or classes may differ in their folkways and mores.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Prepare a report on one day of your life, separating those parts of behavior that were distinctly individual from the parts that were dictated by social custom.
2. Compile a list of the folkways and mores to which you conform during any hour of the day you may select.
3. On the basis of your present knowledge, supplemented by any special inquiry that may be necessary, compare selected folkways and mores of New England and the South; or of rural and urban communities; or of Catholic and Protestant families.

SELECTED READINGS

KELLER, A. G., *Man's Rough Road*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1932.

A readable exposition of mores and folkways in the social life of primitive peoples.

SUMNER, WILLIAM GRAHAM, *Folkways*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1906.

A classic work abounding in illustrative materials on the nature, variability, and characteristics of folkways and mores.

SUTHERLAND, R. L., AND J. L. WOODWARD, *Introductory Sociology*, 2nd ed., J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1940.

The chapter on "The Nature of Culture" is a succinct exposition of the subject, differing in some points from the account given in the present text.

Chapter 5

THE NATURE OF THE SOCIAL HERITAGE

In the preceding chapter it was shown that man must adapt himself to the physical world, to his immediate environment, and to the mores of his social group if he is to survive. He must also adjust himself to the material goods in his environment—materials ranging all the way from needles to skyscrapers. This cultural heritage is an exceedingly important element in the life of man. In this heritage lies one clue to the explanation of the orderliness in human society. It is therefore necessary to understand thoroughly the nature of the social heritage—or culture, as we prefer to call it here.

WHY IT IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF CULTURE

Understanding clearly the nature of culture is exceedingly difficult for several reasons. In the first place, the life of the individual is relatively short, and the changes that take place during its span are not always perceived by him. There is a tendency for the individual to think that things have always been much as he finds them. Yet people have not always had electric lights, automobiles, bathtubs, power looms, steam engines, colleges, department stores, and canned foods.

A modern child is born in the midst of these cultural features and grows up surrounded by them. They seem as natural and commonplace to him as the color of his eyes. Consequently he does not question them. This unquestioned acceptance is extended to folkways and mores.

OUR READY ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMONPLACE

It is simple to illustrate this ready acceptance of the commonplace so characteristic of people in any society. In the lapel of boys' coats there is a slight nick at the point where the lapel joins the collar. All men's coats also have this nick. Why is it there? The habit of making coats and jackets with this odd feature is firmly established—it is a folkway—but have you ever stopped to question it before? And what of the tiny white bow attached to the sweatband of men's hats?

To take another example: food is usually eaten with a fork—that is a folkway, too. Yet there was a time not so long ago when the fork was unknown. Today we take it so much for granted that we never ask concerning its origin, or the origins of any of our eating habits. The custom of combing the hair a certain way is also a part of the social heritage.

Today most people believe in a God who is an all-seeing Father to us all. This belief is rarely questioned; the child grows up firmly grounded in it. But there are people in other lands whose ideas of God are not like ours at all. How shall we account for this?

Every morning you read the daily newspaper; you accept its presence without a thought. The appearance of toadstools on the front lawn arouses more curiosity than the fact that the newspaper is available every day. But people have not always had newspapers What you are now accepting without question was at one time a rarity; in Shakespeare's day there were no such things as newspapers.

We can generalize and say that the fact we are born into a culture and absorb its multitudinous elements unconsciously as we grow older leads us to overlook the significance of its very existence. Because we are reared in a culture without knowing or conceiving what it would be like not to have it, its very closeness causes us to ignore it.

OUR LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER PEOPLES

Not only do we blindly accept our own culture, but we are for the most part unaware of the wide variety of customs and goods to be found outside our own country. Man always tends to divide the world into two groups: those who are like himself, and those who are

not like himself. Variations in the group behavior of other people rarely attract serious attention. There is usually no appreciation of the fact that other peoples have usages that to them are as matter-of-fact as our own customs are to us. It is only through comparison of our own culture with the cultures of other people that the differences become apparent. When differences between ourselves and others are perceived, it frequently follows that we attempt to make the others like ourselves. In short, man tends to be culturally near-sighted.

OUR TENDENCY TO THINK HIGHLY OF OUR OWN CULTURE

When we make comparisons, the basis is often a narrow one. Each group of people tends to think that its own social heritage, its own goods, and its own ways of doing things are superior to others. This habit of thought is known as *ethnocentrism*. William Graham Sumner describes it in this manner:

> Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have folkways, these excite scorn. Opprobrious epithets are derived from these differences, "pig-eater," "cow-eater," "uncircumcised," and "jabberers" are epithets of contempt and abomination. . . . For our present purpose the most important fact is that ethnocentrism leads a people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others." [1]

Further, each culture group tends to regard those who differ from itself as being of another class. In the language of many primitive tribes the name of the people for themselves is the word that means "human being," implying that strangers and nonmembers are something else. Thus the word Ba-Ntu (or Bantu—an African tribe) means *human beings*. While we do not designate ourselves as human beings and all other groups of mankind as nonhumans, our treatment of Negroes and of many immigrant stocks shows that we nevertheless have much the same outlook as primitive tribes.

In summary it can be said that we take our own culture for granted, rarely pay attention to the details of the social heritages of groups

[1] William Graham Sumner, *Folkways*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1906, p. 13.

that differ from us, and, when we do discover such differences, tend to look down upon those groups. In view of this fact it will be only with difficulty that we can construct in our own minds a definite, unbiased, and objective conception of culture. Yet this is exactly what we must do as intelligent members of society.[2]

Perhaps this can best be done by forgetting for the moment our own social heritage and traveling in imagination to a distant region of the earth for a glimpse of a widely different culture.

THE CULTURE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN ESKIMO

The northern fringe of this continent is inhabited by a group of people whom we call the Eskimo. Of their ways of living most of us know little beyond the fact that they sometimes have snow houses for their homes, and use sleds that are pulled by strong and beautiful dogs. This, naturally, is a most inadequate picture of the Eskimo mode of life. It gives no clue at all to the culture of the group, of the social heritage to which each Eskimo child must adapt himself.

A traveler visiting the Eskimo country would be impressed by many things.[3] Only a few can be enumerated here. One might be expected to pay particular attention to the clothing worn. The Eskimo garment is made by the women, who cut and tailor with remarkable skill. The style resembles our own full-dress costume, with its cutaway effect and dangling coat tails. It is made of skin, for no weaving is done in this region. The Eskimo child grows up with the strange fur garment and its accessories and accepts it as unquestioningly as a boy in our own society accepts his ready-made overalls or Sunday suit. The dress habits and customs of the Eskimos are strikingly different from our own.

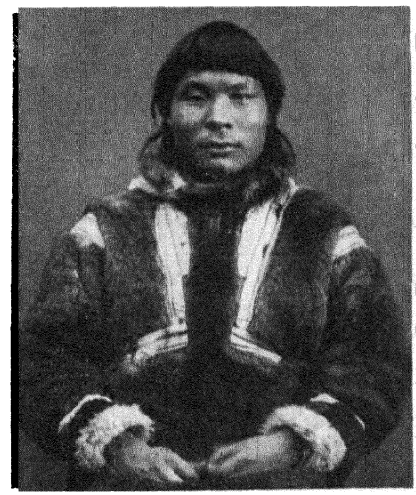
Wood is a rare commodity in the Far North, and so the Eskimo is forced to do his building with other materials. In the winter, snow and ice serve his purpose, and the familiar igloo, or snow house, takes the place of our wooden house or city apartment. The snow house is made with the greatest of care, following a definite pattern that has been passed on from generation to generation. This snow dwelling is ingeniously heated with oil lamps, the walls being lined with skins to hold the heat and also to prevent the snow from melting. Shelves of snow, covered

[2] It should be stressed that culture as the word is used here has nothing to do with "culture" in the popular sense, i.e., refinement, taste, etc.

[3] The description of Eskimo life given here is based on A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1922, Chap. 1.

thickly with skins, serve as beds, and while the ventilation may not be the best, the Eskimo house is comfortable to live in. In the summer, when the Eskimo moves inland to hunt the reindeer, he abandons his snow dwelling for obvious reasons and constructs tents of skins.

Aside from the dog, there is no domesticated animal. The horse in its migrations did not reach the Far North, and unlike the Asiatic Eskimo, the American Eskimo never domesticated the reindeer. Consequently the transportation customs of these people are vastly different from ours. The Eskimo boy grows up with no conception of a horse, ox, or automobile; the dog sled is his only means of transportation by land.



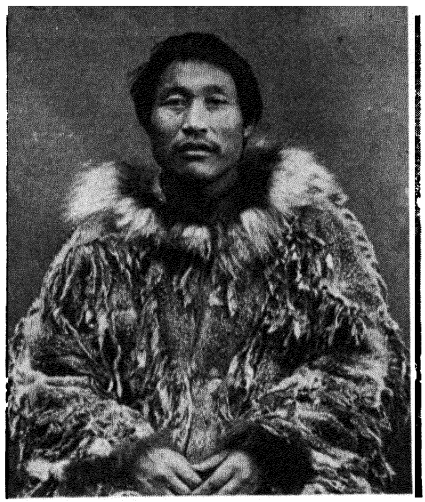
Eskimo, Port Clarence, Alaska. This photograph depicts not only a racial type but also the skill of this people in making, with primitive instruments, attractive fur garments. (Photo by Dinwiddie, Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

Around his life on the sea the Eskimo, through long periods of time, has developed many inventions of a most ingenious nature. There is the strange-looking kayak, a boat used only by the men, which is made of skins and is completely covered except for a small opening on top through which the seal hunter enters the craft, or rather inserts himself. There is no engine to propel it, only a double-bladed paddle. There is also a special type of boat for the women, differently constructed but covered with skins also. To have one type of boat for the males and another for the females may seem strange to us, but to the Eskimo it is perfectly natural.

In a similar manner one might examine the entire material equipment of these interesting people. At almost every point their goods, tools, and everyday objects would prove to be unlike anything we use ourselves. Their heritage is different from ours; their possessions are as strange to us as ours are to them.

On the nonmaterial side of culture, similar differences would be evident. The Eskimo ways of doing things, their habits of meeting life situations, their myths and art and songs all differ greatly from our own.

Vast numbers of *taboos* restrict their behavior. A taboo is an interdiction against the performance of certain actions, such as breaking a deer bone while the walrus is being hunted, or eating seal meat at certain proscribed seasons of the year. We have taboos in our own society, to be sure; one must not talk about certain subjects before a lady or in public; one must not expose certain parts of the body; one must not whistle while the basketball player is trying for the free goal after a foul. Taboos are part of the folkways and mores and are passed on from generation to generation. A transgression of a taboo by the Eskimo is a serious affair, and around transgressions have developed elaborate ceremonies which must be adhered to rigidly. Thus we see again how the social heritage—the beliefs, objects, and customs from the past—determine in part the nature of social behavior.



Male attire, Alaskan Eskimo. For a description of the tailoring, style and appearance, and material that goes into Eskimo garments, see the text on page 76. (Photo by Dinwiddie, Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

In the relations between the sexes the Eskimo are guided by an entirely different code from ours. Their code, however, is just as strict as our own, perhaps even more so. Each Eskimo child learns this code and is shaped by it in the same manner that our behavior is shaped by the moral codes we are taught. In both cases the individual is born into certain ways of doing things, and he does them as those ways dictate.

All phases of Eskimo social life might similarly be surveyed, but the result would invariably be the same. In all aspects of his life the Eskimo responds with group-reaction habits. The orderliness that is apparent in our own society is equally apparent in the Eskimo's. His religious beliefs, his morals, his routine activities, his concepts of the artistic, his social organization, and his philosophies are all laid out for him at birth, and he slips them on mentally just as he slips on his leather tunic and fur breeches.

Life in certain sections of Africa presents striking contrasts to Eskimo

life. Here one finds totemism, ancestor worship, sacred cattle, medicine men and witch doctors, rainmakers, cannibalism, poisoned darts and assagai, beehive huts, phallic monoliths, kraals, animal sacrifices, and a dissonant music of intricate rhythm. In some localities the husband must pay for his bride in cattle before the marriage is considered legal. Among the Bantu each family group maintains a sacred fire which is never allowed to go out lest the food supply dwindle or vanish. In Central Africa the loincloth is the sole article of male as well as female attire. There is little in Africa to remind us of the Eskimo or of our own society. The social heritage into which the African child is born and to which he must conform is a vastly different culture from the one we are accustomed to.

SOME CUSTOMS IN MODERN FRANCE

A trip to modern France would provide additional contrasts. Among other things, we would take note of the widespread custom of eating at sidewalk tables and the copious use of wine at mealtime; the very food served—bouillabaisse, escargots, the traditional frogs' legs, pâté de foie gras, fondues and soufflés—would seem strange and exotic to a New Englander. The thatched cottages dotting the countryside, with grass growing on the roofs, have no counterpart from Maine to California, and the *sabot*, still widely worn, would contrast strangely with American footwear. We would observe that old women and children work longer and harder than in our own country, and that men tip their hats to each other on meeting. If we were to visit an ancient province like Touraine, where traces of medieval life still exist, we would see quaint fashions in headdress and costume, learn of strange beliefs in the occult and supernatural, and perhaps witness one of the impressive funeral processions, headed by the crier and village priest, and note that every man tips his hat as the cortege passes by. Different foods, different customs, different art, different language, traditions, and beliefs—everywhere we would observe differences, yet to the French people themselves all these things would be quite natural and even commonplace, for the obvious reason that they were born to these customs and accept them as a part of their social heritage.

The examples given above should be sufficient indication that throughout the world we meet with different types of culture peculiar to different national and ethnic groups and that each group lives in terms of its own social heritage.

CULTURE IS CIVILIZATION

From this survey we can make the following generalizations: every people has a social heritage of material goods, nonmaterial goods (e.g., poetry), intangible customs, attitudes, and sentiments which is important in shaping the behavior of that people. The social heritage of one group differs widely from the social heritage

A "beehive" village in North Syria, a type found also in certain areas of Africa. The picture illustrates (1) a type of home construction strange to us and (2) village communities usually found throughout the world, from prehistoric times to the present. (Courtesy Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, U.S. Department of Agriculture)

of another. Thus we can distinguish certain peoples by their culture: the Eskimo from the Hottentot, the American Indian from the Veddah of Ceylon, the Japanese from the German, the East African from the Melanesian. The goods, folkways, and mores of each group give it a characteristic stamp.

Civilization thus becomes synonymous with social heritage or culture. We can distinguish the civilization of the Eskimo from that of the modern American because the sum total of elements that make up the culture of the two groups is different. To be sure, there is some overlapping; both groups use fire, for example. But over and

above the identities there are differences in possessions, folkways, and mores that give to each its characteristic appearance. The adjustments represented by the folkways and mores are different. Differences in civilization are differences in culture.

In using the word civilization as a synonym for culture or social heritage, we depart from popular usage. In everyday speech civilization is often employed to indicate an advanced state of society, in contrast to a more primitive one. The word is associated with the idea of science, literature, or Christianity. In this sense, Americans would be considered civilized, the Eskimo uncivilized. But this is an incorrect usage of the word. It is simply a manifestation of ethnocentric thinking. Accurate discussion necessitates our use of the word synonymously with social heritage and culture. Consequently it must be insisted that all peoples have a civilization, for all peoples have a culture.

It must be noted also that differences in what we ordinarily call race are not the basis of these differences in culture. As Wissler has shown, the American Indian, racially a homogeneous group, created in North America alone nine different civilizations—civilizations that can be distinguished with almost as much ease as the Eskimo or Hottentot cultures. It is enough to point out here that while one may think that he tells an Eskimo from a Hottentot by the color of his skin, the slant of the eye, and other physical characteristics, in reality the differentiation rests fundamentally on differences in their respective cultures.

HAVE WE A CULTURE?

If you ask a Chinese exchange student what he thinks of this country, he may tell you how strange our ways of living seem to him. The things we scarcely notice he will describe at length in his letters home; our apartment houses, our city transportation systems, our queer ways of government, our incomprehensible ideas of religion, our peculiar manners and customs, our puzzling attitude toward women, our preoccupation with machines, our superstitions, the ridiculous clothes we wear, our barbarous custom of painting the face, our peculiar foods, our juke boxes and radio programs. The Chinese boy would describe almost everything we do; he would list

most of our inventions and describe our folkways and mores, for they would be as strange to him as his are to us. What this Chinese student would be doing is describing our culture, just as we described the Eskimo culture earlier in the present chapter. It thus appears without any doubt that we have a culture. From the past a heritage has come down to us that marks us off from other groups. Our civilization has its own stamp.

WHY CULTURE IS CALLED SOCIAL HERITAGE

There remains one further point to be made. Why do we call our civilization a social heritage? We have hinted at the answer many times but have not stated it specifically. Biologically the individual inherits certain characteristics from his parents and remoter ancestors. These come down in the germ plasm, and through the germ plasm reach from generation to generation.

Tangible and intangible goods, folkways, and mores are not inherited in this way. They do not exist in the germ cell. They are passed on from age to age through the medium of the social group. Each generation is born into them, adds to them, and then passes them on. The culture is conserved by each generation and transmitted with whatever accretions have developed during the current generation. Originated by some group, conserved by some group, and passed on by some group to its descendants, this accumulation of traits we call culture is properly spoken of as a social heritage.

A DEFINITION OF CULTURE

Culture has thus far been referred to as the sum total of the ways of doing and thinking and feeling about things in any group, combined with the tangible and intangible possessions of the group. As has been pointed out by anthropologists, this is about the same as speaking of the "mode of life" of a people. A more precise explanation will perhaps be helpful. According to a famous definition by E. B. Tylor, 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." This definition embraces the points we have been making. It stresses the fact that culture is man-made. It indicates that culture is socially inherited,

since man acquires it "as a member of society." It includes the folkways and mores—"morals, laws, customs, beliefs"—and also the nonmaterial possessions such as art and knowledge. Tylor's definition might possibly be criticized on the grounds that it does not specifically mention the material goods as a part of the culture of the group. These must be included. The culture or social heritage of any group can be defined, then, as the complex whole that includes material goods, knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. This definition is sufficiently comprehensive to apply to Eskimo or Hottentot society, to American Indian groups, or to the culture of the United States.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why is it difficult to understand clearly the meaning of culture?
2. Define ethnocentrism, and describe two ethnocentrisms of your own.
3. What is Tyler's definition of culture, and how does the text propose to revise it?
4. How do the popular and scientific uses of the word *civilization* differ?
5. Why is it proper to speak of culture as a *social heritage*?
6. How is *cultural variability* illustrated in the text?
7. Name some attitudes and sentiments found in our culture.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Prepare a report on the daily life of any primitive group for whom you are able to obtain information.
2. With the aid of current periodical literature compare the political aspects of Russian and American culture, and show how the differences make mutual understanding and cooperation difficult.

SELECTED READINGS

LOWIE, R. H., *Are We Civilized?* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

A popular and entertaining exposition of culture and its variability written by a leading anthropologist.

MEAD, MARGARET, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1935.

A striking demonstration of the influence of culture in shaping the "temperamental" traits of the two sexes.

WALLAS, GRAHAM, *Our Social Heritage*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1921.

The nature of the social heritage, particularly as exemplified in contemporary civilization.

Chapter 6

CULTURE TRAITS AND PATTERNS

The chemist in studying a complex compound must first of all break it up into the units of which it is composed. Perhaps it is common table salt in which he is interested. It has certain properties—distinctive taste, white granular structure, etc.—and with a little experience it can be identified readily on inspection. But a thorough understanding of the composition of table salt follows only after a complete analysis by chemical methods, which shows the salt to be composed of two simpler materials, sodium and chlorine, in combination. These basic materials the chemist calls elements; all chemical compounds are built up from certain combinations of the 98 elements so far identified. Often a compound includes several elements so intricately combined as to make separation difficult; not all compounds are as simple as table salt.

Somewhat analogously the student of society, if he is to understand thoroughly the social heritage of any people, must reduce it to its elements. Any given society can be likened to a chemical compound in that it has a distinctive form, characteristic properties, and can be identified by means of certain standard tests. We have already seen that it is relatively simple to distinguish a Hottentot civilization from an Eskimo civilization. Complete familiarity with either of these, or with any culture, comes only through an identification of the constituent units of which the civilization is composed, and of the way in which these units have combined. Culture, it has been shown, is the "complex whole which includes material goods, knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." It is now necessary to examine in more detail the cultural elements out of which this complex whole is constructed.

THE CULTURE TRAIT

The element in any culture is called a *trait*. Wissler defines the trait as the *unit* in tribal culture.[1] Civilizations (cultures) are built up by combinations of such units. Every civilization is composed of a large number of them, and the more intricate the civilization, the larger the number of traits will be. In order to understand any given group there must be an enumeration of the traits included in its culture. As Wissler has pointed out, "the history of anthropology shows clearly that the progress in the study of culture has been substantiated only in so far as the enumeration of tribal traits has approximated completeness." [2] In studying any culture the sociologist or anthropologist must, it thus becomes evident, compile as detailed a list as possible of the traits of the culture under observation.

That is precisely what he does.[3] The visitor observes that the Eskimo lives in a snow house in certain localities during the winter season and records this observation, together with details on how the house is constructed and used. Next he studies and records the tools used by the Eskimo, his clothing, food, and weapons; noting, for example, that he has sleds, kayaks, fur garments, harpoons, fire drills, oil lamps, bows, arrows, domesticated dogs, and other goods or possessions. The Eskimo's daily life is studied from dawn to dusk, and even his sleeping habits are noted, as well as the changes wrought in his daily routine by the changing seasons and other external factors. His religious beliefs, taboos, and knowledge of his

[1] Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, Thomas Y Crowell Company, New York, 1923, p. 51

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51. It should be understood that the trait and all of the concepts that follow are methodological concepts and cannot be defined in any hard and fast way. For example, one can say that an automobile is a trait of our culture. Is the tire of the automobile also a trait? If we answer yes, an inconsistency seemingly arises, since the part is thereby made a trait as well as the whole But whether one considers the tire as a trait or not depends largely upon one's purpose In many analyses the unit might be the automobile, in which case there would be no difficulty in disregarding the tire. In other cases it might be necessary to include the tire as a trait. But one might also ask if the inner tube is not also a trait, or the valve. The answer, obviously, is that the concept is not rigid and may vary according to the needs of the analysis.

[3] Cf. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1922, Chap. 1.

physical world are carefully investigated and recorded, including tribal variations of these where they exist. In a similar manner all of the observable traits of the Eskimo are listed and described, until a more or less complete picture of his culture emerges. Professor Franz Boas has actually made such a detailed investigation, which is summarized in his famous study, *The Central Eskimo;* other anthropologists have made comparable studies of various primitive groups.

MATERIAL AND NONMATERIAL TRAITS

Not all traits are alike, for some are tangible, like the Eskimo sled, while others take the form of knowledge or techniques, like the construction of the snow house or the use of the drill to make a fire; still others are what we ordinarily class as spiritual things, like art, music, stories, and ceremonies, and some are in the nature of moral codes, religions, and taboos. It is evident that some of these are material and some are nonmaterial. In classifying traits this distinction is always borne in mind. Culture has two parts, one comprising the material traits, and referred to as the material culture; the other comprising nonmaterial traits, and referred to as nonmaterial culture. The folkways and mores are obviously a part of the nonmaterial culture, as are the attitudes, beliefs, folklore, games, religions, techniques of art, principles of science, and so on. The civilization of a group can now be defined as the sum total of the material and nonmaterial culture traits of the group.

If we wish to analyze the social heritage of our own society, it can be done in the same way the sociologist analyzes the culture of the Eskimo. Our civilization is made of innumerable material and nonmaterial traits, elaborately combined. It would clearly be more difficult to list the traits found in the United States than to list those in primitive Eskimo society, but a thoroughgoing study would involve this gigantic task. Fundamentally the difference between the two is largely a matter of the number and intricacy of the traits involved. In two successive studies of a Midwestern city (mentioned in Part One, pages 46–47), just such an attempt was made to study American culture; the result is a remarkable picture of life as we lived it in the

recent past.[4] A later study of a rural village in the Midwest yielded comparable results.[5]

TRAITS IN A MODERN SOCIETY

Probably no one has ever attempted to count the number of material traits in the present-day United States: it is even impossible to guess how many are welded together in our complex material culture. Almost every item in a Sears Roebuck catalogue is of course a trait in our material civilization, and many of the items there are combinations of many simpler traits. Every part of an automobile or a steam engine is a material trait, and so is every article of our clothing. Every tool, every implement, every utensil is a trait.

On the nonmaterial side, the intricacy is even more pronounced. A bulky volume of etiquette includes the merest fraction of our folkways. The knowledge in our books (and modern libraries often contain over a million volumes) can be resolved into basic ideas, each of which is a nonmaterial trait. Our customs, habits, language, beliefs, music, stories, drama, religion, attitudes and sentiments—all of these are involved, and countless more. The study of culture traits is no simple matter, and it is clearly more difficult in the realm of the nonmaterial than the material. Nonmaterial culture is elusive. It is simple to observe a utensil or tool; it requires infinite skill to perceive the elements in an intricate social ceremony.

Some intimation of the magnitude of the task can be gained by reference to a topical list of data needed to characterize the material culture of a single primitive group. Such a list has been prepared by Wissler. To understand completely the nature of only the material civilization of an American Indian tribe, complete and detailed knowledge under each of the following headings would be required: [6]

[4] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929, and *Middletown in Transition*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1937.

[5] James West (pseud.), *Plainville, U.S.A.*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945.

[6] Clark Wissler, "Material Culture of the North American Indians," *The American Anthropologist* (NS), Vol. 16, 1914, pp. 448–449.

Topical List of Data Needed to Characterize the Material Culture of An American Tribe

1. Food: (*a*) methods of gathering and producing vegetable foods: (*b*) hunting; (*c*) fishing; (*d*) agriculture and domestication; (*e*) methods of cooking; (*f*) manufactured foods. (Details of methods and appliances given in every case.)

Navaho weavers and silversmith. This scene illustrates their production of famous Navaho rugs and their less well-known work in silver. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

2. Shelter: details of structure for (*a*) seasonal types; (*b*) permanent types, and (*c*) temporary shelters.

3. Transportation: methods and appliances for land and water.

4. Dress: materials and patterns; sex differences; (*a*) headgear and hair dress; (*b*) footgear; (*c*) handgear; (*d*) body costume; (*e*) overcostume.

5. Pottery: methods of manufacture, forms, uses, colors, technique of decoration.

6. Basketry, mats, and bags; materials, kinds of weave, forms, uses, technique of color and decoration.

7. Weaving of twisted elements: materials, methods of twisting thread and cord, weaving frames or looms, technique of dyeing and pattern weaving, kinds and uses of products.

8. Work in skins: (*a*) dressing, methods and tools; (*b*) tailoring and sewing; (*c*) technique of bags and other objects; (*d*) use of rawhide.

9. Weapons: bows, lances, clubs, knives, shields, armor, fortifications, etc.

10. Work in wood: (*a*) methods of felling trees, making planks and all reducing processes; (*b*) shaping, bending, and joining; (*c*) drilling, sawing, smoothing; (*d*) painting and polishing; (*e*) use of fire; (*f*) tools; (*g*) list of objects made of wood; (*h*) technique of carving.

11. Work in stone: processes, forms, and uses.

12. Work in bone, ivory, and shell.

13. Work in metals.

14. Feather work, quill technique, bead technique, and all special products not enumerated above.

This list is limited to material traits with the techniques involved, and makes no provision for the rich development in nonmaterial civilization of the primitive groups.

It would be possible to construct a schedule for application to the civilization of our own society: in fact, this has been attempted by a French scholar. His outline schedule runs to 130 pages, yet he does not itemize all the details! [7]

Thus we gain some insight into the intricacy of a civilization and the infinite details of which it is composed. Disregarding for the moment the elements of change, society at any time seems like a vast mosaic in which each tiny particle is a minute trait, yet these particles are so put together that an impression of a unified whole results.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURE TRAITS

Culture traits have certain characteristics that are important. To begin with, each trait in a civilization, material or nonmaterial, has

[7] Louis Marin, *Questionnaire d'ethnographie* (Table d'analyse en ethnographie), Paris, 1926.

its own history which may be quite distinct from the history of any other trait. Recall the tiny nick in the lapel of a man's coat. To understand that nick it is necessary to push far back into the history of clothing, and see the beginnings out of which this trait came. Similarly, it is possible to trace the history of the fork, or the watch, or the fountain pen, or of any other trait that may be of special interest. All the material traits in our social heritage did not originate at the same time; to understand any one trait its own peculiar history must be unearthed.[8]

The same holds true for nonmaterial traits. The throwing of rice at a wedding is a culture trait. Where did it come from? From whom did we inherit it? Why is it a part of our civilization? What of such traits as tipping one's hat to a lady, the rouging of the cheeks, the wearing of straw hats in summer and felts in winter? What of the thousand and one other folkways? This is not the place to answer such questions, but they have answers, for these traits have their histories just as surely as the electric light has a history. Much can be learned of our social behavior from the study of such traits.

A second characteristic of culture traits is that they always tend to combine with other traits. On this point we shall elaborate later; here we only call attention to the fact. Certain food traits become associated with religious traits, as in the eating of fish on Friday, to give but a single example. Traits do not stand alone; they cluster.

A third characteristic of culture traits is their mobility. Traits move and spread from place to place. Thus a popular song, which is clearly a culture trait, is first heard in New York and is soon being sung in San Francisco. An unknown Babylonian architect discovered the principle of the arch several thousand years ago, and it is now freely employed in building and bridge construction the world over. The Phoenicians about 1200 B.C. invented the first true alphabet, which was later borrowed by the Greeks and Romans and now forms the basis of most of the world's languages today. The Arabs around the 10th century A.D. developed a series of nine characters that we know and use today as arabic numerals, while the useful concept of the zero was contributed by Indian scholars shortly afterward. The first magnetic compass was invented in Italy about

[8] It is obvious, of course, that the origins of traits may be unknown or forever lost. this, however, does not invalidate the above argument.

1300, and today jet-propelled stratoliners use a modification of this early compass as an aid to navigation. Other examples could be cited of how traits move from one civilization to another and cover great distances and periods of time. More detailed attention is given to this characteristic of traits in another chapter; here it should be noted that traits can move and change with considerable independence. Not all traits in a society change at the same time or move as a unit. Dozens of customs may come and go while others remain constant; thus boys no longer wear Buster Brown haircuts but the nick in their coat lapels remains.

A few paragraphs back it was stated that any civilization is a vast mosaic composed of elemental traits. In view of the characteristics just enumerated, this analogy must be slightly revised. Society is not a true mosaic, which is fixed and permanent. Rather it is more like a kaleidoscope pattern, in which bits of colored glass shift and change to form endlessly varying designs. So it is with the traits in the social heritage of any group. It should be understood, of course, that traits move and cluster only through the agency of man. Traits move because men, in moving, carry them, as we shall see when we discuss diffusion. Traits cluster because in the past they have been originated in association, or subsequently brought into association for reasons that can be understood only in the terms of each particular combination. Man builds up his culture out of disparate elements and the patterns of any civilization are evident because man, consciously or otherwise, has bound together certain specific traits. This fact must be clearly understood lest independent motility be imputed to cultural traits, resulting in a dangerous tendency to anthropomorphize culture. Culture exists because man has made it, and culture cannot exist without man. However, from the point of view of an individual born at any time, culture as a factor in shaping his behavior can be scrutinized and analyzed in an objective and impersonal manner.

THE TENDENCY OF TRAITS TO CLUSTER

To visualize traits in all their innumerable details would clearly be an impossibility were it not for the tendency of traits to cluster. This, it will be recalled, is the second characteristic enumerated in

the preceding section. Traits rarely stand in isolation; they cling to one another. It thus becomes possible to study traits not as they stand alone but in characteristic combinations. In fact, the true significance of culture traits lies in the particular combinations into which they fall. It may be of use, for example, to know that a certain tribe has cattle, the possession of which constitutes a trait. But it is much more important to know that the cattle are used as a medium of exchange, thus becoming associated with economic traits; that a man acquires a wife by presenting some of his cattle to her parents, thus becoming associated with matrimonial traits; that it is bad luck to kill cattle under certain conditions; that cattle are used as offerings to tutelary gods, becoming thus associated with religious traits; or that the cattle kraal is the center of the social life of the village. It is these trait combinations that are important in understanding how social behavior is modified by culture.

For example, a Chinese observer of our civilization might notice that we are a meat-and-fish-eating people, that we have churches and religions, and that we have special shops for the sale of fish. He could list these facts, just as an anthropologist would list the traits that he could observe while studying the Eskimo. But the full significance of these traits is clear only when their interrelationships are recognized, and it is discovered that a church law or custom prohibits the eating of meat on a given day of the week, with the result that on that day fish is more widely eaten than on other days, and the markets selling fish are rushed with business. This is a trivial example, to be sure, but it serves to show that appreciation of the combining of traits is necessary for an understanding of why individuals in a given group behave as they do. Much of our behavior results from just such combinations of traits as this.

This tendency of traits to combine is illustrated in a description of the Crow Indian Tobacco Society by Professor R. H. Lowie.[9] Tobacco is an important trait in the life of the Crow Indian, but associated with the trait is an intricate series of customs and practices. Not every one can plant the sacred tobacco; the privilege is limited to members of the tobacco society. To join this group one must be sponsored by a member to whom one then stands somewhat in the relation of a son. In this adop-

[9] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920, pp 240–41, 286 ff.

tion there are many ceremonies comprising many traits. Having become a member, the individual thereby gains certain privileges, including the use of special medicines. For these he must pay. In making his payments the individual is often aided by his friends and relatives who thereby gain prestige. It is all quite elaborate, and the final object is the acquisition of the right to plant tobacco. Thus the planting is a single event in a vast series of practices, in which varied customs are invoked and varied goods involved. It is the combination of all these traits, material and nonmaterial, that is significant in studying the Crow society. Many similar combinations of traits could be cited.

THE CULTURE COMPLEX

A clustering of traits around a central trait is called a trait complex, or more often simply a culture complex. It is thus possible to refer to the series of tobacco ceremonies and the material traits employed in them (such as the sacred seed bundle) as a part of the tobacco complex. All of the practices centering in the use of cattle in East Africa would constitute the cattle complex of that region.

Our own society provides many examples of trait complexes. A college football game will serve to illustrate. Each item used in playing the game is a trait: the football itself, the goal posts, the stadium, the uniforms, the special shoes, the helmets, the benches, the score board, the referee's whistle, the scoring sheets, the water buckets. But these are only a few of the traits combining to make a football game. The very rules of the game are a combination of traits. Then there are the band, the pennants, the flags, the score cards, the season tickets, the reserved seats, the college songs, the blankets, and the press box—to say nothing of the bottled soda and the peanuts, without which no game would be complete. Each of these in itself is a trait, and we have only begun the enumeration. The training table must be included. Then, too, there is the custom of betting on the outcome. Elaborate accounts of the game in the newspapers must be taken as a part of the system. In many colleges an athletic holiday is granted for the big games. This often involves a parade, a trek of the student body to the campus of the opposing team. There is the incidental celebration—the boys bring their "dates" along and fraternity houses are filled with the sound of the "sax," trumpet, and clarinet as the festive members dance. And midnight suppers and a round of activity that last until the morning after. It all centers in the game of football. The sum total of this grand constellation of traits is

the football complex. As isolated traits in an investigator's notebook these would not mean so much, but taken as a combination of things and activities, regarded as a dynamic relationship of culture traits, they constitute facts of far-reaching significance. It is to the complex that the individual adjusts himself; it is the complex that standardizes the group behavior.

One further example. Our society is characterized by the domination of the machine complex. Modern science has given man control over mechanical forces, which he has now harnessed for his own ends. The introduction of the power machine revolutionized our own society. The application of scientific knowledge, as in mechanics, has permeated almost every sphere of our lives. We have machines for everything and for every conceivable purpose; machines to transport us by land, sea, and air, machines to talk to us, to do our housework for us, to amuse us, to save time for us. We have machines in the factory, in the home, on the road, and on the waterways; thousands upon thousands of material traits and nonmaterial elements of knowledge and custom have given rise in our own times to this great machine complex. It is a vast amalgam of goods and habits, knit together into a dominant combination which one must either adjust oneself to or perish.

Having seen that traits tend to cluster, and recognizing the importance of these complexes in producing orderly social behavior, we must now examine the nature of the complexes in greater detail.

CULTURE PATTERNS

Within every society are large numbers of these culture complexes. In our own the following can readily be seen: the education complex, into which fall all of the material things and the customs, practices, habits, beliefs, and theories that combine to make our educational system what it is; the machine complex, with all the devices and applications of mechanics, and our habitual adjustments to them; the religious complex, with the intricate details involved in man's relation to the supernatural or unknown. One can enumerate almost endlessly: the sports complex, the industrial complex, the amusement complex, the political complex, the agricultural complex, the urban complex, the scientific complex, the military complex, the literary complex, and the artistic complex. This list is merely a beginning, but it serves to indicate that our culture traits do cluster

and that the clusters stand out with sufficient distinctness to enable the student to recognize and study them.

THE PYRAMIDING OF CULTURE COMPLEXES

It is evident that each of these complexes is actually composed of a number of lesser complexes. Take the football complex in the American college. Within this complex are numerous subordinate ones. Thus, the training table and the traits centering in it actually constitute a complex. The fraternity dances, with their varied activities, constitute another. The presence of the band involves still further localizing of traits, and the same is true of the newspaper reporting, the sale of the soda and peanuts, the singing of the songs, and the shouting of the college cheers. Each of these represents a secondary complex. The sum total gives the all-embracing football complex.

But football is only one of a number of similar complexes that have a place on the college campus. There is the baseball complex, the basketball complex, the tennis complex, and the track complex, to mention but a few. As with football, each of these has within it subordinate combinations of traits. Further, some of the subordinate complexes may overlap, and constitute an integral part of one of the other larger complexes. Thus the custom of awarding college letters to victors, which is a part of the football complex, is also an element in the baseball complex, and, in fact, in all of these athletic complexes. Or the band, itself a combination of traits, may participate in the baseball or basketball game as well as at the football stadium. Organized cheering and singing of college songs have their place in all of the contests.

One further combination of complexes can be discerned. While the various athletic activities on the campus individually constitute full-fledged complexes, considered together they are so many secondary elements in a larger sport complex. They are likewise a part of the educational complex. Similarly, the automobile complex itself stands out clearly, yet it, in turn, is a manifestation of the machine complex, which is connected with the scientific complex. The automobile may also be a part of the amusement complex; it certainly is a part of the transportation complex.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF CULTURE

This pyramiding of independent complexes into more elaborate combinations is a characteristic of culture. Yet even in this seeming intricacy there is actually much order. The fact that culture in any

A young mother in Serbia (one of the Yugoslavian states) cards wool by hand, out-of-doors, while her baby lies in a crude swinging crib, under a homespun blanket the mother wove. Both material and nonmaterial culture traits are represented. (Ewing Galloway)

society is capable of systematic classification has been perceived by various writers. While the number of complexes seems and actually may be large in any civilization, these complexes can be grouped

under major headings which constitute so many fundamental complexes of which all others are secondary parts. Clark Wissler has probably gone farthest toward a systematic presentation of this in developing what he calls a "universal culture pattern." [10] Under this "universal pattern" we can subsume our civilization almost as well as that of the Patagonian, the Blackfoot Indian, the Bushman, or the Japanese. Professor Wissler's universal culture system is as follows:

1. Speech
   Languages, writing systems, etc.
2. Material Traits
   a. Food habits
   b. Shelter
   c. Transportation and travel
   d. Dress
   e. Utensils, tools, etc.
   f. Weapons
   g. Occupations and industries
3. Art
   a. Carving, painting, drawing, music, etc.
4. Mythology and Scientific Knowledge
5. Religious Practices
   a. Ritualistic forms
   b. Treatment of the sick [11]
   c. Treatment of the dead
6. Family and Social Systems
   a. The forms of marriage
   b. Methods of reckoning kinship
   c. Inheritance
   d. Social control
   e. Sports and games
7. Property
   a. Real and personal
   b. Standards of value and exchange
   c. Trade

[10] Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1923, Ch. IV, p. 74.

[11] Not a type of religious practice in highly advanced cultures, except for religious healing cults—M.M.W.

8. Government
   a. Political forms
   b. Judicial and legal procedures
9. War

The fact that any civilization may be classified under this general scheme does not of course mean that all civilizations are identical. We have seen that such is not the case; there is obviously a vast difference between ourselves and the Eskimos. While some traits, such as the use of fire, may be common to all people, the traits that are not possessed in common are far more numerous. What this universal scheme does mean is that the traits in any given society do form complexes, and these complexes fall under one of these major headings. Thus, every society does have speech, though obviously not all languages are alike. All societies have some religious practices, though from group to group there is great variability. All societies have some development of art, yet there is a world of difference between the sum total of the Eskimo traits in this field and the sum total of our own. We have then a general scheme comprising the various trait complexes existing in each independent culture.

Weaving Irish linen in a Belfast spinning and weaving mill. The products of such mills are sold in all parts of the world. Conversion of the flax fiber (the raw material of the industry) into finished goods takes twelve months. (Ewing Galloway)

Someone has likened this universal culture pattern to the human skeleton. Individuals, like cultures, vary greatly in their external appearance. But actually all human beings are constructed upon the same skeletal plan. Similarly, all cultures are built on the same structural plan.

In slightly different words, it can be said that the social heritage

of any particular civilization can be classified completely under the headings of Wissler's universal pattern. In this fact are grounds for the belief that the differences between civilizations are fundamentally not so great as might be assumed at first. Man creates culture always from the same general elements. It is the elaboration that varies. The manner in which the elements in the universal pattern are elaborated depends upon the particular history of each civilization.

It may be noted that inborn drives, capacities, and aptitudes are reflected in the universal pattern. While we cannot correlate war with some hypothetical warring instinct—it is too complex a phenomenon for that—hereditary food requirements, sex drives, and parental tendencies, among others, are clearly reflected in the pattern; mental capacities of a relatively high order are involved in all parts of the pattern; and such items as carving, drawing, sports, and games depend on certain aptitudes as well as on the requisite bodily structures.

THE PATTERNS OF CIVILIZATION

While it is important to understand that there is a general scheme to which all cultures conform, for the student of society it is even more important to observe that within every society the traits and complexes are arranged in combinations or patterns that bear more or less definite relationship to each other. Not all aspects of Wissler's scheme are equally developed in any one civilization. Certain complexes are elaborated to much higher degrees than others. Certain phases of the cultural life of a people are stressed more than others; one group of complexes will assume greater importance in the eyes of the group than another. This varies from civilization to civilization.

Goldenweiser expresses the idea in this manner: "The pattern might also be described as the cast or spirit of a tribal culture or a phase of it, into which new features arising in the tribe or coming from elsewhere are molded."

If we turn to Australia, for example, we find that much of the social activity centers in patriarchal groups to which the older men of the tribes belong. These are powerful groups and have important governmental

functions. If we turn to Africa, on the other hand, it will be discovered that while the natives of the Kalahari desert may not have highly developed material traits in their culture, yet the art, folklore, and language have been developed to a remarkable degree. In some of the West African tribes one finds standing armies numbering thousands of trained warriors under the control of military despots. There are vast kingdoms with land systems as intricate as those of feudal days in Europe. There are court attendants and officials—ambassadors, tax collectors, and many others—and ceremonies that all but rival those of the Court of St. James. It is along these lines that African culture has developed. In East Africa, cattle complexes have an important function in the lives of the people. Many of the lesser traits and complexes center in the various uses of cattle.

With ourselves—and it must not be forgotten that we should study our own civilization just as objectively as we study primitive societies—there may be some question as to which are the dominant complexes in the social heritage. Wissler says the machine complex, the popular-education complex, and the popular-suffrage concept (democratic complex) are outstanding.[12] These are certainly highly characteristic of our culture; one might also add the property complex, the pecuniary or wealth complex, and the speed complex. Taken together these give our civilization its individual stamp.

THE UNITY OF CULTURE PATTERNS

The examples just given are sufficient to illustrate the point that every civilization, though composed of innumerable traits and complexes, is a unified whole in which all of the complexes fit together and are adjusted to one another. In this adjustment a few of the various complexes assume a more central and more important position than others. These peculiar and characteristic combinations of all the complexes of any civilization give what the anthropologist and sociologist call the "patterns" of the civilization. This pattern concept is a useful one because it enables the student to view a society as composed of large numbers of complexes, each in itself a peculiar combination or pattern of traits, and with all of these lesser patterns woven together into a few major patterns. Civilization, which we have likened to a mosaic and kaleidoscope, may also be compared to a tapestry of intricate design. There are one or two

[12] Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1923, p. 5.

major motives, each of which is comprised of any number of lesser elements. Each trait is a thread; these threads combine to form the complexes, which are the minor designs in the fabric; and these lesser complexes are then mutually balanced and adjusted to give the over-all impression. A quick survey of a civilization shows its major pattern (*e.g.*, our own mechanized, democratized, materialistic, mass-educated culture). It requires much closer observation, however, to discover the lesser patterns and the individual traits, which are the strands out of which the whole is fabricated. Yet with study and attention to detail they can be found in every civilization.

"UNIVERSAL PATTERN" AND INDIVIDUAL CULTURE PATTERNS DISTINGUISHED

The term *universal culture pattern* used by Wissler to designate his generalized classification scheme may perhaps be confused with the word *pattern* as we have been using it here. With Wissler, the universal pattern includes the generalized major complexes common to all civilizations. The word *pattern*, as related to a particular culture, embraces those elements or combinations of elements that make this civilization stand out from all others. The pattern of each civilization is unique; it is this pattern that enables us to distinguish one civilization from another. Thus, while there is a universal form or pattern within which all cultures fall, the traits and complexes within a single culture will be found in combinations (patterns) peculiar to that culture.

THE SELECTIVE INFLUENCE OF THE CULTURE PATTERN

The pattern of any civilization is not consciously planned by individuals; it is a product of historical growth. Development along particular lines is due to varying circumstances in each group. This trend becomes elaborated, and perhaps is eventually singled out for further elaboration. The ways of doing things soon become habitual and unquestioned. They acquire a certain sacredness. Modification must not be abrupt. If new traits are added to the culture they must be introduced in a manner that will not disrupt the major complexes. Everything, in short, must conform to the pattern.

This can be illustrated in our own society by the present-day opposition to certain economic and political doctrines now current, especially Soviet communism. As we have pointed out, one of the major patterns of our culture is centered in materialism, with its capitalistic organization and profit motive. The doctrine of materialism is firmly entrenched in our social heritage. We are adjusted

Cambodian fan dancers at Angkor, Indochina. Especially interesting to us are the strange costumes and the exotic style of architecture. (Ewing Galloway)

from early life to this materialistic pattern; to question it smacks of heresy. (Questioning one's own culture patterns is usually regarded as heretical.) Much of our life and most of our ways of doing things are adjusted to this materialism. Consequently when individuals from other lands, where the economic patterns are differently developed, come to these shores and suggest modification of the prevailing economic and political patterns, their ideas are met with the strongest resistance. The traits or complexes which they seek to introduce are so at variance with our own dominant

complexes that to accept them would mean demolishing or disrupting our own pattern—or so it is believed. Hence the resistance, on purely theoretical grounds, to communism as a form of government. The practical considerations need not concern us here.

Just as we distrust and often treat drastically the individuals who introduce traits contrary to our economic pattern, so we are led to act against the individuals who merely hold ideas that do not fit in with our dominant political pattern, democracy.

The same is true of the lesser patterns within a society. It must not be forgotten that any civilization embraces a great many minor patterns in addition to its dominant ones. Actually, each social class is dominated by its own pattern.

As new traits (material or nonmaterial) are invented or introduced into any culture from without, they must be welded into the sum total of civilization that already exists. To repeat, civilization cannot be conceived of as a collection of isolated traits. The traits and complexes are all related to one another like the elements in a kaleidoscopic design. Consequently new traits must be fitted in with those that already exist.

Thus when the Plains Indians adopted the horse (which had been introduced to North America by the early Spaniards), they did not abandon the *travois*—a primitive dog sled mounted on a pair of trailing poles—but merely enlarged and modified it to suit equine proportions. The horse was thus fitted into the older transportation complex.[13] Singularly enough, the Indians refused to adopt either the saddle or the wheel, two traits that were entirely foreign to their culture, yet they did adopt the rifle in self-defense (but never attempted to manufacture it) and all too readily adopted the white man's firewater.

One interesting and widespread trait of the American Indian was his belief in a guardian spirit. This trait has been extensively studied by Dr. Ruth Benedict.[14] The point to note here is that while the fundamental idea of a guardian spirit was common to the race as a whole, it changed markedly from tribe to tribe according to the individual social pattern of each tribe.

Similar examples may be found in our own culture. We have, for

[13] Clark Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Plains Culture," *American Anthropologist* (NS), Vol XVI, 1914.

[14] Ruth Benedict, *The Guardian Spirit in North America*, Memoir 29, American Anthropological Association, 1923.

example, borrowed many traits from the Orient, reshaping and weaving them into our present-day patterns but losing sight of their original significance in the process. Thus the many small statues of Buddha seen in our homes and shops serve not as holy symbols of a mystical religion but more prosaically as incense burners or objets d'art.

This tendency of fitting new traits into the existing pattern of a society is further exemplified in the manner in which maize, or Indian corn, was introduced into Europe. The colonists who came to America took over the entire maize-planting complex of the Indians, but when corn was transplanted to Europe it was sown like wheat instead of being planted in hills. Again, as Christianity spread over Europe it gradually incorporated many of the ancient pagan festivals into the Christian calendar and transferred to Christian saints some of the attributes of the early pagan deities. Evidences of a similar fusion of religious elements can be found today among the Mexicans and Indians of the Southwest, where Catholicism has been grafted on remnants of ancient Aztec and Indian beliefs.

It should be clear now that the pattern of any civilization exerts a selective influence. Inventions within a group must, in order to be adopted, conform to the general pattern, as must ideas or goods that permeate from without. Thus it can be seen that, generally, traits are not added to the cultural heritage of a group in indiscriminate fashion, but are consciously or unconsciously chosen in accordance with the prevailing patterns of the group. Wissler puts it this way: "This new trait that is offered must find something to fit into, otherwise it may be repulsed." This is an important concept to bear in mind in studying civilizations. It enables one, for example, to understand the difficulties with which the so-called inferior races adjust themselves to the predominant white culture.

It is sometimes argued that the Indian and Negro are slow to appreciate the advantages of the white man's civilization, and that their failure to adopt it is evidence of their nonadaptability and inferiority. "If they weren't inferior," the reasoning usually goes, "wouldn't they immediately accept the white man's better ways of doing things?" Such an attitude, of course, naïvely overlooks the very point we have been stressing. Many of the traits and complexes of white civilization in no way fit into the Indian's or Negro's

own pattern of civilization and hence are not readily absorbed. People reject traits they do not understand or which do not fit into their scheme of things. We reject foreign ideologies; the Indian rejects our theories of law and morals. The principle in each case is identical: the complexes do not fit the pattern, and consequently are resisted.

Such is the strength and importance of the pattern of culture in each group. An understanding of this pattern concept makes the development of civilization much more intelligible.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is a culture trait and how is it related to the civilization of a group? Give an illustration.
2. State and illustrate three important characteristics of culture traits.
3. What is a culture complex and what is its relation to the culture trait? Give an illustration from your local community.
4. What are some of the important complexes in our society and how do they contribute to the orderliness of human behavior?
5. What is meant by a universal culture pattern and what major complexes, or groups of complexes, are included?
6. Distinguish between Wissler's universal pattern and the pattern of a particular civilization, using the United States as an example.
7. What effect does the pattern of a civilization have on new traits that appear? Illustrate.
8. Show with the aid of examples how hereditary drives, capacities, and aptitudes are involved in culture patterns.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Enumerate as many as possible of the culture traits related to some college social function, and show how these traits combine in a cluster of group ways that are binding upon the individual participant.
2. Enumerate the culture complexes that are evident on a college campus, and show how they combine and recombine into various larger complexes.
3. Compare the culture patterns of the United States and of any other country you may select, and point out some striking resemblances and differences.

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Chapter 7

THE GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURE

Culture traits and complexes are not distributed over the face of the earth in an indiscriminate manner. Various ways of doing things, various beliefs, and various material goods tend to be localized in fairly definite regions. Were this not so, it would be impossible to differentiate Eskimo and Hottentot civilizations. A region with a distinctive culture is termed a *culture area.*

The culture complexes clustered in an area are constantly shifting, new traits and complexes are being added, and inner changes are taking place. Viewed in perspective, no culture stands absolutely still. Rates of culture change vary in different areas all the way from the extreme slowness in a small primitive society to the rapidity that characterizes our own.

HOW CULTURE CHANGES

Culture changes chiefly in two ways: first, through an addition of new traits and complexes, and secondly through a modification of existing ones. The former is probably the more important. This type of change can be illustrated by a simple comparison in the history of our own society.

Imagine yourself living in Boston in the seventeenth century. There would be no fine city streets or tall office buildings, no trolley cars or automobiles. Newspapers would be of the simplest kind, published once a week and containing "news" that was months old. Farm life would prevail. There would be no large factories or mills, and no moving pictures to provide an evening's entertainment. In fact, life would be far simpler than it is today even in a remote New Hampshire farm com-

munity. At least the latter has the telephone, the radio, the automobile, and the daily newspaper to bring contacts with distant centers.

What is Boston today? A city of 770,816 population (1940), the foremost wool market in the country, a leading center of the fishing, leather, and shipping industries, a major world port, the home of eight colleges and universities, and a metropolis of tall buildings, automobiles, trolleys, and buses. To the simple conditions of life of the Puritan fathers (who are memorialized in landmarks, churches, and monuments) all of these material things have been added through the years from 1630 to the present. Nonmaterial traits have also been added. Vast libraries house thousands of books that represent the accumulation of the world's ideas. Where one language was spoken, many tongues are now heard. Where one religious belief dominated, many sects now have thousands of adherents. The simplicity of the colonial period both in material and nonmaterial culture has been changed into bewildering complexity through the accumulation of innumerable traits.

This difference between early and modern Boston cannot be explained on the ground that the modern inhabitants are more intelligent than their ancestors of Governor Winthrop's day. Boston does not have automobiles and telephones because people are born "smarter" now than they were in those days. The contrasts are the result of the slow accumulation of knowledge. In short, the differences between the two periods are largely differences of culture; the vast changes are cultural changes. Each generation from 1630 to the present has added some new traits to the sum total of the culture existing in our society, and these have been passed on to its successors. Thus we again see the significance of the term "social heritage." The knowledge and material goods that cause our bosoms to swell at the thought of our "advanced" civilization are really not of our own creation, but are our inheritance from those who have gone before. To be sure, new traits are being added during our lifetime, as we shall soon point out. The radio has been developed within the past generation. We did not inherit it as a complete trait. At the same time, we should remember that knowledge which made the radio possible has come down from the work of earlier generations of scientists. It must also be borne in mind that future generations will inherit radio, television, and radar just as we inherited the steam engine from eighteenth-century inventors. So we are justified in considering even those traits that are developed in our own day as being truly a part of the social heritage.

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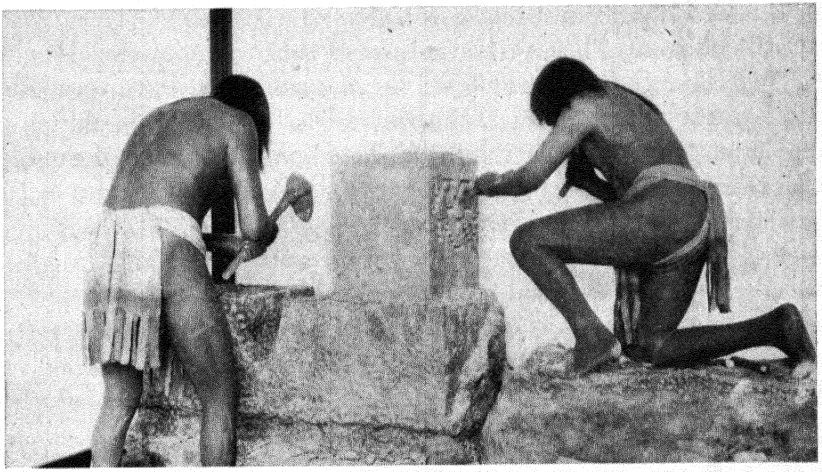
THE CUMULATIVE NATURE OF THE SOCIAL HERITAGE

It is possible to generalize upon the basis of what we have learned thus far and state that culture grows through a process of accumulation, that within any culture area this accumulation of traits is the important source of cultural change. In some areas the accumulation goes on at a faster rate than others, for reasons soon to be explained.



Stone workers with stone tools. Their carving reproduces that on walls of a now-ruined building at Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico, which was constructed in Pre-Columbian times. Material culture of the Stone Age is illustrated. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

Just when man first began to build culture cannot be stated precisely, although there is much information now available concerning the nature of the early stages of cultural development. In various parts of the Old World traces of prehistoric man and his work are found. Of these early periods we can know directly only about the material things, for nonmaterial traits vanish when the culture itself disappears. In the realm of material culture, the cumulative trend is relatively clear and distinct. Knowledge of prehistoric men has probably been best developed through archeological work in Spain and southern France. In these two sections, from the imperishable handiwork discovered in caves and in the earth and correlated with

other knowledge, the manner in which trait is added to trait and technique to technique can be observed.

Man's earliest tools were crude stone implements—so crude that authorities still dispute whether they are the work of man or nature. Then after thousands of years, flint implements that are unmistakably the work of human hands appear. As centuries pass this work becomes more elaborate. The flints are more accurately chipped, and the implements become finer. Moreover, new implements were invented. To the early crude hammers eventually were added chisels and blades, reamers and scrapers. Thousands of years intervened between inventions of the more specialized tools. At first these tools were chipped on one side only, but eventually some great genius of those prehistoric days discovered that chipping on the reverse side of the blade produced an implement of double effectiveness. This development was a great addition to the social heritage of the group.

Still later, bone work began to appear and implements in ivory and shell. Primitive man began to carve and to paint. The paintings on the walls of certain caves in France and Spain still bear testimony to the skill of these early artists. Technique was added to technique, and life was diversified. The social heritage of the groups was broadened.[1]

This age of rough, unpolished stone work then gave way to a "new" Stone Age, in which polished stone implements predominated. In this age came the invention of the art of agriculture, the art of weaving, the domestication of animals, and the development of pottery—all of them inventions of the greatest importance. The social heritage was becoming complex. Following these developments the use of metals was discovered, and the Stone Ages were left behind. Bronze and later iron work predominated. New tools and utensils

[1] For details of this cultural growth the student should consult Henry F. Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1918; G. C. MacCurdy, *Human Origins*, D. Appleton–Century Company, Inc., New York, 1924; A. M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925; Franz Boas *et al.*, *General Anthropology*, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1938; V. G. Childe, *Man Makes Himself*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1936, and *What Happened in History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1943; and similar works. In this chapter the details cannot be filled in; our task is merely to point out the simple beginnings from which human culture started, and the manner in which trait is added to trait in the cumulative development.

were now available. Where once there had been cultural simplicity there was now increasing complexity, and each generation added to the accumulated culture. With historic times, the course of development becomes much clearer; it is possible to trace back the process from our own society to the days of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans.

CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

During all these thousands of years, various groups, possessing the culture of their time and place, were moving over the earth's surface. Some broke away from those centers where culture flourished at an early time. They soon lost contact with all others and their cultural development came almost to a standstill. Other peoples may have broken away from parent groups before even the crudest inventions had been made. It may have been much later when their men of genius hit upon the art of stoneworking and developed it independently. During this period of man's cultural growth, great diversification was developing in man's social groupings.

Migrations, strange physical environments and adaptations to them, loss of contacts with more rapidly changing groups—all these factors would lead to segregation of some groups and would modify their cultural growth. Not all of these groups would, even from earliest times, develop along the same lines. The origins of the many civilizations that now cover the earth must be traced back to just such diversification. Those people who moved to the East would soon be out of contact with their progenitors; their development would be along new and different lines. The people who settled in the Mediterranean area had their own historical growth. Those who went into Africa were subject to a still different social heritage. All over the world specialization was under way. Whether the migrations of man took place from a single region or whether all culture had its beginnings at one point is not of importance to the present discussion. It may be that there have been several independent beginnings of culture. The fact of interest to the student is that from prehistoric times cultural development has moved along different lines in different regions of the globe. Certain traits have

clustered in certain regions. The basis of culture areas was being laid at a very early date in man's history.

While this generalized view of the growth of civilization is important, we must nevertheless confine our attention to the study of a given social group if we wish to understand its particular type of culture. Each culture area should be studied in the light of its own peculiar history rather than in the light of a universal trend of civilization. To understand any civilization one must first know something about the development of the traits that are clustered in that area. This accounts for the anthropologist's keen attention to each individual culture area. He recognizes the part that the social heritage plays in shaping behavior, and consequently seeks to trace out the development of the traits and complexes that make up any particular social heritage. Not all societies, however, develop through set stages of growth, as was formerly supposed.[2]

Thus far material civilization has been chiefly considered. Nonmaterial civilization grows in much the same manner, although not always at the same rate. The store of ideas of early man was woefully small as compared with the knowledge of modern man. The general knowledge of even a Greek mathematician is paltry beside that of a bright college student. Up to about the end of the Renaissance a gifted individual could master the entire store of human knowledge, but since then science and learning have grown so vast that such an attainment is no longer possible. There has been a similar growth in complexity in nearly all other phases of nonmaterial civilization, especially in our own society.

THE CULTURE-BASE CONCEPT

The accumulated total of culture at any one time, in any given culture area, is called the *culture base*. When we say that culture accumulates we mean that the culture base grows larger. It is clear that the size of the culture base varies from civilization to civilization.

The Eskimo has an infinitely smaller culture base than Euro-Americans. But whether large or small, the individual in each area

[2] For an admirable discussion of the stage theory of social evolution, see A. A. Goldenweiser, *Anthropology, an Introduction to Primitive Culture*, F. S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1937, Chap. XXXI.

is conditioned by the size of this culture base and is almost totally dependent upon it. We are "advanced" because our culture base is large; the Eskimo is "primitive" because his is small. The sum total of knowledge existing in any society at any one time is the important fact in understanding the people in that group. An Eskimo child growing up in Eskimo society becomes a good Eskimo, with the limited culture to which the Eskimo group is heir. The same Eskimo child growing up in New York would doubtless be a good American, absorbing the culture common to modern New Yorkers. If by means of some fabulous time machine we could transport a Cro-Magnon baby from 15,000 B.C. to the present, and then allow him to grow up with the average American education, he would, according to the findings of anthropology, be able to enter the average American college at the age of 18. The Cro-Magnon man was "backward" only because his culture had not developed; time had not sufficed for the process of accumulation. We are advanced because we are fortunate enough to have been born 17,000 years later in an area where the social heritage is of vast proportions. No individual creates his own social heritage; he is simply born into it. Consequently it makes all the difference in the world whether one is born a century or two earlier or a few centuries later so far as our own society is concerned. The difference would not be so great, perhaps, if we had been born in an Eskimo or Hottentot society.

MAN'S DEPENDENCE ON HIS SOCIAL HERITAGE

While we are fortunate to have come into the world at this late date and to be in a relatively advanced culture area, it must not be forgotten that our advantages are solely those of a favorable accumulating process. Our "superiority" is not our own individual accomplishment; it is simply due to the fact that we have a rich heritage. Were this taken from us, along with our memory of it, we should be even more primitive than Cro-Magnon man, and the long process of culture building and accumulation would have to be begun anew. Graham Wallas puts this idea dramatically:

But the most important and progressive varieties of the human race would probably, if social inheritance were in their case interrupted, die

out altogether. If the earth were struck by one of Mr. Wells's comets, and if, in consequence, every human being now alive were to lose all the knowledge and habits which he had acquired from preceding generations (though retaining unchanged all his own powers of invention, memory, and habituation), nine-tenths of the inhabitants of London or New York would be dead in a month, and 99 per cent of the remaining tenth would be dead in six months. They would have no language to express their thoughts, and no thoughts but their revery. They could not read notices, or drive motors or horses. They would wander about, led by the inarticulate cries of a few naturally dominant individuals, drowning themselves as thirst came on in hundreds at the riverside landing places, looting those shops where the smell of decaying food attracted them, and perhaps at the end stumbling on the expedient of cannibalism. Even in the country districts men could not invent, in time to preserve their lives, methods of growing food, or taming animals, or making fire, or so clothing themselves as to endure the northern winter. An attack of constipation or measles would be invariably fatal. After a few years mankind would certainly disappear from the northern and temperate zones. The white races would probably become extinct everywhere. A few primitive races might live on fruit and small animals in those fertile tropical regions where the human species was originally evolved until they had slowly accumulated a new social heritage.[3]

The foregoing passage may seem highly imaginative, but its essential point is true. Man today is dependent upon the social heritage in which he is born; man always has been dependent on this heritage; if it were eliminated he would revert once more to a stage just above the subhuman level.

Looked at from the standpoint of this analysis, the differences between men, either over long periods of history or between contemporary groups living in different culture areas, seem to be matters of accumulated culture—or culture base—rather than differences of inborn ability. We can see this clearly if we compare the culture of our grandparents' day with that of our own. The fact that we have a greater number of traits today hardly needs demonstrating. The same explanation can be extended backward in accounting for the differences between the days of our grandparents and our great-grandparents, and between the latter and our great-

[3] Graham Wallas, *Our Social Heritage*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1921, p. 180.

great-grandparents. Clearly it is culture that is at the basis of these differences and is the essential element in understanding the change that takes place within any group.

INNER CULTURAL CHANGES

Important as are these changes in culture resulting from the accumulation of culture traits, there are also changes in the culture of any people that are not the result of such additions, but grow from internal modifications of existing traits. Thus a given ceremony in a primitive society may be slightly varied in passing by word of mouth from generation to generation. A story may be embellished as the teller seeks to gain increased approval from his audience. A design may be changed with passing time by the virtuoso's display of technique. Differences in the abilities of individuals in any society, with their slightly varying viewpoints, will produce these inner modifications. It is these inner changes that result in inventions that are clearly of basic importance.

Having seen that the important cause of cultural change is the addition of new traits to the already existing culture base, it is now necessary to ask how the individuals in any culture acquire the new traits that are added to the old.

THE SOURCE OF CULTURE TRAITS

There are two sources of culture traits. First, someone within the group may invent a new trait, either material or nonmaterial. Thus within recent years the jet-propelled plane has been developed by aeronautical engineers working in laboratories. Using the material and knowledge already a part of our culture base, they recombined certain elements and the new trait resulted. Similarly, new insecticides and new medicines have appeared in great profusion during recent years as a result of improved research, thus enlarging the culture base.

Nonmaterial traits are invented in much the same way, though perhaps in a less scientific manner. Books are written, music is composed, poems are conceived, philosophies developed, and religions introduced, all by individuals within our own group. The

same applies on a smaller scale to the primitive group, where instead of books and philosophies there may be incantations and folklore. New traits are constantly being added because individuals possess inventive ability.

But not all traits develop within a given culture area. The people of the United States spend millions of dollars annually on cigarettes and cigars, yet tobacco and smoking are traits that were borrowed from the Indians of North America, being unknown to our European ancestors before the days of Jean Nicot and Sir Walter Raleigh. Gunpowder plays an important part in modern Euro-American culture, although it was invented by the Chinese about the twelfth century A.D. The Old Testament of the Christian Bible dates back to the Hebrew civilization that flourished about 1000 B.C. The masonry arch was first used by the Babylonians, and a little later by the Etruscans, who gave it to the Romans, from whom our European ancestors copied it. Steam engines were first made by Englishmen, yet the Japanese build them today with commendable skill. It is evident that much of our own social heritage was invented by outsiders from whom we have borrowed heavily. In our own culture no one can state the ratio of native to foreign traits, but it is clear from observation that we have received from others far more than we have created ourselves. As Ogburn says, "It is much easier to borrow culture than it is to invent it." [4] The acquisition may have been in the past or it may be contemporary; the result is the same. The new trait or traits are added to the social heritage and passed on to future generations, who soon become so habituated to the new element that they rarely stop to consider the source. Often, in fact, they credit their own native ancestors with the invention, as did the African Negroes when asked to explain the presence of tobacco in their society.

DIFFUSION

The spread of culture traits and complexes is called *diffusion*. When we say that one civilization has "borrowed" from another, we

[4] An excellent account of our indebtedness to the Chinese is contained in Paul Cressy's article, "Chinese Traits in European Civilization," *Am Soc Rev.*, Vol. X (1945), pp. 595 ff.

mean that a trait or complex has spread from one to the other. The white man borrowed the corn complex from the Indian—that is, when the two civilizations came into contact the corn complex of the Indian was taken over by the white settlers.

The diffusion of culture traits may be within a single culture area or, as in the case of Indian corn, between two cultures. Paris, for example, is one of the centers where clothing styles originate. Germany was for many years the diffusion point for certain types of scientific knowledge. New York and London have long been the economic and financial centers. But the essential point is that new traits do not spring up simultaneously all over an area; they are relayed out to more distant points from certain important centers. The farther away from the center, other things being equal, the longer it takes a new trait to permeate.

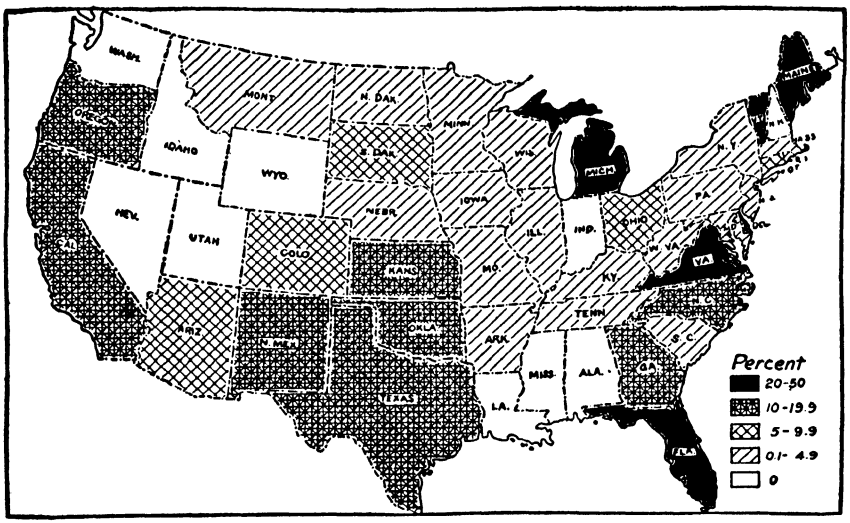
As an illustration, contrast the styles in women's clothes in New York and in northern Vermont or western Idaho; or observe how a popular song, originating in a New York musical comedy, is soon heard in hundreds of other cities throughout the country. Because of newspapers, radios, and moving pictures the spread of traits in modern society is more rapid than in primitive society, or even within our own culture areas in previous generations, yet the principle is the same. Traits radiate from focal points. This applies to traits introduced from without as well as those invented within a culture.

In spreading between two areas, traits in many instances apparently jump from a culture center in one area to a culture center in another, just as in spreading within a large area they jump from a primary to a secondary center—as Paris styles spread first to New York, whence they are distributed to secondary centers. This pattern, however, is not always followed. Anything that brings two civilizations together leads to the spread of traits from one to the other, as will be shown later.

It may be a single trait that spreads, or a vast complex of traits. The crossword-puzzle craze traveled from the United States to England and thence to France. Individual words frequently enter our language from distant sources: *garage* and *camouflage* from the French, *succotash* from Narragansett Indian, *ketchup* from Malay Indian, *chocolate* from the Aztec and *tobacco* from the now dead Taino language of the West Indies. The wooden shoe has spread

all over eastern Europe. Many instances illustrate the fact that a single trait may have a long history of diffusion.[5]

Entire complexes also may spread. The horse complex was taken over by the Indians from the Spanish. The Japanese superimposed the Western machine complex upon their ancient feudal form of civilization. The tobacco complex has circled the globe: Columbus brought Indian tobacco back to Europe, the Spanish and Portu-



Per cent of cities above 1,000 population having city manager. The map illustrates the spread of a nonmaterial culture complex that first appeared only a few decades ago. Note the marked unevenness of the diffusion. (E. C. McVoy, "Patterns of Diffusion in the United States," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 5, 1940, p. 221)

guese traders carried it along the northern shores of the Mediterranean, passing the smoking habit to the Negroes of Africa; from Africa, the tobacco complex reached Asia, and going northward was adopted by the Siberians, from whom the North American Eskimo acquired the habit, smoking his first tobacco in Russian pipes![6] The history of the alphabet, the masonry arch, the spread of Chris-

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1923, Chapters 7 to 11, gives the history of various traits and complexes that have spread from one civilization to another and have been incorporated in the latter.

[6] *Ibid.*

tianity, the diffusion of painting and sculpture, the development of law and legal codes from the time of Hammurabi to the present—these are the histories of complexes that have come down through the centuries from groups having cultures different from our own.

There has been a tendency on the part of some writers to overstress the part played by diffusion. It has been contended that an invention can take place only once, and that all cultural resemblances can be explained as the result of diffusion from a single center. This theory leaves no place for the possibility of "independent origins"—that is, the invention of a similar trait at two distant points. The evidence exists, however, that such independent or simultaneous inventions have occurred; the classic example, perhaps, being the simultaneous invention of the calculus by Newton and Leibniz in the seventeenth century.

DIFFUSION A CHARACTERISTIC OF CULTURE TRAITS

The tendency of traits to spread is a characteristic of culture. Primitive groups borrow from other primitive groups; the culturally advanced borrow from the culturally advanced. The primitives also borrow from groups having more complex civilization, while the latter often acquire traits from the less advanced areas. The extent to which traits diffuse is well illustrated in an advertising pamphlet published by the Waterbury (Conn.) Chamber of Commerce under the title, "Waterbury Has Something On Everybody." The pamphlet begins thus:

> This [title] is the slogan adopted by the Chamber of Commerce, an accurate, concise way of saying that somewhere on your person, probably, you have some small article made in Waterbury.
>
> We make safety and common pins, buttons, hooks and eyes, shoe eyelets, and shoe hardware generally.
>
> Waterbury and Ingersoll watches are made in Waterbury by the million.
>
> We make match boxes, split rings for buttons, pencil clips, and brass fasteners for corset steels, and furnish brass, the foundation of plated jewelry.
>
> We put real money in your pocket, for the blanks for nickels and cents are furnished the government from Waterbury.

When you chance to go wrong, it is Waterbury that furnishes the handcuffs and leg irons for jails and prisons.

If you are a nymph, a satyr, or a mermaid; or a South Sea Islander dressed in the simplicity of nature; or a citizen of the far country to the north of us, the habitat of the polar bear, the reindeer or the walrus, and where it is so dark six months in the year that the face of the clock or a watch cannot be seen except by the occasional glint of the aurora borealis, then it may be true that Waterbury has nothing on you—and yet, if a missionary has happened your way and you have a souvenir trinket left by him, it is not unlikely that it came from a Waterbury factory.

TYPES OF DIFFUSION

Wissler, in analyzing the spread of culture, has pointed out that diffusion may be either unconscious and unplanned, or conscious and deliberate.[7] He calls the former natural diffusion, and the latter organized diffusion. A slang phrase will quickly diffuse, although no effort is consciously directed to this end. Travelers are constantly bringing back from foreign countries traits which they introduce quite unwittingly. On the other hand, a dominant country or a dominant organization may wish to spread its beliefs and ways of doing things or its material goods to those people not in possession of them. The missionary movement is an example of conscious diffusion, and primitive societies sponsored missionary movements even as we do. War of conquest is organized diffusion. The press of business organizations into new markets is another example of organized diffusion.

The favorably situated culture areas are those of most rapid growth. It is not hard to understand why a Mediterranean country should have a more rapidly accumulating culture base than a native Australian group. It is clear why New York has a more elaborate culture than that possessed by the Alaskan Eskimo. The world moves through New York. It is a great focal point from which traits diffuse. It is there, to use the older phrase, that civilizations "cross-fertilize." The Euro-American culture area is centrally located. It was in this area that culture, perhaps through accident,

[7] Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1923, Chapters VII–IX.

began to flower along scientific and mechanical lines. This alone not only gave the white group a control over nature and man that no other group had ever possessed; it also gave this group the knowledge for developing communication as it never had been developed before. The accumulating process forged ahead. The culture base gained a tremendous acceleration; soon all other culture areas seemed far behind. Thus Western civilization became the dominant one. Wonderful as its growth has been, it can be explained wholly in terms of cultural accumulation. To this end we must now examine the mechanism of culture growth.

SURVIVALS IN THE SOCIAL HERITAGE

The statement that culture grows through a process of accumulation implies that as new traits are added to the culture base in any area they do not replace, trait for trait, the older ones, but instead the new traits and the old are actually retained side by side. In the process of culture accumulation practically nothing is lost.[8]

As man developed artificial lighting, he added the invention of the candle to the primitive rush light or burning faggot. Later he invented the kerosene lamp, and still later, illuminating gas and the gas mantle. Finally, the electric light was developed, progressing from the early carbon-filament lamps to today's fluorescent and sodium-vapor lamps. All these forms of artificial light still exist, although the earlier types are used less and less frequently. It is because old traits tend to persist in the face of improvements that the culture base is constantly broadening.

The culture of any group contains many elements that are carry-overs from an earlier time. These are called survivals—traits that have outworn their original usefulness, yet still persist. There are nonmaterial traits in the nature of antiquated ideas: superstitions, weird beliefs as to the cause of disease, and ancient political philosophies; as well as material traits like the buttons on a man's coatsleeve, the bow on the sweatband of a man's hat, the dummy smokestacks on Diesel-powered ocean liners, and the imitation wood panels on the sides of modern steel Pullman cars. Sometimes the survivals serve a definite purpose or have real utility, but

[8] Some traits do seem to have been lost. The art of mummifying is no longer understood. Also, an exhaustion of material may cause a gap in the culture of a people. Pacific Island peoples that formerly had canoes no longer know how to make them; disappearance of wood from the region explains this. But these cases are relatively rare.

this is usually different from the original use to which the traits were adapted. Ceremonies that are now performed for amusement only were once full of religious significance; customs that now are merely amusing (like throwing rice at weddings) were formerly of vital import; material traits that once served one specific end now serve another, as in the case of the academic gown. The social heritage includes a great number of traits of this type, all persisting, some having a certain usefulness, but many no longer bearing any relation to the original purpose.

In this accumulation of traits, always growing larger with the passage of time, there is, however, much that is of great value to man. Knowledge of facts is continually being acquired, and like any other trait this knowledge persists and is passed on to the generations that follow. The more knowledge man has, the greater becomes his control over nature. We, with our vast scientific background, obviously have greater power at our disposal than has the Eskimo with his limited knowledge.

THE RATE OF GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL HERITAGE

As one observes the historical growth of culture in general, one sees that at first the growth is exceedingly slow. Thousands of years elapsed between the Old and New Stone Ages. As the culture base grows in size, however, the new traits appear with greater frequency. The size of the world's culture base seems to determine the rapidity with which new traits will be invented in the most highly developed culture areas. An invention is the combination of two or more old traits to produce a new one. Every invention builds upon past knowledge and to that extent is determined by it. Thomas Edison could not have invented motion-picture photography had he lived a hundred years earlier; the motion picture could come only after the invention of still photography and the celluloid film. The steamboat was dependent upon the steam engine and could not have been invented before the latter. Each invention depends on knowledge that has been accumulated previously. The size of the culture base is a most important factor in inventions. The greater the number of elements in the base, the greater the possibility of new combinations.

This relationship also applies to other culture areas than our own.

Where the base is small, the rate of change from internal inventions will be slow. The Eskimo culture base is small compared with our own; this is one of the reasons why it seems to remain stagnant, and why inventions are few and far between.[9] We are, to repeat, fortunate to be born in an area with a vast accummulation of culture, but our fortunate position should not cause us to regard as inferior the areas with smaller culture bases. It is simply through the accident of birth that we are here instead of among the Papuans of New Guinea or the Bushmen of South Africa. We owe what superiority we have to our accumulated social heritage.

Culture in an area, it thus appears, grows somewhat like money at compound interest. A sum of money at three per cent interest compounded annually will double in about 23 years; a dollar deposited in 1700 would have amounted to slightly more than $2,000 today. At first both principal and interest are small, but as the interest mounts and is added to the principal the increase is cumulative, for the interest is paid on an ever-growing principal which in turn is increased by the amount of interest paid. Cultural accumulation has a similar pattern of growth. The prehistoric culture base is the single dollar deposited. The slow addition of new traits represents the initially small interest. As ages pass, new inventions or ideas are added to the original base; the base enlarges until finally it becomes a vast accumulation out of which new inventions develop rapidly. In our culture area the base is large and inventions frequent. The more frequent the inventions the faster the cultural base grows, and the broader the base the more numerous and frequent are the inventions. Thus in our generation change follows change with almost breathless rapidity, while in areas where the base is small, changes are slow and infrequent.

PROGRESS AND CULTURE CHANGE

The change in our own society is largely in the realm of material traits. In our nonmaterial civilization the accumulation is by no means as rapid. We do not always accept change readily. It is largely in the realm of material goods, where we are used to change and where we can see the results of change quickly, that we welcome

[9] Perhaps another factor in accounting for slowness of cultural change in Eskimo civilization is that the culture is so completely adapted to the environment; it thus enables the Eskimo to survive better, perhaps, than any other conceivable culture.

the new. Our commonly accepted ideas of progress can usually be analyzed in terms of material development. On the nonmaterial side, progress is by no means so evident. People are said to be *conservative* when they cling to old culture traits and resist the introduction of new ones. Those who readily accept new traits and adjust themselves to the resulting changes are said to be *progressive*. From the earlier analysis it follows that a group may be progressive in its material development and conservative with reference to its nonmaterial civilization. This characteristic appears to apply to our own society.

In the light of our analysis we can regard the social heritage as a vast and growing accumulation of culture traits in favored culture areas. The picture is not a static one, for traits are shifting and diffusing constantly. Areas close to the paths of diffusion absorb the new traits, fit them to their patterns, and thus enlarge their cultural bases. Remote areas are rarely reached by the spreading traits, and then only after a longer period of time. In these regions the cultural base in consequence develops slowly. Furthermore, in addition to the traits that enter from without, inventions are being made within each area. The rapidity with which these appear is conditioned by the size of the culture base. Hence in centrally located regions with large culture bases inventions are far more frequent than in the remoter areas. This means that the culture of the former grows more rapidly and outstrips the latter, as is shown by the history of Euro-American culture.

All of the foregoing merely serves to reinforce the conclusion previously reached, that the individual is largely the product of his social heritage. The terms *backward* and *advanced* are to be considered as referring to culture, not race. The backward are those whose culture base is small, and whose development is consequently slow. The advanced are those having a vast social heritage, whose increasing accumulation of traits leads to further and further development.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is meant by a culture area? Give two or more illustrations.
2. In what ways does culture change? Illustrate by examples from our own society.
3. What is meant by saying that culture is cumulative? Give illustrations from recent cultural developments in the United States.

4. What is a culture base? Compare briefly our culture base with that of some other country.

5. What is meant by culture diffusion? How does it occur, and what part does it play in the development of a culture base?

6. What is meant by an inner change in culture? Illustrate.

7. What is a culture survival? Give illustrations of a harmless and a harmful survival.

8. Why are inventions so frequent in our own society?

9. Why do group contacts affect the rate of cultural growth?

10. Explain conservatism and radicalism in terms of culture change.

11. How does Graham Wallas emphasize our dependence on culture?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Take any simple invention with which you are familiar and show how its originator was dependent upon the past in producing it.

2. Using an encyclopedia or other reference source, write a paper tracing the diffusion of one of the following: the alphabet, the masonry arch, tobacco, Christianity, the steam engine, the use of the horse, coffee, printing, the theory of democracy.

3. Prepare a list of as many superstitions as you can think of and show how, as survivals, they are undesirable elements of the social heritage.

4. Through the use of the encyclopedia or other reference source, identify important nonmaterial inventions during the past 20 years in the fields of government, education, religion, or economic organization.

SELECTED READINGS

CHAPIN, F. STUART, *Cultural Change*, The Century Company, New York, 1928.

Traces the development of nonmaterial culture, including social inventions.

OGBURN, W. F., and M. F. NIMKOFF, *Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1940.

Chapters on "The Growth of Culture," "Obstacles to Change," and "The Social Effects of Invention" are illuminating discussions of these topics. The last-named chapter lists the social effects of an important material invention, the radio, and also gives a considerable list of social inventions.

RESEARCH COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL TRENDS, *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1932.

A detailed exposition of changes in all fields of American life, with special attention to inventions and other factors in these changes.

Chapter 8

CULTURE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

The previous chapters have been designed first to show man's dependence on his social heritage, and second to analyze in some detail the nature of that heritage. Only through an understanding of the particular elements of the heritage to which any group or individual is responding can the resultant behavior be properly interpreted. Consequently there is need in social analysis always to consider the cultural environment and the special combination of traits that impinge upon the individual or group at a given time or place.

The present chapter has also a twofold purpose. First it points out how cultural analysis aids in understanding the social problems that confront any culture group, and especially our own; then it shows how the cultural point of view helps us to face the problems of world adjustment, particularly the adjustment between so-called inferior and superior groups.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND ADJUSTMENT

Social problems are problems of adjustment. The criminal is not adjusted to his social environment; the old-fashioned person is not adjusted to the changed conditions of a modern industrial civilization; the immigrant is not adjusted to living conditions as he finds them in a new country; some of our religious beliefs are not adjusted to the findings of modern science; labor is not adjusted to capital, nor capital to labor—the list might be extended indefinitely. The word *adjustment* implies some kind of a harmonious relationship between two or more elements that are dynamic. If all things were unchanging, the problem of adjustment would disappear. It is because a change in one element or set of elements necessitates a change in a second set that difficulties and maladjustments arise.

It has been stressed that any civilization is composed of innumerable traits, each with its own historical background, and that all traits in a group do not arise at the same time or place. Moreover, traits are always tending to diffuse and shift. And finally, complexes grow and change; culture is dynamic.

With the interrelations that culture involves, it is not surprising that the various complexes are not always well adjusted to one another, nor, consequently, the individuals upon whom the complexes impinge. Furthermore, the larger the culture base, the greater will be the possibility of maladjustment. Doubtless there are many more social problems in our own culture area than would be found in a simpler area.

DIFFERENCES IN THE RATE OF CULTURE GROWTH

One of the principal sources of social maladjustment lies in the fact that various complexes have different rates of growth or grow at different rates at different times. The culture base grows, it has been shown, by a process of accumulation, and rarely do groups of traits disappear completely. Material civilization, in our generation at least, multiplies and develops at prodigious speed. The automobile has changed from a crude horseless carriage to a streamlined 150-horsepower sedan within a relatively short period. Patents are granted annually by the thousands. Every issue of our national magazines brings us the advertisement of some new device that is being placed on the market. Our customs, however, show no such rapid tendency to change. Our codes of morals are but slowly modified. We still use the ceremonies of our grandparents' day. Our economic philosophy changes by imperceptible degrees. At the same time, however, our scientific knowledge is increasing at an accelerated speed.

What frequently happens is that two complexes having some mutual relationship get out of step with each other in consequence of a rapid change in either one. A complex of material traits may forge ahead, leaving behind the older customs formerly associated with it. Modern man frequently struggles with antiquated methods that are unsuited to the changed condition of contemporary society. Or the lack of adjustment may be between two nonmaterial com-

plexes, as when certain religious groups refuse to modify their doctrines or to introduce changes that are necessary in the light of modern scientific advancement.

THE CONCEPT OF CULTURAL LAG

The situation in which one complex moves ahead, leaving a dependent and related complex unchanged or changing but slowly, is called a cultural lag.[1] This lag may occur between any two associated traits.[2] Sometimes the lag is not great, and the more slowly changing complex is soon readjusted to the complex that is changing more rapidly. Sometimes the dependent complex lags far behind, and the time needed for the adjustment is a matter of generations. Professor E. B. Woods has offered the following illuminating example of cultural lag:

> European peasants, it is often observed, tend to retain the primitive ideas and ways of living to which they were accustomed in some remote ancestral village, and to practice them in crowded tenement houses in Lawrence, Mass., or New York City. For example, the simple fishermen who bring their families from the Portuguese Islands in the Atlantic to live in New Bedford or Fall River have a picture of clean beach sand in their minds which they act upon most unwisely in the murky industrial quarters they inhabit in their new environment. At home the women were accustomed to clean the milk bottles by filling them with sand from the beaches, but when they continue the practice with the use of such sand as they can get in a crowded urban community their babies get sick and die. A highly industrialized urban civilization such as they find here has made such a practice unsafe and unworkable.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AS CULTURAL LAGS

The present status of women in modern society is explicable in terms of cultural lag. In a much earlier period, before the rise of modern industrial conditions, the mores and folkways concerning

[1] William F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, The Viking Press, New York, 1922, Part IV.

[2] In this analysis the writer is under indebtedness to Professor Ogburn. He does feel, however, that Professor Ogburn tends to overstress the dependence of the nonmaterial upon the material culture, making the lag primarily between these two. In our own society there may be much justification for this (*op. cit.*, pp. 268 ff.), but as a general principle it seems more valid to assume that the lag may be between *any* two or more groups of traits, and to emphasize this possibility.

woman and her sphere developed. In an age when the agricultural family was the unit, life naturally centered primarily in the home. The man tilled the soil and raised the crops. The woman ran the house, which usually included spinning and weaving, making the clothes, preparing the food, churning the butter, dipping the candles, and many other forms of labor entirely unknown to the city woman of today. There were no bakery shops, no canned goods, no delicatessen stores. Each family produced largely for itself, and the woman had no small part in that system of production. Also, it was the mother's duty to teach and train the children, for there were no public schools. With such a background, it is readily understood how the mores centered in the concept that the woman's place is in the home; under such a scheme of life, it actually was. The agricultural environment and the mores of the woman were well adjusted to each other. Then came the tremendous change represented by the Industrial Revolution and the development of city life. Large-scale production in factories replaced the simpler home industry. One by one the older tasks of the woman were taken from her. She no longer made her cloth and sewed the clothes. Neither was she required to do all of her baking and preserving, for food shops and canning factories did it more efficiently than she could. The public school relieved her of much of her function as a teacher. At the same time, there were opportunities in the world of business and industry. The factories called for female workers, education opened up the possibility of careers, the invention of the typewriter and telephone made women a necessity in many businesses, and financial independence actually became a reality for a growing number of the so-called weaker sex. Changed material conditions—the introduction of the factory system and the machine, as well as the increasing complexity of city life—made necessary a readaptation of the old mores. Woman's place was, strictly speaking, no longer entirely in the home unless she wished it to be.

But have the mores and folkways changed? Have the nonmaterial traits—the attitudes toward women—been modified to meet these changed conditions? While they are indeed changing, it is obvious that the change is exceedingly slow, and that the adaptation is by no means complete. As a matter of fact, women themselves are

torn between the new desire to go out into the world and the old mores which tend to keep them in the home. Here is clearly a problem growing out of the different rates of growth of two associated complexes. One set of traits lags behind the development of the other.

Bound up with this particular problem are many parallel problems which are the outgrowth of the same cultural lag. The political role of women, the equal-pay-for-equal-work campaigns, the discrimination against women in industry, and labor legislation for women all have their roots in cultural lag. In fact the more general problem of the family and its evolution may be similarly analyzed. The problem of divorce is largely one that involves the adjustment of the older attitudes and ideas about woman and her place in the family unit to the modern conditions under which her economic independence is possible. The conditions that have freed the woman economically inevitably produce the need for readjustment; the mores that prevailed in the days when the woman was dependent for support upon her husband will no longer serve. Such mores, however, are changing slowly; they lag, nevertheless, and therein lies the social problem.

One of the age-old lags has been between the beliefs of various organized theological groups and the findings of men of science. Religious complexes tend to follow slowly the more rapidly accumulating scientific complexes. It was so in the time of Galileo; present-day fundamentalist beliefs are subject to the same interpretation. The fundamentalist is not perverse or hypocritical; he is simply conditioned to a theological complex and is unable to recondition himself to the newer concepts of biology, geology, and history.

Recent developments in psychology seem to demonstrate the fallacy of treating as criminals certain types of offenders whose lawbreaking stems from poor environment or personal maladjustments. The old prison system grew definitely out of a theory of punishment. It was assumed that the one sure way to deter crime was to punish, with varying degrees of severity, the criminal who committed it. The penitentiary, as the word implies, was originally a place where the wrongdoer was confined until he became penitent. These theories concerning the cause of crime have changed, but the prison

system remains largely unaltered. There is a lag between our newer knowledge of causes and the older treatment which was based on a different theory of causation.

The so-called race problem has developed from similar maladjustments. This is especially true with regard to the Negro. From the time of their involuntary migration to this country to the present Negroes have been regarded as an inferior race. The slave psychology has held generations of white men in its grip: the Negro according to this biased viewpoint was a born servant, unlettered and without hope of cultural development. The white man's attitude and adjustments toward the Negro were based on this false psychology. The new Negro is now arising, adapting himself to the white man's pattern, and actually contributing in many ways to the cultural development this pattern represents. That there are talented, accomplished Negroes in all professions and occupations needs no documentation here. Having been given a certain political status, the Negro is now beginning to enjoy a long-deferred cultural status. Nevertheless the ingrained emotional attitudes of the white group still persist. In spite of his accomplishments the Negro finds that whites continue to regard him as their inferior and resent his cultural advance, or at least confuse tolerance with condescension. The actual cultural development of the Negro has been more rapid than the growth of racial equality. This lag between the Negro's achievements and his acceptance by the whites is a cultural, not a racial problem.

CULTURE AND SOCIAL REFORMS

The foregoing examples indicate that cultural analysis makes for understanding of social disorder. Regarded as the lag of one particular complex in relation to another, a social problem does not appear so terrifying or insuperable as before. Moreover, this clearer understanding of the nature of a social problem makes it much easier to direct the attention of the reformer in such a way that his efforts will not be futile. In the past, too much attention has been given by well-meaning reformers to various panaceas which were thought to be the cure for all social ills. Our analysis has shown that no such cure-all exists. There is no social ill that will yield to a single rem-

edy. Social ills result from a multitude of individual and group maladjustments. What often seems to be general social disorganization is in reality the sum total of a large number of individual social lags.

Each lag has its own history, as does each trait involved in it. There is no single-track program of social reform whereby all the social lags can be eliminated and complete adjustment attained. Cultural analysis and the trait concept show that to hope for such a simple solution is sheer folly. Social problems must be accepted for what they are: specific maladjustments between interwoven and interdependent culture traits. When they are so understood, the first step toward reduction of the lag between the unadjusted complexes has been taken. Clearly the cultural approach is of value in understanding the normal and abnormal functioning of a group. Out of this understanding can come readjustments which will reduce the individual lags that produce disorganization.[3]

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND THE RACIAL THEORISTS

These observations have an important bearing on international and interracial attitudes. The fact that cultures are inherited and are constantly changing from generation to generation casts serious doubt on the validity of assertions that one culture group is inherently more advanced than another, or that there is such a thing as a "superior" race whose destiny is to lead all other races. We have already seen that the present cultural level of the African tribesman is the product of environmental forces; because he has not invented television or built skyscrapers we cannot conclude that his brain and nervous system is inferior to ours. So-called racial inferiority, we have striven to show, is a relative concept, implying cultural comparison by those who assume their level to be the higher one. It should not be taken to mean that there is an absolute set of values, either biological or psychological, by which races or groups can be measured. There is ample evidence in the rise and fall of civilizations over the long course of history that so-called inferior peoples

[3] It must not, however, be assumed that social lags can be removed once and for all. The dynamic condition of culture and its cumulative nature preclude any such Utopian goal. But specific maladjustments can be removed, and then the reformer can turn his attention to the new problems that have arisen in the meantime.

have become superior, and vice versa. We have only to contrast the barbarian Greeks of the Dorian Age (1500 B.C.), who were "inferior" to their Egyptian contemporaries (then at the highest point of their culture) with the Greeks of Plato's day (400 B.C.), when the Egyptian Empire had long since fallen into ruin. Or consider the "inferiority" of the Anglo-Saxon tribes in relation to the Roman Empire of Trajan (A.D. 98) with the English nation of Pitt's day (1800), when the Roman Empire was remembered mainly as the subject of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. Such sweeping alternations from inferior to superior status and back to inferior are not to be explained in terms of inborn mental abilities or biological make-up; they are rather the result of a multitude of economic, political, and other social changes, the sum total of which we call cultural change.

THE CULTURAL UNITY OF MAN

It is simpler, however, as well as more gratifying to our self-esteem, to ascribe our present fortunate position in world culture to our supposed racial superiority, and to accept the racial theory instead of examining and evaluating cultural backgrounds. But by now it should be evident that such a one-dimensional viewpoint can lead only to a distorted conception of society as a whole and to a reinforcing of racial prejudice. How we as a group happen to stand at any moment in relation to other groups is purely a matter of fortuitous cultural circumstance.

Conversely, a frank recognition of the process of cultural growth must lead to increased toleration and understanding between groups where formerly the unwarranted ideas of "inferior" and "superior" prevailed. Instead of applying these illusory catchwords we must begin to think in terms of cultural or background differences. The narrow concepts of "good" and "bad," "high" and "low" as applied to groups of mankind fade before the broader outlook which a comprehension of the cultural viewpoint should develop.[4] Gold-

[4] It is sometimes asked why other races, if they are not inferior, do not take over the dominant white civilization. The most adequate answer is given by Professor Franz Boas in the first chapter of *The Mind of Primitive Man*, rev. ed., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1938. The grip of culture upon individuals conditioned to it must always be borne in mind. Further, the gap between our culture and that of more primitive groups is now so great, due to our rapid accumulation of culture traits, that

enweiser expressed this truth concisely by saying, "Man is one, civilizations are many." If there is any basis for international harmony and interracial understanding, it must surely lie in the fact that culturally man is everywhere following the same general pattern and aiming at the same human goals.

Failure to recognize the essential humanness of man the world over was partly excusable in the past, because knowledge of other culture groups was relatively meager. In the present century a vast amount of cultural materials have been collected, yielding an intimate knowledge of many other peoples. In the light of this knowledge it has been discovered that these people, fundamentally, are not unlike ourselves. The emotional and intellectual traits that were supposed to differentiate them from us have faded away upon closer examination. They are men quite similar in many respects to ourselves, with ability that compares with ours, yet with a culture of a different type. Through a study of their culture, and their attitudes and reactions to it, we can learn to understand and appreciate those who come from areas other than our own.

In the same way we can even come to appreciate those who live in distant sections of our own Euro-American area. We are too prone to overlook what other groups have contributed to us. It is by a study of the individual traits and complexes in our own social heritage that our debt to others becomes apparent. Such a study is likely to break down the cultural smugness that has characterized us in the past, and for this reason it is important to know what the social heritage is. The present dominant attitude of the majority of our own group toward other groups represents a vast social lag, which can be reduced only through application of the cultural viewpoint. If there is any single thing that can help us to understand mankind the world over and to appreciate the wonder of his work, it is this study of culture.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why should the dynamic nature of culture lead one to expect cultural maladjustment?

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an adjustment between the two is no longer possible. Consequently any attempt at "taking over" is certain to result in the destruction of the simpler group. Of equal importance is the fact that most primitive groups have no desire to "take over," since they do not see in our ways of doing things the superiority that is so evident to us

2. Explain with the aid of illustrations how various parts of culture develop at different rates.

3. Define cultural lag, and give illustrations of its principal forms.

4. What light does the concept of cultural lag throw on the nature of social problems and the methods of dealing with them?

5. Wherein does the cultural approach to sociology differ from that of the racialist approach? What lag is involved in the latter?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Write a brief paper on the Industrial Revolution, showing the transformations it wrought in social life and the cultural lags that developed in its wake.

2. Compile a list of as many social problems as you can, and indicate briefly how they involve cultural lags.

3. Through the use of current periodical literature ascertain and report recent changes in the attitudes of whites toward Negroes and their effect on the cultural lag involved in Negro-white relations.

4. In the light of our cultural analysis prepare an indictment of cultural snobbishness.

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Part Three

GEOGRAPHY, ECOLOGY, AND THE COMMUNITY

PART Three deals with selected aspects of the material setting within which social life goes on. The geographic environment has a more direct effect on material than on nonmaterial culture. Culture, itself affected by the environment, helps people adapt themselves to their physical setting. Different cultures may exist within similar physical environments, and the same culture, with only slight modifications, may exist in different geographic regions. Invention changes our relation to our environment, but cannot end our dependence on it.

There is no proof that certain types of physical environment are more conducive to human energy and inventiveness than others. The geographic environment affects cultural change, however, in that it affects cultural isolation or diffusion. Wherever man settles he changes the landscape. He exploits some of the natural resources. The TVA is an example of a planned effort to change a physical environment.

Human beings live in group settlements. These differ in size, in spatial design, in permanence. Factors affecting the settlement patterns of peoples are: the geographic setting of a people, its technology, its food-getting practices and other economic activities, the age—or stage—of settlement, its degree of urbanization, and its habits of transiency or stability.

Communities are groups of people, in local areas, having collective or synchronized activities in which the people participate. They may be classed as rural or urban on the basis of size, density, heterogeneity, and other social differences. Human ecology is an outgrowth of general ecology, which is the study of the relations of living organisms to their environments. Human ecology is the

study of sustenance relations among people, including the spatial aspect of such relations.

Cities take on characteristic spatial patterns which reflect economic and status values. The units of organization are small areas resulting from centralization (the nucleation in space of specific activities) and segregation (the clustering together of like people or institutions). These areas undergo changes or successions. Some social problems are highly concentrated in certain areas, almost absent from others. A number of areas combine to form an over-all city pattern. Generalized schemes of the over-all city pattern include the zonal hypothesis and the hypothesis of sectors. City planning regulates the growth of cities, but has been adopted too recently to be an adequate guide to the early stages of their growth.

Rural trade areas consist of those areas whose trading activities center around a specific village or town. A metropolitan region centers on a large city; it consists of a metropolis and a hinterland of smaller communities and open country areas which are mutually interdependent. Both rural trade areas and metropolitan regions specialize in certain production activities, and must all depend on one another. Social interaction has arisen out of economic relations in trade areas and metropolitan regions, affecting the attitudes of the people.

Chapter 9

GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND CULTURE

THE human environment is quite complex. It consists, first of all, of human beings living and working together. The living together of men, and the communication among them, is the source of all that is distinctly human. Second, it consists of culture—that is, the body of customs and beliefs and meanings that surround us and do much to determine our conduct. Third, there is the physical aspect of our environment, the air we breathe, the ground we live on, the sunshine and the rain, the natural resources, and the seas, rivers, and mountains.

This chapter and the one that follows are concerned with the effects of the physical or geographic environment on the social life of man. What is the relation of the geographic environment to culture? To what extent have technological advances freed us from dependence on our local physical surroundings? What are the consequences of settling on marginal land? Is the geographic environment an important factor in social change?

THE GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT

The geographic environment is itself composed of several elements. First of these is climate. Heat, cold, rain, snow, and drought are all dynamic geographic factors. Each of these makes demands on the people affected. The Eskimo's ability to make a snow house in an hour or two has often saved him from freezing to death. The dwellings of many peoples in the South Pacific islands are fashioned so as to offer protection from the sun's heat and at the same time to catch any cooling breezes. In parts of the Near East where water is scarce, roofs are built to catch the rain and conserve it for use. The rainfall of many unirrigated areas determines

the kinds of crops that may be grown. Seasonal changes are reflected in the clothes we wear, the games we play, the kind of work we do, the resorts we visit, even the food we eat.

Second is a set of elements that together make up the material formation of an area. These include the soil, rocks, streams or other bodies of water, subsurface materials such as water, oil and minerals, and the contours of the surface. These constitute the most stable components of the environment, though they are not unchangeable. The item most subject to change among those named is subsurface water, since it is controlled within any given climate by the uses to which the land is put. Yet it is a factor of vital importance in the growth of plants.

The area in which people live always leaves its imprint on many aspects of their culture. Its most direct influence is on the use which people make of the land. Yet we shall see that the same kind of land may be used in many different ways. Differences in the fertility of the land affect the levels of living of farmers in this country, and, in consequence, the degree of comfort and security they have come to expect. Steep hillsides have made terracing an established agricultural practice in the Philippines and China. Mineral ores and oil resources may lie unknown in the earth, but as long as they exist they are potential objects of exploitation.

The third geographic element is native vegetation and animal life. The forms of life which are natural to an area depend fundamentally on the soil and subsurface strata, and on the moisture and temperature. People of practically every culture have made use of the plants and animals native to their environment. Captain John Smith said of Virginia that the country was "overgrown with all sorts of excellent good woodes for building houses, boats, barkes and shippes." The cultures of some of the tribes living on the Great Plains were centered around the exploitation of the bison. Desert areas throughout the world are everywhere very sparsely settled or quite without human habitation. Tropical jungles, in contrast, have kept people out by the very density of their growth. Wherever people have settled, however, they have wrought some change in the natural life of their environs, and have modified the balance of nature.

Geographic location and routes of travel constitute a fourth set of

environmental factors. These differ from the preceding ones in that they have to do not with the nature of the group's immediate surroundings but with the nature of its dependence on these surroundings. While the isolation of a settlement or its measure of contact with the outside world can never be explained in terms of geography alone, the geographic factor cannot be ignored. Mountain ranges and vast mountain expanses have until recently hampered the movement of peoples and the flow of communications. Geographically isolated peoples are dependent on the resources of their immediate surroundings and on their own inventiveness. Waterways have been among the most important avenues of travel throughout all history; most cities of antiquity had river or seafront locations, and so do most contemporary cities for that matter. Recent inventions have done much to minimize the geographic barriers to travel, but they have not altogether overcome them.

The geographic is never an unmodified environment. Wherever man has settled he has left his stamp on the physical landscape. He has made trails through the woods and cleared areas for settlement. He has attacked the natural wild life. He has cut down forests, ploughed the prairies, and sunk deep shafts into the ground. In removing the natural cover from the land, he has affected the rainflow and the drainage of rain water; he has left the soils exposed, to be carried away by the passing winds. Every culture has its own way of exploiting the landscape; no culture leaves it untouched. The physical environment, then, is not a static thing. Some of the changes have been deliberately brought about, others have been the unwitting consequence of man's actions. Being modifiable, the physical environment is itself a stimulus to social change.

"Environment" does not necessarily include the whole of one's surroundings; instead it denotes those aspects of the surroundings that have a conditioning or modifying influence. A full understanding of the impact of nature upon a culture often requires diligent study. Many geographic elements have exerted a very direct influence; among these are vegetation and climate. Others, such as subsurface water with its effects on plant growth, have had important indirect effects. Still others, such as undiscovered deposits of coal, are not truly part of the human environment at all. Mine shafts and oil wells not only bring the materials of the earth into use, but

in doing so extend the human geographic environment into the ground.

ENVIRONMENT AND CULTURE

The accommodating of ourselves to the physical environment is a condition of life itself. Every form of life requires an environment within which it can live. Plant species do not appear throughout nature in a random manner, but require suitable locations. Most species of birds migrate with the seasons, an essential condition of their survival. Man is one species of life that is found in widely differing physical environments, yet he does not live in the water or on lifeless wind-swept mountain tops. A part of our adjustment to our surroundings is automatic. We breathe the air, perspire in the heat, shiver in the cold. The pupil of the eye expands when the light is dim and contracts when it is bright. Gravity holds us to the earth's surface.

A second part of our adjustment to the physical environment concerns other biological needs. If we are to live we must have food and drink, must protect ourselves from extremes of heat and cold, rain and snow. But while all people breathe in essentially the same way they do not all eat the same foods or live in the same sort of houses or wear the same kind of clothing, even within essentially similar climates. Here nature offers us choices, and the customs of our society determine the choices we make. This aspect of our adjustment, then, is a cultural matter. The culture tells us how to select, produce, and process commodities originating in nature, to satisfy our needs for food, fabrics, and building materials.

A third aspect of our adjustment to our physical surroundings, likewise cultural, involves the use of various materials, soil fertility, mountains and oceans for needs or wants that are not strictly biotic. We set our houses in green lawns, and plant flowers and shrubs before them. We find courting more romantic in moonlight than in bright sunlight. We drive great distances to stand in awe before panoramas of mountains and valleys, or to hear ocean waves lash against the boulders of the shore. We swim in the summer, skate in the winter. In many such ways we use nature to satisfy aesthetic and other interests.

Culture is a distinctively human product, built up through the

transmission of practices and ideas. It does not spring from the ground, like flowers, to bloom in any predictable way. Yet the physical environment has left its imprint on every culture. Every society must live within its physical setting. Being bound to it, each must have practices that make living within it possible. Likewise every society has learned to utilize the resources of its surroundings. Man has learned to gather berries and roots for food, to take fish from the streams and lakes, to capture or kill wild animals for food and for their hides, to use banana leaves, rushes, or hay as a roofing material, to cut firewood and lumber from the forest, to mine ores for the manufacture of useful products, to make bricks and pottery from clay, to clear fields and use the soil's fertility in crop growing, to dam rivers and direct the flow of their waters into irrigation ditches, to use the energy of waterfalls, to use the warmth of the winter sun to heat dwellings and the warmth of the summer sun to heat water. No one society does all these things. No one society uses all the materials and natural processes with which nature has endowed it. Nevertheless, means of using some of their natural resources is part of the store of knowledge of all peoples. The way these resources are used helps determine, and is in part determined by, the modes of life going to make up a given culture.

The accounts that follow show how people in some different parts of the world provide shelter for themselves. All types of shelter are adapted somewhat to the climatic conditions in which they are found. All show the relation of environment to culture.

THE HOUSE WE LIVE IN

Let us look at the kinds of shelters that have been or are being built in the United States. This country, consisting of many geographic regions, has a wide variety of climates. The distribution of building materials is uneven. No American house is built exclusively of local materials. The development of transportation has eliminated the necessity for that.

Architectural styles in this country do not follow regional lines very closely. We may find Cape Cod cottages on the West Coast, in the deep South, in the Middle West, and of course on Cape Cod. We find Georgian architecture everywhere. There are regional dif-

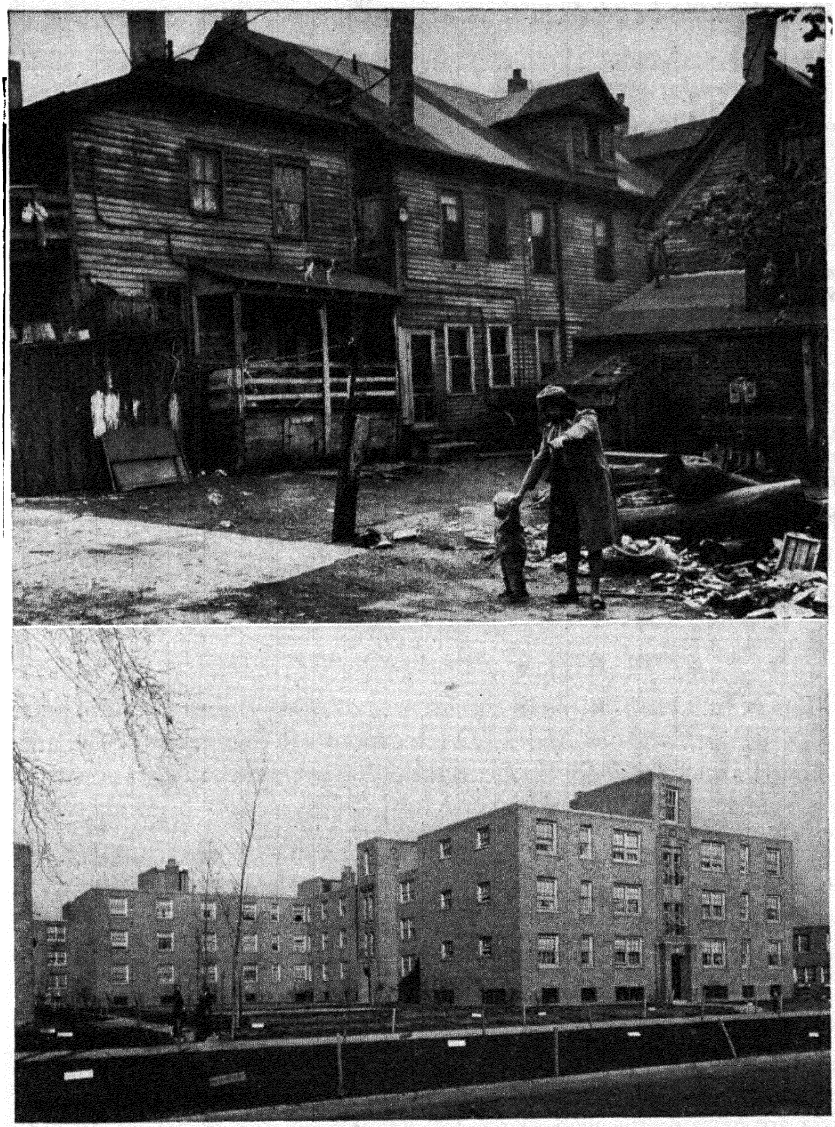
ferences, however, in that certain styles are more characteristic of one region than of another. These regional differences in architecture reflect differences not only in climate and building materials, but also in local traditions and periods of settlement. Some territories were fairly well settled and homes built before it became the custom to decorate gables and verandas with "gingerbread"; others were not developed until that fashion had passed.

Climatic differences do affect architecture, however, especially in the newer design trends. "Homes in the North," points out an official of the FHA, "are usually built with a compact plan, making them more easily and economically heated in winter weather. Living rooms, as a rule, are located to receive as much sunlight as possible, and protection is provided against cold winter winds by means of buildings, trees, or storm sash. In the South, cross ventilation is more important for comfort than economy in heating. A compact plan is less essential, and houses are designed and located to take advantage of the prevailing summer winds." [1]

Let us look at our architectural differences a little more closely. Dwellings constructed for summer-vacation use are more likely to have wide verandas, and walls of single thickness, than year-round homes. Houses consisting of two separate units tied together with an open veranda or "dog-run" are found in the South but not in the North. In Florida there are many houses with white tile roofs to deflect the heat of the sun. These houses are carefully anchored to their foundations to prevent them from "taking off" during a hurricane.

The adobe house is found in the southwestern states as well as in Mexico. These houses are constructed of bricks made of sun-dried earth, with straw sometimes used as a binder. The houses usually have fairly thick walls and small windows, to insulate the interiors against the hot sun. Some projected designs for this area provide no openings on the south except clerestory windows shaded by an overhanging roof, while the northern façades are made to open up completely by the use of folding doors. To what degree such designs are adopted will depend, of course, upon the fancy of the builders or purchasers. People are nearly as fashion-conscious about the houses they live in as they are about the clothes they wear.

[1] The New York *Times*, December 21, 1941.



A "before" and "after" view of the same area. The upper picture shows the sordid conditions surrounding Detroit slum buildings; the lower, a low-rent housing project, Brewster Homes, with which the slum homes were replaced. (Courtesy Detroit Housing Authority. Photographs by Barton Studios and A-1 Commercial Studio)

California has led the nation in the adoption of the "open style" of architecture. Not only are houses of this type less cut up inside by partitions than more conventional houses, but also their walls include large glass areas which make the interiors more continuous with the out-of-doors. Some of the glass areas open up to make the indoors and outdoors one expanded living area.

The "solar house" is a name given by some architects to a type of dwelling with a long wall of glass on the south. All the major rooms in such a house have a southern exposure. The overhang of the roof is precisely calculated to cut out the summer sunshine when the sun rides high in the sky, but to let in a flood of warming sunshine in the winter months when the sun is lower. In the Chicago area, on clear winter days with the temperature far below freezing, the sun warms these houses to a comfortable temperature without the use of any auxiliary heating. Instead of shutting out the warmth of the winter sun, as most of our houses do, the solar house makes use of it and thereby saves the occupant many dollars on his fuel bill.

THE HUTS OF THE NAMA HOTTENTOTS

The Nama Hottentots live in an area of more than 100,000 square miles in southwestern Africa. The temperature over most of the area averages about 63°F for the year, though freezing weather is common in winter. Rainfall is slight. Murdock gives us a brief sketch of their shelters:

The Hottentots dwell in light, portable, dome-shaped huts. The men, to whom falls the task of erecting them, plant twenty or more flexible acacia poles vertically in the ground in a circle ten to fifteen feet in diameter. They then bend the tops inward and fasten them together with cords or thongs where they meet or cross. Over this framework, which averages about eight feet in height, they bind rush mats, first around the sides, then across the top. Low doorways in the front and rear are curtained with special mats, which can be rolled up when desired. The mats are exceedingly well made; the women dry the rushes in the sun, bore them with a fine awl, and sew them together with bast thread. The huts are warm in winter, when an inner lining of skins is added; cool in summer, when the heat contracts the rushes and permits the air to circulate freely; and dry during a storm, when the rushes swell and become impervious to rain. They are likewise admirably suited to a nomadic

life, for they can be dismantled in a short time. The mats and poles are rolled or tied in bundles, packed on the backs of oxen, and transported to the next camp. The huts of a camp or kraal are arranged in a circle inside a high fence of thorn bushes and facing an open space in the center which serves as a fold for the stock at night.

The floor of the hut is smeared with a mixture of cow dung and blood. A fire burns on an excavated hearth in the center, and around it the members of the family sleep on skins or mats in little holes or depressions. Near the rear door, in a net supported on four poles, rest objects which must be kept out of reach of dogs. . . .[2]

Housing is but one field in which we can observe the utilization of natural materials for the satisfaction of human wants and needs. We could likewise observe food practices, or modes of dress. We could observe the daily work routines of different peoples. We might note that in temperate or cold climates work goes on throughout the day, while in hotter areas work stops during the heat of noontime and early afternoon. The midday siesta of many tropical peoples is not a sign of laziness, but a part of the daily time table that provides for work periods in the cooler hours of the day. In many fields the influence of geography is clear and direct, in others it is little more than incidental.

CULTURE CONTRASTS IN THE SAME ENVIRONMENT

All material objects, our food, textiles, building materials, metals and the like, come in one form or another from the physical environment. Knowing the environment, can we then predict the nature of the culture traits to be found there? The answer is no. The environment merely offers the substances from which tools are made. But will a people use any given material to make tools? Will different peoples in the same type of environment make the same kinds of tools, or use the same substances in making them? There is no assurance that they will.

The Hopi and Navajo Indians, for example, have both lived for a long time in northeastern Arizona. Their cultures, both related to the same sort of physical environment, are in sharp contrast. The Hopi work the land intensively; the Navajo also plant corn, but they are more of a

[2] G. P. Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, pp. 483–484.

pastoral people. The Hopi build terraced sandstone houses, classics of Indian architecture, while the Navajo live in cone-shaped, earth-covered huts. The Hopi excel in pottery, while Navajo pottery is very crude. The Hopi raise cotton; the Navajo make no use of it, but utilize wool from their sheep. In nonmaterial culture the contrast is equally sharp. A Hopi can have only one wife, a Navajo may have two. The Navajo son-in-law and mother-in-law must not talk to each other, whereas no such injunction exists among the Hopi. The same ceremony that produces rain among the Hopi cures sickness among the Navajo.

Another way to observe how cultures relate to the environment is to note the contrasts between the cultures of successive occupants of an area. The following accounts show contrasting types of settlement.

IOWA: THEN AND NOW

N. F. Joffe has shown that among the Fox Indians of Iowa, life had two distinct phases, in which the activities of the tribe were determined by the season of the year. In spring and summer they followed a sedentary agricultural life, while in the fall and winter they became nomadic hunters.

Living arrangements were different during the two parts of the year. From April to August the people lived in permanent villages. Here they had long rectangular houses covered with elm bark. These buildings were often fifty to sixty feet long and accommodated as many persons. There were openings at either end of the house, and two sleeping benches about three feet high and four feet wide ran along the side walls. From September to April they used the small, mat-covered wickiup. This was a round or oval domed structure. It was easy to heat and simple to transport. The mat coverings, made of cat-tails, were rolled up and taken to deck the new frame when the family reached the camping site.[3]

Traveling by train or auto from Chicago to Omaha, or from Minneapolis to Kansas City one sees many towns and villages. Some of them are larger than Irwin, Iowa, and some are smaller, but they are so much alike that he may think they are characterized by an awful sameness. If on the Great Western railroad and observing closely, he sees the sign

[3] N. F. Joffe, "The Fox in Iowa," in Ralph Linton (ed.), *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1940, p. 264.

Irwin. At that point his schedule tells him he is 450 miles from Chicago and 60 miles from Omaha. The elevation is 1,210 feet. The population of the village, 345. He learns too that he is 12 miles from Harlan, the county seat of Shelby County.

As the train rolls into the Irwin station, the familiar water tower and spacious consolidated school loom large in the cluster of frame houses and business buildings. The traveler is impressed by the neatly kept houses in contrast to the unpaved streets and poorly painted stores. People are conversing leisurely while they wait for mail brought in by the train to be sorted. Boys, who minutes before were playing in the streets, are giving the train the once-over. The traveler, hurried as travelers usually are, probably wishes there were no Irwins. But down the line is another such place and beyond that are others, as there are on every railroad and highway that runs through the Corn Belt.

These towns and villages are more important than they may seem. The Irwin village has a population of 345, but it serves a thousand members of farm families who live around it. They buy in Irwin. They sell in Irwin. They attend school, and church, and lodge there, and dances, movies, and other community activities. They visit in Irwin and loaf there when they have time.[4]

If different cultures can exist side by side or among people living on similar terrain and experiencing similar climates, and if one geographic area can support successive cultures as one population succeeds another, then clearly geography alone does not determine culture. But this does not deny that physical environment has an influence on culture. The following generalizations are supported by the analysis of such data as have been presented in this chapter.

First, every people is in one way or another accommodated to its environment, and culture determines the nature of the specific accommodation. It is culture that determines that the Manus will live in houses built on piles over lagoons in their South Pacific habitat, that our summer clothes will be different in texture, color, and design from our winter clothes, and that our summer sports will differ in locale, equipment, and spectatorship from our winter sports.

Second, culture, in adapting people to their environment, is likewise responsive to that environment. A culture that would not let

[4] E. O. Moe and C. C. Taylor, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community; Irwin, Iowa*, Rural Life Studies 5, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1942, p. 1.

people live in a given setting would not flourish there, and if it were imported into the area it would quickly become modified.

Third, the material part of every culture makes some use of objects or resources in the immediate surroundings. Some foodstuffs of people everywhere come from fairly close by.

Fourth, every setting contains both resources for use and obstacles to be overcome. The arctic dweller uses snow as a resource to protect himself against the cold. There are many tracts of land in this country that can produce only so long as they are irrigated. Commerce-bearing rivers and sounds must be bridged with costly structures if they are not to impede land travel.

Fifth, every environment offers a range of possibilities for development; the potentialities of every area are such that more than one mode of life is possible within the area. We have the examples of the Hopi and the Navajo, of Indian settlements succeeded by giant cities.

Sixth, in every part of the world the geographic environment is a limiting factor, in that certain ways of life found elsewhere are not possible within the area unless the latter is greatly modified to provide essentially new conditions. Although we could adopt a noontime siesta in the United States if we collectively wanted to, we couldn't use snow houses on our summer weekend trips. After extensive investigation it was reported that the Everglades area in Florida, in spite of its tropical climate and abundant moisture, is not suitable for natural-rubber production because of deficiencies in the soil. Only certain lands in China are suitable for rice cultivation. Thus there is a reciprocal relationship between culture and environment. Culture not only reflects its natural setting but modifies the landscape as well.

ENVIRONMENT AND MODERN LIFE

Many primitive peoples live close to nature. They gather berries or roots from near by, or take fish from the streams, or hunt animals, or cultivate the soil. If they do not weave they may make clothing from bark or skins. They build their houses from accessible materials. They may dispose of their enemies by drawing their pictures in the sand and stamping them out. They may have

picturesque myths and legends to account for their origin. Modern civilization is in sharp contrast to such primitive cultures. In our very large cities people live high above the ground in tall apartment buildings; travel to and from work in subways or buses that offer advertising placards as a substitute for scenery; work in factories or shops or offices, making and selling products of all kinds. Some of the food they eat comes from near by, other articles of food come from far away. They read newspapers, books, and magazines, listen to world news on their radios, and attend air-conditioned movies Does a complex civilization free us from our environment? Is our man-made world independent of natural forces, or does the dependence remain?

Modern inventions and practices have changed our relation to our environment in at least three ways. First, the development of fast and fairly cheap means of transportation and suitable means of exchange has given us access to raw materials and finished products from all over the world. We have only to think of our morning coffee (Brazil), the rubber of our automobile tires (Malaya, Liberia, Brazil—unless synthetic), the tin plating of canned goods (Bolivia, Malaya), the cacao of chocolate (West Indies, Central America), the chicle in chewing gum (Yucatan, Central America), the linen of our handkerchiefs (Scotland, Ireland), the stick lac of shellac (southern Asia), the cane sugar in our sugarbowls (Cuba, East Indies, Puerto Rico, Philippines), the cloves on our baked ham (Zanzibar, Madagascar), and other items of daily use, to remind us of our dependence on areas and peoples in different parts of the world. The development of trade and transportation has widened the area on which we are now dependent until it encompasses most of the world. This does not mean that we have escaped from our environment, but only that we have made it more extensive. These developments have made distant lands part of our own environment.

Second, technological advances have enabled us to put familiar materials to new uses. Two products that seem destined to have widespread use are plywood and plastics. Plywood is simply a number of very thin sheets of wood laid cross-grained to one another and bonded together with adhesive resins. The material itself is old, but the modern product is now used in hundreds of ways as a substitute for metal, plaster, and more expensive forms of wood. It may

be waterproofed, molded, and bonded to metal, and is used for home construction, interior decoration, boat building, and in many other fields. Plastics, which date back to 1870 with the invention of celluloid, today comprise hundreds of different products used in thousands of ways, from nylon stockings and polyvinyl shower curtains to urea-formaldehyde tableware and phenolic-pulp radio cabinets.

A striking use of chemical and botanical knowledge is seen in the following account:

> Wake Island's famous soilless farm, built to provide fresh vegetables for maintenance men and Pacific Clipper passengers and crew members making a scheduled stop there on flights across the Pacific, has already produced its fourth successive crop, Pan American Airways reports.
>
> During the first ten days of May [1938] 33 pounds of tomatoes, 20 pounds of lettuce, 20 pounds of string beans, 15 pounds of squash and 44 pounds of corn were harvested from the shallow water-filled trays in which crops are grown.
>
> Wake Island's "farm" is cultivated according to methods worked out by Dr. W. F. Gericke of the University of California. In hydroponic farming, as the method is called, water containing essential minerals takes the place of soil. High yields of vegetables can be grown in surprisingly small areas. Wake Island's small area and the expense of shipping or flying food supplies makes adoption of the system there imperative.[5]

The use of materials in ingenious ways is everywhere in evidence. Think of the automobile, the radio, wrist watch, elevator, garden hose, fraternity pin. Think of the skyscraper, the ocean liner, the airport. New materials, and old ones used in new ways, give us the machines and facilities for modern living. Yet machines are processed from raw materials. Any commodity, however complex, can be traced back to the natural resources of this or some other land or to the products of agriculture. Inventions have changed the nature of our dependence on natural substances, but they have not and cannot eliminate that dependence.

A third change in our relation to environment concerns the extension of our control over nature. We control temperature and

[5] *Science News Letter*, Vol. 33, June 11, 1938, p. 381.

humidity the year round in some of our newer homes and office buildings. We span great distances, over ocean and mountain and wasteland, with airplanes and radio transmission. We dyke and dam our rivers to control floods, irrigate the countryside, and generate electricity. Fog was burned off British landing fields during World War II by FIDO (Fog Investigation and Dispersal Operation). Gasoline was forced through perforated pipes laid down both sides of the landing strips and ignited; the heat thus generated burned off the heaviest fogs and allowed air operations from an otherwise fog-bound island.

ENVIRONMENT AND NONMATERIAL CULTURE

Most of our discussion thus far has involved material things. Does the physical environment also affect nonmaterial culture? Does it affect our customs, our traditions and beliefs, our institutions? Admittedly, geographic influences are strongest on the material phases of culture. But they do not stop there. We have already noted the familiar fact that our kinds of recreation change with the seasons, and that the hour-by-hour time table of peoples differs somewhat from climate to climate. We have noted, too, that the Hopi Indians have a magico-religious ceremony—a nonmaterial complex—to produce rain.

In a paper presented at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Frederick Jackson Turner cast a new light on American history and American national character. An encyclopedia summary of this paper states its thesis thus:

> The development of the United States through three centuries owed much to a unique factor in its environment, namely, an accessible area of usable farm land which might easily be possessed by the individual farmer of small means. Along the frontier separating the land under the plow from the area unoccupied by whites—the "hither edge of free land," as he called it—occurred the social processes of American growth. Here, as nowhere else in recorded history, the individual set up institutions relatively free from coercion by either law or habit. The uniform conditions of poverty and hard work created an atmosphere favorable to the development of democracy. Also in the absence of antecedent society

the frontier became a social laboratory in which old institutions were tested and new experiments were tried.[6]

Turner described the democracy born of free land as "strong in selfishness and individualism, intolerant of administrative experience and education, and pressing individual liberty beyond its proper bounds. . . ." [7] Of intellectual traits he wrote:

> The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and acquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are the traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier.[8]

Turner thus holds that our national ethos is a product of folkways and personal traits built up in areas of new settlement, and transmitted and diffused through time and space. The frontier is of course both a historical and a geographic phenomenon; it is held to have passed from the American scene around 1890. Though Turner's thesis has been disputed, it has been widely accepted.

Perhaps the basic point to be made about the relation of the environment to nonmaterial culture is that each culture is a unity, not a number of discrete and independent parts. If geography affects certain parts of a culture directly, other parts are inevitably, though indirectly, affected. If it is conducive to stable settlement, the institutions of the people will be different from those of a nomadic people. If it is conducive to urbanization—and if other city-making factors are present—then it contributes to an urban way of life, that is mobile, impersonal, and secular.

Thus the geographic factor reaches into many parts of life. Let us reiterate that it is never an isolated influence. It is paralleled by, and fused with, other influences of an organic, cultural, and

[6] Frederick L. Paxton, "Turner, Frederick Jackson (1861–1932), American Historian," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935, Vol. 15, p. 133.

[7] Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893*, p. 223.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 226–227.

historical nature. The physical environment is one part of the total situation in which men live and act.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Name several broad aspects of our culture that are (*a*) compelled and (*b*) allowed by geographic conditions.
2. What aspects of the geographic environment exert the most direct influence on culture? What aspects exert only an indirect influence?
3. Why can different cultures exist in the same geographic environment?
4. Why cannot some cultures exist in certain physical environments?
5. "Every setting contains both resources for use and obstacles to be overcome." Discuss with reference to some area with which you are familiar.
6. Identify and illustrate three ways in which inventions have changed man's relations to his physical environment.
7. Is it possible that future inventions will free us altogether from dependence on our physical environment?
8. How has the geographic environment affected (*a*) our kinds of recreation, and (*b*) our political beliefs?
9. Discuss some influences of the frontier on American life.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Select a typical breakfast menu and analyze it to show (*a*) the extent (area) of our physical environment and (*b*) the different aspects of the environment that enter into the production and use of any one item (as canned tomato juice).
2. Analyze clothing or dress so as to bring out the operation of both geographic and nongeographic factors.
3. Make a similar analysis of clocks and other timepieces.

SELECTED READINGS

FORDE, C. DARYLL, *Habit, Economy, and Society*, Methuen and Company, London, 1934.

More than 20 primitive cultures are presented against the background of their physical settings. These may be read as separate case studies of the relation of the physical environment to culture.

MACIVER, R. M., *Society, a Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1937.

Chapter V, "The Geographical Environment," and Chapter VI, "The Total Environment of the Social Being," describe the role of the geographic environment and its relation to the total environment.

YOUNG, KIMBALL, *Source Book for Sociology*, The American Book Company, New York, 1935.

Chapter VII, "Geography and Culture," presents materials by different authors on the relations of geography to culture.

Chapter 10

GEOGRAPHIC AND CULTURAL CHANGE

All history is marked by cultural and geographic change. Every student can remember cultural changes in this country in his own lifetime. Our culture is one of the most dynamic. Even the simpler cultures of so-called primitive peoples, however, do not go on unmodified through the years. Changes may be slow in some cultures, rapid in others, but all change.

Geographic changes are less perceptible. However, every tree that is felled, every field that is cleared and plowed, every mine shaft that pierces the ground changes the landscape. Hillsides have eroded because they have been improperly cultivated. Storms have transformed top soil into clouds of dust. Fertilizers have changed the chemistry of the soil. Over the centuries shore lines have changed, and prevailing climates have been modified. Any change, whether geographic or social, springs from a complex of circumstances. When we examine the ways in which the physical environment affects cultural change, and the changes in the physical landscape wrought by man, we must bear in mind that the geographic, like the cultural, is only one factor in the total situation, and is therefore not the sole determinant of any such change.

THE GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT AND HUMAN MOTIVATION

Two questions will be examined at this point. First, are the local resources so abundant in some areas that invention is not stimulated? Second, are certain climates more conducive to energetic activity than others, and so to the building of high civilizations?

Of the simpler societies some are continually well nourished, while others live close to the subsistence level. Everywhere, however, the

procurement of food requires some effort. The picture of a society spending most of its time resting in the shade and reaching into near-by trees for its diet of bananas and nuts is a figment of the imagination that has no counterpart in real life.

Two societies in which food is abundant are the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island, and the Samoans. The Kwakiutl take large catches of fish from the sea and rivers, hunt animals occasionally, and pick wild berries and seeds. Yet this society stresses a strong competitive initiative on the part of its members. There is a complex system of ranks; and the right of anyone to prestige and nobility is tested by the potlatch ceremony, which involves giving property to a rival which he must return at 100 per cent interest or have his status destroyed. The Samoans have an economy of plenty, based on cultivated and natural crops, pigs, and fish. Yet artisan skills, those of the house and canoe builders, tattooers, and fishermen, are recognized and honored. In this generally cooperative society, individual initiative and skill are displayed, and indeed expected, in the dance. The literature of social anthropology does not show any consistent relationship between the abundance or scarcity of resources and patterns of social organization, or between resources and personal or group initiative or inventiveness.

The implication of the view that abundance produces lethargy is either that incentive is limited to the procurement of the means of survival, or that it may be traced back to that source. Logically of course it is possible for human beings to survive with relatively little effort in some geographic areas, while they must exert themselves continually in others. This minimum possible effort, however, cannot satisfy human needs. Man does not live by bread alone, or by bananas. He is concerned about such things as his status, his relations with other people in a social system, and a variety of material and nonmaterial wants. The ways in which he strives for and gains satisfactions arise from his personal experiences in a cultural setting. His culture and his psychological constitution both require of him that he strive for more than mere survival.

Our second question, or rather hypothesis, is more challenging. It states that certain climatic conditions are more conducive to human energy and activity than others, and so are conducive to the building of high civilizations. Ellsworth Huntington, a leading exponent of this view, holds that "climate ranks with racial inherit-

ance and cultural development as one of the three great factors in determining the conditions of civilization," [1] and that "climate has been a determining factor in the geographic distribution of human progress." [2]

Huntington's procedure has been to determine the "ideal" climate by various measures and record its distribution, to rank the land areas of the world by levels of civilization, and to prepare maps of each which may then be compared. The ideal climate was established by noting the relation of temperature range, level of humidity, and short-term weather fluctuations to such phenomena as students' grades, the output of piece workers, and health. The most efficient climate, determined by these measures, he found to be one in which the mean temperature is around 51 degrees, with winter averages near 38, and summer near 64; the humidity fairly high; and fairly frequent "cyclonic storms," that is, ordinary storms that produce day to day variations in rainfall, humidity, wind, and the like.

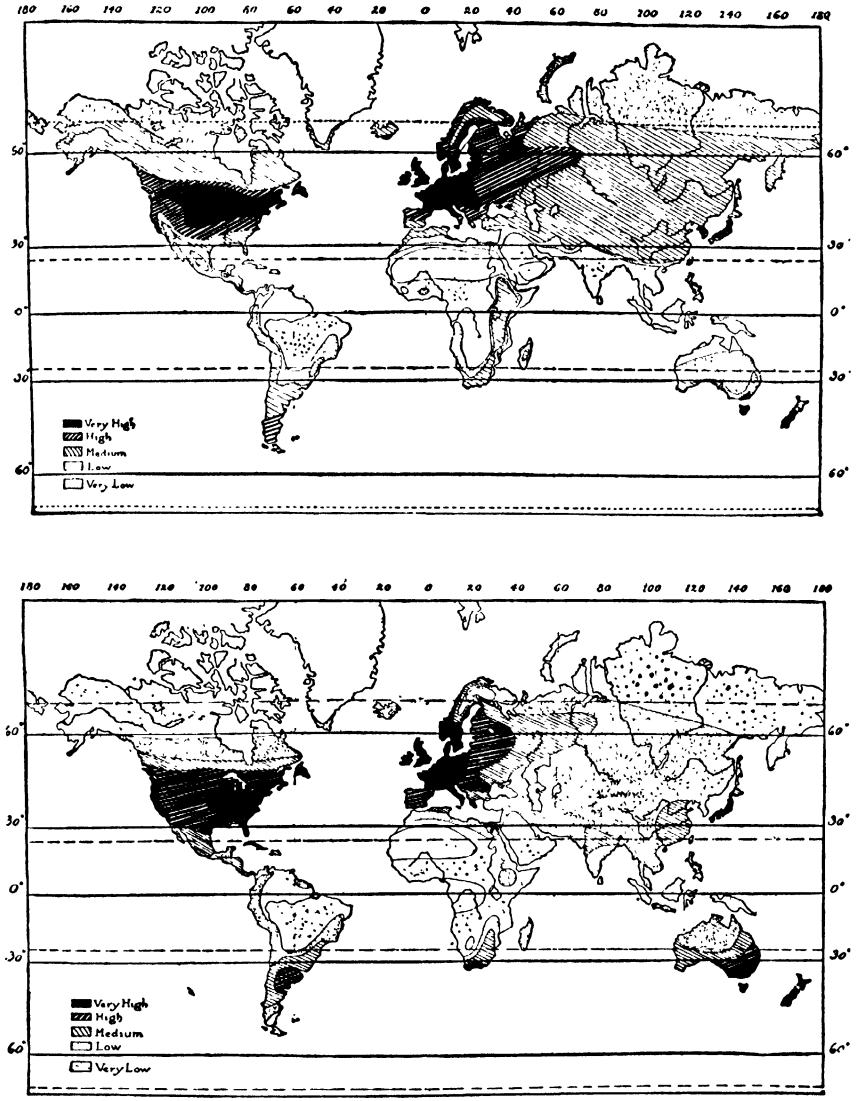
The levels of civilization were determined from the composite judgment of geographers, anthropologists, and others. This was done for the year 1913—a time, the author notes, when there was probably less race prejudice than at any other time in recent history. Criteria of civilization included power of initiative and self-control; the capacity for formulating, applying, and disseminating new ideas; high standards of morality; and the power to lead and control other races.

Two maps, one showing the distribution of health and energy on the basis of climate, the other showing the distribution of civilization, appear on page 159. A significantly high correspondence is apparent between the quality of climate and the level of civilization. Note, for example, the shading of Western Europe on the two maps or that of the middle and northeastern United States, on the one hand, and the absence of shading of central Africa on the other. There is, of course, not a perfect correspondence between the levels of climate and of civilization.

How shall we interpret Huntington's study? It is sufficiently well

[1] Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, 3rd ed., Yale University Press, New Haven, 1924, p. 387. Note that Huntington attaches significance to other factors than the geographic. We may question his views concerning the nature and significance of racial differences.

[2] *Ibid.*



The upper map indicates the distribution of human health and energy on the basis of climate; the lower map, the distribution of civilization (as of 1913). By means of these maps Huntington sought to show the relationship between climatic conditions and the levels of civilization. (Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, 3rd ed., 1924, p. 295. Courtesy Yale University Press)

done to merit serious consideration; the author has gone far toward demonstrating his position. Several reservations, however, may be entered. First, the criteria by which levels of civilization were determined are arbitrary, as of course they must be. Second, the subjective views of men concerning all areas of the world are not necessarily reliable, nor do errors necessarily cancel one another out. Third, if we go back in time we come to the high civilizations of the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates Valleys, and of Greece and Rome, in ancient times; and the Aztec and Mayan civilizations in Mexico and Central America in pre-Columbian times, which hardly square with Huntington's theory. We may grant that climates change. But have they changed that much? Fourth, we may wonder what climate would appear "ideal" if it were to be determined by the skill and energy which "preliterate" or primitive peoples put into their ceremonial rites. These reservations are not offered as reasons for rejecting Huntington's conclusions, but for interpreting his work with caution.

Whatever value we attach to Huntington's conclusions, we must remember, as he does, that other factors than climate enter into the building of civilizations; that climate is at most one element in a complex whole.

GEOGRAPHIC ISOLATION AND CULTURAL RETARDATION

Cultural retardation is not a scientific term. By it we mean that some people lack many things that we have, or that their culture is changing more slowly than ours. Retardation is an evaluative term. What we are speaking of, however, are the kinds of differences, viewed objectively, that we sometimes cite to convince ourselves of our superiority.

Geographic isolation means that a group is cut off from contact with outside peoples by virtue of its location. Many factors induce isolation, or at least a high degree of isolation, besides the geographic. Cultural differences, and the sense of superiority which each group holds about its own culture, are isolating. So are the reactions of many people to racial differences. Geographic isolation is not a matter of distance alone. There is probably more contact between many parts of this country and England than be-

tween New York or Chicago and some of the mountain folk in the Southern states. Isolation results from being off the routes of travel or commerce, and out of touch with the ideas and inventions of other peoples.

Cultural development depends upon the invention and borrowing of new traits and the inclusion of these in the already existing culture. "In the communicating world, the place of an invention is not a matter of concern; a knowledge of the discovery spreads and it soon becomes the common property of all. Any group therefore profits as greatly from borrowed as from independently produced cultural facts. Darwin, for example, was an Englishman, but the Darwinian idea has been as prolific of intellectual advance in Germany and the United States as in England. The germ theory of disease, the basis of modern medicine, was a French discovery, but all parts of the communicating world have profited from it equally with the French people." [3] An isolated people, in contrast, is dependent on its own resources and inventions. Since isolated groups are usually small, the likelihood that they will have many individuals capable of significant discovery is likewise small.

Many ethnographic writings describe the cultures of isolated peoples. Anthropologists have studied "primitive" cultures more than "civilized" ones, not because the nature of their field requires it, but because of convention. The following incident, however, is reported by a medical researcher, S. M. Lambert, who devoted several years to the study of hookworm in the South Pacific. It portrays in dramatic form the unfamiliarity of the primitive people of Rennell Island (an isolated bit of land south of the Solomons) not only with one of the machines of civilization—the typewriter—but, more strikingly, with the art of writing itself. Buia was a native of the island who had learned pidgin from Japanese sailors; Hamlin was a member of the author's staff. The incident occurred on shipboard, offshore:

"So I sat at my typewriter to write a report . . .

"A baker's dozen of the brown-skinned young things lolled over my shoulder, touched the keys as they flew, drawing their fingers over the ribbon to see if the ink came off. What was this strange box that made such strange tattoo marks across a very white sheet? Finally I gave up all pretense of working and called Buia. His eyes, like all the others',

[3] E. B. Reuter and C. W. Hart, *Introduction to Sociology*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933, pp. 215–216.

were fixed on my portable. He said that they all wanted to know what I was doing. I told him that if he would push the girls back a few inches I would try to show him. 'This machine,' I said, 'make talk.' Those things I was tattooing on the white sheet were words; if Buia were to carry the sheet as far as the albatross flies, a man on the other end would just look at it and the words would talk to him. Buia's bright eyes were standing out of his head as he murmured, 'Me no sabe dis fellow talk.' 'I'll show you,' I said, and tick-tacked on a piece of paper, *Hamlin, please give Buia a tin of cigarettes.* I told him what the paper would say to Hamlin, and sent Buia below.

"Presently he staggered back, a tin of Chesterfields shuddering in his hand. Furtively he whispered the miracle to the huddled islanders. And it was a miracle in a land where there had never been the slightest trace of a written language, not even picture writing." [4]

Cultural retardation, explicable in part through geographic isolation, commonly has a by-product: as customs go on relatively unchanged for generations, *conservatism* grows up among the people. Men who are unaccustomed to change rarely seek it. While there may be a live curiosity about new things, as there was about the typewriter and the magic of tattooed words on paper, this curiosity is not directed toward the familiar things of the physical or cultural environment. Isolation helps produce not only cultural retardation, but also cultural inertia.

GEOGRAPHIC AIDS TO THE SPREAD OF CULTURE

The antithesis of isolation is contact, and while isolation retards cultural change, contact facilitates it.

Customs and ideas may be diffused along routes of travel. Geographic factors do not alone determine commerce and passenger routes; and as science and engineering continue their march, the physical landscape is becoming less restrictive. The airplane can cross land and water, plain and mountain, desert and marshland, in one continuous flight. In parts of the Canadian north it is the only motorized vehicle familiar to many children. While it has done much to free man from the barriers to travel over the earth's surface, it more than any ground vehicle must have good weather.

[4] S. M. Lambert, *A Yankee Doctor in Paradise*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1941, pp. 294–295.

Planes may be grounded by fog or strong winds or storms. In all kinds of travel, whether land, sea or air, the geographic plays a part.

The airplane is new, while cultural diffusion is older than history. Routes of trade and travel, the avenues by which cultures are spread, have historically been those favored by geography. Features of the earth's surface that have figured in the movement of people are listed below:

Rivers

French settlement of this continent spread inland along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, and up the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Rivers appear to have been major routes of travel in the Europe of prehistory.

Inland Seas and Coastal Waters

The Mediterranean was used in ancient and modern times alike as an avenue of commerce and political expansion. The seacoast city of Merdia in Yucatan is much more "westernized" than inland villages, partly, to be sure, because of the processes of urbanization, but partly because its coastal location fosters contact with the outside world.

Oceans

The use of oceans for travel has depended on the construction of sturdy ships, on knowledge of navigation and of the location of islands and continents. Although the early population of America was made up of Indians whose ancestors presumably crossed Bering Strait, whites who had crossed from Europe, and Negroes who had been shipped from Africa, the prevailing cultural patterns and distribution of settlement show the overwhelming influence of the settlers from across the North Atlantic.

Plains and Other Overland Routes

The ancient civilizations of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates Valleys were linked and diffused by overland trade routes, which continued on to India and China. Overland travel, though often more arduous than travel by water, has characterized most eras of history.

Mountain Passes

These are of course parts of overland routes, but of special significance because they are breaks in otherwise almost impenetrable barriers. One may cite the ancient invasions of Europe from the East through the passes of the Urals and Carpathians, or the passage of settlers through the Appalachian Mountains in this country.

These features of the earth's surface have helped channel the movements of conquerors, settlers, and traders. In doing so they have helped channel the spread of cultures also.

Geographic factors have affected cultural spread in yet another way. The resources of lands beyond their own have for centuries drawn Europeans and, later, Americans to distant shores. New lands to settle and new crops or minerals to exploit have stimulated European overseas expansion as much as have the glories of conquest and of empire. Trade has always followed the flag; sometimes it has preceded it.

In the period of modern colonization, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century, first the Portuguese and Spanish, then the Dutch, French, and English succeeded in turn as the dominant power. Until the early nineteenth century, almost all colonies were of the exploitation type. Colonies were expected to produce raw materials and to serve as markets. Trade was carried on by chartered companies, and was monopolized by the mother country. Later, as laissez faire succeeded mercantilism, especially in England, trade was opened up in the colonial areas. About the middle of the nineteenth century there was a revival of colonial expansion, and many nations—Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan, and the United States—expanded their overseas holdings. In this more recent period of colonial expansion, some areas became fairly well settled. Australia and New Zealand achieved self-government, as Canada had a little earlier. But the development of tropical plantations and mining enterprises continued in sparsely settled areas.

Colonies may be divided into two broad categories. The *settlement colony*, as a rule, is one in which the physical environment is much like that of the mother country. Typically, the native population is small and not highly developed economically. The American colonies and Australia are good examples. The *exploitation colony*,

in contrast, is usually in a different sort of environment. Many of these colonies are in tropical or subtropical regions; others are in areas rich in mineral resources. The settlers are relatively few in number, consisting of business men and engineers, administrators, soldiers, and missionaries; most of these are not real settlers since their sojourn in such colonies is temporary.

Whenever people have migrated, and in whatever circumstances, they have carried their culture with them. Resources to be exploited or lands to be settled—both geographic factors—have been strong attractions to immigrants. The new settler has always modified his culture, made it suit the new conditions. Sometimes he has passed his modified culture on to the people with whom he has come in contact. Sometimes he has repressed the native population and reduced its numbers. Sometimes he has exploited native labor, brought men from their tribal grounds to work in the fields or mines, then released them without sharing much of his culture with them. An example of this last type may be given.

COPPER MINING IN THE LAND OF THE BANTU

With the opening of the Katanga mines in 1911, native labor from Northern Rhodesia was used extensively for the first time. A considerable number of natives had previously gained familiarity with mines and mining labor. Further incentives to leave the tribal grounds were a growing desire for foreign goods, and the need for money to pay taxes imposed on them by the ruling governments. Natives would go to the mines for a contractual period of time, at first six months, then later three years. They were free to stay longer if they wished. After 1923 the men were allowed to bring their wives. (A few brought other women.) The Africans were sheltered and otherwise cared for by the mining company, usually at a "respectable" distance from where the whites lived. The exploitation of a natural resource, copper, thus brought a large and continually changing population into contact with Europeans. The effects of these contacts were felt in both the mining settlements and in the lands to which the workers returned.

The process of familiarization with the white man's ways, methods and paraphernalia of civilization was gradual and casual through a long

period, but for the past two decades it has been speeded up by the native's intensive contact with mining operations. Out of the familiarity born of contact with white civilization came a phenomenal increase in demand not alone for the utensils, but for other material conveniences of the white man's civilization as well. . . .

The desire for trinkets and the white man's cast-off finery gave place to a conscious desire for blankets, showy clothes, the European knife and axe, the mirror, mouth-organ, gramophone, sewing machine and bicycle. It was natural that sugar, tea, rice, cigarettes and even tinned food should follow close on the heels of the former. . . .[5]

While some material objects were accepted quickly enough, recreational practices were adopted less readily. While at the mining location the natives would attend movies, and play football (soccer), but were not attracted to other kinds of sport. Recreation for its own sake is not known among these people, and they sometimes wanted pay for playing in football matches.

On leaving the mining settlements for their native lands, the Africans would take back with them some of the new objects, new activities, and new attitudes. In his kit as he left the mine one young man carried: 1 composition suitcase, 3 blankets, 2 coats, 1 vest, 1 hat, 1 cap, 1 luggage strap, 6 pairs of denim trousers, 5 shirts, 1 belt, 1 singlet, 1 pair of women's knickers, 3 bars of soap, 1 pencil, and 8 boxes of matches.[6] However, it was easier to leave with these things than it was to continue their use after arriving home.

It would seem that the native when he returned home, however skilled in handicrafts he had been under white supervision, feared to show his skill by improving his living quarters, his kraal or garden. Tradition reigned. The white man's ways, ideals, and material equipment were measurably sublimated. They belonged to another world and might render him suspect of witchcraft—with only one end: death. Not infrequently the worker easily and fatalistically slumped back into, or became vigorously the exponent of, his former tribal life. . . .

It was rather in the intangible field of psychic attitudes and social organization that the new civilization had taken root. Mental attitudes, whatever the behavior, had unquestionably changed. The worker was more discriminating, more favorable in his attitude toward native re-

[5] J. Merle Davis, *Modern Industry and the African*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933, p. 54

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 402.

form, more impatient with the inefficiency of his Chief, more interested in education, more critical of old codes and social taboos, more emancipated from tribal superstitions, more ambitious to attain the standards of the civilization of which he had temporarily been a part. . . .[7]

An interesting account of a football game in a Christian village in Northern Rhodesia shows the adoption of practices from different sources.

Many of the players learned football at the mines. Some wore faded blazers, shorts and shoes, others were in native garb and played barefoot. The umpire was a mission evangelist. He carried a large Bible, as badge of authority, and held it aloft as the signal for opening play. Between the quarters the players stood in line and sang hymns or beat on drums while heathen dances were interspersed.

We were told that the winning team was sometimes greeted by the spectators singing "The Son of God goes forth to war," while the defeated side would be consoled with "Art thou weary, art thou languid, art thou sore distressed?" [8]

Thus we see that contacts, in this case brought about by copper in the ground, are a stimulus to change. However, many other factors also have their influence. Some of these, as the limited ability to fit the new traits into the existing culture, tend to retard innovation. Others—as the influences of the mining settlements and the missionaries—either deliberately or unwittingly change the modes of action and thought. A culture in transition sometimes presents bizarre contrasts.

CULTURE CHANGES THE LANDSCAPE

As we look about us we see little of the primeval landscape. In parts of the Rockies and a few other mountainous regions there are stretches of territory still in their natural state. But rail lines and highways wind through the passes, chalets stand on sites that command majestic views, and trails run deep into the mountain wilds. Mining settlements and smelter smokestacks dot the Appalachians. Although two fifths of the land of the United States was covered with forests, only a little virgin timber still stands. The western plains were turned from natural grasslands to grazing lands

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 125.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 364.

to cultivated farms. At points favored by location towns and cities grew up, much of their land area covered with streets and buildings. Wherever people live they change the landscape. Every clearing in the forest, every wharf, every road, every fence and every furrow transforms the environment. At the time of the earliest white settlement in America there were probably fewer than a million Indians within the present boundaries of the United States; and while cultivation was common, especially in the central region of the maize-beans-squash complex, much of the continent was left in almost its natural state. But we are a nation of 150 million, and we have used our resources freely. We have remade most of the country in this process of utilization.

We have seen some of the ways in which the geographic environment has affected culture. But as the geographic affects culture, so culture affects the geographic. The two are joined in a dynamic interplay. The prevailing values, knowledge, and modes of life of a people determine how they will use the resources about them. The sawmill and the use of lumber, the plow and cultivation, the mine and the use of metals, the harbor and its commerce are all cultural phenomena. A million whites of European origin, distributed over the land as the Indians were, would not have lived like the Indians; not because they were genetically different, but because they bore a different culture. Living differently, they would have transformed the landscape in their own way.

Most of the changes we have wrought on the land were direct and deliberate. We chose to hew the forests, plow the fields, build our cities. But other changes followed that we did not intend and do not welcome. Stuart Chase speaks of them as "nature's bookkeeping." In laying bare the lands we have exposed them to erosion by wind and water. By failing to rotate crops we have drawn from the soil the minerals on which plants live. By cutting forests and changing the land cover we have caused rain water to run off into streams and rivers instead of soaking into the ground. While the underground water table is falling over much of the West, in many sections the run-off water causes rivers to flood more easily. These changes, too, are effects on the environment of our culture.

THE DEPLETION OF NATURAL RESOURCES [9]

We have proceeded through much of our history on the assumption of a limitless supply of resources. Nature had endowed us richly. There were fertile lands to the west. There were forest stands, unmarred by axe or fire, to which logging equipment and lumber mills could be moved. Fish and other game were plentiful. There were oil and solid minerals to be tapped at numerous locations. The concept of the frontier, lasting beyond the frontier's passing, was a concept of abundance. It blinded us to the consequences of exploitation in terms of ruined land, logged-over hillsides, diminished reserves.

What has been the cost to us of this concept? Let us look successively at our forest stands, our agricultural land, our oil and minerals, our other resources.

Forests

Wood is a basic structural material in our culture. Most smaller buildings are of wood; also furniture, fences, and many other things we use. New treatments of wood—its impregnation with chemicals to make it more durable and fire resistant—and new forms of plywood guarantee new uses for wood in the future. The forest reserves, however, are dwindling. Originally there were more than 800 million acres of forest land; now there are less than 150 million acres that produce merchantable lumber. The lumber industry has moved westward across the country. "White pine . . . was followed relentlessly from Maine to New York to Pennsylvania to Michigan to Wisconsin to Minnesota. As white pine died, yellow pine was tracked down with equal determination. The swath ran from Virginia to Texas. Then Douglas fir was assaulted in the northwest with a new variety of high-powered devices. . . . Hardwoods were pursued from the northeast to the Great Lakes, then south down the Appalachians." [10] Except for six per cent of private timber lands which are worked to give a continuous yield, the prevailing policy, now as in the past, is to cut the trees and move on.

[9] This section is based on data in Stuart Chase, *Rich Land, Poor Land*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1936.

[10] Stuart Chase, *op. cit.*, pp. 123–124.

The forest situation is complicated in other ways as well. Forest fires take their toll. In a typical year the loss due to fire is equal to five per cent of the timber cut. The manner of logging in many sections has made a good second crop very unlikely. In areas of second growth, trees are often cut too soon, resulting in poorer lumber and a smaller yield.

Farm lands

An old Nebraska farmer sat on his porch one day and gazed intently at a dust storm. When asked why, he answered that he was counting the Kansas farms going by.

Approximately one fifth of the American population live on farms. Including open grazing land, they occupy something over a billion acres. These lands produce not only enough to feed the domestic population but also a large exportable surplus as well. But our lands are losing their productivity. A major reason is erosion.

Wind erosion is most serious in very dry seasons. In the 1930's a block of Western states came to be known as the Dust Bowl. In the spring of 1934 fertile top soil from this region clouded the sky all the way to the Atlantic. On a single day 300 million tons of topsoil were blown away. Wind erosion has damaged or destroyed nearly 90 million acres of good farm land in this country.

Water erosion takes a still heavier toll. Few sections of the country have escaped its consequences. On slopes, water first skims off the topsoil, then cuts tiny furrows. If unchecked it may produce gullies. On the flat lands of Haskell County, Kansas, there is some of the first type of water erosion. In Stewart County, Georgia, there is an erosion-made gully, with clifflike sides 200 feet deep, covering 3,000 acres. After heavy rains the sides cave in and the hole increases acres at a time. Every year three billion tons of agricultural land are carried away by water in this country, enough to fill a freight train half a million miles long. A hundred million acres have thus been ruined.

Perhaps less serious, yet not inconsequential, is the absorption of minerals and other plant food from the soil by the too intensive use of land, and by the nonrotation of crops. In many sections of the country the fertility of the soil is being thus depleted.

Oil and Minerals

Data on our underground resources of oil and minerals are not entirely dependable. Estimates made at one time are quickly superseded by others. Were the resources exactly known, we would then be able to state with certainty what supplies we may draw upon. Unlike forests (some of which are renewable) or agricultural crops, minerals once taken from the ground cannot be replaced.

We have dug far into our resources of some minerals, while others have scarcely been touched. Despite a prodigious output of bituminous coal, only about one per cent of the estimated reserves has been mined. In contrast, we have used about a fourth of our anthracite, over a fourth of our iron, more than half of our copper, zinc, and oil, about two thirds of our lead, and four fifths of our gold.[11] We should remember, too, that the first ores taken from a site are always the most accessible, while the last to be taken involve costly mining operation.

Miscellaneous Resources

The whaling industry on the East Coast has gone. The center of salmon fishing has moved from the Pacific Coast states to Alaska. The Great Lakes, which led the world as a source of fresh-water fish, had their peak output in 1915. A similar picture can be drawn for our wild-life reserves. Fur trading marked the early settlement of much of this continent, but now very few wild animals are taken for their pelts. Another example is underground water, brought to the surface by artesian wells. In the central valleys of California, where it has been a source of irrigation water supplementing the rivers, the water table is falling. These are but random examples.

Yet not all of our natural resources are being depleted. We may, though, be fairly near the day when a large number of our basic commodities will be imported rather than processed from our domestic supplies. Then our geographic environment, more than ever, will be world-wide.

[11] See Stuart Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 46. These estimates are for the period before World War II and consequently do not reflect the enormous drain caused by that conflict.

THE CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The idea of unlimited resources—of new lands, of virgin forests, of permanently adequate stores of oil and minerals, of a continuing abundance of fish—has largely governed our use of the country's natural materials. The principle of immediate individual gain naturally arose in the midst of abundant supplies. Individualism, said Turner, was a product of the frontier. The cost to ourselves and to future generations of this concept of exploitation has not been sufficiently realized.

The dissipation of resources, however, has brought about some change in viewpoint. A conservation movement arose in this country in the last half of the nineteenth century, and gained momentum during Theodore Roosevelt's administration. In 1908 Roosevelt appointed a National Conservation Commission, whose function was to prepare the first comprehensive inventory of the natural resources of the United States in waterways, lands, forests, and minerals, with a view to their rational conservation and utilization. Hitherto, however, save for the work of government agencies, efforts at conservation have been intermittent and uncoordinated. Often they have been impeded by those whose immediate interests would suffer.

Conservation is usually a long-range program. It sometimes yields an immediate return, as from contour plowing or fertilizing. More often it is future generations that profit. The planned use of minerals is a case in point, since there is a fixed supply to be used only until exhausted. Reforestation likewise yields a slow return. It takes 350 years to grow a crop of western white pines to maturity, which is a long time for anyone to wait to reap his harvest, and about 600 years for Douglas fir to mature. Conservation measures, so far as they go, have been undertaken both by individuals and by governments. In general, conservation has been practiced privately only when the return was fairly immediate, and benefited the practitioner; long-range programs and those immediately benefiting considerable groups have been government undertakings. Much remains to be learned about the methods of conservation itself.

The following are random illustrations of conservation involving either private initiative, government enterprise, or both. They show

the ways in which Americans are changing their relation to their physical environment.

As noted, six per cent of the privately owned areas of marketable forests are cut so as to provide a continuous supply. Much of this is in the hands of pulp and paper firms that use fast-growing species.

Nearly one third of the forest areas and standing saw timber is now under public ownership. The U.S. Forest Service has over 175 million acres under its control. The lumber yield from these lands is small at present, since much of the accessible timber was cut before the lands were taken over. Tree culture is practised on them, and they are being administered to provide a permanent yield. The national forest lands protect the watersheds from erosion.

In 1939 over 7 million tons of commercial fertilizers besides manures were applied to crop lands by the nation's farmers. Thus a small part of the plant foods lost through erosion, soil depletion, and leaching is replaced.

Approximately 20 million acres of farm land are watered by irrigation systems. About two fifths of these lands are covered by private systems, one third by cooperative enterprises, and the rest by public undertakings. Many of the lands brought under cultivation through irrigation have proved very fertile, because the minerals of the soil have not been carried away by rain water.

Farmers in many sections of the country have learned to check erosion by contour planting, by building check dams, and by planting a permanent cover on steep hillsides. In the 1930's the Civilian Conservation Corps did antierosion work on more than two million acres.

When the first Agricultural Adjustment Act was declared unconstitutional in 1936, the revised act preserved the essential parts of the program by shifting emphasis from production control to soil conservation. The farmers who participate in the program reduce the acreages in soil-depleting crops, plant instead crops that are soil-building, and receive by way of reward a subsidy from the Federal government.

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, established in 1940, operates 110 fish hatcheries. In 1946 the output of fish eggs and fishes was approximately eight billion. These were distributed both to supply fish for sportsmen and catches for the commercial fisheries.

The National Park Service embraces 26 national parks having an area of 16,110 square miles, exclusive of historical parks, memorials, and monuments. These parks, in scenic areas, retain their natural beauty for the recreation of all who may visit them.

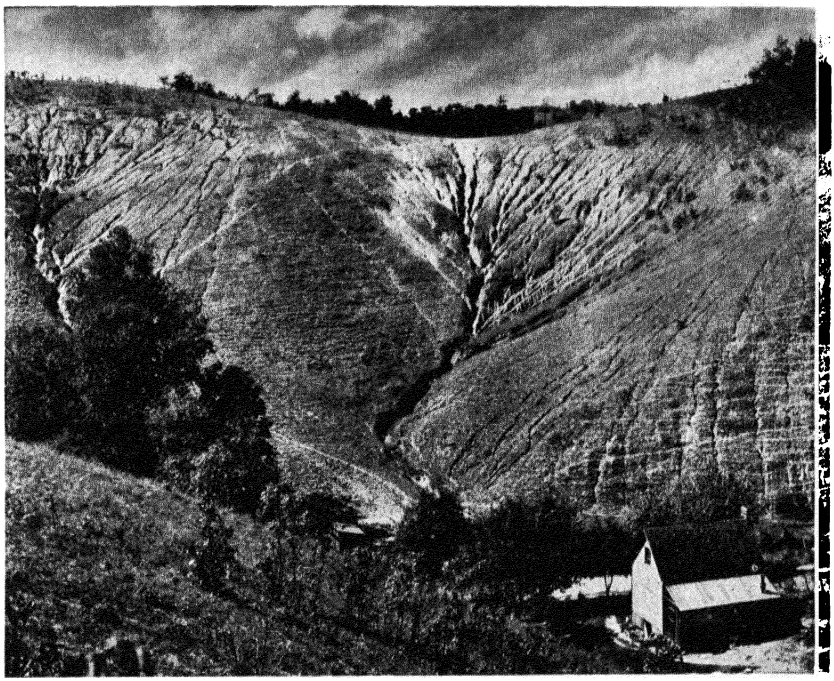
Wild game—birds, animals, and fish—are protected by general national laws and by laws in all the states. There are national and state game preserves, and also numerous private game parks.

TVA: AN EXPERIMENT IN THE USE OF RESOURCES

The Tennessee Valley Authority, established by Act of Congress in 1933, constitutes a separate chapter in American public policy. It is a large program, both in the area covered, and in the scope of its undertakings. Its setting is the Tennessee River, its tributaries, and their valleys. In its area of operation are the western parts of Virginia and North Carolina, the northern parts of Georgia and Alabama and Mississippi, almost the whole of Tennessee, and the western half of Kentucky. Its program embraces electric power, flood control, river navigation, resettlement, soil conservation, mining, industrial development, reforestation, recreation, mosquito control, community planning, technical research, and many other services. Some of these are undertaken independently by the Authority, some in conjunction with other public agencies, some in collaboration with private industries and cooperatives. Only part of the story can be told here. It has been recorded by David E. Lilienthal, a Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority from 1933 to 1946, and Chairman for the last five years of this period.

The story of the change begins with the river. . . . This is the river system that twenty-one dams of the TVA now control and have put to work for the people. To do that job sixteen new dams, several among the largest in America, were designed and constructed. . . . The work of the builders has made of the river a highway that is carrying huge amounts of freight over its deep watercourse. In 1942 more than 161 million ton-miles of traffic moved through locks, designed in cooperation with the Army Corps of Engineers, and operated by them, which raise the barges from one lake's level to another. But in 1928 only a little more than 46 million ton-miles of traffic moved on the river. . . . Before the men of the Tennessee Valley built these dams, flooding was a yearly threat to every farm and industry, every town and village and railroad on the river's banks, a barrier to progress. Today there is security from that annual danger in the Tennessee Valley. With the erection of local protective works at a few points this region will be completely safe, even against a flood bigger than anything in recorded history.

In ten years the dams TVA has built have made this region the second largest producer of power in the United States. In late 1944 the system was producing at the rate of almost a billion kilowatt hours of electric energy every month, nearly half as much electricity as the utilities in the entire country produced when we entered World War I. . . . Ten years ago the per capita electricity production in the TVA area was about 60 per



The Spectacle of Soil Erosion. As shown here, when hillsides are left unterraced and without a vegetable cover, rains wash away the topsoil, robbing the land of its fertility. (David E. Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1944)

cent of the per capita average for the United States; today the figure is half again as great as the United States average. Here in the past decade the amount of electricity produced, per person, increased 500 per cent, twice as fast as in the United States as a whole. Ten years ago the estimated annual power produced per person in the Tennessee Valley area, as nearly as can be computed, was only 400 kilowatt hours; in 1944 this had increased more than six times to 2,600 kilowatt hours. . . . Power has come to the farms of the region, 85,000 of them in seven states, about one in

every five. Ten years ago there was electricity on only one Mississippi farm out of a hundred; in Georgia one out of thirty-six; in Tennessee and Alabama one in twenty-five. . . . We still have a long way to go.

The river now is changed. It does its work. But it is on the land that the people live. . . . And the land is changing. The scars of erosion are on the mend, slowly but steadily. . . . The cover of dark green, the pasture and deep meadow and upstanding fields of oats and rye, the marks of fertility and productiveness are on every hand. Matting and sloping, seeding and sodding have given protection to eroded banks on scores of thousands of acres. Ditches to divert the water and little dams to check it, hundreds of thousands of them, help control the course of the water on the land, hold it there till it can soak down and feed the roots of newly planted trees and grasses. A hundred and fifty million seedling trees have been planted on hundreds of thousands of acres of land from TVA nursery stocks alone. . . .

And on 20,000 individual farms embracing a total area of 3,000,000 acres, actual farmers selected by their neighbors are carrying on a demonstration of modern farming, sponsored by TVA, built around a magic mineral, phosphate, and the use of power and the machine. . . . Production levels throughout the valley have increased within this decade; small grains increased 13 per cent, corn was maintained at the same levels but was using fewer acres, hay increased 33 per cent. But on the demonstration farms, where these new farming methods have been put to use, the rate of increase was three times greater. . . .

The plentiful rainfall and long growing season in the valley push trees along at an incredible rate. From where I write I can see a slope that nine years ago was newly planted with pine seedlings; today most of these trees are eighteen to twenty-five feet tall, and the hillside is a dense green bank. In private woodland and forest, on thousands of acres of TVA reservoir land, the forests of the valley are coming back. . . .

The change is not only on the land but beneath it as well. The minerals of the earth must be made to work for the people. The Tennessee Valley has a great variety of these minerals—more than fifty. . . . The many kinds of minerals have been sought out by the TVA and their extent ascertained, in some cases by extensive drilling. . . . Some of these minerals were of too low a grade to attract private industry. . . . Now many of them, as experimentation sponsored by TVA has shown, can be economically used. . . . A process newly developed at Muscle Shoals by TVA engineers is able to produce aluminum from white clay abundant in Tennessee and Alabama and Mississippi. . . .

What of business in the industrial sense? That too is developing, and at a rapid rate. Even before the war the valley saw the addition or expansion of several large industries devoted to the basic materials of modern industry, such as aluminum, ferro-silicon, heavy chemicals; these included two of the largest phosphate chemical works in the country. The war has added mightily to the list.

But what has been the yield to the people—to those who live in the region, and to the people of the country as a whole who advanced most of the funds? First of all, the level of income of the region's people is definitely rising. By 1940, before the effect of war expansion, the per capita income had increased in the seven valley states 73 per cent over the level of 1933; while for the same period the increase in the country as a whole was only 56 per cent. . . . All the available figures—and the evidence of one's eyes—show that our income level is rising. But the Tennessee Valley is still a region of low income, about half the United States average. . . .

We have a long way yet to go in the valley. There are many factories yet to be built, in an area with such great potential wealth and with less than its economic share of the nation's industry and manufacturing. . . . There are millions of acres yet to be restored to full productiveness. . . . There are more trees to plant, houses, schools, roads, and hospitals to build. . . . The task is barely begun—but the Tennessee Valley is on its way.[12]

Our social practices, whether individual or collective, change the geography of our regions. The changes thus wrought are apparent on every hand. We change the landscape to serve our needs, use raw materials, till the fields, dredge rivers, build towns and cities. Also, we mix dust and soot and gases with the air, reduce our supplies of resources, deforest hillsides, erode farmlands. More slowly, we regulate the exploitation of mineral resources, rebuild the forests, construct dams, restore fertility to the soil. All these are aspects of the relation of culture to geographic conditions. Sometimes the relation is direct, sometimes indirect. The changes may be planned or unplanned. Sometimes they are to man's profit, sometimes to his loss.

[12] Adapted from David E. Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March*, 1944, pp. 12–42. Sequence of statements changed occasionally; author's paragraphing not followed. By permission of the publishers, Harper and Brothers, New York.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Identify several (*a*) direct and (*b*) indirect effects of culture on the physical landscape.
2. Do you think that Huntington's method of determining areas of high civilization is sound? Why?
3. What problems are encountered in trying to correlate climatic conditions and human achievement?
4. Why has so little attention been given to the conservation of natural resources in the United States?
5. What possible adjustment may we make to the depletion of resources?
6. How have geographic factors affected the spread of football (soccer) among the Bantu?
7. Identify the features of the earth's surface that affect the movement of people and culture.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Identify some of the ways in which the geographic environment has been modified on your campus, and some of the geographic features that have persisted there almost without change.
2. Select some change, as "plowing the prairie," and note as many of its effects on the physical environment as you can.
3. On the basis of Stuart Chase's *Rich Land, Poor Land*, or other source, show the extent of the depletion of forests in the United States, the measures that are being undertaken, and others that might be undertaken to conserve the forests.

SELECTED READINGS

CHASE, STUART, *Rich Land, Poor Land*, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1936.

A very readable account of the waste of natural resources in the United States, and of the consequences of this waste.

ELDRIDGE, SEBA, and ASSOCIATES, *Development of Collective Enterprise*, The University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, 1943.

Chapter 5, "Harbors and Waterways," by Harold Kelso; Chapter 8, "Land Reclamation," by George Stewart; and Chapter 13, "Forestry," by John Ise trace the development of collective enterprise in the use and conservation of our natural resources and indicate the forces behind this development.

HUNTINGTON, ELLSWORTH, *Civilization and Climate*, 3rd ed., Yale University Press, New Haven, 1924.

While not a geographic determinist, Huntington lays great stress on the role of climate in the building of civilization.

LILIENTHAL, DAVID E., *TVA: Democracy on the March*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1944.

A vivid account of the TVA during the first ten years of its existence.

Chapter 11

THE COMMUNITY AND HUMAN ECOLOGY

A BASIC unit of social organization is the community. Next to the family it is the most important organization of people in our cultural era, and it has its counterpart in the tribal settlements of preliterate peoples. The term community has a broad range of meanings in everyday speech. We not only speak of rural communities and urban communities, but also of foreign communities within the city, national communities, and communities of interest. However diverse the uses of the term, they all denote a body of people who are interacting with one another, and who either have a common outlook or are together participating in a body of activities.

Such a statement will not suffice as a definition of community, however, because it is applicable to all social groups. A community is a special kind of group, and may be defined as a body of people, living in a specified area, having likenesses and differences, and possessing such a complement of organizations as will enable them to carry on their everyday lives. This definition includes the small settlement which centers around a few shops, a church and a school. It also includes the huge metropolis, where subways and commuters' trains carry vast numbers from homes to factories or offices or theatres; and also still larger units, as the national, regional, and state-wide community. The term does not apply to limited areas or groups within the city, since these are never self-sufficient in the sense defined. They are parts of some larger community.

COMPONENTS OF THE COMMUNITY

In this and the next chapter, we shall consider one type of community, the local settlement we ordinarily call the village, town, city.

The components of these communities which are of interest to the sociologist include (i) the community area, (ii) population, (iii) collective action, and (iv) consensus.

The Area of the Community

Community areas are of many sizes and shapes. Contemporary American communities are usually organized around a center, and spread outward along lines of transportation to their edges. Water fronts and embankments may check growth in one direction; open country and scenic advantages may facilitate growth in another. In large communities, where space is at a premium, more topographical barriers are overcome than in sparsely settled rural communities, where large areas may be left unused. The limits of the community coincide with the farthest distances people ordinarily travel to reach the community center. With the development of rapid transportation they have tended to expand outward.

Within the community area people and institutions are distributed unevenly. In each type of community are many different kinds of land use. Each of these has its characteristic location in the geography of the community, as is shown in later chapters.

If a community is to be delimited functionally—that is, in terms of the participation of its inhabitants in a common life—its boundaries are not necessarily coterminous with its political limits. A few communities, possessed by a dream of expansion, have established political boundaries out beyond the edge of settlement. Many more communities have overflowed their legal boundaries and extended into the territory beyond. Every large city is surrounded by suburbs from which people flow in the mornings and to which they return at the end of the day's work. Arterial and superhighways carry part of this movement across political lines, as do commuters' trains. Ferries, vehicular and railroad tunnels, and a bridge enable people in northeastern New Jersey to work as members of the New York community. The San Francisco–Oakland Bay bridge and the Golden Gate bridge connect the Bay settlements with San Francisco. Many suburban places are separately incorporated, but lack some of the components of independent communities. Similarly, many farmers live beyond the limits of towns and villages, yet participate in their economic and social life.

Population

Isolated or frontier communities may consist of only a few families. Before the community concept is applicable there must be enough people to maintain certain elemental institutions, and to allow for some specialization of work. The trading center, the school house, and the church together symbolize the attainment of community status in an area of sparse settlement. Greater New York has a population approximating that of the whole of Canada. Ten cities,[1] with their suburbs, had a population of over a million in 1940. Every large city in this country has a population of diverse backgrounds. Each contains people drawn from the countries of Europe, as well as whites and Negroes from rural America. Some have large settlements of Mexicans, Chinese, or Japanese. While each distinct ethnic or racial population maintains its own institutions and social practices, it does not live wholly apart from the larger community. Immigrants work in factories that are owned and operated by third- and fourth-generation Americans, children attend city schools, women shop in the large downtown stores. In such ways do members of minority groups transcend the bounds of their restricted settlements.

Collective Action

Essential to our conception of the community is the idea of collective action—or more simply, the idea of people doing things together. People, hypothetically at least, may live side by side without having anything to do with one another. Such a body of people would not constitute a community. The collective aspect of the community does not derive alone from people's doing the same things at the same time, but also from their doing different things which together aid in satisfying their economic, educational, religious, governmental, and recreational wants. In so far as institutions are the media of collective action, they are basic units in the organization of a community. Each community has various institutions that are interconnected in the sense of being characterized by specializations that are complementary to one another. The in-

[1] Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and San Francisco–Oakland.

terrelations of institutions, however, are often tenuous and changing.

Among the more important activities that bind people into a community group are the production and distribution of goods. Every community has its internal division of labor and at the same time is interdependent with other communities. While no modern community is economically self-sufficient, each has its own complement of farms or factories, of stores and service enterprises. On the production side, the economy of each local area is geared into that of a larger area which is either regional, national, or international in scope. On the side of distribution, while each community receives its store of goods from the most advantageous wholesale markets, it has the necessary retail outlets to take care of their final distribution. The availability of food, clothing, fuel and other basic necessities in local markets is a requisite of community status. Any center that does not offer these must be regarded as a small satellite of some larger near-by place.

Consensus

Consensus is here taken to mean adherence by a given number of people to a common body of folkways and mores. To what extent is it an integral aspect of community life? Is it as general today as it was in earlier days? Sociologists are not in agreement on the answer to the latter question. Professor Angell writes that the type of local community which is identified with a body of common values "has practically vanished in America. One may find it exemplified perhaps in a few isolated villages, but the great bulk of our citizens come under its influence no longer. The improvements in communication and transportation, the growth of large-scale capitalism, and increasing social differentiation have produced a type of life antithetical to this old-fashioned local community." [2] Professor Zimmerman, in contrast, writes that "the evolution of the American community, after its first settlement, has been toward realistic integration." [3] By this he means that people of different classes and associations are held together by the social bonds of

[2] R. C. Angell, *The Integration of American Society*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1941, p. 191.

[3] C. C. Zimmerman, "The Evolution of the American Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVI, May, 1941, p. 809.

traditions, beliefs, and feelings. There are forces in our society operating in both these directions. There is no community in which consensus is entirely lacking, nor any within which there are no conflicting values. The point to be stressed here is that no community could exist, no collective action occur, without a necessary minimum of agreement. The folk community is characterized by a high measure of consensus; the same is true of most American farm villages. In the metropolis there is more divergence, due to the differences in the backgrounds of the people, to rapid change, and to the complexity of economic organization. Even here there is enough sharing of values to allow governments to operate, schools and churches to function, and business to be conducted. These are necessary attributes of community life.

The four aspects of the community discussed here are of special interest to the sociologist. They are not necessarily those that would be stressed by municipal engineers or students of geography or politics.

RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES

There are many types of communities and many ways of classifying them. The simplest and perhaps most functional breakdown is by rural and urban types. The importance of this dichotomy for students of sociology lies not alone in the fact that big communities differ in many ways from small ones, but also in the fact that the two types of communities have been investigated by different scholars. Rural sociologists have addressed themselves to problems that are different from those investigated by students of the city. Each field has acquired its own body of generalizations and its own concepts.

How shall we distinguish between rural and urban communities? The United States census does this on the basis of size. Places of less than 2,500 population are classed as rural, those of 2,500 and over as urban. The point of division is arbitrary. A town of 3,000 population is more like a village of 2,000 than a city of 100,000, yet it would be classed as urban along with the last named, while the village of 2,000 population would be classed as rural. Census data are for political divisions, i.e., for incorporated village or city areas,

although the functional boundaries of communities frequently include larger areas. Whatever its shortcomings for sociological purposes, the census provides us with the only large body of statistical data on the growth and decline of communities, and its acceptance is a matter of practical necessity. In 1940, 56.5 per cent of the population of the United States was classed as urban, 43.5 per cent as rural.

In order to get a more accurate picture of the larger urban concentrations, consisting of central cities and their suburban areas, the census has devised a statistical unit called *the metropolitan district*. Each such district has one or more incorporated places of at least 50,000, and includes as a rule all adjacent and contiguous divisions having a population density of 150 or more per square mile. Metropolitan districts correspond roughly to the true community areas of our larger cities. In 1940 there were 140 such districts. They contained just under 48 per cent of the country's population, including several million people otherwise classed as rural.

The differences between rural and urban communities are numerous. Many writers have classified these differences, each in his own way. Professor T. Lynn Smith notes nine characteristics that differentiate the rural world from the urban: (1) a primary dependence on agriculture, (2) a smaller number of people, (3) a lower density of population, (4) a very different total environment, (5) less social differentiation and integration, (6) less extreme class stratification but a more rigid acceptance of the caste principle, (7) greater stability, (8) fewer but more personal contacts, and (9) social solidarity based on similarities rather than differences of experience, and on a less complex division of labor.[4] Professor Louis Wirth observes that the distinguishing traits of urbanism stem from three underlying factors: (1) large numbers of people, (2) high density of settlement, and (3) heterogeneity of inhabitants and group life.[5] These together account for close physical contact but anonymous and transitory relations, for multiple association and specialization, for formal social control, and for relative instability.

It might be argued that these are classifications not of community

[4] Adapted from T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1940, Chap. 2.

[5] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism As a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIV, July, 1938, pp. 1–24.

but of societal traits. They do have to do with the modes of life of people living in different types of places. They imply that as communities grow larger certain changes inevitably take place. Relations between people become more impersonal and formal. Organizations become more numerous and specialized, as do occupations. People of more widely different backgrounds are attracted Class differences become more pronounced. The stream of life becomes more turbulent.

THE FIELD OF HUMAN ECOLOGY

A community, like a culture, is a dynamic, ongoing phenomenon It consists of elements of many sorts, each one dependent on many others, each performing its functions in the life of the whole community. Because of its complexity, the community may be studied from various points of view. It is only by the combined use of many approaches that a situational view may be attained. Among the disciplines contributing to the understanding of the community is human ecology.

Human ecology is among the newer branches of social science. It has its roots in the study of plants and animals. Ecology, broadly speaking, is the study of the relations of living organisms to their environments. A plant, if it is to live, must be rooted in surroundings favorable for its species. It requires certain kinds of soil, a certain range of moisture and temperature, sun and shade. It may be favored by other plant species around it, and may itself be an important part of the environment of those other species. The ways in which various types of plants in an area affect one another are a major interest of plant ecology. Many wild flowers, when transplanted from woods to a domestic garden, die because of unfavorable surroundings. In studying the conditions for plant survival the plant ecologist notes the kinds of species that occur together—in other words, he studies the spatial distribution of plants. Yet he never loses sight of his major interest, the ways various species facilitate or check the survival of one another.

Human ecology is analogous to plant ecology. It applies the methods of science to the study of *sustenance relations* among human beings, that is to say, the relations involved in producing and

distributing goods and services. The human ecologist seeks out relationships that are repetitive and predictable, and classifies and conceptualizes them. Some of these relations have a spatial aspect; for example, the relations of manufacturing cities to their agricultural hinterlands; others are best understood without reference to their spatial aspects.

Men differ from plants and animals in a great many ways. They have the power to communicate meanings to one another; they have culture; they have the capacity to plan. At the same time they are a part of the larger biotic world, consisting of all forms of life. Man depends for his very existence on plants and animals. From them comes virtually all our food supply, the most commonly used building materials, the raw materials from which our textiles are made. Other species of life are similarly interdependent. The interdependence is indicated in the term *web of life.*

In *The Origin of Species,* published in 1859, Charles Darwin gave an illustration of how plants and animals are bound together by a web of complex relations. "Humble-bees alone visit red clover, as other bees cannot reach the nectar. . . . Hence we may infer as highly probable that, if the whole genus of humble-bees became extinct or very rare in England, the . . . red clover would become very rare, or wholly disappear. The number of humble-bees in any district depends in a great measure upon the number of field mice, which destroy their combs and nests; and Col. Newman, who has long attended to the habits of humble-bees, believes that 'more than two-thirds of them are thus destroyed all over England.' Now the number of mice is largely dependent, as every one knows, on the number of cats; and Col. Newman says, 'Near villages and small towns I have found the nests of humble-bees more numerous than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of cats that destroy the mice.' Hence it is quite credible that the presence of a feline animal in large numbers in a district might determine, through the intervention first of mice and then of bees, the frequency of certain flowers in that district!" [6] (In Mother Goose manner we can imagine that the clover was eaten by cattle owned by a farmer that kept a cat that ate the mice so they couldn't destroy the bees that pollenized the clover that fed the cattle that supported the farmer that kept the cat.)

The foregoing illustration is but one of many which would show how different species of life draw their sustenance from one another.

[6] Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species* (1900 ed.), pp. 68–69.

Among the so-called social insects, *e.g.*, ants and bees, there is an interdependence among various members of the same species. Similarly, while human beings draw materials for their use from forests and fields, and from both wild and domesticated animals, they also utilize the labor of one another. This interdependence among members of our species may be analyzed in part under the concept of *division of labor.*

DIVISION OF LABOR

This phenomenon has been noted in every known society. A division of labor is a cultural arrangement which provides that all the tasks necessary for the maintenance of a particular mode of life be divided among the members of the society.

The term denotes two distinct but related things. First, it summarily describes occupational specialization. Wherever a division of labor exists, people are engaged in making things or rendering services which they themselves will not consume. These same people are receiving goods and services made by somebody else. The degree of specialization may be very slight; for example, all the men in a tribe may engage in the same kinds of economic activities, while all the women do complementary tasks. In our present industrial metropolitan economy, in contrast, we see extreme specialization. Wherever there is specialization, some kind of organization and a body of customs exist to facilitate and regulate the pooling or exchange of commodities.

Second, the term *division of labor* denotes a kind of relationship among people. To say that the men of a Wyoming Indian tribe hunted game, domesticated horses, and made saddles and weapons, while women gathered roots and berries, made tipis and clothing, and did domestic tasks, and that both sexes shared alike in the products of such work, is to describe a type of relation between them. This relation is one of interdependence. Ecologists use the term *symbiosis* to describe the interdependence of plant and animal species; the human ecologist employs the term to cover all patterns of interdependence which facilitate human survival.

TRADITIONAL VS. COMPETITIVE DIVISIONS OF LABOR

What determines the place each individual will occupy in an economy? If we examine various cultures we shall see that they fall into two broad categories. In some the weight of custom determines what each person's occupation will be. We may apply the term *traditional division of labor* to such cases. A traditional division of labor can exist only when the same complement of occupations persist with but little change over several generations. In the Southern Ute tribe of Colorado, children were initiated into the tasks traditional with each sex.

> A child's instruction begins at first at the hands of older siblings of like sex. . . . A girl learns that women do the household tasks, gather all vegetables, and care for camp equipment. . . . At the age of eight actual instruction begins in the tasks assigned to women. Gradually she learns how to tan hides; to make baskets, clay pipes, and pitch-lined basketry jugs; to sew and repair clothing; dry meat; haul wood and carry water. Before puberty she usually helps tend a baby sister or younger cousin and watches the making of its cradle. When older and stronger she helps pitch the tipis and build the brush summer lodges, sew the tipi covers, govern the instruction of younger girls, and make wooden cups and ladles. . . .
>
> At the same time men instruct boys in the tasks reserved for males. The men in Ute society were expected to spend most of their time in hunting, chiefly by the stalking method; in fishing; in clearing the camp site and gathering tipi poles; in butchering meat; in making rope and building fires; in supplying the whole family stock of arrows, shields and weapons in general; when alone, even in cooking.[7]

A traditional division of labor does not necessarily follow sex lines. Sometimes caste impels men to follow the occupations of their fathers. The so-called "functional castes" in India are hereditary occupational groups, and their members follow the same kind of work from generation to generation. In recent years economic changes in India have tended to break down the rigidity of this system.

In contrast to this system is the *competitive division of labor*, in

[7] Ralph Linton (ed.), *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, Appleton Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1940, pp. 131–132.

which, as its name implies, people compete for positions or continuance in positions already held. Ideally in such a system people's economic roles are determined purely on the basis of merit, but in reality this condition never exists. In our own culture, for instance, where there is relative freedom in the competition for positions, some kinds are usually held by men, others by women. Prejudice and favoritism of other kinds also affect the selection of employees.

Recent studies indicate that while sons frequently follow the occupations of their fathers, a fairly large number are in different occupations. In San Jose, California, for example, in a sample of 1,242 employed people three quarters of all proprietors had fathers in the proprietary class, while only 10 per cent of the professional men were following their fathers' occupations.[8] The significant thing for our purpose is not so much that occupational mobility really occurs as that it may occur, and that each person's position, within broad limits, is determined by competition and choice.

SIMPLE VS. COMPLEX DIVISIONS OF LABOR

The extent to which a division of labor is developed depends on three main factors: first, the state of transportation; second, the ability of people to produce a surplus of basic commodities, such as food; and third, the state of technology. These factors are usually interrelated.

The description of divisions of labor as *simple* or *complex* is not very exact, yet these terms help us to polarize certain contrasts appearing in different cultural eras. A simple division of labor is one within which there is relatively little specialization or exchange. Sumner and Keller describe the Greece of Homer's day (circa 800 B.C.) thus:

In ancient Greece, specialization of craft or trade is found only on the broadest lines; a man could turn his hand to almost any task. The first specialization approaching distinctness was that of the smith, who did almost all the work in metals. He derives his name and the names of his tools from the metal copper, but his operations were not confined to it.

[8] P. E. Davidson and H. D. Anderson, *Occupational Mobility in an American Community*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1937, pp. 162 ff.

He worked in gold, silver, tin and iron; and his functions did not stop even there, for he sewed the leathern parts of shields and otherwise supplemented his main work.[9]

A complex division of labor is one in which there is much specialization and a correspondingly high measure of interdependence. In this country at the present time there are many thousand distinct types of jobs; the total number has never been recorded. The complex division of labor is marked by two things. First is the breaking down of undertakings into many minute tasks. Second is the appearance of many specialists. Anderson and Lindeman write: "In the future we shall have more rather than fewer experts and specialists. Our educational system is founded on faith in division of labor. . . . Our present social and economic order, particularly in its urban aspects, is founded upon mechanism and system, and these can operate only through specialization and expert functioning." [10]

THE DIVISION OF LABOR AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

People's ability to fit into a division of labor depends upon the continuity of work opportunities. The concept "population balance" (or "balance of numbers") refers to the ratio between persons and resources in an area. In our own economy a more significant ratio is that between people and jobs. A lack of balance exists when the number of positions outruns the labor supply, or when a contraction of work makes for overpopulation in the area.

The large-scale migrations within the United States have taken place under the impetus of real or imagined differences between the economic opportunities in different places. The main sectional movements have been from the South to the industrial North, and from the East to the West. Of possibly greater significance has been the movement of young people from farms and small towns to cities all over the country.

Negroes have constituted a large part of the South-North movement. They came from both rural and urban areas to a few industrial cities of the North: St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland,

[9] W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927, Vol. I, p. 145.

[10] N. Anderson and E. C. Lindeman, *Urban Sociology*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1930, pp. 273–274.

and Philadelphia. Four Southern states—Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, all largely rural—sustained the chief losses. That the economic pull operated in this migration is evidenced by a large return migration in the early 1930's when Northern industries were curtailed by the depression.

The westward migration, until recent years, was chiefly agricultural. Between 1910 and World War II, however, a large body of westward migrants consisted of people wealthy enough to retire.

In virtually every decade of American history down to 1930 the urban population has grown more rapidly than the rural. In 1880, 28.6 per cent of the population was urban; in 1900, 40 per cent was urban, while in 1920 and 1940 the urban percentages were 56.2 and 56.5 respectively. Different rates of natural increase do not account for this shift. The progressive change toward urbanization of this country is to be explained by the influx into our cities of European immigrants, and also by the migration of people within the country from rural to urban areas. Both movements are due primarily to economic factors.

Efficiency in agricultural production has advanced at a greater rate than increase in the market for farm products.

> Ninety years ago about 60 or 70 per cent of all men having an occupation were engaged in agriculture. The percentages are now almost reversed, as 75 per cent were engaged in other occupations than agriculture on April 1, 1930. The average American farmer, after allowing for the services of a hired laborer, in addition to feeding three other members of his own family, now provides food and fibres for twelve people living in American cities or elsewhere than on farms and two more persons living in foreign countries, a total of 18 in all. . . . Crop production per male worker in agriculture has increased nearly two and a half times during the past 90 years and agricultural production per worker has apparently increased about threefold. . . . The shift from a predominantly rural to an urban civilization has been made possible by the advance in agricultural technique, particularly in the application of power.[11]

The inability of agriculture to absorb a constant proportion of the population would have made for a condition of population unbalance in the farm areas had not urban occupations arisen to absorb

[11] President's Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, Vol. 1, pp. 98–99. Sequence of statements altered.

the surplus. The increase in agricultural efficiency, however, was synchronized with an increase in distinctly urban occupations. During the period 1900–1930, while the number of farmers and farm wage earners was increasing by just over a million, the number engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries increased by more than six million. During the same period the increase in trade and transportation occupations was approximately five and a half million.[12] Most, but not all of these latter increases were in cities.

These and other facts point to two main conclusions. First, the uneven distribution of population throughout the country—the relatively high density in large cities and certain broad regions, and the relative sparseness elsewhere—reflects the unequal economic opportunities of these areas. Second, real or imagined differences between economic opportunities in different areas have been a primary reason for migrations—i.e., population redistribution—within the United States.

Carter Goodrich shows that because of the tradition of mobility and ease of transportation, some of our population movements have reflected in a very sensitive manner changes in economic opportunity.[13] In contrast, however, he demonstrates the existence of population pockets "in which inertia and lack of information, combined with extremely *high birth rates* and often with physical isolation, tend to keep the number of people well above that which the *region can properly support.*" [14]

DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

The division of labor may be viewed in its community setting. It is one expression of reciprocal relations which characterize any community. A look at the ecological organization (division of labor) of a community will reveal a complex pattern of interde-

[12] These data are based on the census reports of the usual occupations of the population. "Usual occupations" denotes what men and women regarded as their usual occupation whether or not they were employed in that occupation at the time of the census. Data from the 1940 census are not comparable, since there has been some shift in occupational classifications, and because tabulations are for the gainfully employed only.

[13] Carter Goodrich, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1936, Chap. IX.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 519.

pendence and specialization. The division of labor not only binds individuals and business firms into interdependent relations with one another; it also interrelates different communities, geographic regions, and entire countries.

In a simple farm community three kinds of enterprise tend to predominate: agricultural production, retailing, and the transportation of goods to and from markets. All three of these activities are carried on within an exchange economy. The farm population, by virtue of the fact that it specializes in agriculture, is dependent on others for most of its consumer goods, and so contributes to the survival of another kind of local specialization, merchandising. The simplicity of the rural division of labor is made possible by such interdependence of the villages and open-country areas and outside industries and markets, where farm products are sold, and where commodities used by the village are manufactured and wholesaled. Transportation and exchange are the links which bind the specialized community in a larger division of labor.

The metropolitan community stands at the other extreme of complexity. It depends on myriads of small communities for its food supply and raw materials, and in return offers manufactured goods and services. Within the big city there is great specialization. The occupational structure of the gainfully employed in the five cities [15] having over a million people in 1940 showed 30.4 per cent engaged in manufacturing, 22.1 per cent in wholesale and retail trade, 9.6 per cent in personal and domestic service, 8.5 per cent in transportation, communication, and other public utilities, 7.9 per cent in professional service, 6.4 per cent in finance, insurance and real estate, and the remaining 15.1 per cent in other occupations. These figures, while indicating the broad scope of urban economic activity, do not reveal the diversification of occupations within each category. The number of separate types of jobs rises into the thousands for each city in the size class here considered. Each job exists by virtue of its contribution to an intricate pattern of specialization. A comparison of frontier-rural with modern economic activity brings into sharp focus the fact that as men's work becomes more specialized, the number of people and business organizations on which each person is dependent increases correspondingly.

[15] New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Los Angeles.

A study of the relation of the size of the community to specialization in retailing was undertaken in Texas in 1929. The general store was found to give way to separate meat-and-grocery stores, hardware-and-furniture stores, and general drygoods stores in places of 500 people. At the other extreme, stores selling only one commodity, such as women's shoes, or men's shoes or hats, did not appear in communities having a population of under 60,000. But McKenzie points out that "although specialization of function tends to increase with the size of the community, size is not the only factor involved. Within the orbit of a large city's influence, the degree of a community's specialization of function bears little relation to the number of inhabitants. Distance from the metropolis and type of population, in terms of income and occupation, are more important than size in determining the character of a suburban center's institutions." [16]

Wherever the culture embraces an exchange economy, accessibility of a market becomes a requisite of settlement. In the present-day United States, stores and work opportunities are essential components of every community. It is the nucleating of these together that makes possible community life, that determines our pattern of settlement.

While in every community many work tasks are performed, communities may themselves be specialized. Four types of community specialization are commonly recognized. First is the primary production community, specializing in agriculture, mining, lumbering, or other extractive industries; second is the manufacturing center; third, the commercial center; and fourth, the special service community (seat of government, university city, resort community, or health center). Many cities are so diversified that they do not fit clearly into any one of these categories. Indeed the tendency is for large cities—even those that originally grew under the impetus of some specialized function—to become diversified or "balanced," and so to become more like one another in their economic structure.

[16] R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1933, pp. 72–73.

SOME SOCIAL CONCOMITANTS OF THE DIVISION OF LABOR

The division of labor may be viewed in its narrow economic sense as a symbiotic phenomenon depending on exchange and the efficiency of work. It may also be analyzed in terms of its relation to other social phenomena. The division of labor, for example, may be an overt expression of a caste system, and a medium through which such a system is perpetuated. In our own society, people's roles in the economy commonly underlie their class positions, and our economic organization thus provides channels by which social climbing occurs. The division of labor may have a bearing on family organization; take, for example, the role of the father. In the farm family or the old artisan family all the members work cooperatively together, usually under the father's direction. In other economic roles, whether industrial or commercial, the father may spend the daytime, or even weeks at a stretch, away from his family; responsibility for the care of children then rests more heavily on the mother. The increasingly important place of professional workers in the American division of labor has led to a strong vocational emphasis in our schools and colleges. In these and many other ways the division of labor integrates with the rest of the culture.

Any division of labor entails contacts among its participants. To what extent do these contacts permit social communication and interaction? We may note two extremes. On the one hand is the symbiotic relation existing among people in a small community where all relationships are in some measure personal. There the meeting of a customer and a shopkeeper, when purchases are intended, commonly leads to the exchange of news and ideas. On the other hand is the relation between people living in widely separated parts of the globe who are enjoying the benefits of each other's labors. The man who purchases an American automobile may be economically related to rubber workers on the plantations of Malaya and cotton workers in the Egyptian Sudan. Yet there is no direct communication between the American and these others; neither exerts a *social* influence directly on the other. Between these two extremes are many situations where economic interdependence gives rise to social contacts of widely varying intensity.

Do symbiotic relationships underlie and give rise to social rela-

tions? Evidence shows that they sometimes do. Before the imposition of numerical restrictions, European immigrants entered this country in greatest waves during periods of American prosperity. They fitted economically into our cities almost immediately, while differences of culture, especially language, stood as a barrier to communication on a social plane. The migrations to gain a place in the American division of labor did, however, make eventual social contacts inevitable, and now many of the earlier immigrant peoples are well assimilated.

Within the metropolitan region, too, symbiotic contacts have been the forerunners of more purely social intercourse. The intensifying of personal contacts within the region, and the dissemination of fashions and interests from the cities, have tended to break down cultural differences and to void the rural-urban dichotomy of much of its earlier meaning.

These and other instances indicate that while people may be symbiotically related yet live in vastly different social worlds, economic interdependence commonly precedes and facilitates social contact and interaction.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. From the point of view of the sociologist, what are the main aspects of a community?
2. Is the definition of a community given in this chapter equally applicable to the nation, region, city, and village?
3. Are political boundaries (*a*) usually, and (*b*) necessarily community limits?
4. How much consensus is necessary before a community can function?
5. What, in your judgment, are the essential differences between rural and urban communities?
6. What are metropolitan districts?
7. What is meant by *human ecology?* By *web of life?*
8. Show with the aid of an illustration how human beings, animals, and plants are interdependent.
9. Elaborate the view that the term "division of labor" describes a kind of relationship among people.
10. Is your own division of labor purely competitive?
11. How have improvements in agriculture affected the distribution of population in the United States?

12. What are the main components in the division of labor of a rural-farm community?

13. Discuss some of the social concomitants of a division of labor.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. List the more striking social differences between your home community and either a much larger or much smaller one with which you are acquainted.

2. Make a list of (*a*) the kinds of people or skills, and (*b*) the geographic areas, on which you depend for the shoes you wear.

3. Write down a series of criteria that you might use to determine the functional boundaries of your city, town, or village.

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———, ERNEST W. BURGESS, and RODERICK D. MCKENZIE, *The City*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925.

Chapter III, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," by Roderick D. McKenzie, is one of the earliest attempts to outline the nature of the ecological approach. It is still a valuable discussion.

ZIMMERMAN, CARLE C., *The Changing Community*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1938.

The first part of this book discusses, somewhat theoretically, the nature of the community. The rest of the book is given over to case studies of American communities.

Chapter 12

THE SPATIAL PATTERNING OF THE CITY

When we ask a man where he lives, where his office is, or where he buys his groceries, his answers reveal more than mere locations in a community. They place him among his neighbors, tell us something of who his clients are, the kinds of food he buys and the prices he pays for it. They tell us whether he is a farmer or a villager, an apartment dweller or a suburbanite. They may tell us whether he is a new immigrant or an assimilated American, a white or a Negro. They may make the odds very high that he is a Protestant, or a Catholic, or a Jew.

Many things about a person are reflected in his place of residence, and many things about an institution in its location. The farmer who "lives in town" has a different daily round from the farmer who lives on the land. He has contacts with different people. Farming is probably not his only source of livelihood. The urban family that lives in the suburbs is more likely to have children than the family in a midtown flat. The business on a deteriorated side street doesn't compete for customers with the shop on Fifth Avenue. The downtown church has a smaller Sunday School than a neighborhood church of the same denomination. Actors in the high-school play are more likely to live in town than to ride the school bus.

Each person or family, each store or church or recreation hall both affects and is affected by the area in which it is located. The lonely occupant of a furnished room in an impersonal, mobile area of a city, the family in a friendly urban neighborhood, the small town resident, the farmer and his family living a half-mile or more from any neighbor, all are influenced in one way or another by their surroundings. This influence shows itself in their actions and interests. To take another illustration, a church in a changing

neighborhood either must adapt itself somehow to its changing surroundings, or lose its membership. Retail outlets that are badly located often end up as business failures. Much significance may be found, therefore, in the distribution of people within their communities, the characteristics of neighborhoods, the location of institutions, and the stability or instability of these factors.

The case of movement and communication brought about by the automobile, city transit facilities, and the telephone has, of course, changed the relation of people to their immediate surroundings. These devices have facilitated and broadened contacts beyond the home neighborhood. While they have reduced the influence of the immediate environment, they do not and probably cannot destroy it.

THE CITY AS AN INTERRELATIONSHIP OF DIFFERENT AREAS

A city differs from a rural community in size and complexity. Even though it is more densely settled than the village, it takes up more space. How are institutions and people grouped in a city? This is not merely a geographic question but one involving the nature of urban society.

The unstudied impression of many observers is that there is no real order to our cities. Low buildings hug the ground within the shadow of soaring skyscrapers. Factories are interspersed among residences. Old mansions or fashionable apartments are found a few blocks from slum dwellings. Low-rent buildings stand on high-value ground. The picture of confusion is more illusory than real, however. An airplane view of a large city serves to show that tall buildings rise in clusters in the downtown area and also in high-rent apartment areas, and that the smokestacks of factories are likewise in clusters, or spread out along railroad lines or waterfronts. In some sections of a city the buildings are all relatively small and surrounded by trees and lawns. A tour of the various sections of a city shows that stores, more often than not, are grouped together in shopping centers, factories are fairly close to other factories, and homes are clustered into residential districts.

The tendency for types of buildings or people or business activities to cluster together has produced in our cities a number of distinct areas, some commercial, some industrial, and some residential. Of

these areas some are internally very homogeneous, as are most fashionable residential sections. Others are more mixed. Some sections near the downtown area may contain warehouses, light industries, secondhand car lots, and dilapidated tenements. Unless they are in transition from one type to another, however, urban areas tend to assume a fairly uniform land use.

The areas that go to make up a city have been called *natural areas*. This term indicates that they have arisen spontaneously, that they are due to the operation of natural forces or tendencies rather than deliberate planning or legislation. Except where a city plan or some more restricted type of scheme has been operative, urban areas have grown up and changed because of the myriads of decisions of individuals or business firms. From among the residences available for the rent that it can afford to pay, a family selects a place in which to live; from among the store buildings available, the trader in secondhand goods and the merchant of fashionable clothing each selects a location. Within the limits of space available and the price of the land, the man who is going to erect a new building can choose his site. For a variety of reasons the family selecting a home or the merchant selecting a business location will find one place in a city more congenial or more profitable than another. The factors that limit choice, and those that determine choice within the prescribed limits, are among the influences that affect the distribution of men and institutions in a city.

There are some disadvantages in the use of the term *natural area*. The term hardly allows for the influence of city planning. It may suggest that the manner in which streets are laid out and the way in which the land is subdivided—both of which may be items of municipal planning—affect but little the use to which the land is put. The term is not applicable to the planned neighborhood and "greenbelt communities" which are beginning to make their appearance. For these reasons, in the discussion that follows, *residential area*, *commercial area*, and similar terms will be used instead of the term *natural area*.

Residential areas, commercial areas, industrial areas, and others go to make up the geographic mosaic of the city. Each area has its own peculiar function. The number and kinds of areas depend on a complex of factors, such as the nature of the economic base

of the city, its population composition, and its age. Roughly speaking, a large city will have more distinct areas than a small one; a city with a complex economic base will have more distinct business and industrial areas than one performing fewer economic functions; an ethnically homogeneous city will have a simpler physical structure than one with people of many backgrounds.

Communities, like groups and institutions, have their reality in the dynamic interplay of their various components. The components of cities, from the point of view of the present analysis, are not geographic areas as such, but rather the people and institutions of the different areas, and the functions which these perform in the ongoing life of the whole. A city is not simply the sum of its parts, it is the *integration* of these parts.

Let us look at a growing city. We will suppose that the chief impetus to its growth is industrial enterprise. If new industries are established—either within an already industrialized belt or elsewhere—new workers must be attracted to the city. These must be fitted into its areas of residence, or new residential areas must be created.[1] When new workers come to the city they increase the demand for retail goods, and in time affect the commercial expansion of the city. Likewise the increased number will make it highly desirable that more space be given over to parks and playgrounds.[2] Industries can function only if they are staffed; employees will remain in a city only if they are housed and fed; stores can remain open only if they have clienteles with purchasing power. Similarly, an owner or managerial class can exist only when there are employees or workers of lower skill and responsibility. Families with high economic status, or members of a dominant racial group, always occupy a status relative to that of others whose rank is lower. Their status is not independent of the status of others.

Now if we place the factory in an area of factories, the store among

[1] In a growing city new residential areas are usually built up and occupied not by newcomers to the city but by older residents whose economic position enables them to move to better homes in more attractive neighborhoods. An exception to this tendency is the number of war housing projects in communities having war industries during World War II.

[2] During World War II many communities saw their industrial activity expand without there being a corresponding increase in residential, commercial, and recreational facilities. This uneven growth of the parts of a city often contributed to tensions in the community.

other stores, the high-income assimilated white American among his neighbors, the partly assimilated immigrant among others of his own kind, the Negro in a Negro area, we have not only the interdependence of people and functions, but also the interdependence of urban areas. The relation of different areas to one another is *symbiotic;* that is, each contributes to the existence or survival of the others, and is in turn dependent for its own existence on its position in the whole organism of the community.

Since the purpose of sociological inquiry is the understanding of society and the actions of men within it, why do we study urban areas? There are several reasons. First, study of the different areas of a city may throw light on the kinds of people and activities that together make up a city. Second, examination of different residential areas may help us discover the axes along which the population of a city is divided. It may determine the importance attached to economic differences within the population; it may indicate the depth of the cleavage between races; it may suggest the significance of differences in language and custom in human association.

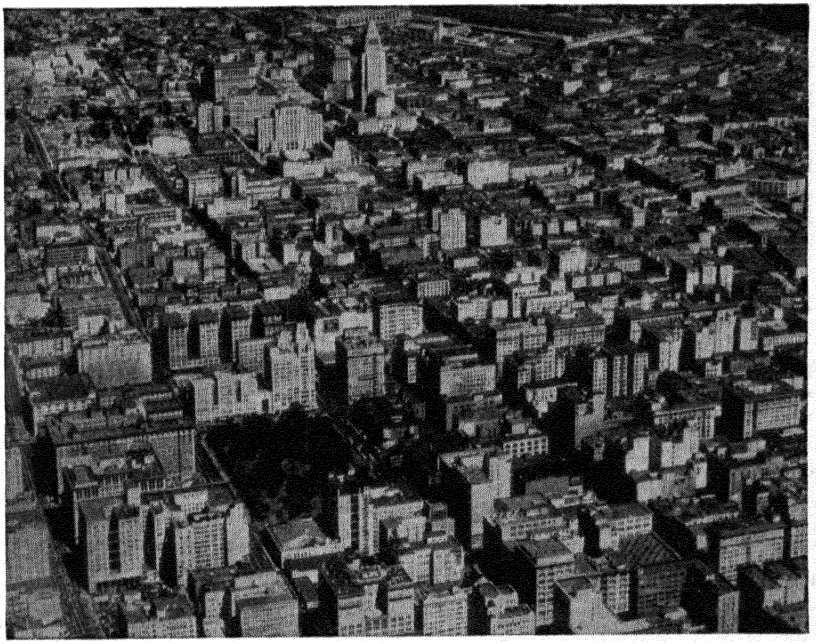
Third, by placing an institutional unit in its physical setting, we may have a clue to its type. A downtown church is different in many ways from a neighborhood church. We can anticipate with fair accuracy the quality of merchandise we will find in a store by noting if it is located in a fashionable shopping district on one side of the downtown area or among promotional-type stores on another side of the area. Fourth, and perhaps most important, the different areas in which people dwell or work or visit or play are aspects of the physical and social setting within which they live. We are affected by the stimuli of our surroundings, and in turn affect those surroundings. To the extent that neighborhoods, shopping centers, and places of work or play are influences in the lives of people, they must enter into any complete analysis of social relations and processes.[1]

CENTRALIZATION

Just as the carrying on of collective activities is an essential aspect of community life, so also is the development of *loci* of such activities essential to the formation and growth of cities. By *centralization*

is meant the process whereby various community activities are drawn together in space. It is "an effect of the tendency of human beings to come together at definite locations for the satisfaction of specific common interests, such as work, play, business, education." [3]

The focal point of centralization in any city is the central business district. It is here that transportation lines converge, tying



The downtown business district of Los Angeles, a typical example of the intensive commercial use of land in our large cities. (Courtesy Los Angeles County Chamber of Commerce)

together the business district and the rest of the city. In Pittsburgh this district is called the Golden Triangle, in Chicago it is the Loop. Here one finds tall buildings, thronged stores and sidewalks, and dense traffic. Space is at a premium. Only those enterprises that yield a high economic return can survive in the area.

The process of centralization does not affect the downtown area alone. Some kinds of shops and many noncommercial functions are

[3] R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," in E. W Burgess *et al.*, *The City*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925, p. 175.

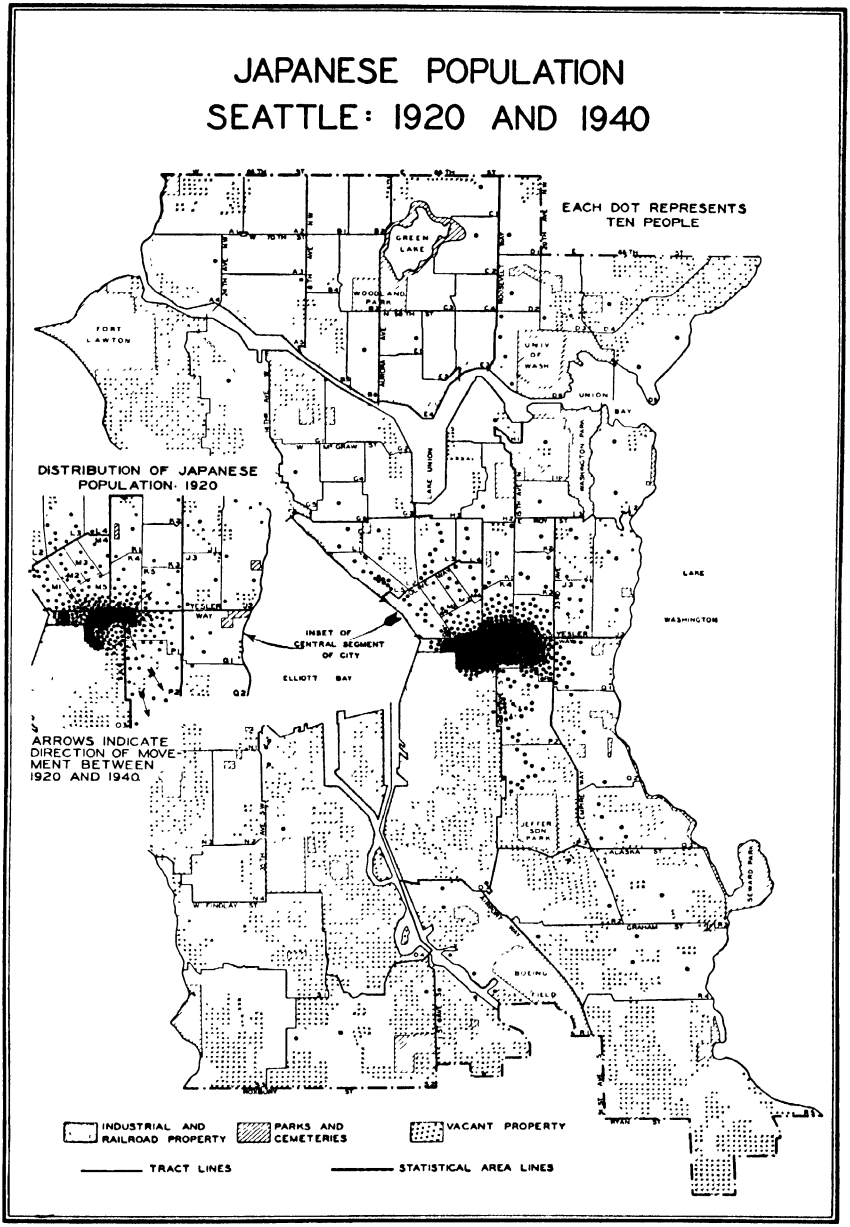
nucleated elsewhere, in the smaller centers scattered throughout the city and its suburbs. *Decentralization* denotes the outward movement of institutions from the downtown area of a city, or the dispersion of industries into the outlying area of a state or larger region. *Subcentralization*, a special case of decentralization, is the building up of smaller nucleations of stores and service institutions at different points throughout the larger urban area. There is evidence of a trend in most American cities toward the development of a few large, widely scattered subcenters containing both supermarkets and specialty shops, with parking space provided for patrons. This trend toward fewer, larger subcenters reflects the growing use of automobiles by shoppers.

SEGREGATION

Centralization is but one of the processes that distribute social institutions and functions within a community. The concept *centralization* emphasizes the coming together of people to carry out certain activities, and the role of certain areas in the dynamic functioning of the whole city. *Segregation* is a more inclusive term. As a process it signifies the operation of forces that draw people or institutions of any one type together in space. As a condition, it denotes, as would a picture or a map, the clustering together of similar people or social functions.

There are many types of segregation in the large city. There are the slum colonies of immigrant peoples, "black belts," flophouse areas in some cities, areas of furnished rooming houses; likewise there are fashionable apartment areas, and areas of suburban estates. There are wholesale meat and grocery areas, centers of banking, automobile rows, "great white ways," red light districts. In each type of segregation there are forces operating that tend to attract like social units to one another or to the same general section of a city, or which limit the dispersion of such units throughout the urban area. Some of these forces are impersonal and operate spontaneously; others, like city planning, are conscious and deliberate.

Residential segregation has to do with the distribution of people in their places of residence. Each social type within a city tends to inhabit one or more residential areas. Thus we find Polish areas,



(Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Trends in Seattle*, University of Washington Press, 1944, p. 133)

Little Italys, and the colonies of other immigrant peoples; likewise there are areas inhabited by racial minorities, and also white American areas of different rent and status levels. We rarely find an instance of complete segregation in American cities, in the sense that all the people of a given type live together in one or more restricted areas and are the only residents of those areas. Every group is somewhat segregated, somewhat dispersed. This is true even of the Chinese, who are perhaps the most highly segregated of all population types in our cities. We may say that there is residential segregation when enough people of one social type live together in an area to dominate it and determine its local character.

There are many bases of residential segregation in American cities. Of these four stand out as of primary significance. The first is *ethnic* or *cultural differences*. Recent immigrants from any one country tend to cluster together. Their areas of residence constitute local social worlds within which language and customs are familiar to the insider, foreign to the outsider. Because immigration is now restricted by quota laws as well as other regulations, "immigrant colonies" are tending to disappear in our cities.

The second basis of segregation is *racial*. American Negroes, Puerto Ricans, colored Portuguese from the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and others each have their own patterns of segregation. "Black Belts" mark most cities which have a large Negro population. Thus in Chicago, while Negroes are found in nearly all sections of the city, the Black Belt running southward from the Loop contains a very high proportion of the Negro population. In most southern cities there is at least one large Negro neighborhood, in addition to clusters elsewhere in the city. An exception is Charleston, S.C., where the custom of having Negro homes in the back yards of wealthy white families has accustomed Negroes and whites to living near one another, and Negroes are distributed fairly evenly throughout the city.

Economic differences are a third basis of residential segregation. The concentration of high-rent homes in certain areas, and low-rent properties in other areas, may be observed in any city.

A fourth form of residential segregation results from the presence in our cities of classes of people having *special modes of life*. Artist colonies, of which Greenwich Village in New York and Towertown

in Chicago are examples, belong to this category. These colonies appear to be passing from our cities. Hobo areas, likewise passing, are another example. There are areas of furnished rooms, concentrations of residential hotels, separate neighborhoods for the well-to-do who wish to live in apartments and for those who wish to live in single residences.

These four bases of residential segregation—ethnic, racial, economic, and social type—are not mutually exclusive. Asiatic immigrants have both ethnic and racial minority status. Within the Negro population there are class differences which are reflected, in many cities, in the presence of several Negro areas of different rent levels. Immigrants are segregated economically as well as on a cultural basis. These bases, singly or in combination, constitute a rough framework within which areas of segregation may be classified.

Underneath the sifting of people into their places of residence lie the opposing forces of *attraction* and *exclusion*. Practically all people would like to live in certain sections of a city and avoid others. The residential areas which people find attractive usually combine two sets of qualities. The first of these concerns the internal aspects of the area: its building types, its scenic beauty, its local customs, the congeniality of neighbors. Members of minority ethnic groups frequently prefer to live among their own type. Where whites exhibit a marked intolerance for Negroes, many of the latter choose to live in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. The second concerns the status which the community, or one's ethnic or racial group, assigns an area. Areas of residence are badges or symbols of the status of their inhabitants. Many people, consciously or otherwise, take into account the prestige value of a neighborhood in appraising it as a place to live. The factors in people's preferences for certain areas are the forces of attraction in the process of residential segregation.

The forces of exclusion are those that restrict or block the entry of selected types into certain neighborhoods. Here we see working in reverse the factors that constitute the forces of attraction. A change in the ethnic or racial composition of a neighborhood may lessen its attractiveness for the residents already in the area. Since the symbolical value of a neighborhood is determined not alone by its physical aspects, but also by the prestige which the community

accords the class of people living there, any change in the composition of an area may lower its prestige value. The forces of exclusion operate, normally, to prevent the invasion of families who are held to be of inferior status.

SUCCESSION

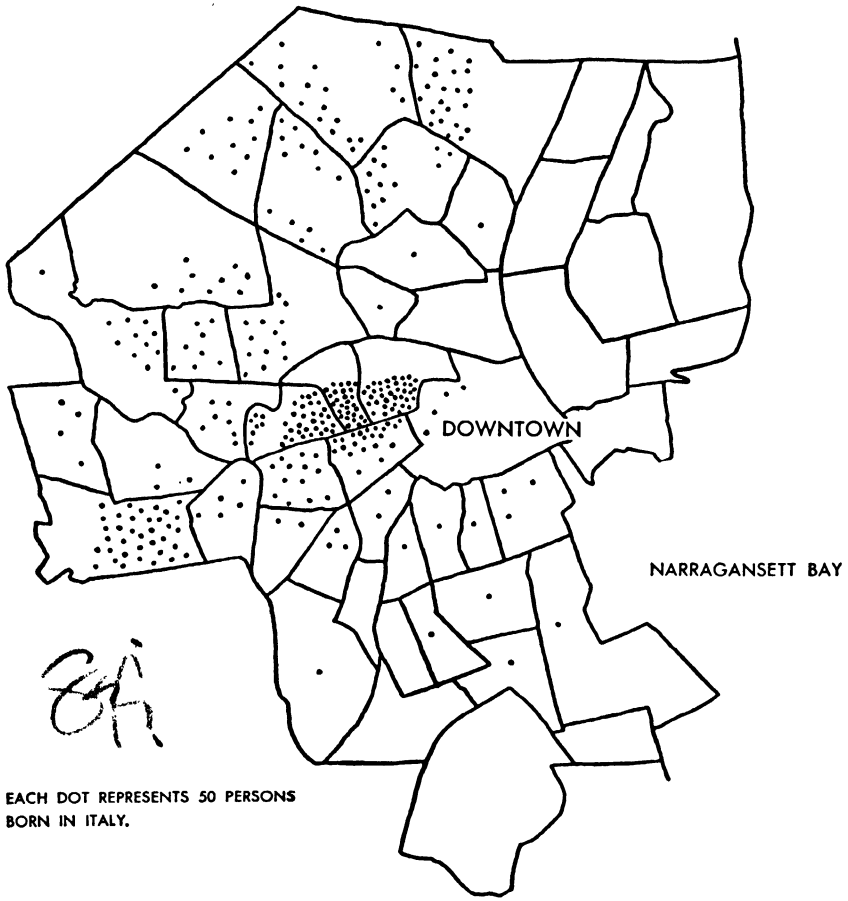
Despite the essential orderliness of our cities, they are constantly changing. Small and outdated buildings come down and modern skyscrapers rise majestically in their place. Parking lots or garages replace other structures. Splendid houses of an earlier era are subdivided into small apartments. New dwellings dot what once were farm lands. Negro sections overflow their limits and spread into other sections. Families move. City directories become outdated.

In studying spatial changes in a city we can focus our attention on the movements of families or of business firms. It is necessary in addition to note the ways in which specific areas are changed. By marching in a parade or walking beside it we may learn the course it covers; by staying in one place we may observe what units go to make up the parade, and in what order they pass over a specific part of the route. Two people, one following along, the other staying fixed, will together obtain a more complete picture of the parade than one alone could. Similarly, data on movements may be complemented by data describing the course of change in fixed areas. In this latter type of analysis sociologists employ the concept *succession*.

The term succession refers to changes that take place over time within fixed areas. More specifically, it conceptualizes the processes entailed in the displacement of one type of land use or type of resident by another type. The tearing down of dwellings and the erection of warehouses, the displacement of one type of business by another, the taking over of an Italian area by Negroes are examples. Sometimes succession is a competitive process. It may indeed involve overt struggle. Some successions, in contrast, are attended with little or no competition. Each type of succession has its own characteristics.

Successions in Urban Land Use

The changing functions of urban areas are often reflected in changes in building type. The tearing down of old buildings and



Distribution of Italian-born population in Providence, Rhode Island, by Census tracts, 1940. Federal Hill, just west of the downtown district, is an area of first settlement for people of Italian origin. The more prosperous or more Americanized have moved northwest into more culturally heterogeneous sections of the city.

the erection of new ones goes on in some measure in all cities. While this rebuilding is not limited to any one section of a city, it is often most rapid on the fringes of the downtown area. As the demands of business increase, lands once used for residential or storage purposes are taken over for commercial use.

Successions in commercial land use may result from a gradual

shifting of the retailing center. In every city some central point has the highest land value. This center shifts but slowly; it may indeed remain fixed for several decades if the city is not growing. The tendency is for it to be pulled slowly in the direction of the most fashionable residential area. This shift is led by the moving of fashionable stores, followed by the larger shops and department stores. In the wake of such moves, buildings are left vacant, to be taken up by stores that pay a lower rent. As the process continues, secondhand stores, pawnshops and third-run movie houses take over what once were the major retailing centers of many of our cities.

Residential Successions

Residential succession is the process by which persons of one ethnic or racial type or economic level in a built-up residential area are replaced by occupants of a different type or level. A striking example is found in a recent textbook:

> On Quality Hill, in Kansas City, Missouri, palatial residences of brick and brown stone are mute evidences of the halcyon days of the area before the general exodus of the socially elite. With the expansion of the central business district and invasion of light industry, accompanied by the influx of workers and transients, the original occupants, alarmed at the intrusion of the newcomers with lower wages and lower standards of living, and repelled by the approach of industry, began their movement to the southern section of the city. The old residents were prosperous burghers and professional folk; the newcomers were from the slums or the villages and farms of the Middle West. Whether the actual recession began before the invaders entered the area, or whether the recessive and invading movements took place simultaneously, we do not know; but the fact remains that the original population has been almost completely displaced save for a few persons who apparently have clung to the area for sentimental reasons. The Hill, once the choice residential district of the city, is now a rooming house area, populated for the most part by transient lodgers and factory workers, shop girls and day laborers.[4]

The course of each residential succession is affected by the peculiar conditions surrounding it. Successions in areas which have a high rate of mobility and many vacancies, and in areas which have little local *esprit*, usually occur more smoothly than in stable, organized

[4] Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society*, 2nd ed., Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1941, pp. 185–186.

areas. When the old residents of an area do not object too strongly to the newcomers as neighbors, a succession may occur through the gradual infiltration of the new group and the gradual withdrawal of the old, without hostility or strain. On the other hand, when there is a wide status difference between the established residents and the invaders, successions are often marked by conflict and occasionally by intrigue. Although successions do differ in these and other ways, they tend to have the same life cycle; that is, they commonly pass through like series of stages in running their course from beginning to end. The following stages may be identified:

Invasion

The first stage is the entrance of a few families of a new type into a residential area. They may be moving because they have become able to pay higher rents, or because their old neighborhoods have changed and become less desirable. Often the first invading families in an area enjoy a relatively high status position among their own people; because of their prestige they tend to attract other families to them, and so stimulate a continuation of the invasion. If the invasion is opposed, the families wishing to gain entrance may offer a higher rental or purchase price. They may hide their racial or ethnic identity.

Resistance to the Invasion

In stable residential areas where many residents own their homes, resistance to invasions is often strong and well organized. Elsewhere it is weaker or entirely lacking. Resistance may be informal; it may consist of the coaxing of neighbors or of attempts to persuade real estate men not to rent or sell property to certain types of people. It may take the form of a written agreement among property owners not to rent or sell to certain types, or even an agreement to write into the deeds of their property a statement governing the kinds of people who can occupy it. It occasionally takes the form of mob action. These last methods of resistance are employed more often against Negroes than any other group. According to a recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, however, restrictive covenants —on grounds of race, color, or creed—cannot be enforced in federal or state courts.

Exodus and Influx

Should the resistance to an invasion be effective, the succession is cut short in its course. Should it collapse, a rapid turnover of population often follows. Old residents, expecting the area to be taken over by the invaders, leave when they are able. The movement out of the area often goes on until only a few of the old families are left. In moving out, vacancies are created which are quickly taken up by the invading group. Thus invasions, which usually start slowly, gain acceleration.

Reintegration of the Area

As a new population enters an area, it brings with it a culture and sometimes its own institutions. It may establish its own stores, churches, and clubs. These facilitate the development of a neighborhood life within the area, and foster a feeling of identification with it.

The Re-establishment of Equilibrium

Eventually the invaded area acquires a new stability. It comes to be identified with its new inhabitants, and begins to bear their marks. Thus it has changed from one type of residential area to another type.

The experience people have in their residential areas affect their conduct and personality. Neighborhood experiences are of course not the only ones that affect behavior; all experiences do that. Studies of "problem behavior" show that each kind is distributed unequally through the city. Delinquency, adult crime, racial friction, divorce, mental disorders, and others are each found more frequently in some kinds of areas than in others.

Shaw and McKay [5] have assembled data on the distribution of juvenile delinquency in twenty American cities. By the use of graphic and statistical techniques, supplemented by case studies, the authors are able to identify the kinds of neighborhoods that have high delinquency rates, and to suggest the manner in which neighborhood influences contribute to this kind of behavior. While there are differences between communities, there are also striking similarities. A brief summary of the main findings of this study should be of interest. *First*, the delinquency rates differ widely from section to section of a city. In Chicago during

[5] Clifford R. Shaw, Henry D. McKay, *et al.*, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942.

the years 1927–33, for example, while the rate of delinquency for the city as a whole was 4.2 boys per hundred aged 10–16, the rate for mile-square areas ranged from 18.9 to 0.5. *Second*, the same areas had high delinquency rates over a number of years, even though in some cases the population had almost completely changed. *Third*, areas of high delinquency are often characterized by a high population mobility. Frequently the areas are undergoing a population decline. Home ownership is low. *Fourth*, delinquency areas are low-rent areas. In Philadelphia, areas with a median rent of $50 and over had a delinquency rate of 3.5, and those with a median rent of under $35 a rate of 10.4. Bad housing is a concomitant of low rents. *Fifth*, other indices of poverty likewise correlate with delinquency. *Sixth*, areas with a high proportion of Negroes or foreign-born have higher rates than areas of native white settlement. In Columbus, Ohio, in areas where 23 per cent or more of the heads of families were foreign-born, or Negroes, the delinquency rate was 18.2, but where the per cent was under 9, the rate was 8.1. *Seventh*, juvenile delinquency and adult crime appear to go together. *Eighth*, other "problem" conditions, as high rates of tuberculosis and mental disorders, are found in the same areas as high delinquency rates. *Ninth*, the areas are frequently located fairly close to the downtown area, and may have factories or warehouses interspersed among the residences.

The neighborhood approach to the study of delinquency is too specialized to give us a full understanding of the forces that produce this sort of behavior. Though incomplete it is none the less of real value. In surroundings such as those described, competing values arise. The boy's identification of himself with areas that by contrast with others rank low, his lack of opportunity to enjoy status and self-expression in the conventional and approved sections of the community, the absence of a stable neighborhood life, all are influences affecting the development of delinquent attitudes. These attitudes may become so entrenched as to become an enduring part of the local culture.

To the extent that delinquent attitudes are formed and perpetuated in certain types of residential areas, they are constituent elements of such areas. They are among the traits that characterize these areas, components of the whole that gives each area its peculiar local character.

To turn to another field for illustration, we may note that the type of insanity marked by auditory hallucinations and delusions of grandeur

and persecution (paranoid schizophrenia) is found most frequently in areas of residential hotels and rooming houses, and hobo areas.[6] The type characterized by excitement, impulsive and repeated acts, and mental confusion or listless stupor (catatonic schizophrenia) characterizes immigrant areas of first settlement or Negro areas in which there are many newcomers to the city.[7] The rate of drug addiction is high in the same types of areas as paranoid schizophrenia.[8]

It may be that some areas attract to themselves the personally maladjusted. It may be that certain types of people, concentrated in specific areas, face experiences and demands, both in and out of their neighborhoods, that lead to their disorders. Some areas, heterogeneous and unstable, and low in status in the eyes of the rest of the community, develop conflicting values, a moral disunity, where conventional ideals compete with those of the delinquent or criminal. Still others—and these are the majority of all residential areas—are well-integrated units, with conventional values; with groups and institutions which support and enforce these values, thus providing opportunities for normal living and social adjustment.

THE OVER-ALL SPATIAL PATTERN OF THE CITY

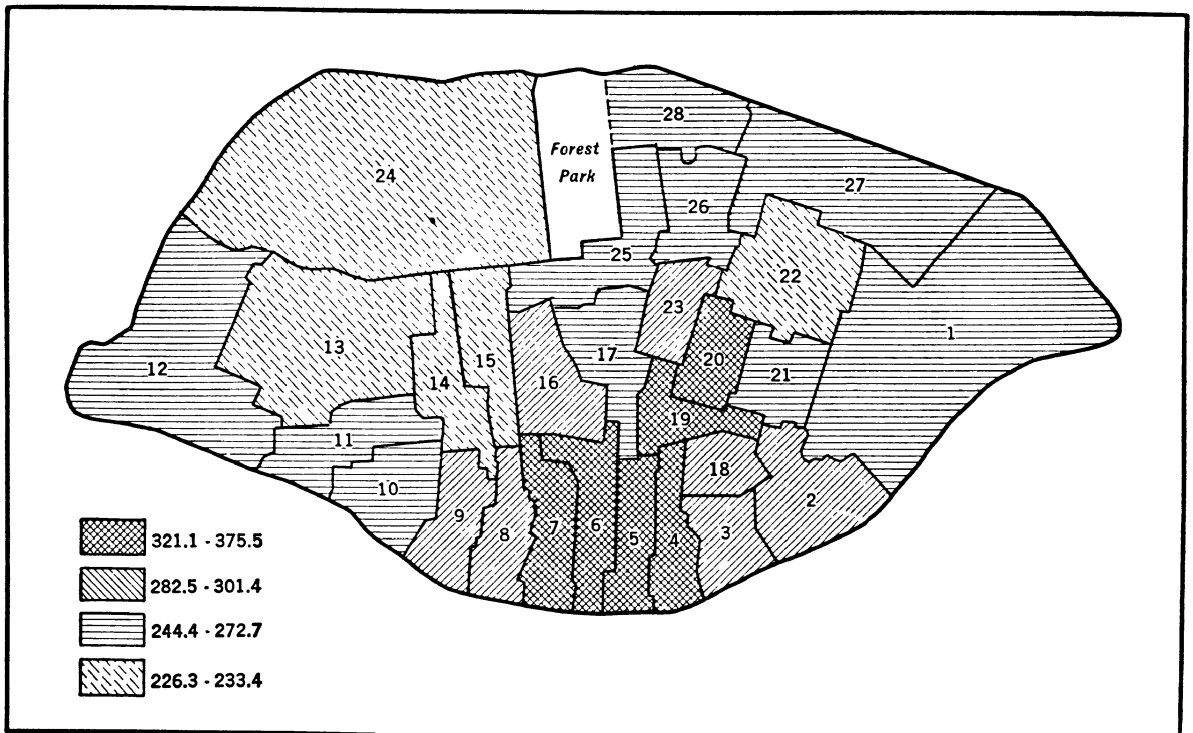
We have noted the tendency for cities to become divided into interdependent areas, owing to the processes of centralization and segregation. We saw that these processes are largely natural or unplanned, though controlled to some extent by collective decisions. Let us now consider a further question: are the various areas themselves parts of a larger spatial order that encompasses the whole city?

The over-all physical structure of the city is an aspect of the material setting within which the day-to-day life of the community is carried on, and the diverse and sometimes competing elements of the whole are accommodated to one another. Like the smaller units of which it is composed, the spatial order of our cities is

[6] Robert E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas, an Ecological Study of Schizophrenia and other Psychoses*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939, p. 85.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 121–122.



Medical rejection rates per 1,000 men by political wards in St. Louis, Missouri. Rates cover both physical and psychiatric disabilities; the highest rates appear in the inner zones of the city. (Hepple, *Selective Service Rejectees in Missouri*, 1946)

fashioned by a combination of natural and planned forces that give each unit its position in the whole. The physical structure of the city has been the subject of various studies in the United States and Canada,[9] and from them several different hypotheses have been derived. Underlying all these studies, however, are certain basic assumptions:

1. There is a tendency for each population type, or economic function, to become located in one or more areas having certain characteristics beyond those created by the immediate occupants, and for these areas to have typical locations within the over-all city configuration.

2. The different areas, each with its characteristic location, are grouped in larger configurations composed of somewhat similar or complementary areas. Several low-rent residential areas are sometimes contiguous.[10] Fashionable retail subcenters are usually near the exclusive residential districts. Workingmen's homes may be near industrial belts.

3. The larger clusters are themselves grouped, in a manner repeated in different cities, into an orderly over-all spatial pattern constituting the spatial structure of the whole community.

4. There are distributive processes at work which produce this overall spatial pattern, and which regulate the growth of the city without destroying its basic pattern. The city pattern is the product of dynamic forces such as social differentiation and social distance, competition for space, the state of technology, the depreciation and obsolescence of neighborhoods.

Since the task of grouping different areas into larger units depends somewhat on the judgments of the researchers, it is to be expected that various hypotheses will be propounded. Two that

[9] Raymond V. Bowers, "Ecological Patterning of Rochester, New York," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. IV, April, 1939. pp. 180–189; E. W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie, *The City*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925, Chap. 2; Maurice R. Davie, "The Pattern of Urban Growth," in George P. Murdock (ed.), *Studies in the Science of Society*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937, pp. 137–162; C. A. Dawson and W. E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*, rev ed., The Ronald Press, New York, 1935, pp. 129–156; Federal Housing Administration, *The Struggle and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1939.

[10] For an example of this, see Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.

have been widely accepted are the zonal hypothesis, first enunciated by E. W. Burgess, and what may be called the hypothesis of sectors, formulated by Homer Hoyt.

The Zonal Hypothesis

This hypothesis, like most others, assumes that the city is organized around its point of highest centralization, the downtown area where land values are highest and most people pass in a day. It divides the city into five concentric zones, each having its own distinctive characteristics.[11]

1. The central business district. Here are located the large department stores, many specialized retail outlets, wholesale establishments, theaters, banks and other financial institutions, hotels, railroad stations, newspaper publishers, and municipal offices. It is this area more than any other that integrates the economic life of the city.

2. The interstitial area or zone in transition. This is a band of territory immediately surrounding the central business district. It is the most heterogeneous and rapidly changing zone of the city. Any expansion of the central business district will push this zone outward. In consequence much of the land is held for speculative purposes. Land values are high; residential properties deteriorate and rents are low. In this section we find warehouses and light industries, usually on the inner rim of the zone. Many ethnic and racial areas are located here, besides heterogeneous slum areas. Here too may be found vice districts. Many of the residential areas have high rates of mobility. Many are characterized by high rates of delinquency.

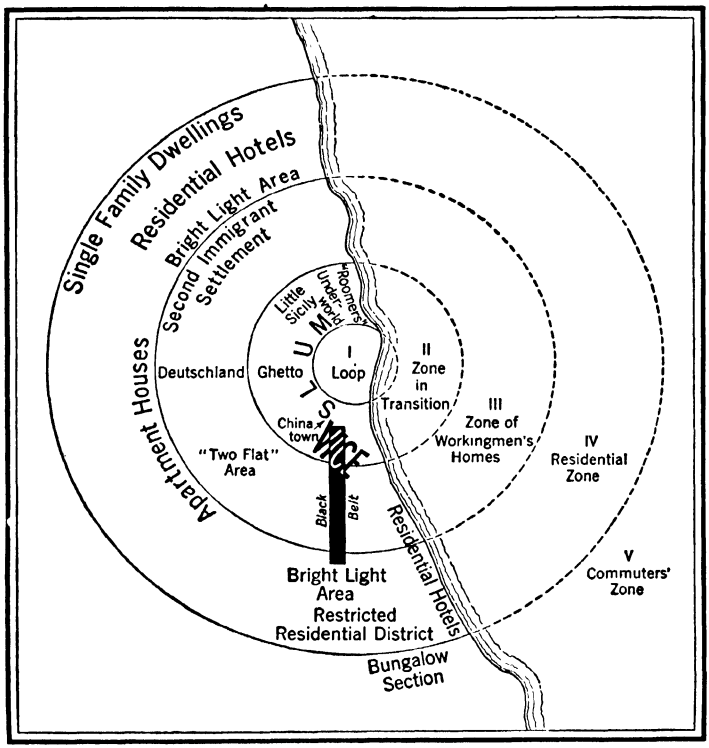
3. The zone of workingmen's homes. Beyond the interstitial zone lies a band of residential areas of low to medium rentals. This zone is more homogeneous. Some of the areas are occupied by partially assimilated immigrant peoples or by the more successful Negroes. Others are not inhabited by minority groups. Some areas consist mainly of flats, others of fairly old single dwellings, while some contain inexpensive apartments.

4. The high-class residential zone. This zone extends outward to the suburban zone. Most of the dwellings are newer, rents are

[11] Adapted from E. W. Burgess, *op. cit.*

higher, and home ownership is more common than tenancy. There are very few flats, though there may be fashionable apartments in some neighborhoods.

5. The suburban zone. This zone, like the others, consists of many distinct areas. It may lie in whole or in part beyond the



The concentric zone principle of urban growth, as formulated by Burgess. This chart, which applies specifically to Chicago, also shows the segregation of different cultural and racial areas of the city. (Courtesy The University of Chicago Press)

political limits of the central city; it extends outward as far as people commute. Within it will be found residential suburbs inhabited by middle-income families, and also areas of huge estates. Elsewhere, perhaps on another side of the city, may be located areas of heavy industry, and adjoining them, areas where the factory

laborers rent their homes. In other sections of this zone, country clubs may occupy large tracts, offering recreational opportunities to those who can afford membership.

Those who subscribe to this schematic analysis do not claim that it describes perfectly the structure of any city. They accept it rather as a generalized pattern approximating the areal composition of cities that have taken their shape under the impetus of currently operating forces. The course of urban expansion has left its trace on the areas in each zone. Growth occurs by the pushing outward of the central business area and by the outward movement of families toward the edge of the city. Most of the new residential building is on undeveloped sites on the edge of the built-up area. Rapid transportation has removed the obstacle of distance. The newer dwellings have commonly been occupied by the higher income families, while the older ones, nearer the city center, are left to those who must pay a lower rent.

Deviations from this general pattern result from conditions which differ from city to city. Every community is adapted to its topographic setting. Cities whose downtown area borders a water front, as Chicago or Detroit, can at best have zones of a semicircular shape. A steep hillside in Providence, R.I., bars the eastward expansion of the central business district and thus blocks the formation, on one side of the city, of areas such as characterize the zone in transition. Railroad lines running outward from their centrally located terminals always affect the properties adjoining them. In the older cities of the eastern seaboard, high-class residential areas close to the downtown business district persist because of the traditions they have acquired. Beacon Hill, in Boston, is an instance of this type.

Two real-estate trends also operate to modify the zonal pattern. The first is the erection of high-class apartments on sites fairly close to the central business district. The second is the encouragement given lower-income families to build small dwellings with the aid of loans insured by the Federal Housing Administration, and to pay for them over a long period of time in installments about the equivalent of rent. This latter development has enabled an increased number of workingmen's families to live in new dwellings, and has accounted for a number of low-income suburban developments.

The Hypothesis of Sectors

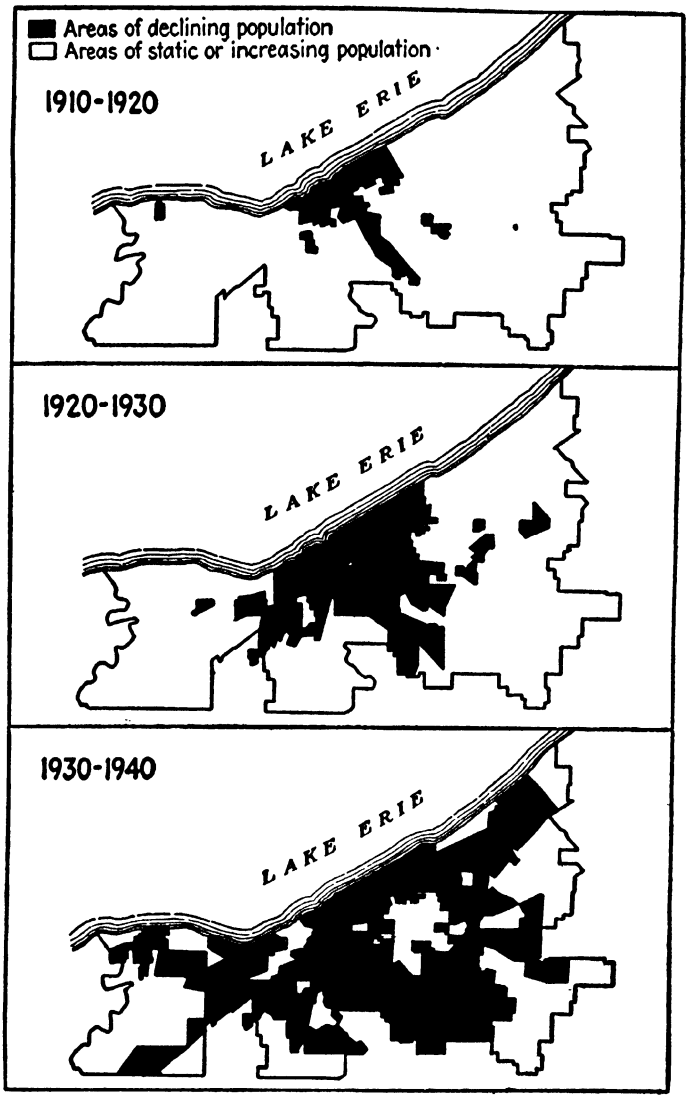
The zonal hypothesis should be regarded as one way to summarize a large number of discrete facts about the way in which people and institutions come to be distributed in a city, under the impetus of urban expansion. Like any hypothesis, it should be regarded as tentative until fully substantiated.

An alternative way of conceiving the distribution of urban peoples has been set forth by Homer Hoyt.[12] This is *the hypothesis of sectors.* Hoyt arrived at his conclusions through the study of rent data for residential units. Data for 142 cities, for the year 1934, were utilized, and maps prepared. (See page 223.) From the examination of these data, Hoyt came to question the zonal hypothesis. He held that "there is . . . a general pattern of rent areas that applies to all cities. This pattern is not a random distribution. It is not in the form of sharply defined rectangular areas, with blocks in each rental group occupying completely segregated segments. It is not in the form of successive concentric circles, with the lowest area near the center and highest on the periphery." [13] On the contrary, he found that residential rent areas in American cities tend to assume the form of sectors, or wedge-shaped areas, running outward from the central business district to the periphery of the city.

The highest rent areas are usually located in one or more sectors of a city, but do not necessarily occupy the whole of these sectors. In all directions from these areas of highest rentals there is a downward gradation of rentals. Thus areas with rent levels just below the highest tend to surround the highest rent areas or adjoin them on one side. High-rent areas either take the form of wedges from the center of the city to its periphery, or occupy the outer belt of some one sector. In some cities intermediate rental areas are found on the outer edge of lower rent sectors. In practically every city there are low-rent sectors extending from the downtown area to the edge of urban settlement.

The hypothesis of sectors was arrived at after examining the rent patterns of many cities, and deserves careful consideration. It is

[12] Federal Housing Administration, *op. cit.*
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 72.



Areas of declining population in Cleveland by decades, 1910–40. Note that these areas materially expanded between those years. (Miles L. Colean, *American Housing*, 1944. Reproduced by permission of the Twentieth Century Fund)

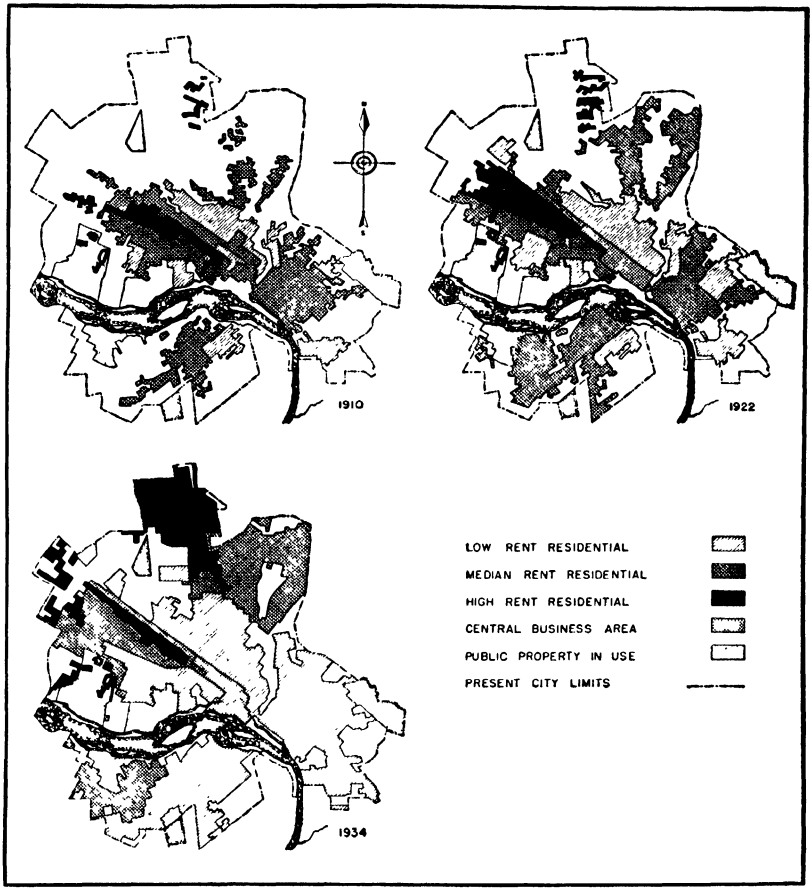
more recent than the zonal hypothesis, and probably less widely accepted. These rival hypotheses are not opposed at every point. Both agree, for example, that in many sectors of the city there is a gradient of increasing rents running outward from the edge of the downtown area to the edge of the city.

CITY PLANNING

The urban distributive pattern is the result of both impersonal forces and planning. City planning is but one type of planning in cities. Its distinctive features are, first, that it is undertaken by municipal agencies instead of individual property owners, and, second, that it is comprehensive, dealing with many aspects of city growth. City planning has as its objective the guiding of the growth of cities so as to make them healthful, efficient, and attractive communities. A comprehensive plan provides for adequate streets, other transportation facilities as public transit, rail routes and terminals, water fronts; it includes recommendations for school sites and schools, other cultural centers, and public buildings; for parks, playgrounds, open spaces, and scenic drives; and it considers the future central business district of a city, public and private housing, and other aspects of land use.

The city planning movement in the United States began in 1905 when plans for Manila, P.I., San Francisco, and Columbia, S.C. were made. At present several hundred communities, distributed over a majority of the states, having planning agencies set up to devise improvements on existing conditions.

While many aspects of planning have an indirect effect on the over-all spatial pattern of the city, one in particular, *zoning*, has a direct influence. Zoning regulates the uses to which the land may be put within the zoned areas. It involves building up a classification of land uses, or "use districts" as they are sometimes called, in which certain types of buildings are permitted and specific types of land use allowed. Thus there may be one or more residential districts, as for single residences, or these combined with multiple dwellings. Once use districts have been determined, the different areas of the city or zoned area (it may be a township or county) are each assigned a specific use classification, and only such new



Shifts in types of residential areas, Richmond, Virginia, from 1910 to 1934. The movement of high- and median-rent areas has been, in the main, to the north and west, while low-rent areas have developed progressively to the east and south. (Hoyt, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities*, Federal Housing Administration, 1939)

buildings or property uses as are consistent with its classification are allowed within them.

Zoning has as its primary goal the regulation of community growth so as to provide an orderly arrangement of homes, businesses, industries, and other land uses. It blocks the entrance into selected

areas of land uses that would reduce other property values, and so helps maintain the internal homogeneity of urban areas. Zoning rules, however, are not retroactive; that is, they cannot compel any changes in buildings or uses already in existence when zoning became effective. Almost all zoned cities assumed their basic pattern before zoning was introduced; thus only their more recent developments have been guided by comprehensive planning.

The objective of planning is orderly land use; it is not necessarily the creation of homogeneous concentric belts or of sectors. Zoning seeks to assign the best uses to each area, and to place each function in its best location.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages in the use of the term "natural area?"
2. In what sense are different city areas interdependent?
3. What light does the study of city areas throw on the nature of urban society?
4. Distinguish centralization from segregation.
5. What kinds of shopping are commonly done in subcenters?
6. Name and illustrate four bases of residential segregation.
7. Is any population type in our large cities not segregated?
8. What are the forces making for residential segregation in American cities?
9. What are the characteristics of delinquency areas?
10. What are the stages of a typical residential succession?
11. In what types of situation is resistance to invasions greatest? Least? Why?
12. Contrast the main features of the zonal hypothesis and the hypothesis of sectors.
13. What forces are operating to produce a zonal pattern in our cities? What forces produce deviations from this pattern?
14. In your judgment does the rent map of Richmond conform more closely to the zonal pattern or to the pattern of sectors?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Prepare a rough map showing the location in your home community of your home, the school you attended, the place your father works, the stores, theaters, and church you attend or use, the post office from which your mail is delivered. How many distinct areas in your community do you use?
2. Plot on a rough map the location of stores of some kind (as for example "dime" stores or furniture stores) in a city. To what extent do these form clusters in the larger business area of which they are a part?

3. Write down, quite honestly, how you would react if some family of a different nationality or race moved into a house next door to yours. In this situation, what do you think your parents would do?

4. Trace a small census tract map for some city with which you are acquainted, and show the residential rent levels by different kinds of shading. Use the census publication *Population and Housing, Statistics for Census Tracts (city name), Sixteenth Census of the United States,* to get the necessary data. Does your map conform more closely to the zonal pattern or the pattern of sectors?

SELECTED READINGS

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities,* Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1939.

An extensive study of the over-all spatial patterning of the city. The hypothesis of sectors is set forth in this volume. There are many maps and charts.

GIST, NOEL P., and L. A. HALBERT, *Urban Society,* 2nd ed., Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1941.

Contains a good discussion of the topics covered in the present chapter.

PARK, ROBERT E., ERNEST W. BURGESS, and RODERICK P. MCKENZIE, *The City,* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925.

Chapter II, "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project," by Ernest W. Burgess, is a discussion of the zonal hypothesis and of urban mobility.

Chapter 13

THE RURAL TRADE AREA AND THE METROPOLITAN REGION

Our attention now shifts to larger areal units, described in sociological literature as trade areas. No community is a self-contained unit. Villages are interdependent with the farm areas surrounding them and with the larger urban centers. Surrounding each community center is a band of territory that is economically and socially geared in with it. This band may extend for only a mile or two and encompass sparsely settled country; or it may extend outward for hundreds of miles and include smaller community centers. The trade area of a community is that area which makes fairly routine use of the trading facilities located at the community center.

The trade area is a spatial unit. It is also an ecological unit. Between the center and the hinterland there is always a division of labor. Each part of the trade area makes its own special contribution to the life of the whole area. One section may cultivate the soil; another, containing decentralized factories, may contribute manufactured parts for assemblage at some central plant; another may be a market center. The concept *trade area* focuses attention on the territorial aspects of ecological organization. One of the major ideas developed by human ecologists is that within our culture the geographic position of an area of settlement—its setting among natural resources, and its proximity to other types of settlement—influences the nature of its local economy and its place in the larger division of labor.

Agricultural areas close to large cities, for example, are more often given over to market gardens than the areas more distant. Fresh milk is usually produced within easy trucking distance of the cities where it is sold. Small towns usually do their wholesale buying in the markets of the nearest large city. Use of the city's retail stores

falls off regularly as the distance from them increases. The flow of goods into community centers, from the surrounding areas, and the exchange flow of other goods and services from these centers give the trade area its reality. Each trade area is of course dependent on transportation facilities, on a nexus of highways and railroads that converge on its center of trade.

RURAL TRADE AREAS

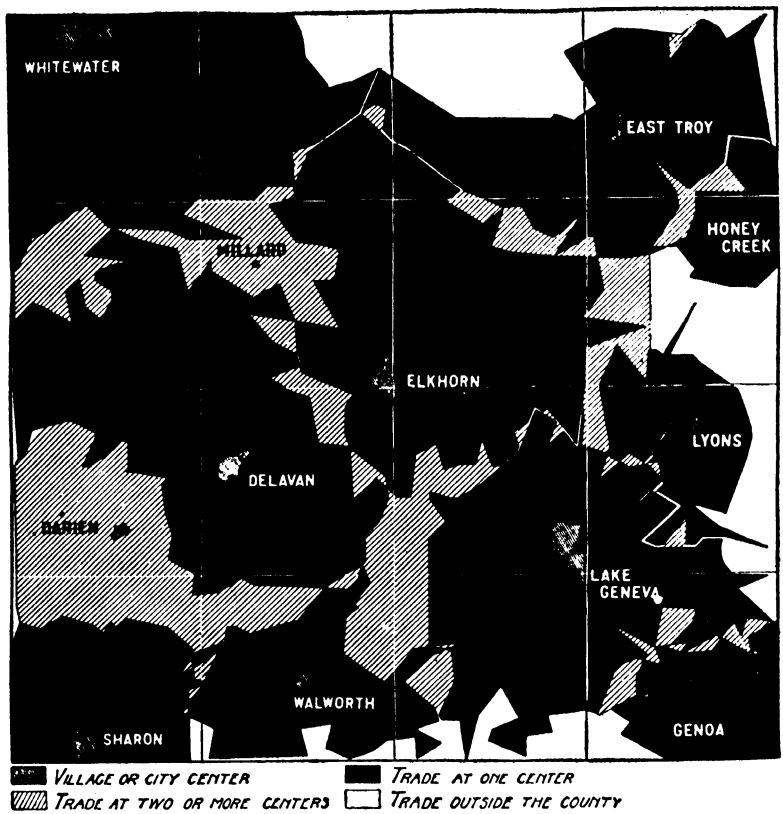
Except in the case of pioneering families who once pushed out beyond the confines of community life, farm families have rarely been independent economic units in this country. Nor have their social contacts been self-contained. Rooted in the culture of all rural sections of the United States are wants and needs which are best satisfied through stores, schools, churches, recreational centers, and county services. One of the components of a community, we have observed, is a body of institutional units within which people act collectively. Here we are first concerned with economic institutions, for it is in these that trade areas have their being. A rural trade area has as its components a central nucleus of stores, banks, and marketing organizations on the one hand, and on the other hand a considerable number of outlying families that depend on these concerns.

In the rural trade area people of town and country are brought into relationship with one another. On the ecological plane this relationship is one of mutual dependence. Out of the contacts of trade, however, have grown up personal associations and communication of ideas and beliefs. People who exchange goods during business hours attend church together on Sundays, go to the same baseball games or the same theaters, join the same conversational groups. Since villagers and farmers join in voluntary association in these ways, rural sociologists have tended to regard both as members of the same *rural community.*

One of the most extensive studies of rural community areas was undertaken in Walworth County, Wisconsin, before our entry into World War I, by the pioneer rural sociologist, C. J. Galpin.[1] Galpin regarded the trade area as one aspect of the whole community

[1] C. J. Galpin, *Rural Life*, The Century Company, New York, 1918, Chap. 4.

area, and included in his study banking areas, local-paper areas, village- or city-milk areas, village- or city-church areas, high-school areas, and public-library areas. Here our primary concern is with trade areas. Immediately below is a map showing the territories served by the several town centers.



Rural trade areas, Walworth County, Wisconsin, 1915. (Charles J. Galpin, *Rural Life*, The Century Company, New York, 1918, p. 74)

Some features of these trade areas are notable. *First*, they are irregular in shape. The irregularities result from the spacing of the towns, the nature of the road system, differences in the kinds of services available in the several towns, and similar factors. *Second*, they differ in size. As a rule, the larger centers extend their in-

fluence over greater distances than the smaller ones. The size of the trade areas is affected, too, by the spacing of the villages. *Third*, the trade areas overlap one another. There is no sharp line dividing the territory served by competing centers. In marginal areas between two centers people on adjacent farms may go to different towns for their purchases, or one family may make use of two or more centers. *Fourth*, some of the smaller centers can make no exclusive claim to even immediately adjacent territory. *Fifth*, township and county lines have little or no effect on trade area boundaries.

This area was resurveyed in 1929.[2] Several changes during the intervening period were revealed. Many of these may be traced to a more widespread use of the automobile, and to increased facility of travel. Service areas expanded, and there was an appreciable increase in the overlapping of the areas. There was a more complete coverage of the county. The larger centers expanded their territories more than the smaller ones, and drew trade away from the latter.

These changes are similar to those occurring throughout virtually all rural sections of the country. Towns are competing more with one another. More people are utilizing more than one trade center. The convenience of proximity is giving way to the advantage of adequate stores and other institutions. Larger places are drawing trade away from smaller ones. Brunner and Lorge have shown that during the years 1930–1936 about one third of a large number of places studied increased their community areas.[3] These writers defined community areas as those "from which a majority of the country people came for a majority of their required services," [4] and so eliminated from consideration the overlapping of areas. Had they taken into account the territory from which fewer than a majority of the families traded at a village center they undoubtedly would have found that more places had pushed their boundaries outward.

So long as people use more than one center, rural trade areas can

[2] A brief summary of the findings of the resurvey are presented in J. H. Kolb and E. de S. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, 3rd ed., Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1946, pp. 115–118.

[3] E. de S. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1937, p. 85.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

be delimited only with difficulty. For one thing, people travel greater distances for some kinds of purchases than for others. Farmers living fairly near a small town and somewhat farther from a larger one may use the nearer one for the routine purchase of groceries and go the greater distance to avail themselves of clothing stores and banks in much the same way as people in a city buy their foodstuffs from neighborhood stores and go downtown for less standardized commodities. The case of Mr. B. offers an illustration:

Mr. B. lives 10 miles northeast of Sublette, the county seat of Haskell County. He uses the bank in Sublette and occasionally goes to the courthouse to consult with the county agent or AAA committee. While in town he buys some groceries for family needs at once. Most of his supplies are bought either in Copeland or Garden City, 15 and 35 miles away. He says that for the past year there has been a grocery store in Copeland where he can buy to advantage; except for it he would buy most of his supplies in Garden City. There is no physician at Sublette or Copeland so he must go elsewhere for health service. During the year he has been taking his family to an osteopath in Montezuma (20 miles), who sends him on to Dodge City (another 23 miles) in case of more serious illnesses. Many machine-repair parts are not carried in stock in the smaller towns. As Dodge City is a center of distribution, Mr. B. goes directly there for repairs. He says that during some seasons more than a month may elapse between trips to Dodge City, but at other times he may go twice a week. Most of his wife's clothes are bought there. The so-called community sales are held weekly in the larger towns; and during the slack seasons he likes to go to them to keep abreast of the local prices at which commodities are selling.

His chief recreation is found at moving picture shows. He goes most often to Garden City, but frequently attends at Dodge City. Sundays are often spent at the homes of relatives who live in surrounding counties. His wife belongs to two women's clubs; the members are chosen on the basis of congeniality and are widely scattered over Haskell and the adjoining county on the east. Other informal social associations are largely with members of Mr. B's own age-group. They are scattered about the county, but occasionally several of them get together for an evening of cards. Two or three of these families sometimes arrange to meet at a dance in Satanta.[5]

[5] Earl H. Bell, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Sublette, Kansas*, U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics—Rural Life Studies: 2, 1942, p. 68.

The new mobility has not broken down the relation of town and country. It has, in fact, drawn the two more closely together, for it has centered in the towns many of the activities that used to be carried on in the farm neighborhoods. The relation of town and country, in the economic sphere at least, is apparently coming to be one of more widely overlapping trade areas, and use by the farmer of an increasing number of trade centers. The significant relationship is becoming that between farm areas and the larger towns, while the smaller hamlets are being by-passed and allowed to decline.

In the economic sphere town and country are interdependent. The relative influence of the two on the life of the whole trade area differs somewhat from place to place. In purely agricultural regions the life of the towns depends on the number and the prosperity of the farmers. We may liken the farm village to a kite, its string and anchorage being the flow of trade from the farmers. As the string is let out the kite will climb to greater and greater heights; any great contraction will cause it to flutter around uneasily and then crash. Prosperity among farmers is reflected in business activities of the towns. A decline in the price of farm crops not only causes a falling off of retail sales but unemployment among carpenters and underemployment among professional people. If the towns are not wholly dependent on the country population—if for instance they have local industries not dependent on agriculture, or if they are resort centers—the kite analogy breaks down. Still dependent in part on the country areas they serve, they may withstand changes affecting the farmers, or may decline while the farmers they serve remain prosperous. In many such towns farmers or their sons or daughters often obtain employment and in effect subsidize the farms. In these situations the country acquires a special dependence on the towns.

NON-ECOLOGICAL RELATIONS IN THE RURAL TRADE AREA

Joint enterprises and activities are essential aspects of community life. In a true community the inhabitants are able to satisfy most of their wants. The rural community is held together by shops, a high school, churches, and such other institutions as the people will support. In contrast is the farm neighborhood, where a few

families live within reach of one another, and where perhaps an ungraded school and a grange are the only organized meeting places. Community life revolves around centers where institutions are nucleated, and where people meet. In recent years the trend has been for the organized life of farm areas to be more and more town-centered. Schools are being consolidated, thus bringing children together. Fewer church services are being held in school rooms and township halls, and more of the farmers attend church in the villages. Not only is the village the place where town and country people come together, it is increasingly the place where farmers meet one another. Such is the influence of the automobile.

In the organization of the rural community, however, there has not been a complete fusion of interests. Merchants and doctors ordinarily care little about activities which center in the granges. They are not attracted by the talks and demonstrations of the county agricultural agents or the extension specialists from the State Colleges. To the farmers such gatherings are vital. They tend to remain on a neighborhood basis. Similarly there are activities in the villages that do not attract many farmers. Village boards of trade rarely include in their memberships people from off Main Street. Lodges often draw most of their memberships from the village population.

The local government of incorporated places has an interest for villagers which is not shared by the outlying areas. In a village known to the writer one church has almost no country people, while another draws about half its congregation from the farms. Thus while school and church consolidation is progressing and outlying stores are succumbing to the competition from the towns, there is not yet full cooperation of farmers and tradesmen in the organized life of the rural community area. Combined with place of residence and occupation is a whole body of interests, indeed a whole mode of life. The interests of village and country may become better integrated in the culture, but it is certain they will never completely coincide.

The relation of town and country may be studied not only in terms of common or divided associations, but in terms of attitudes and loyalties. The undertaking of joint projects, if they are intended to benefit both groups and are unmarred by personal dif-

ferences, usually fosters attitudes of cooperation and friendliness. When activities are affected by differences in interest, as sometimes occurs, they make not for solidarity but for strain. The trend throughout the country appears to be in the direction of more cordial relationships, with a diminution of tension.

In a survey first conducted in 1924, covering 140 rural communities scattered throughout the United States, the relations of village and country in 24 communities, or in 17 per cent of the total, were so poor as to be described as conflicting, while in the case of 27, or 19 per cent of the total, they were so favorable as to be described as cooperative. In 1936 only 13, or 9 per cent, of these places had poor or conflicting relations, while 85, or 61 per cent, were cooperative. The relations in the remaining communities were in both surveys described as neutral.[6] Thus a wider spirit of cooperation was coming to prevail. During the period between these two surveys (there was an intervening one in 1930) the reasons for conflict changed. In the earlier years political differences, conflicts over school consolidation and curricula, and disagreements about store prices predominated. In 1936 "unreasonable" farmers, questions concerning relief, and the issue of rural electrification were most prevalent. Cooperative attitudes in both years sprang from joint activities. Schools, while at times a source of conflict, have also been an integrative factor. The joint control of fire-fighting equipment, the use of village-centered libraries by farmers without fee, joint planning of fairs and festivals, all have fostered a spirit of cooperation.

NATURE OF THE METROPOLITAN REGION

Cities, towns, and open country areas divide the landscape. Until the 1930's large cities were growing more rapidly than small ones. There has been a continual drawing of people away from rural areas into the larger centers of population. Not only large cities but areas beyond their periphery have grown. At present about half the people of the United States live within or fairly near some city of 100,000 or more. The growth of cities, however, is more than a growth of numbers; it is a growth of urban activities. Different kinds of employment, greater industrial production, wholesale as well as retail commerce, urbanized schools and churches and clubs, emergent class differences, different forms of social control: these

[6] E. de S. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

are but some of the components of city growth. A city is a sort of web, a thing of many parts, each in some way related to the others. It is precisely because its parts are interrelated that it can function as a community.

It is economical for many kinds of activities to be centered in one locality. As cities have grown and aged they have acquired a more rounded complement of business institutions. Places like Detroit and Pittsburgh, whose growth is commonly attributed to one dominant industry, have developed a greater diversity of manufactures. In these cities, too, trade and service occupations have grown more rapidly in the years preceding World War II than industrial ones.[7] In acquiring a balanced occupational structure, cities have become more independent of one another. At the same time they have gained a more commanding influence in the economic life of the smaller towns and villages which they serve.

When we study the metropolitan region we observe the flow of goods and services between a large city and the smaller settlements for which the city is the chief urban market. A metropolitan region is an organization of communities of different sizes and with different sorts of specialization, lying within a continuous area or territory. Geographically it consists of a large city on which routes of travel converge and the places along the routes which make use of the institutions and services of the city. Every large city is the focal point in the organization of an extended hinterland. Save on the margins of metropolitan regions every small town, and indirectly every open country area, is more closely geared into the economy of some one large city than into that of others.

WHAT CITIES DRAW FROM THEIR HINTERLANDS

The ecological relations between cities and their hinterlands have developed in large part because of city functions. On the one hand are the needs of cities: food for their inhabitants, raw materials for their industries. On the other hand are the equipment, facilities, and products of the cities: stocks of finished goods and the means for distributing them, banking and news services, and the like, which

[7] This trend toward diversification is a part of what has been called "settlement maturation." See R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933, Chap. IX.

enable the cities not only to meet some of their own needs but also to serve families and communities in the territory beyond their limits.

Cities of all continents, and at all periods of their existence, have depended on the work of people dwelling beyond their borders. Some have depended on products of the land just beyond their walls. In ancient Athens the citizens owned land in the surrounding valley of Attica, which was worked by slaves.

Ancient Rome, in contrast, gathered a huge food supply by taking in tribute the agricultural surplus from a vast area. Drawing upon the territories under its rule, Rome for a time maintained a population of 800,000, or twenty times the number living in Athens during the classical era. Modern cities, too, draw their food supplies from outside their limits. The availability of city markets, and the dominance of urban demands, strikingly modify the pattern of land use in the near-by farm areas.

Owing to the advantage of proximity to large markets, land on the edge of American cities is often cultivated intensively. Fresh produce from near-by farms can find its way to city dinner tables without bearing the cost of long freight hauls in refrigerated cars. Favorable marketing conditions make it profitable for farmers to work their lands more intensively, to use more labor per acre than is profitable at a greater distance from the market. The possibility of marketing vegetables direct from farm to consumer is an added incentive to intensive cultivation. Market gardens, not illogically, cluster at the edges of our cities, and tend to disappear as one travels away from a large city into the more sparsely settled areas of fields or woodlands. In the intensive use of the land in the first farm belt around our cities we see one of the controlling influences of cities over their rural hinterlands.

Kolb and Brunner, in their recent studies of rural social life, have compiled a body of statistical material showing the effects of cities on farming in the surrounding areas. Their procedure has been to observe the traits of counties lying at successively greater distances from cities. Eighteen cities and their surroundings were selected for analysis, drawn from different sections of the country. Very large cities were excluded from the study to avoid the complications of suburban development.

The county containing the city was called the "city county" and was treated as a whole, that is, the city figures were included in the county totals. All counties immediately bordering on the city county were designated as Tier One Counties; counties bordering the first tier were called Tier Two Counties, and so on until the concentric design was traced.[8] Their object was to see if the magnitude of various traits constituted gradients, that is, if they decreased or increased regularly according to their distance from the city counties. Drawing upon the 1930 census data they showed a definite pattern of land use.[9] The percentage of farms which specialized in fruits was highest in the city counties and declined regularly through the fourth tier of counties. Truck farms were highly concentrated in the city counties and constituted a very small percentage of all farms in the remaining tiers. The percentage of poultry farms constituted a declining gradient. In contrast dairy farms showed a relative increase through the third tier of counties; stock ranches through the fourth tier; relatively self-sufficing farms fell off slightly from city counties to those of Tier One, but showed an unbroken increase from the first to the fourth tiers. Reflective of these differences in land use and in dependence upon nearby city markets are differences in the value of land per acre and value of farm crops per acre. Both these were highest for the city counties and declined successively through the countries of Tier Three.

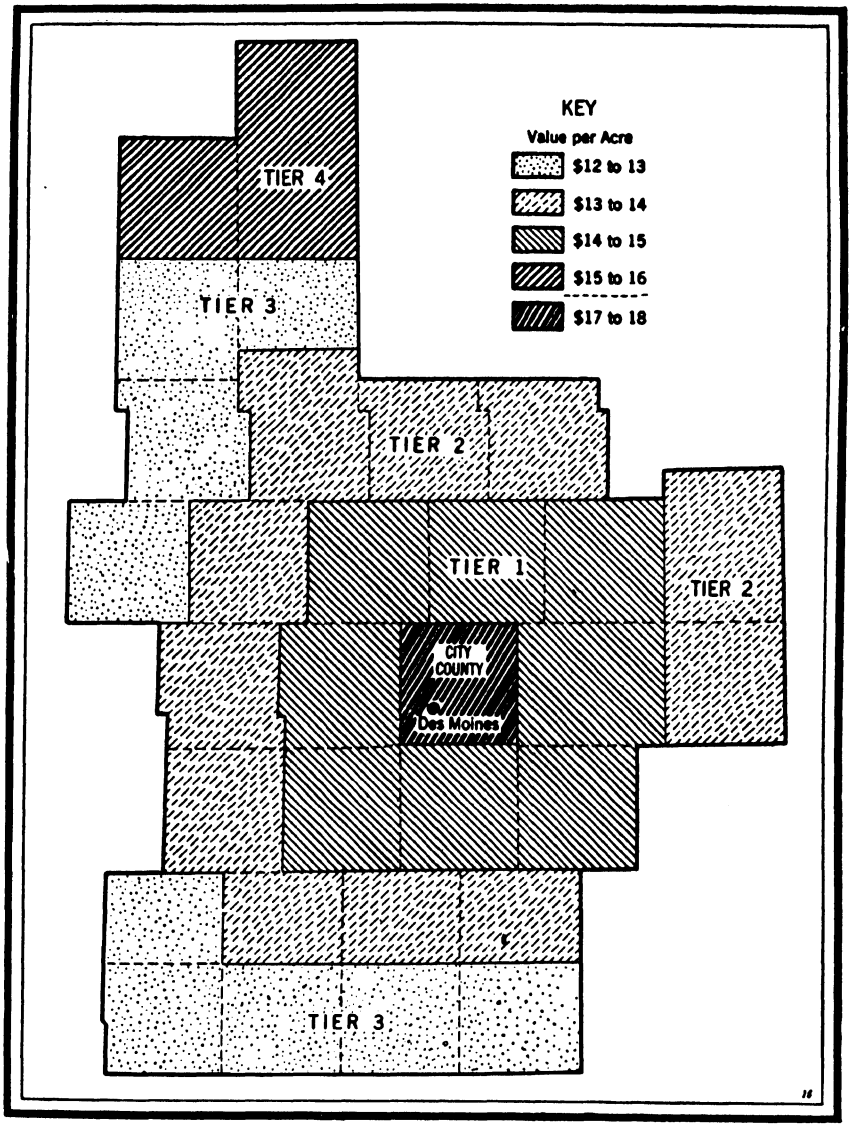
The map on page 237, showing the value of farm crops in the Des Moines area, illustrates the Brunner and Kolb method.

Implicit in the foregoing is the idea that in the pattern of rural-urban relationships, cities exert a control over their farm hinterlands. They help determine what is the most profitable use of the land. Constituting the chief market for produce from the intensively worked fields, they gear the activities of near-by farmers into their urban economics.

To point out that cities exert an influence over the ways land is used in the areas surrounding them, however, is not to claim that cities draw all or even most of their agricultural foodstuffs from within their own regions. Nor is it to claim that metropolitan centers are the marketing point for all or most of the farm products of their regions. Such claims would not be valid. The foods that

[8] J. H. Kolb and E. de S. Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 180. See also E. de S. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933, Chap. 5 and Appendix D.

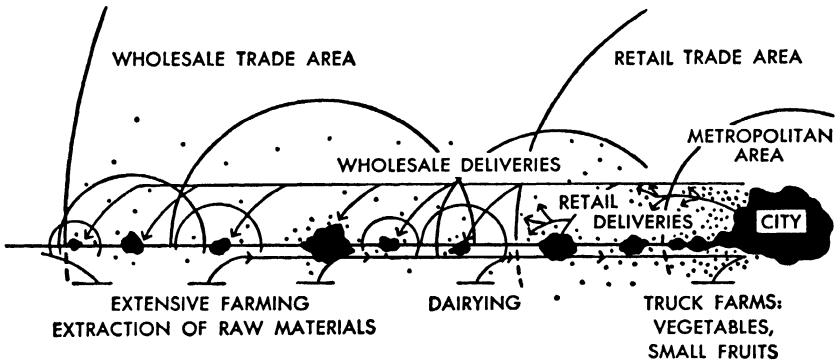
[9] Data taken from E. de S. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–126.



Value per acre of field crops in the Des Moines area in 1930, by tiers of counties. Note that the value of crops per acre falls off regularly from the City County through Tier 3. (E. de S. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1933, p. 116)

any of us eat come from many parts of the nation and from other countries as well. Farm areas that specialize in one crop, as cotton, or wheat, or citrus fruits, serve national or world markets, and sometimes sell their produce direct to wholesalers or manufacturers at distant points without the intervention of distributors in a near-by urban center. These facts do not disprove the existence of metropolitan regions; but indicate that such regions are not the only units of ecological organization.

In addition to agricultural products ready for consumer use, other kinds of raw materials flow from rural areas and small cities



Hypothetical structure of the metropolitan region. What the hinterland sends to the city is shown on the lower part of the figure, and what it gets from the city on the upper part. Some things, such as the circulation of metropolitan newspapers throughout the area, are not shown. Rural trade areas are shown as circles surrounding the villages and smaller cities.

into the large cities. These feed the industries of our manufacturing centers. Industrial location, if rational, results from the weighing of comparative advantages. The early textile mills in New England had the advantages of water power and nearness to markets. The moving of some of these mills to the South supplied them with abundant labor and brought them nearer the sources of raw cotton.

Many American cities have become large owing to the expansion of industries using raw materials from near at hand. The relative importance of convenience to markets, accessibility of raw materials, adequate transportation facilities, and supplies of labor and capital is different for each industry. Of special interest here are those

manufacturing centers whose industries draw heavily upon the resources of the surrounding territory. Lying at the gateway to the northwestern agricultural section of this country, the Twin Cities have forged ahead as a center of grain storage, flour milling, and manufacture of linseed products. Pittsburgh is close to coal fields. Gary, Indiana, another steel center, has drawn upon the iron ore of Minnesota and upper Michigan and the coal of Illinois mines. Tulsa and Forth Worth owe their growth in large measure to their proximity to oil fields, serving as centers of refining as well as of management. These examples will sufficiently illustrate the dependence of economic activities in cities upon near-by raw materials. These materials give the hinterland and the city a measure of economic unity.

WHAT THE CITY GIVES IN RETURN

The relation of city and hinterland is reciprocal; there is a two-way flow of goods and services. Cities are centers of manufacturing, of trade, of various services. There we find the large retail stores, the large wholesale establishments, the large banks, newspapers, and radio stations. These all serve a population which is distributed both within and beyond the corporate limits of the city. The use of the city's institutions and services is greatest close at hand, among the people of the city itself and those living in the suburbs. Institutions and services are drawn upon, however, for distances ranging upwards to hundreds of miles. The gradient of the city's relation with its hinterland, as regards the outward flow of goods and services, is indicated by the breakdown of the metropolitan region into three units: the metropolitan area, the retail trade area, and the wholesale trade area.

The Metropolitan Area

The metropolitan area comprises the city and its suburbs. Within it people have direct contacts with the institutions of the city center. It includes the territory where commuters live, the area in which people go routinely from their homes to their places of business and back home during the ordinary working day. Except in a few cases, this area does not extend more than fifteen or

twenty miles from the downtown section of the central city; for smaller cities the distance is not so great.

The Retail Trade Area

This is the area served by the delivery trucks of the city's retail and service shops. It is delimited by the routes of the department stores' delivery vehicles, and those of specialty shops, furniture stores, laundries, and others. The outer limits of this territory are determined, as a rule, by the distance delivery trucks can travel in a day while making calls along the way. The delivery service makes for direct contact between the city's institutions and the consuming families. Purchasers make occasional trips into the city besides using telephone and mail services to order their goods. Scattered through this area, though, are towns and small cities with their own retail outlets. These stores buy at wholesale in the central city, and so give their patrons an indirect contact with the metropolis.

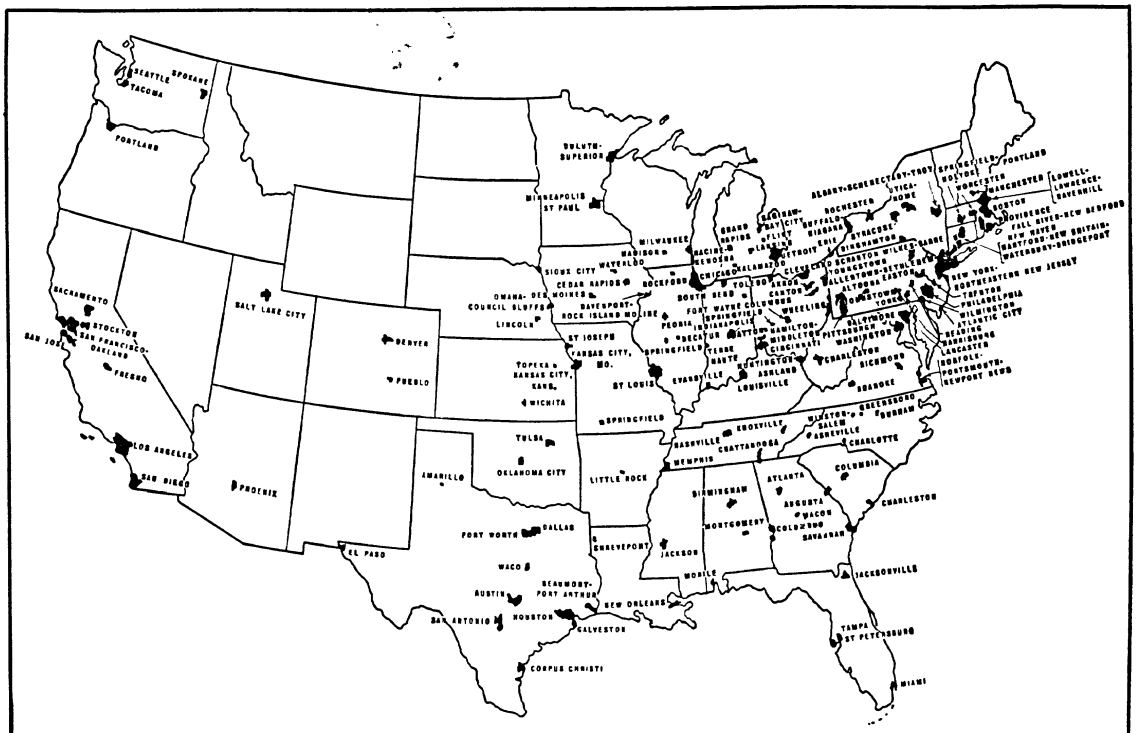
The Wholesale Trade Area

The farther away people live from a city, the fewer are their direct contacts with it; correspondingly, the more their lives are bound up with activities in their local communities. Retail sales per capita in local stores increase for some distance outward, as the direct use of city stores falls off.[10] In the wholesale trade areas, the city serves the stores in the smaller communities as the chief supply center. The area may extend for only a few miles, or for several hundred miles, from the central city. In 1938, for instance, Providence was the chief drygoods wholesale center for an area no larger than Rhode Island, while Minneapolis and St. Paul performed a similar function over an area extending almost to the Idaho border, and Denver served a belt from Montana to Mexico.[11]

Wholesaling is not the only service which the city renders its hinterland. Banks in the smaller communities commonly keep deposits in some bank in the central city, especially if there is a Federal Reserve Bank, or a branch of one. The outlying population listens to radio programs broadcast from the metropolis. It subscribes to city newspapers. The areas thus served do not necessarily

[10] R. D. McKenzie, *op. cit*, pp. 74–76.

[11] Elma S. Moulton, *Atlas of Wholesale Dry Goods Trading Areas*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1941, map fol. p. 107.



Location of metropolitan districts in the United States, 1940. Such districts, by definition, are concentrations of population centering around cities with a population of 50,000 or more. The majority of these districts are in the eastern portion of the country. (*Population: Number of Inhabitants* 1940, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1942)

coincide with the wholesale trade area, but are often nearly the same.

The metropolitan region is thus pictured as a series of three concentric rings about a central point. The picture is generalized; that is, it is based on the analysis of different regions, and includes the traits common to most of them. It does not depict exactly or in detail the characteristics of any specific region.

Some qualifications and refinements may be noted. While large cities are the points at which manufactured goods are assembled for redistribution, merchants in the outlying towns may buy directly from manufacturers or from major distribution points outside their own regions. The mail order house reaches customers directly, even though they live beyond the retail belt. Wholesale trade areas are different for different commodities, smaller for groceries than for yard goods, for example. The retail trade area does not begin at the edge of the metropolitan area, but extends in to the city center; likewise the wholesale area extends inward over the other two zones. The zones are nowhere regular in shape. While we may recognize that city trade areas are imprecise, and that no trade area is self-sufficient, these two facts still stand out: *first*, use is made of the institutions and services of the central city by people in its hinterland, and *second*, this use is more intensive and direct close to the city than at a greater distance.

METROPOLITAN REGIONS: SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CORRELATES

Thus the metropolitan region arises in the exchange of goods and services between the metropolis and its hinterland. It is a "natural" unit, reflecting competitive advantages in buying and selling. It is a pattern of division of labor, in which communities and institutions are the participants. It is a social unit in which communications flow, urban folkways spread rural-ward, fashions become diffused, city baseball teams are cheered, city politics discussed. Arising as a trade unit, the metropolitan region, owing to easy travel and communication, is becoming an increasingly important area of social contacts, where customs and ideas are exchanged along with goods. As this happens, it is the ways of the city that most often prevail.

Metropolitan regions as we have conceived them are nowhere political or administrative units. Each region embraces many governmental units, including cities, townships, counties, states, and sometimes governmental districts not coinciding with any of these,

as school districts, park districts, sanitary districts, drainage districts, and the like. Local government is often based on areas which are not functionally delimited; and many regions contain large numbers of special-function agencies, often differing from one another in area served, and otherwise uncoordinated. Still, two developments are noteworthy. First is the creation of many special districts, dealing with specific metropolitan problems. Examples are the Massachusetts Metropolitan District, with responsibility for water supply, sewerage, and parks within the metropolitan area of Boston, and the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, in the Los Angeles area.

Second is the emergence of broad regional planning. Outstanding in this regard is the *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs.* This regional plan, first drawn up in 1929, covers parts of three states, 22 counties, and 495 autonomous municipal units. The Regional Plan Association, which administers the plan, performs the task of planning broadly for the whole region, and of coordinating and incorporating into the Regional Plan the plans of local authorities. The fields covered—parks, general traffic highways, transportation, water, sewage, refuse disposal, public housing, and zoning—are approximately the same as in city planning.

METROPOLITAN REGIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Since metropolitan regions are organized around large cities, the problem in delimiting such regions is to find suitable indices of the area that falls within the "sphere of influence" of each city. What is needed is a composite index that will delimit the area that looks more to a given city than to any other as a market for its own products, and as a source of supply for the finished goods and services it gets in return. Since this doesn't exist, we must content ourselves for the present with something less. Data are available for the areas drawing on certain cities for specific commodities, as groceries, dry goods, and drugs.

McKenzie [12] used the circulation of morning newspapers, and finds the areas thus delimited very nearly coterminous with those based on other indices. The procedure was to plot the towns that received

[12] R. D. McKenzie, *op cit.*, Chap. VIII.

the largest percentage of city papers from any given metropolitan center, and to assign the town and its environs to the metropolitan region organized about that center. Cities whose papers circulate over a very limited territory were not taken into account. Circulation of the leading morning daily in over 40 cities was plotted. All of these cities were adjudged centers of regions except Milwaukee, whose hinterland falls within the Chicago orbit.

"Café society" is a phenomenon of the metropolis. The picture above shows the interior of the famed Stork Club in New York City. (Courtesy the Stork Club)

Careful study of this map reveals some interesting phenomena. The New York area covers no more space than that of Helena, Montana. Several cities larger than Helena or Sioux City do not appear at all: Milwaukee, Providence, Wilmington, Duluth, and others. State boundaries have little relation to lines dividing metropolitan regions. West of the Sioux City area is a band of sparsely settled territory that is assigned to Chicago; it is really outside any metropolitan region. The boundaries of the 1920 and of the 1929

regions are identical at most points. A later map of metropolitan centers, based on a different concept, appears on page 241.

REGIONAL SPECIALIZATION AND INTERDEPENDENCE

The combined efforts of many men go into the production of most of the things we buy. The manufacturer and distributor of tractors and plows and gasoline, the farmer, the operator of the grain elevator, the railroad engineer and freight conductor, the miller, the baker, the merchant and his delivery man together work to give us bread. The miner, farmer, steel worker, tool and die maker, factory hand, railroader, salesman, oil driller, refinery worker, service station attendant, highway engineer, and road grader together make it possible for us to drive automobiles. Some of the goods and services we consume originate in our own regions; more of them come from a greater distance. No metropolitan region is self-sufficient, or anywhere near it. There is a tendency for each city and region to specialize, at least so far as production is concerned, in those commodities it can make better, or more cheaply, than other regions.

The hinterlands of Portland and Seattle produce lumber for a market more extensive than their own regions. Lumber goes out from them to all parts of the nation and onto world markets. The grain and beef cattle produced west of Minneapolis or Kansas City or Omaha similarly help feed the nation and also other countries. Detroit is likewise the center of automobile production, though there are assembly plants all over the nation and, significantly, the new models are introduced at the Automobile Show in New York. New York and Hollywood are the centers of fashion. After World War I, New York wrested from London the position of financial capital of the world. The commanding position of this city had the effect of drawing capital to it from all over the nation in the late 1920's; it even went so far as to drain other sections of needed money at a time when the whole national economy was precariously balanced, and so contributed to the economic collapse of 1929. Pittsburgh is the national steel capital, Chicago is the meat packing center, the Twin Cities the milling center.

Many of these "specialists" are not alone metropolitan but re-

gional in character. Minneapolis mills the grain that its hinterland produces. The steel mills around Pittsburg use coal from that city's region. The stockyards of the Midwestern cities receive steers and pigs raised on the hinterland farms. The parts-factories in the outlying towns and smaller cities send automobile parts to Detroit or Flint for assembly into automobiles, while lake boats bring ores into Detroit from Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Regional specialization has as its inevitable counterpart the interdependence of regions.

The interdependence of men, then, is in part the interdependence of regions. Regions draw on one another for some of the goods essential to their respective specialties. The saw mills need power motors and steel saws. The automobile contains materials from many parts of the world. The finished goods produced at one regional center are marketed in other regions, partly through wholesalers and agents in their dominant cities. Business enterprises draw on the financial centers for capital.

Whether in rural trade areas, metropolitan regions, or larger units of interdependent regions, men live in dependence on other men, and produce goods and services which other men consume. They are bound together in an economic order and in a political and social order as well.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is a trade area?
2. Does a trade area constitute a community as truly as does the village or city around which it centers?
3. What is the effect of political boundaries on trade areas?
4. What are the major recent changes in rural trade areas? How do you account for these changes?
5. The trade area is an ecological unit. Discuss.
6. What kinds of influence does the metropolis exert over its hinterland?
7. How do geographic phenomena in the hinterland affect the kinds of activities carried on in the metropolitan center?
8. What problems do we encounter in trying to delimit metropolitan regions?
9. Demonstrate that the metropolitan region in which you live is interdependent with other such regions.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. If you live in a small community, list the things indicating which met-

ropolitan region your community belongs to (*e.g.*, the newspaper you read, the radio stations you listen to the most, the city where you sell your dairy products, the city you would go to if you were buying furniture for a new house, and the like).

2. If you live in a city, obtain railroad and bus timetables that show commuters' services, and plot the metropolitan area of your city. Does it extend equally in all directions?

3. List the kinds of data you would want to collect if you were making a study of the boundaries of some metropolitan region.

SELECTED READINGS

KOLB, J. H., and EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER, *A Study of Rural Society*, 3rd ed., Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1946.

Chapter 14, "Rural Communities," and Chapter 16, "Rural-Urban Relationships," include data on rural trade areas and metropolitan regions.

MCKENZIE, RODERICK D., *The Metropolitan Community*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933.

Part II discusses the metropolitan region.

Part Four

POPULATION TRAITS AND TRENDS

STRICTLY speaking, the study of demography is not sociology. Rather it is a branch of biology, dealing with the units of the human race and their relationships in space and time. However, it is apparent that population is prerequisite to society, that the characteristics of the people determine or at least limit many of the characteristics of culture, that the location and density of the population condition the social relations that develop among its units. Only by reference to the number and kind of people do we find meaning in the statistics of resources, income, employment, production, industry and trade.

It is therefore both logical and necessary that students of society should also study population. In doing so they must first consider the number and distribution of the people in the world; second, the factors which determine them. Censuses and vital statistics yield information on the former; studies of the causes of migration, of births and deaths, tell us about the latter. Until recently there was little authentic knowledge about population. This is perhaps to be understood from the fact that only tax collectors and military leaders were concerned with questions of population. Now, though there is still much to learn, we have a great deal of information available to us, the value of which we are beginning to appreciate. We have come to recognize two significantly different kinds of culture, the rural and the urban, differentiated by the basic fact of population density. We have come to realize that births and deaths, though biological events, are of infinite social significance, affecting society in many ways at the same time that they are themselves affected by social factors. The interaction between demographic and social factors must receive attention if we wish to understand society.

Along with the accumulation of knowledge of the processes

through which population is maintained or changed, we are also developing the belief that these processes can be controlled in the interest of human welfare. This kind of control is of course the ultimate goal of social science and the only real justification for spending any time upon it. Fortunately the outlook here is promising. We are beginning to understand how the problems of society are related to population and how socially induced modifications of demographic conditions can improve the lot of mankind.

Chapter 14

HOW MANY PEOPLE?

A FITTING introduction to the problems considered in this chapter is provided by an account of the successive generations of a family founded in America by a migrant from England.

AN ENGLISHMAN FOUNDS A FAMILY IN COLONIAL AMERICA

In the parish register of Bridport, a small village in County Dorset, England, about fifteen miles from Whitestaunton, occurs the following statement: "1627, Oct 15th, Alexander son of Thomas Alford was baptised." This brief notice is the earliest of the historical records pertaining to Alexander Alvord, who voyaged to America some time during the years 1636 to 1640 and there founded the line which to this day bears his name.

The Alfords (later Alvord) had long resided in the community where Alexander was born. His parents, Thomas Alford and Joan Hawkins, were married there on May 11, 1618, and presumably lived their entire lives in the same parish. So also did Thomas Alford's father and grandfather. Here the record of the line of descent grows dim; it is only a matter of probability that John Alford of Whitestaunton, born in 1475 or a little later, was the earliest local progenitor of the Alfords. Farther back the records are too disconnected to permit positive identification of individuals and relationships, though there are strong indications that the earliest Alford came from France with William the Conqueror. If this supposition is correct, the Alford family had spent a century and a half in County Somerset, out of a total of six centuries in England, before Alexander Alford sailed for America.[1]

Life in Europe in the seventeenth century was not so secure as it is now. The average Englishman of that day could expect to live long enough to

[1] The references to the Alexander Alvord family are taken from *A Genealogy of the Descendants of Alexander Alvord*, by Samuel M. Alvord, privately printed in Webster, New York, 1908.

become an adult, hardly longer. It is not surprising therefore to find a burial record at Whitestaunton reading: "1636, 27 May Joane Alford, widow, was buried." From this account we know that Thomas Alford, her husband, had died earlier. With the death of his mother, Alexander, aged nine, became an orphan. He had a sister, Joanna, who was fourteen years old, and a brother, Benedict, about sixteen. By the standards of their day, these young persons were old enough to shift for themselves, though it seems hardly possible that a nine-year-old boy could do it without some help.

The three Alford children are next encountered in America, though neither the time of their leaving England nor the circumstances of their departure are known. Possibly in their search for employment they came to hear of the new world across the sea, then only recently colonized by Britain, and, being young and adventurous, decided to see it for themselves. Possibly the parish paid for their passage in order to avoid having to support them as paupers.

The three were not long in becoming a part of the colonial scene. Benedict married in 1640; Joanna and Alexander in 1646. All had fairly large families, at least by modern standards, Benedict's children numbering five, Joanna's seven, and Alexander's eleven. At first all the three families lived in Windsor, Connecticut, from which they gradually scattered into other parts of New England. Alexander Alvord, with whose descendants this narrative is primarily concerned, moved to Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1661.

It is difficult for us now to realize that Northampton was then on the western edge of white settlement in America. The entire population of the British colonies in New England in 1675 was probably not greater than 75,000,[2] hardly enough to hold a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast, not enough to prevent rather frequent raids on the border settlements by hostile Indians. During King Philip's War, in 1676, several of Alexander Alvord's buildings, located outside the palisades of the town, were burned. Evidently the people were strong enough to defend only so much of their property as could be got behind the wall.

In spite of the difficulties attending life on the frontier, Alexander Alvord prospered. A local historian speaks of him as "an early settler and possessed of large means for the times." At his death in 1687 he had accumulated a good deal of property, which he distributed to his numerous heirs through a long and detailed will. However, he had never had

[2] Stella H. Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1936, p. 32.

time or opportunity in his busy life to learn to write; he signed the will with a mark.

With the appearance of the second generation the problem of tracing movements and relationships begins to become complicated. It is met in part by dropping from the listings all the children of daughters, who, of course, do not bear the family name. The result is that about half of the individuals of each generation are not counted as parents of the next. Thus we note that Abigail Alvord, the oldest of Alexander's children, married Thomas Root, to whom she bore five children. Three of them, and possibly four, died in childhood. In keeping with the rule for omitting all persons not named Alvord, the narrative says nothing further about Abigail Root's children.

Alexander's oldest son, John, born in 1649, married Abigail Phelps, who had the distinction of living one hundred and one years. She had no children, which is possibly the reason she lived so long and had time and money to devote to other interests. One such interest is indicated by the following abstract from a court record:

> Abigail Alvord, wife to John Alvord, of Northampton, being presented by the Grand Jury, to this Court, for wearing silk contrary to law & it being found that witnesses were sometimes mistaken, she was dismissed.

Others brought into court at the same time did not fare so well. They were charged with

> wearing silk in a flaunting manner, wearing long hair and other extravaganzas not becoming a wilderness state, at least the profession of Christianity and religion.

Alexander's second son, Thomas, a tailor, served as a captain in the defense of Deerfield against an Indian attack. After the garrison was nearly famished for water, he ran to a well outside the stockade "where he was much exposed and continued to draw water until the well-pole was shot off above his hands." For this service his son Thomas, Jr., the eldest male heir, received a grant of land from the General Court of Massachusetts.

All of Alexander Alvord's eleven children, collectively the second generation, were married and together they had a total of 59 children. Some of them died in infancy; others lost their lives in the numerous Indian wars of the time. The proportion of males among them must have been very high, for there remained 38 bearing the surname Alvord, who survived

long enough to marry. All but one of them had children; there were a total of 84. Of the families represented, two had eleven children, one had eight, and two had seven each. The members of this generation, the third, were born between 1710 and 1773, most of them during the early part of the period. They were therefore in the active years of life during the Revolution, and many of the men participated in the Revolutionary and other wars.

An indication of the dangers of disease, physical and mental, is found in the following accounts:

> Gideon Alvord, son of John, had the smallpox in the army in 1757. He came home with his stockings not cleaned. His mother washed them and took the disease, when the smallpox first appeared, many of her children and grandchildren, and others who had been exposed, were inoculated and John Alvord's house became a pest house. . . . John Alvord [probably John, Jr.] is said to have died of this disease, and probably John Alvord himself.

The mentally ill were cared for at home with such means as the family could command. Sometimes the outcome of such treatment was tragic:

> Preserved Bartlett's wife, sister of Benjamin Alvord, was crazy some years, was at times confined by chains, escaped from house one day and could not be found. An alarm was made, the drums beat and the bell rung. She was found dead in Mill River, down below the pastures, July 18, 1768.

Many of the members of this generation of the Alvord family participated in the westward movement of the colonial population. Compared with modern travelers and migrants they did not move far. Nearly all of them settled in central Connecticut or Massachusetts, then little more than a wilderness on the western fringe of European occupation.

In the fourth generation the number bearing the name of Alvord was 54; their children totaled 235. Northampton, Massachusetts, remained the home of most of them; some moved to other localities within the colony or to nearby parts of New York or New Hampshire. The men practiced various trades and callings, such as those of farmer, tanner, weaver, innkeeper, saddler, ferryman, and teacher. Most males who were in the appropriate age groups served in the Revolutionary War.

Again omitting those not bearing the family name, the fifth generation Alvords numbered a few more than one hundred. Born during the years 1733 to 1792, they became the parents of nearly six hundred children, about half of whom were Alvords. Large families were the rule, as had

been the case from the earliest colonial days. In this generation there were twelve families with eight children each; three families with nine children each; nine families with ten children each; three with twelve; and one each with fourteen and fifteen. Many of the older members of this generation also participated in the Revolution and subsequently in the great westward movement. However, the distances covered in the migrations remained small; the outer edge of settlement, as is shown in the following sketch, was still not far off.

> In the raid by the British and Indians on this frontier [western New York] in 1813, in revenge for the barbarous burning of Newark, Upper Canada, by our Col. McClure, Dr. [Joseph] Alvord was cruelly massacred by the Indians. Being lame, he attempted to escape on horseback. The Indians pursued him, shot him down from his horse, and literally hewed him to death with their hatchets. His remains were afterwards found and sadly buried by escaped and returned settlers.

The sixth generation of three hundred Alvords had about 1200 children, born between the years 1763 and 1827, a period of more than sixty years. Consequently they cannot all be considered as contemporaries. At least one fought in the Revolution; many were in the War of 1812; and some took part in the Civil War.

The westward migration is more conspicuous in the activities of this generation than in any of the preceding. Though still most numerous in Connecticut and Massachusetts, many Alvords are reported to have lived in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Missouri. From the address changes of the various family groups, it is evident that in moving they tended to go straight west from New England. The route of one family is described as follows:

> About the year 1833, Joel Alvord emigrated with his family to Illinois, going by horses and wagon. He passed through Erie Co., Ohio, crossing the Maumee at Perrysburg, above Toledo. They followed the shores of Lake Erie and to some extent Lake Michigan, passing through Chicago when there was only a government post there, consisting of a few log houses. They settled in LaSalle Co., Ill., near Peru and LaSalle, with Tonica as their post office, when it was organized. Mr. Alvord was a farmer and blacksmith, having his shop on his farm.

The seventh generation begins with about 575 individuals named Alvord, born during the sixty-year period between 1790 and 1851. They

had a total of 1600 children, the largest number of children ever born to an Alvord generation. At this stage the Alvords were found in practically all occupations and many parts of the United States. One was lieutenant governor of New York, while another was mayor of San Francisco. Among the States into which the Alvords had moved in the seventh generation were South Dakota, Texas, California, Washington, Idaho, and Utah.

In the eighth generation there were about eight hundred Alvords, born between 1817 and 1875. Their children totaled only about 1300, or about three hundred fewer than those born to the seventh generation. It is possible that the group may have ultimately become a little larger, since some of the younger wives were not past the childbearing age when the record was made, but the number so added would not change the fact that the eighth generation had fewer children than the seventh, despite the larger number of persons composing it. As a consequence the Alvords of the ninth generation will number only about 650, or possibly 700, a group smaller than the eighth by at least a hundred persons. Since most of them are residents of some American urban community, they will in all probability have fewer than two children each, so that the tenth generation will be still smaller. The conclusion is inevitable that the Alvords, after a long and flourishing career as a family, are now rapidly declining in number.

The history of the Alvord family presents in miniature the history of the human race. There are the small, uncertain origins, the successive migrations spreading over the available area of settlement, the swelling of numbers, and at last the slow decline which marks the beginning of the end. More particularly and accurately, the Alvord story is the story of the European white man in North America. It covers almost every phase of the development of our country from colonial days to the present, and shows through specific events the realities which lie behind the colorless statistics of graphs and tables.

What we usually call history extends back into the past only about six thousand years. For information about the people who lived in the more distant past we must rely upon inferences which can be drawn from discoveries of durable artifacts and fragments of bones. Sometimes the location of these objects when found gives a clue to their age. For example, an arrow point deeply buried in the ground may be approximately dated by a study of the layers of earth by which it was covered. Through a knowledge of the rate at

which such layers are deposited, we can calculate how long the arrow point lay in its place before it was dug up. Similarly, a spearhead found in the skull of an animal belonging to a species long extinct must necessarily have been made and used while the species was still living upon the earth.

From these and other evidences we have concluded that men probably have occupied the earth for a million years. So far all the signs of man's great antiquity have been found in the Old World. The New World, it appears, was difficult for prehistoric man to find and occupy, just as it was for his civilized followers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Man in America is a recent arrival, though not quite so recent as was believed before the discovery of the Folsom culture, in New Mexico, about twenty years ago. The accumulated evidence now indicates that men, using stone tools, lived in what is now the United States at least 25,000 years ago.[3]

As to how many men there were in either the Old World or the New at any time during the many centuries of prehistory, we can only guess. From the scarcity of remains it may be inferred that the number at any time was small as compared with the populations of the present. Ancient camp sites have been explored which show thousands of years of occupation by small numbers of persons. From this it may be inferred that prehistoric populations were not only small but also relatively static, that is, they remained at approximately the same size over long periods of time. Such a conclusion fits well with our observations regarding the social and economic life of prehistoric peoples. With only the simplest techniques available for making a living, they could occupy only the most favorable spots on the earth, and these only sparsely. Furthermore, the limitations of simple techniques must have endured for many thousands of years, so slow was cultural change during the stone age.

INCREASING NUMBERS

Our first real knowledge comes with the rise of civilization, definitely within the historic period. The earliest statements on population were only estimates and, generally, exaggerations. Diodorus, for example, relates that Semiramis gathered two million men to

[3] William Howells, *Mankind So Far*, Doubleday and Company, New York, 1944, p. 263.

build Babylon and that in her expedition to India this princess led an army of three million foot soldiers, half a million horsemen and a hundred thousand charioteers. Notwithstanding this great multitude, the Indian king mustered a still greater army for the defense of his realm.[4] Polybius assumes the population of Italy to have been 48 million at the time of the first Punic war.[5] Knowing the dependence of large concentrations of people upon transportation for the maintenance of food supplies, we realize that neither the army of Semiramis nor the population of Italy as a whole could possibly have been as large as claimed.

A more reasonable estimate holds that the entire continent of Europe had no more than five million people at the beginning of the Christian era. For the next thousand years there was little improvement in the agricultural and industrial techniques or in the field of health and sanitation. The farmer received some help from the ox and the horse, but the plow scarcely changed in pattern over the entire period and there was nothing that could rightly be called farm machinery. Manufacturing remained in the handicraft stage. No one understood the nature of disease, and the healing art consisted mostly of magic. In the circumstances the population could not have increased rapidly. When William the Conqueror invaded England in 1066, taking with him, possibly, the ancestor of Alexander Alvord, there may have been as many as ten million persons in Europe.

During the next five hundred years social and economic change accelerated significantly. New inventions in building techniques and in residential heating made it possible to occupy the colder portions of the continent with less hardship. Farming yielded larger crops; water power began to be used in the operation of mills. There were conditions which tended to reduce the population, such as the Black Death, famines, and the Crusades, but these events also encouraged migration, which aided in the spread of new developments in culture. By 1500 the population of Europe may have reached fifty million.[6]

[4] Robert Wallace, *A Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in Ancient and Modern Times*, G. Hamilton and G. Balfour, Edinburgh, 1753, pp. 36–37.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

[6] Estimates of the population of Europe up to the modern period are taken from Edward B. Reuter, *Population Problems*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1923, pp. 91–92

From this time onward developments came with increasing rapidity. The discovery of the New World gave a stimulus of tremendous magnitude to Europeans. It stirred their imaginations and their energies as nothing else ever had. The old conception of the world as a fixed and changeless system gave way to the acceptance of the idea of change and the possibility of improvement or progress. This led men to seek for new and better ways of living. Their success resulted in the production of a larger and more reliable food supply and in a safer and more comfortable life. The effect upon the population was to stimulate great increases. By 1650 Europe had about a hundred million people.

We have so far spoken only of Europe, because our knowledge of the population of the world as a whole would scarcely permit a guess as to its size before 1800. When Columbus sailed from Spain, Europeans had only the vaguest conception of Asia and Africa;

Table I. Population of the World *

Area	*Population (in thousands)*
Africa	157,900
North America	143,178
Central America	41,130
South America	88,684
Asia, not including USSR	1,154,000
USSR in Asia and in Europe	172,000
Europe, not including USSR	402,550
Oceania	10,800

* League of Nations, *Statistical Year Book*, 1941–42, Geneva, 1943, pp. 13–18.

they did not even suspect the existence of America and Australia. After the discovery of the New World there were many voyages of exploration, from which by the end of the sixteenth century a fairly good idea of the world could be derived. On the basis of information which has come down to us and by the use of modern methods of evaluation, we are able to estimate with considerable confidence that the population of the world in 1650 reached a total of 465 million. Since that time there has been a steady and rapid increase, the two billion mark having been passed about 1930. The present population of the world is about 2,200 million.

The distribution of the world's people by continents is shown in Table I. Asia, it will be observed, has about half the total population; Europe, one-fourth; and the other four continents the remaining fourth. One continent, Antarctica, is uninhabited.

In the last century and a half many countries have adopted the plan of conducting censuses of their people more or less periodically. Population counts were occasionally made earlier, usually for military purposes,[7] but were on too small a scale to be of much value to us. At present censuses have been taken in most countries outside of Africa and the Orient. In our own country the first census was taken in 1790, ostensibly for the purpose of ascertaining the number of representatives in Congress to which the several states would be entitled under the terms of the new constitution. Subsequently a census has been taken every ten years. Its scope has been greatly extended since the creation of a permanent census-

Table II. U.S. Population by States, Excluding Armed Forces Overseas, July 1, 1947, and April 1, 1940 *

Area	*Total population excluding armed forces overseas*	
	July 1, 1947 (Estimated)	*April 1, 1940 (Census)*
United States	143,382,000	131,669,275
Alabama	2,824,000	2,832,961
Arizona	657,000	499,261
Arkansas	1,903,000	1,949,387
California	9,876,000	6,907,387
Colorado	1,159,000	1,123,296
Connecticutt	2,020,000	1,709,242
Delaware	293,000	266,505
District of Columbia	861,000	663,091
Florida	2,394,000	1,897,414
Georgia	3,233,000	3,123,723
Idaho	488,000	524,873
Illinois	8,221,000	7,897,241
Indiana	3,858,000	3,427,796

* Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 4, October 12, 1947.

[7] II Sam. xxiv.

Area	Total population excluding armed forces overseas	
	July 1, 1947 (Estimated)	*April 1, 1940 (Census)*
Iowa	2,606,000	2,538,268
Kansas	1,914,000	1,801,028
Kentucky	2,777,000	2,845,627
Louisiana	2,549,000	2,363,880
Maine	911,000	847,226
Maryland	2,215,000	1,821,244
Massachusetts	4,725,000	4,316,721
Michigan	6,249,000	5,256,106
Minnesota	2,897,000	2,792,300
Mississippi	2,092,000	2,183,796
Missouri	3,854,000	3,784,664
Montana	494,000	559,456
Nebraska	1,301,000	1,315,834
Nevada	140,000	110,247
New Hampshire	547,000	491,524
New Jersey	4,435,000	4,160,165
New Mexico	550,000	531,818
New York	14,092,000	13,479,142
North Carolina	3,718,000	3,571,623
North Dakota	552,000	641,935
Ohio	7,773,000	6,907,612
Oklahoma	2,311,000	2,336,434
Oregon	1,517,000	1,089,684
Pennsylvania	10,281,000	9,900,180
Rhode Island	761,000	713,346
South Carolina	1,918,000	1,899,804
South Dakota	564,000	642,961
Tennessee	3,079,000	2,915,841
Texas	7,118,000	6,414,824
Utah	637,000	550,310
Vermont	364,000	359,231
Virginia	3,019,000	2,677,773
Washington	2,233,000	1,736,191
West Virginia	1,849,000	1,901,974
Wisconsin	3,283,000	3,137,587
Wyoming	275,000	250,742

taking organization, so that now the Bureau of the Census collects information not as to numbers alone, but also as to a variety of biological, social and economic characteristics of the people. The population of the United States and of the individual states is shown in Table II.

To indicate whether a population is large or small in relation to the area of the land it occupies, we use the term *density*. Thus, when we say that the United States has a population density of nearly fifty persons per square mile, we mean that if the people were equally distributed over the entire country, there would be fifty persons on each square mile of land. Except for extremely limited areas, however, populations are never equally distributed. In our own country, for example, New York City has several thousand persons per square mile, while in the Rocky Mountains are thousands of square miles which are almost entirely uninhabited. Differences equally great are found in many other countries and in the world as a whole, so that it is not possible to tell how many people there are in a given area from its size alone. The chief value of the concept of density is that in the case of self-sustaining areas it enables us to form some idea of the extent to which such areas may be over- or under-populated.

All living things increase in number by producing young, though in the case of the one-celled animals which reproduce by fission, the ordinary distinction between parent and offspring may not appear. *Fecundity*, or the capacity to reproduce, varies greatly from species to species, but is in every instance more than adequate to replace the parental generation, even under rather unfavorable circumstances. In some species reproductive possibilities reach fantastic proportions. An adult codfish, for example, produces on the average over four million eggs per year; an oyster lays from fifty-five million to 115 million eggs. The Pacific herring annually produces from eight to 75 billion eggs.[8] If all or even a considerable portion of these eggs should result in individual fish or oysters, which in turn would increase at the same rate, a few generations would suffice to fill the earth to overflowing. The larger and "higher" animals including man do not multiply at nearly so rapid a rate as the codfish,

[8] Arthur S. Pearse, *Animal Ecology*, 2d ed., McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1939, p. 123.

yet they, too, would soon overrun the earth if they were not checked.

If limited only by its fecundity, the human race could double its numbers once every ten years, though it is unlikely that any population ever increased with such rapidity. Even the relatively slow rate of increase now current in the world is too high to have been in existence long and too high to continue far into the future, unless, of course, we contrive some way to migrate to distant, uninhabited but habitable worlds. If we assume that the human race began its existence about six thousand years ago with a single pair doubling their numbers only once in a century, which is just about the present rate, we should now have more than two quintillion persons in the world or about seventy million per acre. Clearly our present rate of increase can continue only for a short time.

While the populations of particular areas may increase through immigration, the population of the earth as a whole can increase only through births. However, whether the population increases or not depends upon the relationship between the number of births and the number of deaths. If the latter exceed the former, the population will decline. Since in a normal population there are always deaths, a number of births equal to the number of deaths is required merely to maintain the population at its established level. A population, therefore, is not static; people are constantly entering it through birth and leaving it through death. In the course of a hundred years or so the turnover is complete. Social continuity depends upon the degree of success with which the elders can transmit the culture of the group to the youngsters in the time allotted them.

THEORIES OF POPULATION

Observers of the process of population growth have long speculated on the factors regulating it. What determines the birth rate and thus, ultimately, the size of the population? Are there natural laws governing population growth and decline? Attempted answers to these and other questions are found in the writings of the so-called theorists in the field of population study. A population theory undertakes to discover and evaluate the causative factors in the situation or to plot trends or regularly recurring changes in

populations. No theory is generally accepted as *the* theory; none is completely satisfactory, yet almost every one of them contributes something to our understanding of demographic processes.

The best known of all population theories is found in *An Essay on the Principle of Population* written by Robert Malthus and first published anonymously in 1798. According to Malthus the human race has a natural tendency to multiply at such a high rate that the earth cannot possibly support all the people who are born. The factor which keeps the population from increasing rapidly and indefinitely is the food supply. This has been and can be increased, but not fast enough to keep ahead of population growth. The immediate consequence is that many who are born must die from starvation or from diseases which are directly or indirectly the result of a poor or insufficient diet. Doubtless the birth rate is reduced somewhat by the food shortages, since many women are childless as a physical consequence of malnutrition. Yet on the whole, according to Malthus, there will always be more people than can be well fed and misery will be the lot of the majority.

Some of the attractiveness of the Malthusian theory may have grown out of admiration aroused by the neat mathematical-looking formulas which he used in his summary statements. He wrote:

> Taking the earth as a whole . . . emigration would of course be excluded; and, supposing the present population equal to a thousand millions, the human species would increase as the numbers, 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, and subsistence as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4096 to 13, and in two thousand years the difference would be almost incalculable.[9]

It must also be noted that the socioeconomic circumstances existing in Britain at the time Malthus wrote were highly conducive to the acceptance of his doctrine by the upper classes. There was at the time a great deal of poverty among the British working people and socialistic writers were making the public conscience uneasy about the situation. Any writer who would absolve the upper classes of responsibility was sure to be popular with them. Malthus filled this role perfectly. Since, according to his theory, the popu-

[9] Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on Population*, pp. 10–11, Vol. I, Everyman's Library Edition, reprinted from the seventh edition, E. P. Dutton and Co., New York

lation is always so large that there is never food enough to go around, it follows that charity is a useless or even a harmful kind of interference in the affairs of Providence. Feeding the poor can only result in their having and rearing more children, which in turn will result in a still larger class of indigents. This was exactly what the well-to-do wished to believe; Malthus gave them a pseudo-scientific basis for that belief.

Malthus was by no means the first to deal with population problems. Plato recognized the possibility of the population becoming too large or too small and advocated governmental control of marriage with a view to regulating numbers. If this control should fail, he recommended colonization to reduce undesirable excesses and immigration to build up a population which had become too small. Aristotle agreed with Plato in believing that the family should be under the control of the state in order to determine the number of children to be born. Numerous other pre-Malthusian writers have dealt with problems of population. Those nearest to Malthus in time include Bruckner, Chalmers, Benjamin Franklin, Hume, Adam Smith, Stewart, and Wallace. Malthus may be said to have got his start from Godwin, to whose work on *Political Justice* the *Essay* was a reply.

The Malthusian position, though supported by many writers in addition to its originator, did not long remain unchallenged. In *The Principle of Population* Alison made the devastating observation that the largest families are not found among the rich, but among the poor. This is exactly the opposite of what would be expected, if the available food supply were the determining factor. Alison's observation was elaborated and made the basis for a theory by Thomas Doubleday, in which he undertook to show from a different standpoint how the food supply affects the size of the population. He postulated a natural law by which nature tries to compensate for a threat to the security of a species by a heightened tendency to increase its numbers. Thus a population or a class suffering from an insufficient food supply will try to make up for the lack by having more children. Conversely, a group with an abundant food supply will have few children. The result may be an actual increase in numbers among the poor and a decrease among the rich. The theory leads logically to the unhappy conclusion that a popula-

tion, having become prosperous, might begin a decline in numbers which would not cease until the population became extinct. The fate of a people caught in poverty is too horrible to contemplate, though it is of course unthinkable that they should continue indefinitely to become both poorer and more numerous.

Doubleday, like many of his predecessors, seems to have confused fecundity, fertility and natural increase. The first, which has been defined as the capacity for reproduction, may vary widely, but is normally so much greater than it needs to be that changes in it probably do not affect the number of children born. *Fertility* or the actual birth rate has a more nearly direct bearing on the rate of increase, but the survival rate is at least equally important. A group with a high birth rate may decrease through having an even higher death rate. The large families of the poor, therefore, do not necessarily mean that the poor are increasing in number.

In his *Origin of Species* Darwin describes the process of evolution through natural selection. There is constantly going on, he says, a struggle for existence, most intense among organisms most alike. Minor differences of an accidental character may give one individual a competitive advantage over the others in his group, as a result of which he lives longer and rears more offspring. If the characteristic favorable to survival is hereditary, it ultimately comes to be possessed by all the members of the species. Those individuals who did not possess it would have been eliminated in the competitive process. In the course of time the changes effected by natural selection may be very great, so great that the present members of a species resemble only slightly their more remote ancestors.

It was certainly to be expected that a theory so popular in biology should be promptly adapted and applied in the field of population. Herbert Spencer did so, probably better than anyone else. As he saw it, a race preserved itself in two ways, first, by enabling each member to protect himself and, second, by enabling the members to replace themselves through reproduction. Among the so-called lower organisms the individual is poorly equipped for self-preservation. Such organisms begin to perish in large numbers from the moment of birth onward, so that within a comparatively short time nearly the whole generation is gone. To enable a species

of this type to survive, the low resistance of individuals must be counteracted by rapid multiplication. In the higher organisms the individual survives more successfully and therefore longer, hence a small number of offspring will suffice to keep the species alive. Among men the power of individual survival is near the maximum attained; human fertility is therefore low in comparison with that of other species. But there are differences even within the human race itself. The power to survive, as measured by the death rate, is highest among the upper socioeconomic classes; these classes accordingly have lower birth rates than the lower classes. Increased density of the population, according to Spencer, brings about increased competition which stimulates intellectual activity. This in turn has an unfavorable effect on fertility which reduces population density. A balance is thus maintained between the size of the population and the capacity of the race to support itself.

Spencer considered the development of the individual as the logical end of the evolutionary process. But he noted that as the individual develops, his reproductive power declines. This idea, somewhat altered, became the basis of Arsene Dumont's theory, the law of social capillarity. Dumont held that in a democracy there is a tendency for ambitious persons to filter upwards in society from low status to high. The population at the apex of the social pyramid is therefore composed largely of persons who have climbed to their present position from a lower one. In so doing, according to Dumont, they lose their interest in reproduction, perhaps because they recognize that children will handicap them in their struggle to climb higher. This theory does not postulate any biological changes as the cause for declining birth rates, but only social factors, specifically the open-class system characteristic of Western society. If Dumont is right, there would be but little social capillarity in a caste society such as is found in India.

There are numerous other theories of population, none of them offering a complete explanation of the behavior of populations. The question may be raised whether a theory can be devised which is so inclusive as to explain everything which may operate to increase or decrease the number of a people. Speaking on this point Thompson says

that there is no natural law of population growth but that the conditions of life both physical and social determine this growth and that it varies from group to group as these conditions vary.[10]

THE BIRTH RATE

Until recently our knowledge of the rate of increase of populations has been extremely slight. The acquisition of such knowledge is dependent upon the keeping of records of births, deaths and other demographic facts, collectively known as *vital statistics*. In the United States this kind of record keeping virtually began with the establishment of the *Registration Area* under the auspices of the Bureau of the Census in 1902. A set of minimum standards of accuracy and completeness was promulgated by the Bureau and those states which could comply with these standards were admitted to the Registration Area. At first only ten states and the District of Columbia were found to be collecting and keeping satisfactory vital statistics.[11] Gradually other states were added until at last, in 1933, all the states were included. Only for the last few years therefore have we had complete coverage of the nation. In other countries conditions are much the same, although in a few cases church and other local records are sufficiently detailed and complete to permit calculation of the birth rate for some decades or even centuries in the past.

The significance of a particular number of births depends upon the size of the population in which they occur. We are accustomed therefore not to speak of the number of births recorded, but rather of the ratio between the births and the population, stated in terms of the annual number of births per 1,000 population. This ratio, known as the crude birth rate or, simply, the *birth rate*, is easy to calculate, and if nothing is known about the population in question except its size, it is the only kind of rate which can be calculated. Recorded birth rates vary in a range from about 14 to 45.

It is at once apparent that the people who make up the general

[10] Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1942, p. 42.

[11] Walter F. Willcox, *Introduction to the Vital Statistics of the United States, 1900 to 1930*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1933, p. 95.

population do not all contribute equally to the birth rate. Children and old persons do not become parents, nor as a rule do unmarried adults. An excess of men or of women in the population is nearly always accompanied by a low crude birth rate. A more accurate understanding of the potentialities of the population for future increases requires that we take account of those differences in the composition of the population which affect the birth rate. This is done by calculating the so-called *refined birth rate.* Thus a birth rate may be calculated in terms of the number of births per 1,000 females, thereby eliminating the effects of all ordinary varia-

Table III. Birth Rates of Various Countries for 1946 *

Country	*Birth rate*
Australia	23.7
Austria	15.9
Chile	32.1
Denmark	23.4
France	20.6
India, British Provinces	27.9
Japan	26.5
Mexico	42.5
Union of South Africa	27.7
United Kingdom	20.3
United States	23.3

* *Population Index*, Vol. 13, No. 4, October, 1947, pp. 344–345.

tions in the sex ratio. The rate may be still further refined by considering only married women, or married women between the ages of 15 and 45. This last constitutes a highly refined birth rate, from which the reproductive potentialities of a population may be quite accurately deduced. In the absence of birth records or in corroboration of them, a substitute for the birth rate may be calculated from the census figures on age and sex. This calculation, called the *fertility ratio,* is usually stated in terms of the number of children under five years of age per 1,000 women between the ages of 15 and 45. A source of error in the fertility ratio is the fact that children under five are frequently underenumerated by the census.

Birth rates, as shown by Table III, vary greatly from one part of the world to another. In general the lowest rates are found in northwestern Europe and in other parts of the world settled by

Table IV. U.S. Birth Rates by States, 1945 *

Area	Birth rate **	Area	Birth rate **
United States	21.5	Montana	23.4
Alabama	25.8	Nebraska	20.9
Arizona	22.7	Nevada	21.0
Arkansas	23.1	New Hampshire	18.7
California	22.7	New Jersey	18.8
Colorado	22.2	New Mexico	31.2
Connecticut	19.1	New York	19.0
Delaware	21.6	North Carolina	26.2
District of Columbia	19.3	North Dakota	25.3
Florida	23.2	Ohio	19.4
Georgia	24.9	Oklahoma	22.2
Idaho	25.0	Oregon	20.2
Illinois	18.4	Pennsylvania	19.0
Indiana	20.2	Rhode Island	19.5
Iowa	20.1	South Carolina	27.5
Kansas	20.3	South Dakota	23.7
Kentucky	24.2	Tennessee	22.9
Louisiana	24.7	Texas	24.9
Maine	21.6	Utah	26.5
Maryland	21.2	Vermont	22.2
Massachusetts	18.9	Virginia	23.9
Michigan	20.7	Washington	22.8
Minnesota	22.0	West Virginia	22.7
Mississippi	27.3	Wisconsin	20.9
Missouri	18.9	Wyoming	23.4

* Data taken from *United States Summary of Vital Statistics 1945*, Vol. 26, No 1, April 4, 1947, p. 31

** Birth rate calculation based on civilian population.

northwest Europeans, such as the United States and Australia. The rates in some of these countries are too low for replacement of the present population. Southeastern Europe has what may be described as medium to high rates along with various South American

countries. High rates are found in Mexico, Costa Rica, and Egypt; China and India, together including a third of the world's population, have high rates, but they cannot be accurately calculated because of lack of information.

Table IV, giving birth rates for the American states, shows that there may be considerable variation within the borders of a single country. The lowest rates appear in the New England region and on the Pacific Coast; the highest in the South and in some of the Mountain states. As in the international scene, some areas are failing to reproduce themselves and must therefore replenish their human stock by importation from the more prolific regions.

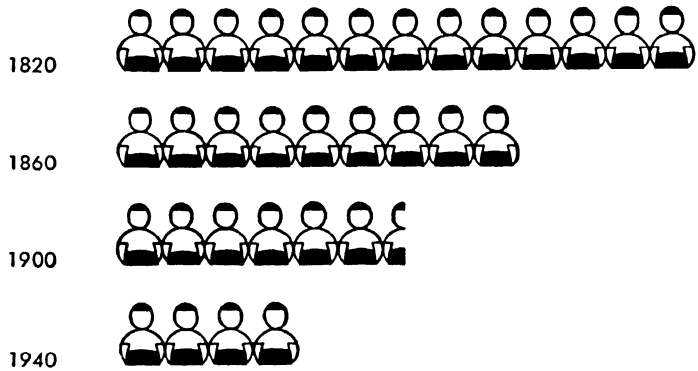
THE FALLING BIRTH RATE

Birth rates tend to vary considerably in time, being affected by economic conditions, war, famine, and other crises in human life, but the most notable variation at present is a persistent tendency to decline. This tendency was first observed in the Western world, particularly in France, about 1875. Since that time the downward trend has spread to other areas, so that it is now characteristic of all Europe and of many other parts of the world as well.

In the United States the decline began somewhat later than in Europe, and hitherto has not gone quite so far. Its progress is well illustrated in the history of the Alvord family. Large numbers of children were the rule in this family from colonial days until about 1880, a period of about two and a half centuries. At the end of this period large families were noted in the history less often; childless families much more frequently. In the later years of the history the evidence shows that the Alvords are becoming fewer rather than more numerous. It requires no astuteness to observe that if the trend continues, not only will the Alvord family die out, but large populations will dwindle, ultimately to the point where it will be no longer possible to maintain the intricate organization of modern civilization. While this possibility is remote, it is nevertheless a possibility, and it is not surprising therefore to find great concern manifested over the consequences of the falling birth rate. Such concern has been greatest in countries threatened with an immediate decrease in the population, as, for example, France and Germany.

For reasons less obvious, it also appeared in Italy during the Mussolini regime. Various devices have been tried by the governments of these countries to stimulate the birth rate, some of which are described in connection with the discussion of population policy in Chapter 18.

Why has the birth rate fallen and why does the downward trend continue? There are many plausible answers; probably also there are many causes, not a single cause. Changes in the sex ratio, the age distribution, the age at marriage, and the proportion of the population married all affect the birth rate, though in the United



Marked decline of the birth rate in the United States. Children per 1000 women (20 to 44 years old). (National Resources Planning Board, *Human Conservation*, 1943, p. 10)

States these factors appear on the whole to be at least nearly as favorable to high birth rates at present as they have ever been. Celibacy for whatever reason practiced reduces the birth rate in proportion to the number of persons practicing it. Some writers have stated that sacerdotal celibacy in medieval Europe was so widespread as to have definitely a depressing effect upon the birth rate. In our own country there is now a large body of white-collar and professional women, especially school teachers, who are forced to remain unmarried by the demands of their occupations, the number of children born being correspondingly reduced.

Contraception or birth control has been credited in some quarters

with being the main if not the sole cause of the decline in the birth rate. It has been pointed out that the fall in the birth rate in Europe started when information on contraception was beginning to spread. It is also noted that the birth rate is generally lower in the upper socio-economic classes, which are, presumably, better informed about birth control than the poorer classes. In 1877 the English courts tried Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs. Annie Besant for selling a pamphlet written by Dr. Charles Knowlton containing birth control information. The trial received wide publicity, so that many persons must have learned of birth control who had never heard of it before. The birth rate in Britain seems to have responded to the spread of knowledge by declining more rapidly after the trial. In the United States the activities of Mrs. Margaret Sanger have had a similar effect. Because of these coincidences, it is easy to attribute the drop in the birth rate to contraception, though actually the case is far from proved. Rather it may be argued that the spread of birth control is the result of the development of new attitudes in society, attitudes unfavorable to the bearing of children. We joke about the apartment-house manager who advertises for tenants without dogs or children, little realizing that both we and the manager are contributing to the further development of an antichild attitude. We have now reached the point where large families are regarded as unfashionable or even vulgar. We idealize motherhood, but it is the mother of the only child who receives our adoration, not the mother of a dozen.

The antichild attitude, to be sure, did not arise without some good reasons. The changes culminating in modern urban life seem to have left no place for children. There are, for example, the shifts which have taken place in the activities and status of women. In Alexander Alvord's day women's work and the pressures of society kept them at home. They had no occupations other than the household tasks which filled their entire time, day after day, year in and year out. Child-bearing and child-rearing, carried on incidentally, was considered as normal and inevitable. Though they must have observed, as in the case of John Alvord's wife, Abigail, that couples without children sometimes became so well-to-do that the wife could go about in the streets wearing silks, they did not approve such behavior. In the American colonial period there were scarcely any

women engaged in the professions or, indeed, in any work outside the home.

Now that many women work beside men in offices and factories, they recognize easily the disadvantages of having children. Not only are women temporarily disabled by child-bearing; mothers are kept at home for years by the physical and social demands of their children. Since the rewards of having children are purely personal, carrying no social approval, it is no wonder that many women prefer to remain childless or at least nearly so.

Another factor contributing to the general attitude of opposition to children grows out of the nature of modern urban life. Cities have never been ideal places for children to grow up in. We have known this for a long time, but we have done nothing about it, presumably for the reason that until recently so few people lived in the city that it did not seem to matter much. Now with a large and ever-growing majority of the population massed in cities, the unfriendliness of the city for children is painfully clear.

The desire of so many people to live in the same spot places a high premium on space. The amount of space available in the city per individual, indoors and out, is strictly limited. It is distributed among the countless competitors according to their ability to pay rent, a circumstance which denies adequate space to all but the rich. People have trained themselves to get along with a minimum of square and cubic footage. Beds fold up; kitchenettes disappear; passengers on street cars and buses count themselves lucky if they find standing room. Crowded as they are, the adult occupants of an "efficiency apartment" can hardly accommodate a child. If they try, the neighbors complain.

The economic and social handicap of children in the modern urban situation is probably the real reason for the decline of the birth rate. Therein lies an extremely powerful motive, a motive which would have led to small families even if contraceptive techniques were unknown. This is indicated by the drastic efforts to avoid having children on the part of those for whom prevention has failed. The annual number of abortions in America is estimated at more than half a million.[12]

[12] Paul H. Landis, *Population Problems*, American Book Company, New York, 1943, p. 67.

THE DEATH RATE

The ultimate size attained by a population depends not upon the birth rate alone, but also upon the death rate. As long as the birth rate is higher than the death rate the population increases; if the birth rate falls below the death rate the population declines. Since in the long run the population can increase only very slowly or not at all, the total number of births and of deaths will be very nearly the same. In all time the number of births has exceeded the number of deaths only by the number of persons now living.

The crude *death rate* may be defined as the number of deaths occurring in a period of one year stated in terms of the number of deaths per 1,000 population. Unless the population is nearly normal, that is, unless it closely resembles a stationary population in age, sex and other respects, the crude death rate is likely to give an erroneous impression of the true survival rate. For example, a mining camp might show a rather low death rate as compared with the rates in general and still be an unsafe place in which to live. Such a community would probably consist largely of unattached young men, among whom deaths are ordinarily rare. Similarly the death rate in a home for the aged might be high without indicating that the inmates are being mistreated or neglected. Here again age is the significant factor.

In a stationary population the death rate varies inversely with the average length of life. A death rate of ten means that out of a population of 1,000 persons ten will die each year. At this rate it would require 100 years for a thousand persons to die and correspondingly the average person in the population would live through a whole century. Since there are no populations with so long a life expectancy, we know that a population with a death rate of ten is abnormal, probably in its age distribution. We also know that no stationary population can have a death rate lower than is permitted by the life expectancy of its members. Life expectancy in the United States is now about 64 years. The true death rate in this country is therefore about 15.6, a figure higher than any reported national death rate since 1918, when an epidemic of influenza raised the rate to 18. We owe our low rate to the fact that our people are young. This is only a temporary condition; death rates in the

United States are certain to rise significantly within the next several decades.

THE DECLINING DEATH RATE

The gradual decline of the death rate throughout the Western world during the last several centuries is one of the most important of the various changes which have affected the population. In Europe during the Middle Ages life expectancy was probably not over twenty years; the corresponding death rate would be 50. There were doubtless many irregularities as, for example, when epidemics like the Black Death swept across the continent killing millions of persons in a few months or years. On the other hand a dozen successive years of good crops with no great epidemics would result in a decrease in the death rate for a time. Medicine and sanitation made so little progress through the Middle Ages and well into the modern period that no substantial improvement had taken place by the time the British settled in America. The high birth rates then current were necessary to maintain the population.

Before the introduction of vaccination in 1798, one-fifth of the children of England died from smallpox before they reached the age of ten. Many of those who escaped in childhood contracted the disease and died later. The manner of its happening is illustrated in the case of Gideon Alvord, who came home from the army in 1757, bringing smallpox with him and infecting his family. Dr. Jenner's discovery has almost completely eliminated this disease. There is probably no single discovery of medical science which has saved so many persons from death as vaccination. Its success has unquestionably stimulated other efforts along the same line and thus indirectly saved many more.

The death rate in Europe began to decline somewhat before vaccination was introduced, possibly owing to better enforcement of quarantine and segregation of ill persons, but after 1800 the decline speeded up rapidly. The great increase in the population of the world, especially that part of it occupied by Europeans and their descendants, may be attributed to the falling death rate. Improvements in medicine and in surgery were numerous during the nineteenth century; still more numerous in the twentieth. Better food

and better housing, resulting in part from increased knowledge of diets and sanitation, have come to millions of people. Life expectancy at birth for Western Europeans and Americans has been raised in two centuries from twenty years to more than sixty.

Table V. Death Rates of Various Countries for 1946 *

Country	*Death rate*
Australia	10.0
Austria	13.4
Chile	17.1
Denmark	10.2
France	13.4
India, British Provinces	17.5
Japan	21.4
Mexico	18.7
Union of South Africa	8.8
United Kingdom	11.3
United States	10.1

* *Population Index*, Vol 13, No. 4, October, 1947, pp. 344–345.

The present status of the death rate in various parts of the world is shown in Table V. As in the case of the birth rates, the death rates vary widely. In general, birth and death rates are correlated, so that where one is high the other is high also, and vice versa. High death rates are as a rule found in culturally backward and low-income areas. The lowest rates are found in high standard-of-living countries like Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. It must be recalled, however, that the low rates now enjoyed by these countries are in large part the result of a favorable age distribution of the people. Table VI shows the death rates of the American states. Differences from region to region, though less extreme, are of the same kind and due to the same causes as the differences among nations.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that one section of the population may have a death rate higher or lower than that of another section. The term, *differential death rate*, is used to describe this phenomenon. It is commonly observed among divisions of the population based upon age, sex, race, occupation and class, age

Table VI. U.S. Death Rates by States, 1945 *

Area	Death rate **	Area	Death rate **
United States	10.6	Montana	11.8
Alabama	9.1	Nebraska	10.4
Arizona	9.7	Nevada	9.9
Arkansas	8.3	New Hampshire	12.9
California	10.5	New Jersey	11.4
Colorado	11.1	New Mexico	10.3
Connecticut	10.5	New York	12.2
Delaware	11.4	North Carolina	8.2
District of Columbia	9.0	North Dakota	9.8
Florida	9.5	Ohio	11.5
Georgia	8.9	Oklahoma	9.3
Idaho	9.2	Oregon	10.8
Illinois	11.7	Pennsylvania	11.9
Indiana	11.5	Rhode Island	10.5
Iowa	11.5	South Carolina	8.9
Kansas	10.6	South Dakota	9.9
Kentucky	10.7	Tennessee	9.7
Louisiana	9.0	Texas	8.7
Maine	12.7	Utah	7.9
Maryland	10.6	Vermont	12.9
Massachusetts	12.2	Virginia	9.3
Michigan	9.9	Washington	10.5
Minnesota	10.7	West Virginia	9.6
Mississippi	9.3	Wisconsin	10.9
Missouri	12.0	Wyoming	9.1

* Data taken from *United States Summary of Vital Statistics*, 1945, Vol. 26, No. 1, April 4, 1947, p. 31.

** Death rate calculation based on population in the area excluding armed forces overseas.

being in this matter by far the most important differentiating factor. Age-specific death rates, that is, death rates for the part of the population found in a specific age group are sometimes calculated, though generally the only one used is the age-specific death rate for infants, or persons under the age of one year. This rate, usually called the *infant death rate*, or the infant mortality rate, shows the annual number of deaths per 1,000 infants in the population. Because it

responds so promptly to changes in diet, medical care and the socio-economic status of parents, it is a good index to general social welfare.

In the past infant mortality has been extremely high, and in some parts of the world it is still high. Among some primitive peoples more than half the babies die before reaching the age of one year. Among advanced peoples the infant mortality rate has been steadily declining for the past century and a half. In the United States it is now about 40. New Zealand and Denmark have reduced their rates to about 35, which shows what can be done by diligent application of modern methods of care for mothers and infants. After the end of the first year of life the death rates for children drop abruptly, and remain low for many years. The rates rise very slowly through early adult life and middle age. They begin to turn up sharply in the late fifties and accelerate rapidly from sixty onward The death rate at sixty-five in America is about the same as the rate for infants. The latter, however, has been greatly reduced in recent years, while the former has not changed appreciably for a century or more.

Death also comes unequally to the sexes in the United States. The difference appears at once in the form of a higher rate for boys, and there remains through life a slight differential in favor of women. The consequence is that from the age of about fifty upward, there is a considerable excess of women. The excess is especially conspicuous in extreme old age.

Racial differences in the death rate are exemplified by the whites and Negroes in America, the whites having a life expectancy of ten or more years longer than that of Negroes, with correspondingly lower death rates. It is by no means certain that the difference is biological in origin. The Negroes in this country are a submerged group, socially and economically, and it is quite possible, even probable, that their high death rates result from their segregation in high-risk occupations and in poor economic levels. In any event, differential death rates are also evident in occupational groups. The unskilled laborers have higher death rates than skilled laborers and these in turn have higher rates than the professions. An important exception is found in the case of the farm laborer, whose chances of living are about as good as anybody's. The differences in death rates

among the occupations are in part the result of varying occupational hazards, and in part the result of varying incomes received in wages and salaries. The poorly paid are not so well housed, well fed or well cared for in general as are the highly paid. Varying socio-economic position is thus directly reflected in the death rate.

We have noted that the death rate has been declining since about 1800. How long will the decline continue? When will the rate in America begin to increase? The answers to these questions are to be found in events which have already taken place. In France, once the most populous nation in Europe, the decline of the birth rates and death rates began earlier than in other countries. Now the death rate in France is high, because the French people are, on the average, old, and the population is slowly decreasing. The changes France has gone through constitute a cycle, which, it has been observed, is being followed in faithful detail by other populations. Thus it may be expected that in southeastern Europe, where both birth rates and death rates are still comparatively high, both will decline, deaths at first declining more rapidly than births. Consequently the population of this area will increase substantially. Ultimately the birth rate will have fallen to the point where it is not sufficient to maintain the population. The people will age rapidly, there being few babies arriving to keep the average down. In a few years the average age will have risen; the death rate will inevitably rise, too, and a decrease in total numbers will follow. In some parts of the world this cycle has not yet started; in others it is completed or nearly so. The United States may be described as well past the half-way mark. Our birth rate has declined to just about the replacement level; the death rate may be expected to equal it before long; and the period of a declining population will begin.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why do we believe that prehistoric populations were small?
2. What is meant by population density? Does the density of a population bear any relation to rainfall, length of growing season, temperature, or altitude of the area occupied?
3. How did the discovery of America influence the growth of the European population?

4. What proportion of the world's population lives in the United States? Do you think the proportion will change within the next century? Why?

5. What is a census? What is its purpose?

6. Differentiate clearly between the meaning of fecundity and fertility.

7. What conditions existing in Britain during the time of Malthus added to the popularity of his theory? What is the status of his theory at the present time?

8. Describe Spencer's theory of population. How does it differ from that of Malthus?

9. What is the Registration Area?

10. How does the composition of the population affect the birth rate? The death rate?

11. Does the decline of the death rate during the past 60 or 70 years indicate that the earth is becoming overcrowded?

12. What would be the true death rates for each of four populations with life expectancies at birth of 40, 50, 60, and 70 years respectively?

13. What is meant by the infant death rate? What is the infant death rate in your state?

14. How does the life expectancy of Negroes compare with that of whites? How do you account for the difference?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Select a genealogy of the descendants of a colonial immigrant and compare it with the genealogy of the Alexander Alvord family as presented in this chapter. Give special attention to the number of births and deaths.

2. Write a brief history of the coming and passing of the frontier of your locality, noting particularly the population changes that have taken place.

3. List all the cultural factors you can find that are likely to affect the birth rate in the present-day American community.

SELECTED READINGS

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This book, besides presenting the main facts about population changes, relates the process of change to social and cultural factors.

SMITH, T. LYNN, *Population Analysis*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1948.

A new approach, stressing the interrelationships of population phenomena.

THOMPSON, WARREN S., *Population Problems*, 3rd ed., McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1942.

A standard text emphasizing the quantitative aspects of population growth and distribution.

Chapter 15

ADJUSTING TO THE LAND

The earth is the home of man. Here he first appeared, and here he developed those characteristics which have enabled him so to adapt himself and his environment as to meet his needs with ever-increasing success. In this process of adaptation man has changed many parts of his natural environment. He has cleared the land of unwanted vegetation, planted crops, irrigated gardens, constructed buildings, roads, and canals, all of which have contributed to his living. He has domesticated plants and animals, and by artificial selection he has improved the varieties so that they are of greatly increased value to him. Inadvertently he has wasted the soil, destroyed forests, allowed certain areas to become deserts, thereby doing himself incalculable harm. But despite the fact that he has often acted unintelligently, it is clearly true that man can in many ways make or remake the earth to suit his desires or caprices.

In many other ways, however, man is limited in his actions by the natural environment. He cannot, for example, survive outside the thin layer of atmosphere in which there is enough oxygen to support his metabolic processes. He is held by gravity to the surface of the earth, a condition which hampers his movements and his efforts to move objects. He is obliged to replenish his energies frequently by consuming food, the seeking of which requires constant industry.

It would be impossible as well as profitless to attempt to determine which affects the other more significantly, the earth or man. The two interact, each modifying the other in a continuous process of change. If it seems true that the earth was made for man, it is equally true that man was made for the earth. And it has been repeatedly emphasized that man was made *from* the earth and that his body must ultimately become an inanimate part of it again. While he lives, however, he is faced with numerous problems of

adjustment to the earthly environment. Many of these problems are on the physical or biological level; others, on the social and economic level, are dealt with in various parts of this book; one of these, the problem of location, is the subject of the present chapter.

THE PROBLEM OF LOCATION

As here used location refers to the spatial adjustments of the individual or group, especially as they apply to the geographic features of the environment. Location is entirely relative, that is, it exists only with reference to some object or definite part of the environment. In so far as it has significance for social life, location is normative. It is judged as good or bad depending upon the extent to which it contributes to or detracts from the welfare of the individual or group, as judged by the standards of their respective cultures. Nearness or proximity is thus seen to be the most elementary aspect of location. A favorable location is one which is near the desired object or, conversely, far away from the undesired object. Differences in attitude as to the desirability of objects may also lead to differences in judgment as to the quality of locations. Thus, an artist in selecting a site for his residence might prefer a lonely hill commanding a beautiful view, whereas a grocer might choose to place his house where it would be handy to the store. In the latter case a purely economic motive prevails; in the former a social motive, the esthetic, is the determining factor. The two are theoretically distinct, but both are so readily translated into pecuniary values that the rental price of any plot of ground, wherever situated, ordinarily includes and expresses all aspects of its locational value.

An individual in a poor location can usually improve his condition by lessening the distance between himself and the desired object. This can be accomplished in two ways, either by moving the object toward the individual, or vice versa. In the former case there is involved the process of transportation; in the latter case migration or travel. In both cases an expenditure of time and effort must be made before the change can be effected. The introduction of these elements complicates the determination of proximity and leads readily to the substitution of another term, *accessibility*. This term

embodies not only the concept of distance, but also the elements of time and cost. In cases where the speed is great, time may become negligible. This is clearly true of telegraphic or telephonic communication, which is almost instantaneous. Here, however, the cost factor is likely to be high, so high, indeed, that for the less urgent messages, we prefer the cheaper though slower post to the costlier though more rapid telegraph. The accessibility of a place is measured, therefore, in terms of the time and expense involved in reaching it; the actual physical distance counts for little.

Since most of man's efforts are spent in making a living it follows that in seeking a location he is influenced primarily by economic factors. He is willing to make some sacrifice of his industrial efficiency in order to be near his fellows or near a recreational area or in a neighborhood which will raise his social standing, but for the most part these noneconomic objectives must be disregarded. Man must live where he can make a living.

The most favorable location for an individual is the resultant of an extremely complex set of factors, made up of the varying accessibilities of a large number of desired objects, varying in kind and desirability. Some are human and personal; others are purely material. Desirability among the latter is manifested in at least two ways, value to the individual for the purposes of consumption and value in the market or in exchange. In modern industrial society, with its detailed division of labor, the latter is of prime importance, affecting not only location, but occupational distribution as well. Almost every worker makes more of a particular product than he can use for himself, receiving the value of the product, more or less, in the form of wages which he then trades for the products of industry for his own use.

In preindustrial society the situation was simpler, though the individual's problem was undoubtedly more difficult than at present. People who live by hunting, fishing and collecting edible plants or fruits must be personally present at the source of everything they use. The immediate surroundings must yield food, water, and the materials for clothing and shelter. There are many places in the world where such conditions do not exist; consequently populations with primitive cultures are nearly always small and usually confined to areas with mild climate and well distributed rainfall. With ad-

vances in technology, even at an elementary level, early men were able to enlarge their habitat considerably. The discovery of fire and the invention of clothing and houses permitted moving to colder areas; the domestication of animals and plants led to the production of substantial food supplies where unaided nature produced but little. Yet until the development of cheap and reliable long-distance transportation, every community in the world had to produce all or almost all its needs or, perhaps more accurately, had to content itself with local products. In culture without adequate transportation, large cities could not exist and famines would occur often enough to keep the total population small.

SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING LOCATION

Preceding discussions of geographic factors affecting the location of people have repeatedly referred to the role of social factors. For the purposes of discussion these may be considered separately, though it is obvious that they operate only in situations containing all the various factors involved. Social factors are of two kinds, technological and organizational. The former consists of the knowledge and skill which enables man to secure control over sources of energy other than that of his own muscles and to apply this energy to his own benefit. The domestication of draft animals was probably the earliest form of development in this field. Later man harnessed the wind and the waterfall to the mill which ground his corn. Still later these uses have been extended and new sources of energy have been found in the form of natural fuels, the most important of which is coal. The energy produced may be in the form of electricity, which can be transported many miles over a wire and which can be made constantly available in any quantity from the amount needed for the lighting of a small lamp to the operation of a motor of a thousand horsepower.

Ingenious machines have been invented that will perform all sorts of difficult tasks, many of them too difficult even for the trained human hand. Through the use of these machines man can apply energy from nonhuman sources to the production of food and to the manufacture of countless useful and desirable objects. Our transportation systems are of course also mechanical. Through

them man brings together for his convenience objects from all parts of the earth.

The organizational factor consists of the arrangements men have succeeded in making among themselves by means of which they maintain economic and other social relationships. Included here are corporate structures for carrying on trade and industry, division of labor, the rules of international trade. It is clear that the total income of the people of the world or of any part of it will attain its maximum only if social organization permits the production of every item in that part of the world or region where it can be done most economically, that is, with the minimum expenditure of human energy, transportation costs included. When people refuse to trade with each other, whether from mutual suspicion or local pride or whatever reason, they deny themselves some of the advantages which geographic location provides. The people of the United States might, for example, refuse to buy pepper from the Far East by the expedient of levying a tariff of $100 a pound on that commodity. This action would doubtless have the effect of starting a pepper industry in this country. Although we lack most of the natural requirements, it is probable that we could produce pepper in hothouses within which proper conditions of temperature, moisture, and soil could be maintained. But it is easy to see that because of the great amount of energy necessary to its production, pepper grown in a hothouse would be expensive. This would result in a lower consumption, since many people would prefer going without pepper to paying an exorbitant price for it. The former pepper growers of the Far East would have to curtail their operations, in spite of their favorable natural advantages, and undertake the manufacture of certain items which they previously bought in America with the proceeds of the pepper crop. Both they and the people of the United States would suffer a lowering of real income in consequence. Unfortunately for the economic welfare of the world there are many instances of the kind here described. As a result there is probably no nation in the world that is as prosperous at it could be if a more effective organization were maintained.

Similar results follow from the tendency of that which is already established to remain so despite the manifest advantages of change. Resistance to the introduction of new techniques and refusal to

consume new products are common. It is said that large business concerns buy the patents of certain inventions and keep them off the market in order to preserve the values of their investments in older machines and processes. Old institutional practices, such as those relating to land tenure and use, may long delay the process of readjusting natural and social factors to man's advantage.

THE LANDS OF THE EARTH

The earth's surface has an area of about 200 million square miles. Nearly three fourths of this area is under water and hence uninhabitable. The entire continent of Antarctica, and large portions of the other continents are, for various reasons, too inhospitable to sustain a human population. So far as the needs of agriculture are concerned, only about four million square miles or about seven per cent of the total land area have a satisfactory combination of soil, rainfall, temperature, topography, and other requirements. Some regions, usually called deserts, are too dry. The more extensive of these are found in northern Africa, the Arabian peninsula, central Asia, central Australia, western United States, and on the west coasts of southern South America and southern Africa. Other lands are too wet and at the same time too hot. The combination of continuous heat and heavy, regular rainfall produces the tropical rain forest, which man has been able to subdue in only a few instances. It seems likely that parts of India and of the islands of the Malay Archipelago once bore dense forests. That they are now under cultivation, supporting large populations, shows that these areas can be occupied, but the slow rate at which further clearing of the tropical forest is proceeding indicates that it will take centuries to complete the task. Many thousands of square miles in the tropics, now almost without human beings, are found in Central America, the Amazon valley, the Guianas, and in the easternmost parts of Brazil. They are also found in equatorial Africa and in some of the islands of the South Pacific.

Certain other lands are too cold. Conspicuous examples include Antarctica, Greenland, and a wide band across the northern borders of Eurasia and North America. Lands too steep or too rugged for human occupation are widely distributed over the earth. Moun-

tains lie along the western boundaries of North America and South America, in northeastern Asia, western China, in the northern part of India and beyond, and in an irregular belt across southern Europe. No extensive land surface is entirely free of mountains. On the other hand, no mountains are entirely lacking in valleys or small plateaus or relatively level plains where people can live. Sometimes these favored spots are utilized so intensively as to enable a mountainous section to support a fairly large population. Switzerland is the outstanding example.

In all cases of inhospitable lands mentioned, it should be noted that the main problem encountered by human beings who occupy them is that of a food supply. With the techniques now known for keeping warm, cool, healthy and well fed, there is probably no place in the world where human beings could not exist, provided, of course, the necessary means could be taken along. This, then, is the main problem. Food is, to be sure, one of the most important articles of trade and transportation. However, most of the trade is in local products and the distance covered in transporting food is usually small. The movement of wheat and meat to Europe from Australia would contradict this generalization were it not for the fact that the amounts involved are small as compared with the total amount of food consumed by Europeans. Relatively there is little intercontinental shipment of food; by and large the people of the world must live near the place where their food is produced.

The location of sources of energy, such as waterfalls, coal and oil fields, and of the raw materials of manufacture, such as iron and copper, are of secondary importance in determining the distribution of people in the world. Yet in particular places they may constitute the chief element in the situation. Mining towns and steel towns obviously owe their existence and position to the natural resources which they exploit.

All the natural factors taken together form combinations which are distinctive and, usually, significantly different from each other. The space within which a particular combination of natural factors constitutes a functioning unit forms a natural area. Within the area the ways of human adaptation to its natural factors assume a distinctive pattern which results in marking off the region, an area

with a culture pattern fairly uniform throughout, but different from that of adjoining regions.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

The geographical distribution of the people of the earth at any given time is only a momentary phase in a process which has been going on ever since man arrived on the scene. The population is constantly redistributing itself in an unconscious effort to secure a better adjustment to its environment, the latter including, of course, the population itself. In the early stages of his career on earth, man's adjustments were probably more like those of the lower animals than they are now. Culture was at a low level of development and innovations occurred rarely. A tolerable climate and a reliable food supply were probably the main objectives of the immigrations undertaken by early man and of course when he migrated he walked. He had no advantages not possessed by other animals, except that having hands he could carry a few belongings with him. A brief account of the movements of early man is given in Chapter 16.

As a result of man's mobility and his unceasing efforts to improve his lot, he has now visited practically every spot on the earth and has occupied every area that in the present stage of culture he considers worth occupying. With the possible exception of the animal parasites which he himself harbors, man is probably more widely distributed over the earth than any other form of life. This means that in a certain sense man's occupation of the earth is complete. The day of geographic discovery is forever past; no longer will there be new "wests" to settle or frontiers to which restless young men may go to seek their fortunes. In another sense, however, there may be both "wests" and frontiers. Further technological advances may make habitable certain areas on the earth now almost wholly unoccupied, as for example the Amazon Valley. And there always remains the possibility that climatic and geological changes will require or permit corresponding shifts in the population.

People have always lived in groups, even under the most primitive conditions, but these groups were necessarily small in the beginning.

Primitive society everywhere would have to be described as rural. The large city could not exist before man had reached a stage of culture in which there was rather extensive division of labor, a well-integrated social organization and a fairly good transportation system. Such conditions did not obtain until a few thousand years ago and at first only in a few favored spots on the earth.

The modern metropolis with a million or more inhabitants is distinctly a recent development. Athens probably never had more than 200 thousand inhabitants; Rome may never have had more than a quarter million.* Even cities of this size were markedly large for their time—a time without railroads, steamboats, street cars, automobiles and telephones. It has been the introduction of these and other technological advances which has made possible the large city of today. The improvement of ocean navigation which occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries resulted in London becoming the largest city in the world about 1700.

Throughout the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries the cities, especially those of the Western world, have continued to grow rapidly. The cities of the Orient have grown, too, but somewhat more recently and apparently as the result of Western influence. For example, the great increase in the population of Japanese cities during the last hundred years has coincided with the wholesale adoption of Western culture by the Japanese. There are now some forty cities with populations of a million or more, of which fifteen are in Europe and five in the United States.

RACIAL DIFFERENCES

The individuals making up the population of the world differ from each other in many ways. The differences are so numerous that hardly ever does an observer encounter two individuals not easily distinguishable. There are, however, similarities as well as differences, upon the basis of which it is possible to classify human beings in groups of varying size and number. One of the more important of such groupings is that of race, a classification based upon biological characteristics.

No one knows the origin of the races of man. It seems probable,

* For divergent estimates, see page 235.

however, that man's racial traits in some manner represent an adaptation to the natural environment. Dark-skinned peoples are better fitted for life in the brilliant sunlight of the tropics than are the blond peoples, whereas the latter thrive better in the cold, dark forests of the north. Other racial traits may give their bearers comparable though less obvious advantages or disadvantages. It is possible that cultural advances, through which man is able to avoid some of the direct influences of the environment, have in recent times obscured the process of biological adaptation. When man succeeds in keeping his house at the same temperature regardless of its location or of the season, the effect of temperature and the need of biological adaptation to it will have decreased and become more or less similar for all peoples.

In the distant past, when there was little culture to interpose as a shield between man and the adverse forces of nature, it appears most likely that the selective process gradually eliminated certain characteristics, while preserving and accumulating those variations which enabled their possessors to survive. Such a process would in the course of time produce groups varying in biological traits. However they may have come about, racial traits are found among men, now possibly more important because of the social values attached to them than because of their biological survival value.

An entirely satisfactory classification of races has not been devised, perhaps for the reason that any system places the classifiers in the same group with some people who are regarded as inferior or objectionable. It is also true, however, that no clear lines can be drawn between racial groups. Perhaps the races have never been entirely separate and distinct. With the beginning of history there had already occurred so much intermixture of racial elements that pure races had practically disappeared. For our purposes it is sufficient to point out that there are three main racial groups, the Caucasoid, the Mongoloid, and the Negroid, though some authorities add a fourth, the Australoid. Most of the world's peoples belong to one or another of these groups, though many are mixtures of two or even three of them. The various groups commonly called races are really divisions based upon various factors, only one of which is race. This is true, for instance, of the American Negro, who, even though he may be biologically more white than Negro, is still classified as a

member of a so-called racial group. Clearly it is a classification based to a large extent upon social factors, understandable only from a study of history.

At present about one third of the world's population consists of Caucasoid Europeans and their descendants, or what are commonly known among themselves as "whites." They make up practically all of the population of Europe and the bulk of the population of the Americas and Australia. The remaining two thirds of the world's people belong to races commonly regarded by Europeans as nonwhite. The people of India are Caucasoid, but because of their dark skins are not usually spoken of as white. The Chinese and Japanese are largely Mongoloid, as are also the American Indians.

In the United States there is only one nonwhite racial group large enough to be significant, namely, the Negroes. Their number and distribution is shown in Table VII, from which it will be noted that though every region has some Negroes, they are most heavily concentrated in the Southeast. This is to be explained by the fact that the Negroes were first brought to the South as slaves and, having become adjusted to life in that area, they have tended to remain there.

Table VII. Regional Distribution of the Races of the United States, 1940 (in thousands) *

Area	*Total*	*White*	*Negro*	*Other*
United States total	131,669	118,215	12,866	589
The North	76,120	73,207	2,790	123
New England	8,437	8,329	102	7
Middle Atlantic	27,539	26,238	1,268	33
East North Central	26,626	25,528	1,069	29
West North Central	13,517	13,112	351	54
The South	41,666	31,659	9,905	103
South Atlantic	17,823	13,095	4,699	29
East South Central	10,778	7,994	2,781	4
West South Central	13,065	10,570	2,425	70
The West	13,883	13,350	171	363
Mountain	4,150	3,979	36	135
Pacific	9,733	9,371	134	228

* Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, *Population*, Vol. I, p. 53.

THE SEX RATIO

Another biological characteristic of the population, one which is of greater significance to the individual than race, is sex. In the individual it determines membership in one or the other of the moieties of males and females; in the population it is manifested in the relative size of the two groups. Nature has contrived to keep the two sexes in fairly good numerical balance, but differential death rates often disturb the relationship. The sex ratio at birth is somewhat variable, tending to average about 105 males to 100 females. The excess of males thus produced begins to diminish at once, however, owing to the higher death rate prevailing among boys. In America at present males have a higher death rate at every age level than do females. In the past this condition did not obtain and there are some populations now as, for example, that of Japan, in which for some age levels the death rate of the women exceeds that of the men.

The greatest disparities in the sex ratio do not usually result from differences in death rates, but from differences in mobility. When the members of one sex migrate more readily than those of the other, both the population from which the migration flows and the population to which it flows are affected. A conspicuous example is offered by a comparison of the sex ratios of the rural and the urban populations of the United States. Women are attracted in greater numbers to the large cities than are men, the main reason being probably the relatively greater economic opportunities offered to women by the cities than are available to them in the country. The result is naturally that the cities as a whole have an excess of women, while the rural areas have an excess of men. The chief social effect of this situation is observed in connection with marriage. In the urban environment women compete for men; in the rural environment men compete for women.

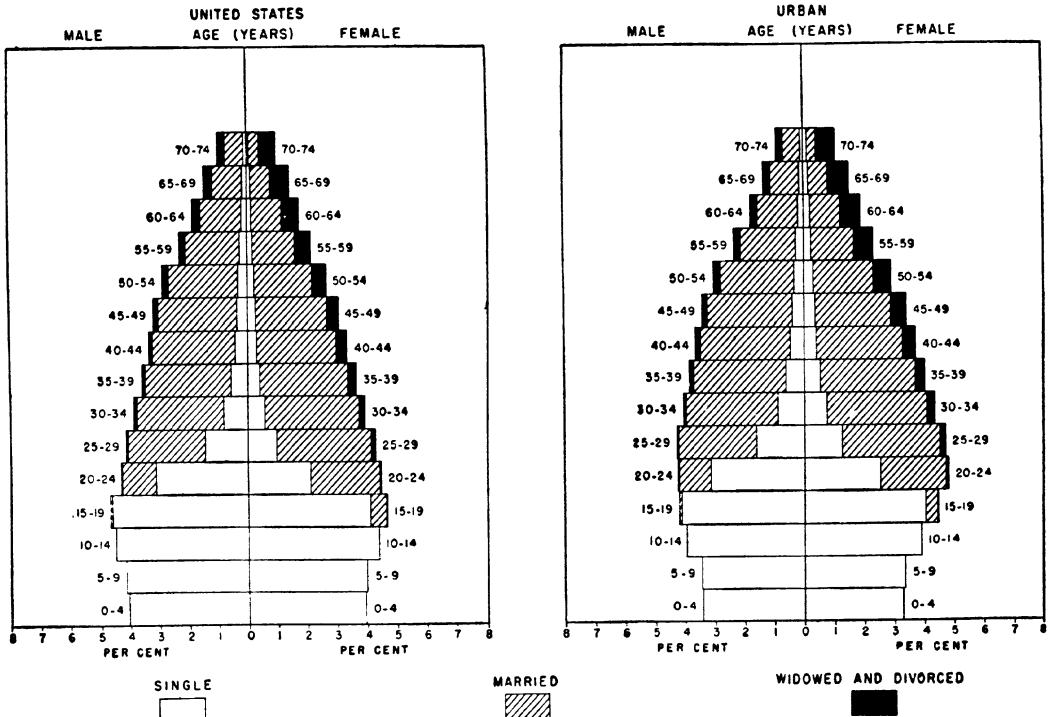
In the case of extremely long migrations, such as were undertaken by Europeans in coming to America, there is usually an excess of males. This fact has had a long-lasting effect upon the sex ratio of the American people, maintaining a considerable disparity from the days of earliest settlement down to the present. Now, with immigration practically stopped, the sex ratio is approaching equality. It

will continue to change until there is a substantial excess of females.

In a stationary population, that is, a population which has remained unchanged in size over two or three generations, the average age of the individual members would be half the average age at death. Stationary populations are, however, rarely encountered. Nearly always there have been wars, migrations, fluctuations in the birth rate, any one or more of which will influence the age composition of the population. With the gradual extension of the length of life, which has been proceeding for the last two or three centuries, the average age of the people of the world has been increasing. The process, still continuing, has gone farthest in those areas having the highest standards of living. In the United States, however, the average age has been kept comparatively low by the combined operation of two factors, namely, the high birth rate and immigration. The relatively high birth rate of Americans has added ever increasing increments to the population at the lowest age level and immigration has brought to America millions of young foreigners. The drop in the birth rate and the cessation of immigration have changed the situation, so that now the population of the United States is ageing rather rapidly. The median age of Americans in 1930 was 26.4 years; in 1940 it was 29.0. If an actual decline of the population should begin, the median age would increase rapidly.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIFFERENCES

Modern populations are often highly differentiated in their socioeconomic functions, mostly as a result of the highly complex division of labor characteristic of present-day society. The division of labor itself constitutes a basic form of socioeconomic differentiation. The people of the United States carry on a bewildering and constantly changing variety of occupations. In general there has been a steady increase in the proportion of the population engaged in industrial occupations and a steady decrease in the proportion of farmers. There has been a large increase in the number of persons engaged in trade. At the same time many occupations have become almost obsolete, e.g., chandler, teamster, herald; others have changed so much that those who worked at them a century ago



Population pyramids arranged by age, sex, and marital status and for urban areas alone. (U.S. Census for 1940: *Population*, Vol. IV, *Characteristics by Age*. U.S. Government Printing Office.)

would scarcely recognize them. Examples are found in the farmer and the shoemaker.

Coincident with the development of the division of labor, socio-economic classes have appeared. As they exist in the United States, they are differentiated chiefly by the levels of income and the derived standards of living, but there are other cultural and attitudinal differences as well. The close relationship existing between class affiliation and income gives to occupations a social rating rather closely correlating with the wages, salary or profit current in the respective occupations.

The composition of the population with respect to educational attainment varies from the well-nigh complete illiteracy of the Chinese peasants to the nearly complete literacy of some of the countries of western Europe. The United States has a high literacy rate but by no means the highest. Levels of attainment and regional differences are shown in Table VIII.

Table VIII. Median Years of School Completed by Persons 20 Years Old and Over for Regions of the United States, 1940 *

Area	*Median years of school completed*
Northeastern States	8.8
North Central States	8.8
The South	8.1
The West	10.0

* Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, *Population*, Vol. IV, pp. 149–150.

Populations also vary in marital status. The proportion of married persons in a population is obviously affected by the sex ratio and the age distribution. It may be affected by social factors such as class and race prejudice, income levels, and the general attitude toward marriage and divorce. Prevailing custom with respect to age at marriage and its importance to individual welfare are important factors influencing the marriage rate. In some countries, India and China, for example, almost all persons of marriageable age are married; in others many persons never marry at all. This latter condition is common in all countries of predominantly European culture. As

compared with countries in western Europe, the United States has a much married population.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

A final aspect of the composition of the population that may be mentioned is religious affiliation. Religious groups are too numerous to be treated in any detail, but there are several important groups, including large sections of the world's people, the distribution of which gives a good idea of how the world is divided in this respect. Thus viewed the important religions are Christianity, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. The approximate number of adherents in each group and their area of concentration are shown in Table IX.

Table IX. Distribution and Estimated Number of the Religious Groups of the World *

Group	*Areas of concentration*	*Estimated number*
Roman Catholic	Italy, France, United States	315,000,000
Orthodox Eastern	U.S.S.R. and eastern Mediterranean	117,700,000
Protestant	United States, Great Britain, Germany	235,000,000
Jewish	Europe	15,800,000
Mohammedan	India, Dutch East Indies, North Africa	285,000,000
Shinto	Japan	16,000,000
Hindu	India	239,000,000
Sikh	India	4,000,000
Jain	India	1,000,000
Buddhist and Lamaist	China, Japan, Tibet	165,000,000
Confucianist and Taoist	China	285,000,000
Primitive Animist, Fetishist and Magic	Nigeria, India, Dutch East Indies	210,000,000
All others, including state religions		275,500,000

* John Kieran, ed., *Information Please Almanac*, Doubleday and Company, Inc., and Garden City Publishing Company, 1947, p. 791.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the meaning of "location" as the term is used in this chapter?
2. What is meant by the statement that "location is normative"?
3. What is the relationship between location and accessibility?
4. What is the effect of the division of labor upon the desirability of locations?
5. What is the effect of the quality of the soil upon the density of the population?
6. How do technological developments affect the distribution of the population?
7. What is the function of social organization in determining the distribution of the population?
8. What is the average density of the population of the world? Of the population of the United States?
9. How did the "races" of man originate?
10. Why is it difficult to classify races?
11. How are sex ratios affected by migration?
12. What is the median age of the population of the United States?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Prepare an inventory of all the factors you can find which operate to maintain the population in your community. Are any of these factors likely to change? If so, how will the change affect the population?
2. Trace the relationship between the development of residential heating and the northward movement of the population in Europe.

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Chapter 16

MAN AS A MIGRANT

One of the important distinctions between plants and nearly all animals is the ability of the latter to move freely from place to place. Man shares this distinctive ability with other animals, though many of them are much more mobile than he so far as native capacity is concerned. For example, migratory birds that nest within the Arctic Circle may winter near the equator. Recently man has devised machines that can fly faster and farther than birds, and for some thousands of years he has used wheeled vehicles and horses, yet this period is but a minor fraction of the time man has lived upon the earth. During the preponderantly greater part of his existence man, like other terrestrial animals, has had to walk; consequently he has required a long time to get his species distributed over the earth, and even today some areas have not yet been fully explored. Modern man's amazing mobility is the result of his intelligence rather than his brawn, yet because man's intelligence manifests itself almost wholly in terms of culture, there is an important relationship between the slow trudging of early man through the forest and the supersonic flight of modern man through the stratosphere.

THE MOBILITY OF MAN AND CULTURE

It seems probable that the first men were, in one sense, extremely mobile. Lacking weapons, they lived by collecting edible plants and hunting slow-moving animals. Making a living would thus involve constant moving about. With no fireside to return to, there would be little incentive for the nomadic hunter to return to the place where he spent the preceding night. He would probably continue his wanderings indefinitely, guided only by his limited knowledge of where the food supply would be most abundant.

It is difficult to imagine culture developing very much in these circumstances. Small groups wandering about in the area of their habitat could doubtless perfect their language and their family system easily enough. They could increase their knowledge of what was good to eat and of where and when a supply could be found. They could also invent light weapons, traps, and snares for killing or capturing animals. Beyond this they could go only with difficulty; for culture, even in its most abstract forms, is dependent upon artifacts, which are not readily accumulated and transported by primitive wanderers. A certain degree of stability is thus seen to be prerequisite to extensive cultural development.

It is possible that the stabilizing effect of agriculture was among the early influences which led men to begin the great accumulation of manufactured articles which is the necessary accompaniment of civilization. To plant, cultivate and harvest a crop would require the farmer to stay in the same place for several months at least. During this period he would have time to build a house or perhaps to make an outfit of clay pots. If, however, he should decide to move after harvesting his crop, the farmer could not well take along with him the products of his industry. He might reconsider his intention to move, and stay to enjoy further his new house and cooking utensils, thus establishing a sedentary type of existence. The implications of these suppositions are clear. People must stay in one place for a long time in order to become civilized. A people constantly on the move cannot print books, establish libraries, or conduct the kind of scientific research that demands extensive laboratory equipment and years of patient observation.

On the other hand, sociologists have frequently noticed that small groups of people held in the same spot for a long time by barriers which prevent movement both in and out tend to remain static in their culture, in some cases even retrogressing. Examples are found in the "mountaineers" of the Appalachians and the Ozarks. It appears, therefore, that the maximum rate of development of culture requires, not complete stability nor yet unlimited mobility, but a degree of each somewhere between the extremes. It is not possible for us to determine the point of optimum mobility; nevertheless it is clear that it is a highly significant factor in the determination of cultural advance.

TYPES OF MOVEMENT

Migration is usually defined as movement over a relatively great distance with consequent change of residence. A classification, devised by Davie, of the types of migration engaged in by historic peoples, contains four items—invasion, conquest, colonization, and immigration. The first is described as a mass movement of a low-culture people into an area occupied by a high-culture people. Conquest is a reverse movement, with a comparatively small transfer of people. Colonization is the settlement of new or sparsely occupied territory plus the extension of political power. A colony is a possession of the mother country and the colonists remain its subjects. Immigration is made up of a mass of individual movements from one country to another. The immigrants must give up their allegiance to their homeland and accept the controls of the country to which they have migrated. This last type of migration includes the great movement from Europe to the United States which has taken place during the last century and a half.[1] These distinctions are of considerable value, though it must be recognized that population movements do not fit perfectly into any series of categories. Movements differ in respect to the number and kind of people who participate, and in the distance covered and in the time elapsed. Some movements can easily be recognized as migrations; others are borderline cases. The tenant farmer who moves to a new farm in the same community is not usually regarded as a migrant; if he crosses several counties and a state line his movement would undoubtedly be considered a migration. What if he moves only into the adjoining county? Similar problems of definition occur where the question of time is involved. It is therefore not possible to classify movements of population into clear-cut, mutually exclusive types.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

Theoretically, the causal factors of migration are not too difficult to determine. In a simple situation there is an immediate danger or threat to which the individual responds by flight. Where he

[1] Maurice R. Davie, *World Immigration*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1936, pp. 2–7.

goes is of little importance so long as it is away from the source of danger. In another simple situation the individual is induced to move by the sight of food or other desired object at a distance. In the former case, the individual is repelled; in the second, he is attracted. Even the most extensive and involved migration is the result of the operation of one of these factors or both, complicated by the role of intelligence. Man recognizes the threat to his safety before it becomes immediate; similarly he knows of advantages located at a great distance, even though they have not yet materialized. He is thus enabled to conduct his movements deliberately, according to careful preliminary planning. Only when there is unforeseen disaster, such as fire, flood, earthquake or war does man have to flee. But even precipitate flight, if it results in a change of residence, must be considered as migration.

The direction of migration is largely determined by the location of the object sought by the migrants. If they desire free land, they must necessarily move to the areas where free land can be had. Moreover, their passage may be effectively prevented by barriers, natural or artificial, which block the path. For people without navigational skills the ocean is practically impassable; the great desert may be equally so for people who must cross it on foot. Mountains, forests, watercourses, swamps, or animal or insect pests constitute other natural hindrances to migration. Many of these have been successfully overcome by man's techniques of travel, but their places have been taken by artificial hindrances in the form of laws limiting or forbidding migration. In some instances national governments have refused to allow their subjects to leave the country; more frequently laws have been passed to limit or prohibit the entry of immigrants. So common have legal regulations become that, in spite of our increased means of transportation, it is probably on the whole as difficult for modern man to migrate as it was for his ancestors hundreds of years ago.

Most of the available evidence points to Asia as the original home of man. As the largest and presumably the most stable of the land masses, this continent might logically have served as the cradle of the race. The migrations through which man has come to occupy the entire earth must, therefore, have started in Asia, from which, as a center, movements radiated in all possible directions. The

chief cause of these movements was in all probability an actual or threatened shortage of food. This may have been brought about by an increase in the population to the point where the food produced in the area was insufficient or it may have resulted from an unfavorable change in the climate which reduced the food supply.

EARLY MIGRATIONS

Whatever the cause, a series of waves of migration from central Asia took place in prehistoric times. Some groups moved into Europe, others into Malaysia, still others crossed into the Americas and moved southward until they occupied both continents. These migrations were the immediate cause of the racial distribution of man in the world as it appeared at the beginning of history.

Our first historical knowledge of man reveals him as an extremely mobile creature, a fact which suggests that he had been moving a good deal previously. And there has been no later indication that man intends soon to stop his wandering and settle down. Our "ancient" history shows a number of tribal groups marching and countermarching across the continent of Europe. The Cimbri, starting in Denmark, reached northern Italy, as did the Goths by a different route. The Vandals from Prussia wandered widely, some at last reaching Africa by way of the Iberian peninsula. Waves of Huns followed each other from Asia for central Europe. These are but a few examples of the numerous migrations of which we have reasonably good knowledge. The pilgrimages of the eleventh century and the Crusades of the succeeding two centuries, though perhaps not regarded as migrations by the participants, nevertheless functioned as such. Many persons changed their place of residence as a consequence of joining a crusade.

MODERN MIGRATIONS

The migrations of greatest interest to us are, naturally, those which have directly affected our own country. They began with the voyages of Columbus, which ushered in an Age of Discovery, in the course of which intrepid European explorers visited practically every coastline on the earth. Occupation of the newly discovered

lands began promptly. In those lands where, as in the Orient, there was already a dense, civilized population, Europeans succeeded only in establishing political control; they could find no foothold for settlement. Where the native population was relatively small and primitive, especially where the climate was favorable to Europeans, they soon cleared the land of natives and established colonies upon it.

Keller [2] has observed that these colonies were of two types, depending upon the climate of the area occupied. Where the climate was temperate, more or less like that of Europe, the colonists rather easily eliminated the natives and took over the cultivation of the land themselves. The result was the establishment of the farm type of colony, in which small holdings were cultivated by individual families. Such colonies grew rapidly in population and early developed diversified farming and the various industries essential to a self-sufficient economy. Factory industry readily flourished in this environment.

In tropical areas, on the other hand, Europeans could not or would not work; they were consequently obliged to rely upon natives for labor. In such a situation labor has to be forced, hence slavery or its equivalent tends to become an accepted method of securing and keeping a labor supply. Only rather simple agricultural techniques can be carried out by such labor, a fact which leads to a one-crop system of agriculture. The single crop produced, whether it be sugar, coffee, cotton, or tobacco, must be marketed to yield a profit, which necessitates the maintenance of close commercial relations with the mother country. The situation results in a condition of permanent dependence of the colony, yet since it offers economic opportunity to only a few persons from the mother country, it attracts practically no immigrants. The northern settlements of North America were of the farm colony type, while those in the tropics, even to some extent those in what later became the Southern states, followed the plantation colony pattern.

Most of the earliest visitors to the New World were adventurers looking for some means of getting rich quickly. They were followed by genuine settlers who came from Europe to make permanent homes in America. Those who came from England to establish

[2] Albert G. Keller, *Colonization*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1908.

the first settlements on the eastern coast of North America are of special interest to us, since they fixed the language, customs and institutional patterns which have become the basis of our culture.

Among the early arrivals was Alexander Alvord, whose voyage to America was described in Chapter 14. He was fairly typical of the kind of person who would choose to try his luck in America. Left an orphan in his boyhood, he had such poor economic prospects at home that even the uncertainties of the New World appealed to him. He could have known but little about America before he saw it for himself; indeed, his ignorance may well have been a factor in determining his migration. Few books about the New World had been published and those few would have been of no use to Alexander Alvord, for he could not read. Surely very few of the immigrants of early sailboat days knew in advance what sort of land they were starting for or the suffering and the danger involved in crossing the ocean.

SELECTIVE FACTORS IN MIGRATION

The voyage, often of several months duration, presented hazards so numerous that many of the most fearless must have hesitated to undertake it if they had known what it was like. The small vessels of that day were a poor match for the storms of the Atlantic; and a shipwreck nearly always meant death to the entire company. Accommodations on board were crowded, frequently devoid of privacy and of sanitary facilities. If an outbreak of infectious disease broke out, no one could hope to escape it. Fresh food could not be kept long enough to last through the voyage; sometimes food of any sort was deficient both in quality and quantity. Starvation and disease were faced by all those who left Europe for America, before steam replaced sail as the means of driving ships. According to the viewpoint of some observers, notably Ellsworth Huntington,[3] the hardships of migration and of life in the colonies of the New World operated strongly as a selective factor, eliminating from among the migrants the weak, the timid, the contented, the inefficient. As a result the colonies were settled by an exceptionally superior people,

[3] Ellsworth Huntington, *Mainsprings of Civilization*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1945.

whose superiority is evident in the kind of community they established as well as in their personal accomplishments. That there is at least some truth in this theory cannot be doubted. Certainly it is logical to suppose that the outlook for the prospective migrant in colonial days appealed to a type of person quite different from those who, in recent years, had only to raise the money for a ticket to spend a week or two in comfort and safety crossing the ocean to a land already replete with the devices of civilization.

It must be recalled, however, that through the colonial period and well past it, European nations used America as a dumping ground for undesirables. Paupers and convicts were shipped away in considerable numbers, not only from Britain, but also from countries on the continent. These people became a part of the American community and contributed to its character.

In other respects, not involving the question of quality, the migration process selected persons of certain social and biological characteristics which gave to the American population a distinctive composition, differentiating it extensively from that of Europe. On the biological side, age and sex were conspicuous as bases of selection. The very young and the very old seldom migrated, the former because they were usually dependent upon persons already too old to be willing to give up the small assurances of Europe for the large uncertainties of America. The great majority of the migrants were young adults, persons who were motivated by the optimism of youth and who had not yet made adjustments too hard to break. The rigors of the frontier appealed to women less than to men and accordingly gave to the migrating group an abnormally high sex ratio.

Here may be mentioned the fact that the Negro element in our population was also introduced in colonial days. Since their coming was involuntary, it can hardly be said that the Negroes were the product of a selective process, although the weakest of them may have succumbed on the voyage from Africa. Forces of a socio-economic character rather than natural selection determined their coming to America, where, once established, they have become by far our largest racial minority group.

Forces of a similar nature, though operating in a totally different fashion, selected the migrants from Europe according to their social

and economic characteristics. Those who were misfits as to politics and religion often migrated in the hope that in America they would find freedom to think and worship as they chose. The colonies were not without restriction in these matters; sometimes it appears they were extremely intolerant of the differences manifested by those who disagreed with the founders, yet because of the greater ease of escaping the controls of the new community, even the extreme nonconformists found a place to live.

By far the greater number of people who migrated did so for economic reasons. Like those who fled religious and political persecution, they were the maladjusted and discontented. The man who had wealth or a well-paid occupation would scarcely be tempted to abandon his advantages for the hardships of the frontier. On the other hand, the poor, unskilled laborer, with scant opportunity for ever improving his condition, would often feel he had so little to lose by migrating that he could well afford the risk. Many of those who migrated during the colonial period did not even have money enough to pay for their passage when they started. They secured passage by agreeing with the ship's master to work for a stipulated time after their arrival in America; the ship's master reimbursed himself by selling their service to employers. A good deal of the ordinary labor in the English colonies was done by these so-called "redemptioners."

ORIGINS OF IMMIGRANTS TO AMERICA

Although the migrants to the British colonies were predominantly English, several other nationalities were well represented by the close of the colonial period. The Dutch and the Swedes were incorporated into the British colonial group by the capture of their settlements by the British; Irish, Scotch, and Spanish and Portuguese Jews immigrated in small numbers. The most important non-English immigrants were the so-called Scotch-Irish from northern Ireland and the Germans from the Palatinate. The former, who had migrated to Ireland from Scotland early in the seventeenth century, did not escape the oppressive conditions which prevailed over all of Ireland and, when, in 1718, a famine was added to their troubles, they began moving to America. Many of this

group became the frontiersmen of their day, carrying the burden of subduing the western wilderness. Their love of freedom and democracy was a strong factor in determining the outcome of the Revolution and the form of government subsequently established.

The Palatine Germans came from an area in southern Germany which had suffered greatly from the many wars of the seventeenth century. Since armies then lived largely by requisitioning supplies from the unlucky people who lived in their path, it is easy to see how the Palatines were reduced to poverty. Their homeland was overrun many times by the French. In the early part of the eighteenth century some of the Palatines migrated to England, whence they were helped by the English to continue their journey to America. Others came to this country directly from Germany. They settled in the middle colonies, mostly in Pennsylvania, where many of their descendants, known as the Pennsylvania Dutch, are still found.

The character of the European immigration to America did not immediately change with the establishment of the United States as an independent country. England continued for a time to supply the majority of the migrants, who, since they were now leaving their own for a foreign country, thenceforth became true immigrants. As the English gradually became less numerous, the Germans, Irish and other immigrants from western Europe increased in number.

For several decades after the close of the Revolution, immigrants were usually welcome. Some states even actively encouraged foreigners to settle within their boundaries. Unfortunately several European countries continued to send undesirables to America, thereby arousing the ill will, first, of the people in the ports where these immigrants landed and, ultimately, of all the states on the Atlantic coast. For besides the objections manifested toward the paupers and criminals, opposition arose toward the Irish because of their religion and toward the Germans because of the persistence of foreign ways among them.

Sporadic outbursts of opposition to foreigners have appeared from the beginning of our national existence, but the first political party organized for the purpose of opposing immigrants did not appear before 1835. About this time the Native American Party appeared, centering its activities largely in the Middle Atlantic States. With anti-Catholicism as its chief motive, the party sent several representa-

tives to Congress and in 1845 held a national convention. The failure of the party to achieve national status resulted in its dissolution, but the ideas it stood for persisted. These were represented some years later by the "Know-Nothing" movement. At first a secret society, the movement came into the open as a political party in 1854. It became so successful as a minority party that in 1856 it put in the field a presidential candidate on a platform calling for twenty-one years' residence as a prerequisite for naturalization and for various other forms of discrimination against foreigners, particularly if they were Roman Catholics. The slavery issue intruded, however, and split the Know-Nothings into opposing camps. The Civil War and the consequent diminution of immigration led to a lack of interest in the Know-Nothing objectives and the party eventually disappeared.

After the close of the war the tide of immigration set in again, bringing large numbers from all the countries of western Europe. Gradually, however, the sources of immigration shifted from such countries as Great Britain, Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, and Scandinavia to countries in eastern and southern Europe, such as Russia, Poland, Austria, Italy, and the countries of the Balkan peninsula. It is customary to refer to the earlier movement as the "old" immigration and the latter as the "new." There was of course no abrupt break from one to the other, so that it is not possible to give a date at which the new immigration replaced the old, but in general 1880 is taken as the year which marks the change.

Socially the "new" immigrants differed from the "old" and from the American population in a number of significant respects. This is not surprising when it is recalled that the culture of the American people was but the culture of western Europe, notably of England, transplanted to the New World. Though modified by the conditions of the frontier, the culture was essentially English. Among its conspicuous traits were Protestantism, Puritanism, democracy, and individualism. The people of southern and eastern Europe, on the other hand, were predominantly Catholic in religion; they engaged in play and other recreational activities on the Sabbath; they failed to show the proper awe and respect for the democratic institutions of the American government. They also found themselves at odds with the native Americans over the temperance issue.

This issue arose as the result of the temperance movement which began in the United States in the early decades of the nineteenth century. As the movement grew in popularity it turned to the advocacy of legal prohibition as a means of furthering its ends. Fourteen states voted dry before the interruption of the Civil War, after which all but Maine soon repealed their prohibition laws. In the numerous campaigns and elections which took place, the foreigners nearly always opposed prohibition, thereby identifying themselves in the eyes of the natives with the forces of evil.

With the close of the Civil War immigration was resumed in increasing volume. Except for temporary reductions coinciding with business depressions in the United States, the flow of immigrants increased steadily until the beginning of World War I. At that time foreigners were arriving at the rate of a million a year, almost all of them from the "new immigration" countries. The necessity for large-scale cooperative effort required by the war brought a realization that large sections of the American population were distinctly foreign in their culture and hence unable or unwilling to participate wholeheartedly in the war. Agitation for the reduction or exclusion of immigrants increased with the result that after the war, America legalized a policy of restriction so severe that it was almost equivalent to exclusion. Since then transoceanic immigration to the United States has been small.

Asiatic immigration has never reached the dimensions of the European movement, probably because the opposition to it was so prompt and vehement that legal restrictions were soon put into effect. The nationalities involved were the Chinese and Japanese. The Chinese, encouraged by the demand for labor which appeared with the California gold rush, were first on the scene, some arriving as early as 1851. In the beginning they were gladly received, but as soon as they began to mine gold in competition with the Americans, anti-Chinese sentiment made its appearance. Attempts were made to drive the Chinese out of mining by means of the Foreign Miners' License Tax, but so long as it was not prohibitive, the Chinese paid the tax and continued mining gold. Other discriminatory measures were tried to little avail. The actions and attitudes of the Californians were a source of embarrassment to the federal government,

which found its relations with China disturbed by the treatment accorded Chinese nationals in America. At last, however, Congress yielded to pressure from the Pacific Coast and excluded the Chinese by means of a treaty forced upon the Chinese government.

The Japanese first began to arrive in noticeable numbers about 1906. Within a few years they, too, encountered opposition from the whites. It was argued that the Japanese with their low standards of living would soon displace the whites wherever they settled. Furthermore, it was believed that the Japanese had an extraordinarily high birth rate and that they would consequently soon outnumber the white Americans. The California Legislature passed a law prohibiting the foreign-born Japanese from owning land. The Japanese government protested in vain. Our national government sided with its own citizens on the Pacific Coast and determined to exclude the Japanese. This was done by means of an informal treaty known as the Root-Takahira agreement. Under the terms of the treaty the United States agreed not to exclude the Japanese, while the Japanese government in turn agreed not to permit any of its nationals to leave for the United States. This peculiar treaty saved face for the Japanese, while at the same time the United States government achieved its objective. Other Asiatic groups, such as the Indians and the Filipinos, have appeared as potential immigration problems on the Pacific Coast, but the exclusion policy has been applied so promptly that their numbers have remained insignificant.

In the New World the only countries which have sent immigrants to the United States in significant numbers are Canada and Mexico. Those coming from Canada have created little difficulty; indeed they are culturally so much like the native citizens of the United States that they are scarcely noticed. Mexicans, on the other hand, are easily recognized. Most of them have more or less Indian blood, which makes them distinguishable by appearance, and they have, besides, a language and a culture quite different from those of our country. Opposition to Mexicans usually takes the form of discrimination, rather than a demand for their exclusion, though even this has been advocated.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

All the inhabitants of America, including the Indians, are immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. Consequently, it would be correct to say that immigrants have brought to the New World everything human that is found here. However, since the immigrants have differed in race, number, culture, and time of arrival, and since the human environment of the New World has been changing ever since man occupied it, the effects of newcomers upon the people already established have been varied in the extreme. The simplest of these effects would seem, at first glance, to be the effect upon numbers. Obviously every immigrant adds one more person to the population, and had there been no immigrants there would be no American population at all. But the case is not so simple as it appears. According to the view maintained by General Francis A. Walker, who was Superintendent of the Census in 1870 and 1880, the population of the United States would be as large as it is now even though immigration had stopped at the end of the colonial period. The reasoning in support of this view runs as follows: The size of the population is limited by the opportunities available to the individuals composing it. In certain situations the limitation may operate through famine, war, and undernourishment; in the United States it operates through a cultural factor, the so-called standard of living. This latter is a generally accepted idea as to what constitutes the minimum total income of economic goods and services which an individual or family will tolerate. Their reaction to a situation in which they cannot maintain an acceptable standard of living is to reduce the population, which they do by postponing marriage and limiting the number of children. If immigrants, by competing with natives, so reduce the incomes of the latter as to threaten their standard of living the consequence is a lowered native birth rate. It is a frequently noted fact that birth rates in the United States have been falling during the period of immigration and that the birth rate of the native-born population is usually lower than that of the foreign-born. The reason for this change, according to General Walker, is immigration, the net result being merely the substitution of a foreign element for the natural increase which,

in the absence of the immigrants, would have taken place among the natives.

General Walker's theory has considerable plausibility. Economic conditions certainly affect the marriage rate and thus, indirectly, the birth rate. Yet it has not been demonstrated that either business prosperity or depression is directly related to the size of the population; consequently it does not follow of necessity that immigration reduces the birth rate of the native-born in the fashion indicated. More than likely, therefore, immigration has increased the population of the United States, though quite possibly not by as many as the total number of foreigners who have settled in this country.

In certain other respects there is no question about the effect of immigration upon the population. The predominance of males among the transoceanic migrants has kept the sex ratio among the American people high from the beginning. With the cessation of immigration the excess of males is rapidly declining, so that the sexes are now nearly equal in number. As a result of the high sex ratio, the opportunities of American women for marriage have always been good. This has led to competition among men for the favors of women and has thus contributed to the improvement of the status of women. It may be observed that women first gained the vote in Wyoming, a frontier state with a large excess of males.

The youth of the immigrants has served throughout the period of immigration to keep the average age of the American population low, first by the introduction of the immigrants themselves into the population and second by the addition of their children, for as a rule immigrants married promptly and had large families. The youthfulness of Americans was thus perpetuated beyond the lifetime of the immigrants who brought it about. Even now, a quarter century after the end of large-scale immigration we are still a young people, thanks to immigration and the high birth rate maintained among immigrants.

Most of those who came from foreign lands to settle in America gave up in the course of time most of the cultural peculiarities which distinguished them originally from the native-born. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that they acquired the new rather than

that they lost the old. Certainly most of those who arrived as adults never forgot their mother tongue nor the rest of the cultural equipment with which they landed in America. Gradually these foreign elements became non-functional and thus obscured, but undoubtedly the average immigrant, if suddenly moved back to his native land after twenty years in America, could take his place in the old community with very little difficulty. Though thrust into the background in the process of adjustment, the elements of foreign culture have exerted a powerful influence upon American life, making of it a new culture, built upon the English framework set up by the first colonists, and now embodying contributions from hundreds of different sources.

Immigration has also affected American society through its influence upon the class system. The early colonies were of course well acquainted with the classes which made up the society of old England. It was a rigid system, much like a caste system, for though not impossible, it was only rarely that a low-class person rose to a position of high rank. The rest of Europe was not far different from England.

Since most of the immigrants belonged to the lowest class in their respective countries, they expected to occupy a similar position in America, although many of those who came toward the end of the immigration period had heard in Europe of the completely democratic situation to be found in the New World. Once arrived, some were doubtless disillusioned, for they were admitted only to the poorest paid and most undesirable jobs and treated as inferiors. Their coming, however, had the effect of socially promoting those who had arrived earlier, and they themselves were promoted in turn by more recent arrivals. The process went on so long that it came to be regarded as natural and inevitable that in America members of the lower classes would move upward on the social scale more or less continuously. Class consciousness could not readily develop in such circumstances. People who regard themselves as only temporarily belonging to an inferior class can scarcely become concerned about their status, which they expect soon to change for the better. Out of this situation American society emerged with the reputation for offering social and economic success or high status to any young man who would diligently seek it, a reputation which

still persists, though examples illustrating it are becoming exceedingly rare.

In the purely economic sphere, it may be observed that immigration presented America with a bountiful supply of cheap, subservient, unskilled labor at a time when such labor could be used to maximum advantage in the development of the new country. Reared to adulthood and given such education and training as they had at European expense, the immigrants disembarked ready to go to work, to produce more than they would consume. Some of their earnings were sent back to Europe, but these remittances were only a small fraction of the product of immigrant workers, the bulk remaining in the United States. With the occupation of all the free land of America, the situation changed. Instead of being pushed upward by newcomers, their predecessors were merely displaced. This led to a determined effort to stop immigration.

IMMIGRATION CONTROLS

There was, to be sure, some objection to immigrants from the beginning. As indicated previously, the objection became so strong in the 1850's as to result in the formation of a political party the chief end of which was the exclusion of foreigners, but except in the case of the Orientals, the actual legislation was directed only toward the exclusion of undesirable individuals. Gradually this kind of restriction was replaced by laws designed to exclude certain nationalities regarded, at least by implication, as innately inferior. The underlying idea found expression in a proposal to require a literacy test of all applicants for admission to America. Bills passed by the Congress to establish a literacy test were vetoed four times by the President, before being finally, 1917, passed over his veto. Following this victory by the opponents of immigration, there occurred in quick succession several changes in American immigration laws which introduced what may be called a new policy, a policy embodying the principles of both discrimination and exclusion. Through the device of the "national origins" provision by which the number of admissible immigrants of any particular nationality is established as a certain proportion of the number of representatives of that nationality already present in America, it was possible to discriminate

against the "new" immigration without mentioning by name any of the objectionable nationalities. Further, by limiting the total number of immigrants by means of "quotas," the principle of exclusion was put into effect. This, then, remains the basis of our policy as it is expressed toward Europe and Asia, the countries from which has always come the greatest pressure for immigration to America.

INTERNAL MIGRATION IN AMERICA

Our study of immigration from foreign countries has usually ended at the port or border where the foreigner entered America. Obviously this was not the end of his journey, nor that of his predecessors who had entered America by the same route. If it had been, an unbelievably dense population would now be found on the Atlantic Coast, especially in the vicinity of New York and Boston, and a small group would be found on the Pacific Coast near San Francisco. In the interior would be found only a few American Indians. Actually, of course, internal migration began almost immediately after the founding of the first settlements. Its pattern became the pattern of internal migration in America for the next three centuries, continuing right down to the present. This was the westward movement, through which Americans extended their hold upon the continent by pushing their settlements across forests, plains, mountains, and deserts from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

As long as settlement was confined to the eastern coastal plain, no particular route was followed, though the movement of the pioneer settlers was naturally facilitated by the water courses, which served as highways to the interior. When the Appalachians were encountered, the most easily negotiable passes funneled the migrants over the mountains and into the valleys beyond. There was extensive migration across New York State and along the Great Lakes, partly because of the large population on the north Atlantic Coast, partly because this route offered but little in the way of natural obstacles. Joel Alvord, a descendant of Alexander Alvord, followed this route when he drove his oxen from New York to Illinois in 1833. In the South the march of the cotton-plantation economy across the southernmost tier of states from the Carolinas

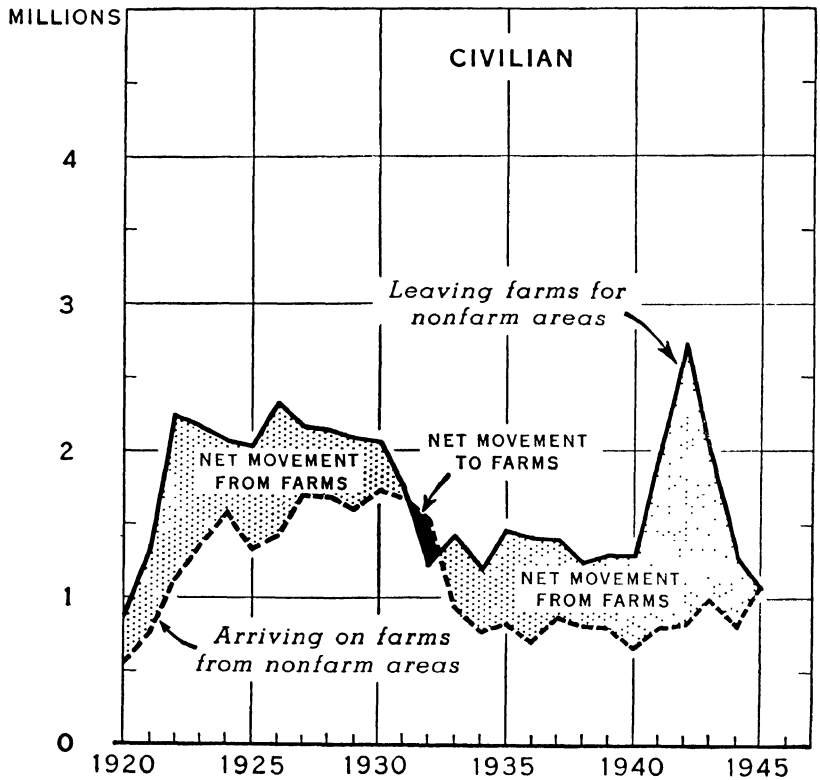
to Texas between the time of the invention of the cotton gin and the beginning of the Civil War, shows another aspect of the westward movement.

The Mississippi, or more precisely the broad band of treeless plain just west of it, proved to be a barrier more formidable than either the mountains or the dense forests previously encountered. The plain itself was not at first considered fit for human beings to live on; it was only a space to be crossed to reach the more promising lands west of the Rocky Mountains. These mountains, too, were higher and steeper than any previously met by American pioneers. Only a few carefully chosen routes, and these none too good, were open to the first venturesome individuals who had decided to try their fortunes on the Pacific Coast.

The best-known and most used of these routes was the California-Oregon Trail. Starting at Independence, Missouri, this trail followed the Platte River, crossed the Rockies, then descended toward the Pacific along the Snake and Columbia rivers. A cut-off across what is now Utah and Nevada led to California. The first wagons were probably taken over the trail in 1832 by Captain Bonneville. Several thousand persons, including the Mormons, moved over the trail in the 1840's. Stimulated by the discovery of gold, the number of west-bound migrants increased greatly in the 1850's. As many as a hundred thousand persons may have passed over the route before it was abandoned following the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad shortly after the close of the Civil War. Not all who started for the Pacific in covered wagons arrived at their destination. Their histories are full of accounts of starvation, Indian attacks, cholera, drownings, stampedes, and even murders.

The chief incentive for the westward movement was undoubtedly the lure of land, the possession of which had been for hundreds of years in Europe the symbol of status and power. When it became known that in America land could be had by merely living on it, the landless peasants were stirred to action. They crossed the ocean and trekked to the frontier to secure for themselves the blessings of real estate ownership. By 1890 the good land was gone, but the movement continued for some years thereafter during which many homesteaders "took up claims" on the western Great Plains where farming of the kind practiced in the eastern part of the country could not

be carried on for lack of moisture. During the droughts which have followed large numbers of disappointed farmers have abandoned their farms and joined the westward movement again, this time to go on to the Pacific Coast.



Movement of civilian population to and from farms, 1920 to 1945. Graph shows effects of fluctuations of employment opportunities in urban areas (*Farm Population Estimates*, 1946, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture)

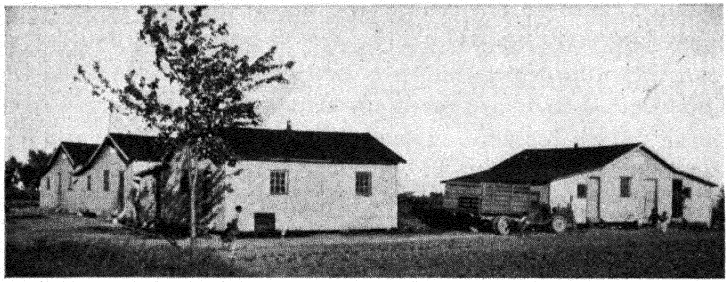
With the filling up of the land, the currents of migration have changed somewhat in direction and volume. No longer, of course, is there pressure from immigrants on the Atlantic Coast. Now the pressure comes from overpopulated regions in our own country, notably the Old South, the Southern Appalachians and the Great

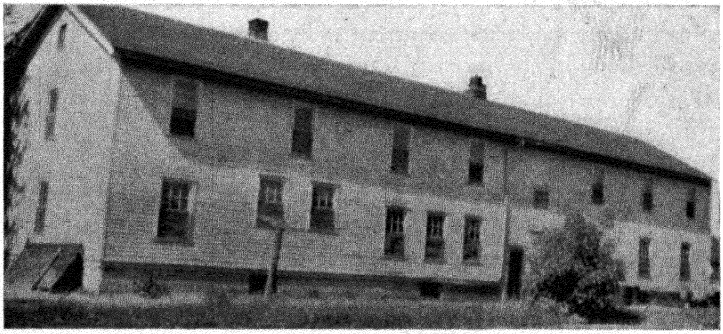
Plains. These areas have relatively large rural populations, with high birth rates. The excess population cannot be readily absorbed in agriculture at a time when mechanization is rapidly reducing the manpower needs of the farm. They must, as they have been doing for some decades, move to the city.

The so-called urban movement, the migration of rural people to the cities, has probably been going on since the beginning of civilization. The people of the cities of the past were no more able to reproduce themselves than are the urban dwellers of today. In any event large cities could not be fed as long as agriculture remained relatively unproductive. The cities remained small and the migration needed to maintain them remained small also. About 1800 the situation changed. Developments in agriculture and transportation reached the point where fewer farmers could support more city dwellers. At the same time improvements in sanitation and medical science made life in the city somewhat more secure. The immigration from Europe to America, particularly in its later stages, had many of the characteristics of the urban movement, that is, many of the immigrants were peasants who left the farms of Europe for the cities of America, but now the surge to the cities is entirely an internal movement. Each succeeding federal census has shown a larger increase for the urban population than for the rural. Only during the depth of the depression of the 1930's was the trend reversed and then only for a period of about two years.

Wars and their accompanying social changes seem to have a special power to dislodge populations. Following the Civil War, the northward and cityward migration of the Negroes began; World War I increased this movement to large proportions. World War II has resulted in the most extensive internal movement in our history. In addition to the eleven million persons in the armed forces, many millions of civilians moved from their homes to engage in war production, or to be near their relatives in the services or for other reasons. Some of these migrations were temporary, but many of those who left their homes, especially if they lived in rural areas, have not returned. The farm population has consequently declined and the urban population has increased correspondingly.

In attempting to look into the future of internal migration we can do little beyond projecting present trends. On this basis it ap-





Company houses for beet workers in Michigan. (J. F. Thaden, *Migratory Workers in Michigan*, Michigan Special Bulletin 319, 1942, p. 37)

pears that the cities will continue to absorb the increase of American population as long as any increase exists. Possibly the process of mechanization in agriculture will further reduce the number of farmers required to feed the nation and thus create a surplus of people for the cities even after the population as a whole has become stable.

There is one other trend begun about two decades ago, which may continue for many years. This is the tendency, described by McKenzie, for the population to move toward the water rim of the country. This movement is ascribed largely to the effect of the Panama Canal upon transportation costs. The lowered rates made possible by the canal have brought closer together in terms of the transportation costs all the coastal areas of the land. The resulting movement illustrates well how the population through migration adjusts to the ever changing circumstances of the spatial environment.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How does the mobility of man differ from that of animals?
2. Why is stability necessary to the development of culture?
3. Why does agriculture stabilize those who engage in it?
4. What is meant by migration?
5. Describe the types of migration as given by Davie.
6. Which of the two kinds of causal factors involved give direction to migration?
7. Which continent is believed to be the original home of man?
8. Differentiate between the farm colony and the plantation colony.
9. What were the biological characteristics of the early migrants from Europe to America?
10. What is meant by the "old" and the "new" immigrations, respectively?
11. What were the social characteristics of the new immigration?
12. What has been the main factor in immigration from Europe to America?
13. Name several of the nationalities represented among the colonial migrants?
14. What were the objectives of the Native American Party? Of the Know-Nothing Party?
15. What were some of the objections raised against the new immigration?
16. What nationalities have been represented in the immigration from Asia?

17. What countries of the New World have figured significantly in immigration to the United States?

18. What is General Walker's theory? State why you think it is valid or invalid.

19. How has immigration affected the sex ratio of the American population? The age distribution?

20. What were the reasons for the appearance of American opposition to European immigration in the twentieth century?

21. How does the "national origins" provision discriminate against certain nationalities and favor others?

22. What was the "westward movement"? The "urban movement"?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Look up several accounts of seventeenth century voyages across the Atlantic Ocean. What effect would you conclude the conditions of ocean travel had on the migration of the time?

2. Make a study of Japanese and Chinese immigration, noting points of similarity and difference.

3. Study the history of the Oregon-California Trail. Evaluate it as a factor in the settling of the West.

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DAVIE, MAURICE R., *World Immigration*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1936.

A statistical treatment of migration throughout the world, with special emphasis upon the United States.

SMITH, WILLIAM C., *Americans in the Making*, D. Appleton–Century Company, New York, 1939.

Describes in detail the process of assimilation as observed among immigrants and their descendants in the United States.

TAFT, DONALD R., *Human Migration*, The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1936.

Treats migration in all parts of the world, and describes the social and economic factors leading to migration together with the effects of migration upon the receiving country.

Chapter 17

THE PROBLEM OF QUALITY

All living things on earth are descended from older living things. Although the length of life of every living thing is limited, the species to which it belongs may have existed for thousands or millions of years and may continue to exist for an equal period of time in the future. In all cases, whether the species be plant or animal, simple or complex in its structure, the offspring closely resemble their parents. This fact, repeatedly observed, is briefly stated in the old maxim, "Like begets like." It has made possible the classification of all plants and animals into species and genera, each variety clearly distinguishable from other types or groups.

But though offspring resemble their parents, the two are never quite identical. Differences, mostly minor but invariably present, are so common that it is probably correct to say there have never been two individuals that were exactly alike. Life thus presents two aspects: similarities passed on from generation to generation through the ages, and unlimited variety, manifested in the degree of difference between the individuals of the species, however numerous they may be.[1]

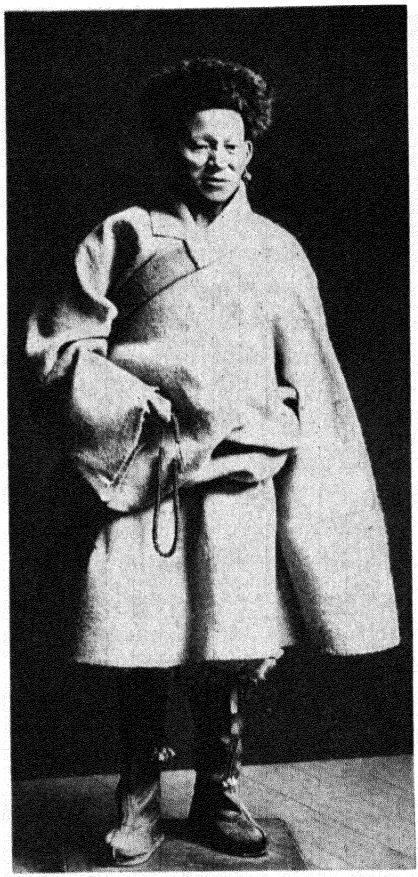
Husbandmen have known for many centuries that strong stock begets strong offspring and, conversely, that weak stock can produce only weak offspring. They have also engaged in practices which they believed would interrupt the course of the process and thus produce offspring unlike the parents.[2] No method has surpassed the simple one of selecting superior individuals through which domestic animals have been so greatly improved over their forbears in the qualities considered desirable by their human masters.

[1] It has been calculated that the chances of two sets of fingerprints being identical in every detail are so remote that no account need be taken of the possibility.

[2] Gen. xxx.

THE PRINCIPLES OF GENETICS

The details of the biological process through which hereditary characteristics are transmitted from one generation to its successors were, however, discovered only recently. The classic experiments which gave rise to the science of genetics were performed by Gregor Johann Mendel, an Austrian monk, and reported in a paper published in 1866. Using ordinary garden peas, Mendel crossed a large number of plants which differed from each other in several significant respects, *e.g.*, tall plants versus short plants, wrinkled seed coats versus smooth seed coats, green cotyledons versus yellow cotyledons. The resulting offspring, he observed, resembled one of the parents but not the other; in the case of the tall-short cross, for example, all the offspring were tall. When, however, these were bred among themselves, they produced both kinds of plants in the ratio of three tall to one short. The short plants, bred among themselves, produced only short offspring, while the tall ones produced both kinds. Further experiments showed that the tall plants, though alike in appearance, differed in their genetic constitutions. Some of them had only tall offspring; others had both tall and short.



A Mongol man, a distinctive racial type found in Asia. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

From this observation comes the important conclusion that the

capacity for transmitting a hereditary trait may be possessed by an individual not himself manifesting it. We are thus enabled to explain satisfactorily why the offspring differ in some ways from their parents, resembling, perhaps, a remote ancestor. In such cases the trait in question remains latent, that is, it does not develop in the individual unless inherited from both parents. Such a trait is described as *recessive*, while a trait which appears even if inherited from only one parent is referred to as *dominant*. Recessive and dominant traits generally occur in pairs of mutually exclusive characteristics known as *alleles*. Tallness and shortness, green cotyledons and yellow, wrinkled seed coat and smooth are examples of alleles found by Mendel in his experiments with garden peas.

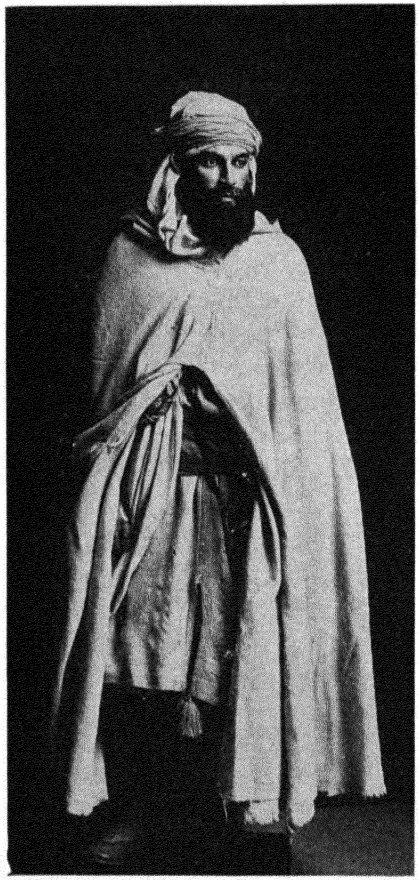
The dominance of a particular trait is sometimes incomplete or partial. In the case of certain flowers, the crossing of a red variety with a white results in plants bearing pink flowers. When the individuals in this generation are crossed among themselves, three kinds of flowers appear, red, pink, and white, in the ratios, respectively, of one, two and one. The red and the white individuals will breed true, that is, they will produce only red offspring, or white, as the case may be. The pink ones, however, will behave like their pink parents, producing one-fourth reds, one-half pinks, and one-fourth whites.

Incomplete dominance is also observable in the inheritance of color in the Blue Andalusian fowl. This variety occurs in three color phases, black, nearly white and an intermediate gray, called "blue." When a black cock is mated with a white hen, all the offspring will be blue. A pair of blue parents will produce all three kinds in the ratio of one black, two blue, and one nearly white. Since the blue specimens are the ones prized by fanciers, it would be desirable to eliminate the other colors, but this, of course, can not be done.

In the examples given the hereditary trait is either present or absent in its entirety. Where the dominance is complete this is easy to see. The individual pea plant is either definitely tall or definitely short; none are intermediate. In the Blue Andalusian fowl there is a mixture of the black and the white in the individual which has inherited black from one parent and white from the other. But while the colors mix in the plumage of the individual, they do not mix in his hereditary constitution. There they remain separate, as is shown in the appearance of the

original colors in definite ratios in the offspring. Hereditary traits behaving in this fashion are called *unit characters.*

Some traits have a more complicated mechanism and are, consequently, not so easily observed. In such instances, the trait may be the result of the combined effect of many hereditary factors or units. If, for example, the color of an ear of yellow corn is due to the presence in the parent stock of, say, five hereditary units, the absence of one or two of these units would result in slightly paler kernels but not white ones. The crossing of a pure yellow ear with a pure white would produce ears of a color intermediate between yellow and white, but the intermediate-colored ears crossed among themselves would produce kernels of a variety of shades ranging from deep yellow to pure white. In such a situation it would be extremely difficult to identify the hereditary constitution of a grain of corn from its color. There is some evidence that skin color in human beings is caused by multiple hereditary factors, which would explain the numerous shades of skin color found in the several races of men.



An Arab man, a racial type now found widely spread in Asia and Africa. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

The lack of interest in and understanding of Mendel's work caused it to be neglected, so that it was not before 1900 that his findings were corroborated and his original article was resurrected for study. Within a few years, however, many experiments had been made in both the plant and animal field. A substantial foundation for the science of genetics had been laid, when evidence of quite another sort came to

explain further the mechanisms of heredity. The evidence emerged from cytology, giving rise to the chromosome theory of heredity, a theory which has stimulated an immense quantity of research and led to many valuable discoveries.

The theory grows out of studies of the structure of the cell and of the process of cell division. It has been found that the nucleus of every living cell contains a substance called chromatin, so named because of its disposition to absorb certain dyes used to make it visible under the microscope. During the process of division this substance rearranges itself near the middle of the cell so as to form a number of distinct bodies, usually rod-like in shape. These bodies occur in pairs of similar form and size, and the total number is the same for all cells found in the individuals of a given species. Just before the cell divides, each of these bodies, the chromosomes, splits lengthwise. Each new part migrates away from the other and forms with other parts two new nuclei, identical as to kind and number of chromosomes. The cell thereupon divides between the nuclei, creating two daughter cells, each similar to the parent cell.

There is, however, one type of cell division which follows a different pattern, namely, the division which creates the *gametes*, or the egg and sperm cells. Here the chromosomes do not split; instead the respective pairs separate, one member of each pair going to the nucleus of the new germ cell. The gametes, therefore, have only half as many chromosomes as the somatic or body cells. At the time of fertilization a new individual is begun by the fusion or union of the nucleus of a sperm cell with that of an egg cell, and the full number of chromosomes is restored. The individual thus receives half of his chormosomes from one parent, half from the other, a fact which fits perfectly with the geneticist's observation of the transmission of hereditary traits.

Still further investigation and experimentation, much of it carried on by Morgan and his associates, has led to greater refinements in the theory. The chromosome has been shown not to be homogeneous throughout, but to consist of a number of distinct and discrete units, arranged in spatial sequence like beads on a string. These units, called *genes*, are the actual carriers of hereditary characters. By a series of ingenious experiments with the fruit fly, *Drosophila melanogaster*, Morgan not only determined which chro-

mosome carried a number of inherited traits, but definitely located the position of the genes involved with respect to each other on the chromosomes.

If the nature of the genes remained invariably fixed, it might be possible ultimately to learn completely the hereditary possibilities of an experimental species like the fruit fly. Such possibility has been moved into the indefinite future by the discovery that hereditary

Scene along a Chinese water front. (Courtesy the Rockefeller Foundation, *President's Review for 1948*)

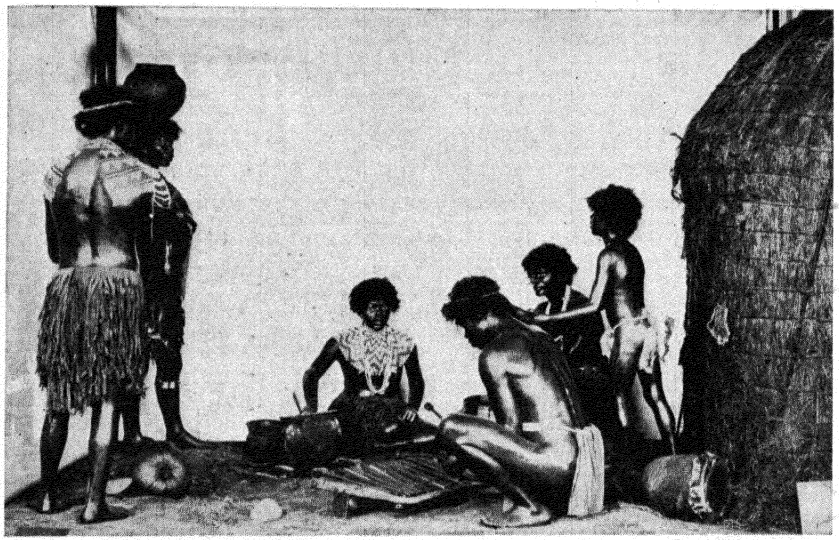
traits, though relatively stable, are not absolutely fixed. Occasionally, though rarely, a completely new trait may emerge or an old one may be lost as the result of a sudden change in the genes, called a *mutation*. The cause of mutations is not entirely understood, though their nature is suggested in the studies of H. J. Muller and others, who have produced mutations in the fruit fly through the use of X rays. Though anything like perfect control over the process is far from achieved, we may now say that the basic biological mechanisms of heredity are fairly well known.

INHERITED HUMAN TRAITS

Unfortunately for students primarily interested in human affairs, our knowledge about specific traits is largely confined to plants and the so-called lower animals. This is due to the difficulty of conducting controlled experiments with human beings and to the relatively long time required to observe the results. We do have, however, rather extensive information regarding the heredity of a number of diseases and anomalies and, on the assumption that the processes of heredity are the same in the human species as in others, we can infer a great deal more. On this basis it is logical to conclude that at least a large part of the infinite variety found among men is hereditary. Practically all of the observed differences, however, are not in the form of traits which are either absent or present; they are instead traits which are present in greater or lesser degree. With respect to height and weight, for example, it may be observed that we cannot classify mankind as short and tall or as heavy and light. In neither case can we find a suitable dividing line between the two groups. If we measure a large number of persons we shall find their heights distributed along a scale ranging from very short to very tall. There will be relatively few at the extreme ends of the scale; more and more as we approach the middle. The distribution, graphically represented, takes the form of the familiar bell-shaped curve, the curve of normal distribution.

The same is true of characteristics not usually thought of in quantitative terms, as, for instance, skin color. This trait is frequently regarded as one of the chief criteria of race and as such to be found differing markedly and discontinuously from one racial group of human beings to another. Actually it shows the same type of distribution as height. If we could line up all individuals on earth with the darkest-skinned person at one end and the lightest-skinned at the other, with the rest appropriately stationed between them, we should probably not be able to distinguish the color of any single individual from that of his neighbor. Although the difference between the pale white man at one end of the line and the coal-black man at the other end would be most conspicuous they would be joined by a series of persons shading from light to dark by increments too small to be noticed as between individuals.

Here it may be noted that scarcely any "white" persons are really white and that but few Negroes are really black. Both categories contain a considerable range of color, with extensive overlapping, some whites being darker than some Negroes and vice versa. This fact shows, first, that racial categories are at least in part social, and, second, that color is not the only criterion of race. An albino Negro may be easily recognized as a Negro by his kinky hair and distinctive features.



Family group of the Zulu-Kaffir, racial relatives of the American Negro. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

In the matter of intelligence we often think of individuals as being either normal or feebleminded. Closer scrutiny shows that some "normal" persons are geniuses and others are stupid. Within the group classified as feebleminded similar differences, if not so great, may be observed. Quantitatively measured, through tests or otherwise, intelligence falls into the same distribution pattern as height and weight and color. It should be borne in mind, however, that intelligence is not a homogeneous characteristic in which individuals differ only in the quantity they possess. On the contrary intelligence is a composite of many factors. Common experience reveals that practically all persons are intelligent in some respects and stupid

in others. The extreme case is the so-called idio-savant, who may have a prodigious memory for figures or skill in calculation, but who lacks ordinary common sense.

These facts suggest the existence of many varieties or "strains" of human beings, each differing in hereditary constitution from the others with respect to intelligence or other characteristic. New strains may arise from time to time by mutation, thereby increasing the number, and as they mix more or less indiscriminately through intermarriage, the heredity of individuals becomes extremely intricate.

Tibetan man, a member of the Mongoloid race. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

As the process of reproduction goes on, new types may appear. Some of them survive to transmit their qualities to offspring; others fail to survive or to reproduce and thus disappear. Gradually the species changes, so that after many generations the descendants may differ profoundly from their ancestors. Whether a given individual will survive or not depends upon how well the organism with which he is endowed can adjust itself to the demands of life. If one of his vital organs is defective, he may, so to speak, die before he is born. The large number of stillbirths and miscarriages and the probably still larger number of conceptions which begin and end unnoticed suggest that a good many individuals are too defective to survive even in the sheltered environment of the mother's body. Since certain organs do not function

until after birth, their defectiveness may not cause the death of the individual until he must depend for existence upon his own equipment. Human embryos without stomachs can develop in the uterus but starve to death shortly after birth. An individual with defective reproduction organs may live to die of old age; he cannot transmit his defect to the next generation. Medical or surgical treatment corrects many inborn defects.

THE SELECTIVE PROCESS

Once set free by birth, the individual is subjected to an environment even more complex than his own inherited organism. That environment is crowded with death-dealing factors, many of which are so little understood or so completely uncontrollable that we can only regard them as accidental. Such factors would include lightning, storms, and earthquakes. Other factors follow sequences by which they can be foretold and sometimes stopped or avoided by men. Certain diseases, such as yellow fever and smallpox, are in this category. When we contemplate the risks inevitably taken by men the wonder is not that some fail to escape death but rather that any survive at all.

Death, which eventually comes to every person without exception, has been considered the result of selection or natural selection, and it has been said to lead to the survival of the fittest. The terms are ill-chosen, because both imply the presence in the background of an active agent—nature, perhaps—which deliberately sets up a series of planned hazards designed to permit individuals with certain favored traits to slip through while catching all the rest. This anthropomorphizing of a natural process gives an erroneous idea of its true character. Nature cannot have a purpose; only man works for conscious goals or objectives. It follows that fitness is a value determined by men and determinable by men alone.

While all the aspects of the selective process are "natural," it is useful to discuss some phases of it under the headings of "sexual" and "societal," since these seem to operate through individuals, apparently acting as free agents. By sexual selection we mean the elimination of some individuals as parents through their failure to attract or secure mates and, on the other hand, the continuance of

the species by those individuals who do secure mates and become parents. In the animal world parenthood may be closely related to biological vigor. Where there is competition among the males for mates, the strongest is the more likely to win and thus to perpetuate his traits in the offspring. The more vigorous females presumably will successfully bear and rear the most young.

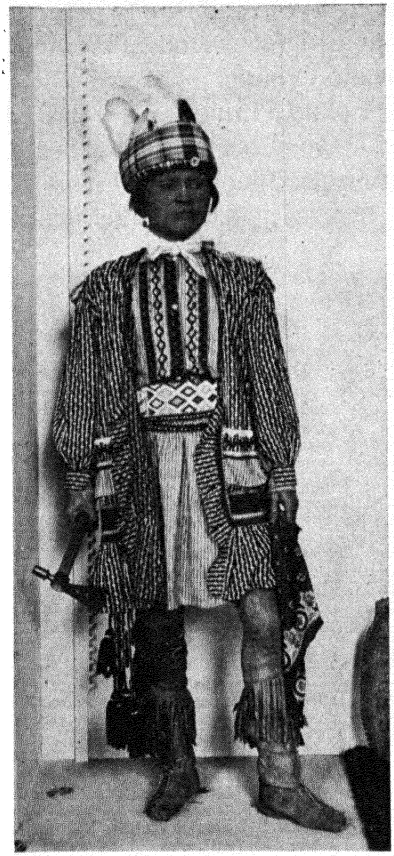
In the human species physical vigor plays a minor role, if indeed it is not often disregarded altogether. Good health is, to be sure, frequently reflected in the individual in good looks, which may be expected to increase his chances of finding a mate. The greater

Family group of the Hopi Indians found in northern Arizona. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

activity and endurance of the healthy person will doubtless aid him in the same way. Yet these purely physical factors are often kept from operating by cultural factors to such a degree that sexual selection among men has become largely societal.

In the first place, the rules of endogamy greatly restrict the groups from which mates may be selected by any individual. People are expected to marry within the limits of their own race, their nationality, their class or caste, even their own religious group. Marriage in the modern Western world involves such extensive and intimate personal relationships that even slight cultural differences between

individual men and women prevent their living together in a home. Standards of personal attractiveness are often highly artificial, having little relationship to biological factors. Blondes may be considered more beautiful than brunettes or less beautiful; high intelligence may be a handicap. The arts of the dressmaker and the beauty specialist may successfully mask an otherwise commonplace appearance, even a minor deformity. Among men economic power, whether acquired by luck, chicanery, inheritance or ability, enhances their attractiveness as potential husbands. In neither sex is capacity for parenthood, physical or social, given much consideration by those who seek mates. This is due in part to prudishness, which prevents frank discussion of these matters, but probably mostly to the fact that modern marriage is undertaken for personal reasons, to which the rearing of children is incidental and unimportant. Sometimes marriage is contracted by persons with a deliberate intention not to have children.



Seminole Indian, now found chiefly in Oklahoma. The man is garbed in partially acculturated costume of the 19th century. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

Despite the fact that many persons are undesirable as mates in one or more qualities, their chances of marriage are not too seriously reduced. The number of males and females in the population is approximately equal and our mores permit each person to have only one spouse at a time. The undesirable person may have to seek a mate among the undesirables, but since there are probably as many of these in one sex

as in the other, the proportion of successful mate quests may be as high in this group as among the eminently desirable. The rate of reproduction of the various couples would probably bear no relation to their desirability as mates, since in our culture reproductive capacity receives little attention during courtship days. It appears, therefore, that sexual selection among human beings has no eliminative effect whatever, except perhaps in the case of persons too weak to seek mates at all.

This does not mean that selection is inoperative. Though not working at the mate-choosing level, the process more than makes

Family group of Zuni Indians, pueblo inhabitants of western New Mexico. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

up for this lack in its effect upon the birth rate. In an earlier day, selection did not begin until after the individual was conceived and for the most part only after he was born. However, it is highly probable that abortions, whether spontaneous or deliberate, are not indiscriminate in their incidence, though the effects of the two are quite different from each other. Spontaneous abortions or miscarriages mark the end of life for many embryos not qualified by nature for a longer existence. In other instances, they operate as nature's method of protecting weak or diseased women against the more serious hazards of motherhood, and thus on the whole have a salutary effect. Deliberate abortions, on the other hand, are the result of

human motivation, socially induced. It is logical to suppose that they result in the elimination of the same classes of individuals as does contraception or birth control.

The latter has introduced into the situation a totally new factor, namely the desire of individuals to have or not to have children. This means that current attitudes toward bearing children may determine the number of children, if any, which a particular couple will have. Since attitudes differ from one part of society to another, it follows that some groups will have higher birth rates than others. If as a race we were deeply concerned about improving ourselves genetically, birth control would offer us a splendid opportunity. Race improvement, however, enters but slightly into the complex set of factors which affect the decision of potential parents to have children. Much more important is the assumed effect which the children will have on the parents and the parents' conception of the role of children in their culture.

THE DIFFERENTIAL BIRTH RATE

Once born, children are treated well enough in our society. We take considerable trouble to give them a good start in life, regardless of their hereditary qualifications. In spite of our efforts the children of unintelligent, incapable parents do not have as good a chance of survival as do the children of the intelligent and the capable, but we have gone a long way toward eliminating the differences. If we succeed in so doing, we shall have done a good deal toward stopping the operation of natural selection. In its place we have a kind of societal selection, manifested in the differential birth rate, constantly operating to reduce the birth rates of some sections of the population while increasing others. If there are genetic differences among the various sections, the genetic constitution of the population as a whole will be changed by differential rates of increase.

The birth rate, as has been noted, varies widely from time to time, from place to place and from group to group. Some of the variations have little significance from the viewpoint of the geneticist. Since the birth rate, as the term is usually employed, merely measures the ratio between the number of births and the number of persons in the group, it will be affected by the age and sex distribution of the population as well as by its fertility. Only the latter is of genetic import.

Some of the geographic differences in the birth rates are unquestionably the reflection of biological or social differences which are not distributed uniformly throughout the world. One such difference is associated with race. The two main high birth-rate regions of the world, namely, the Central American–Caribbean area and Southwest Asia, are peopled largely by nonwhites. In the United States the birth rates for the several racial groups were (1945) as follows: Indian, 26.8; Negro, 23.3; Japanese, 23.0; white, 19.2; and all other, 20.2.[3]

There have always been conspicuous cultural differences between the people of the cities and the people of the country. It is perhaps not surprising that they have also differed widely in their birth rates, in former times as well as now. Apparently, the large cities have since their beginning had to maintain their populations by attracting migrants from rural areas. For many centuries this may have been due to the excessive death rates of the cities, but since 1800 it has been increasingly the result of low fertility. In the United States at present there is a high inverse correlation between the birth rate and the size of the community. The highest rates are found in the farming areas of the open country. Villages and towns have somewhat lower rates, which decline still further in the large cities. The largest cities in the United States do not as a rule produce enough children to replace their populations.

Social differences in the population are also manifested in the form of differences in fertility. Numerous studies have been published which show the relationship between occupation and the number of children born. Almost invariably it is reported that the size of the family decreases as the occupation of the father rises in skill and prestige. Farm laborers and miners are usually at the top of the list, with the largest families; professionals and business entrepreneurs at the bottom. Similar relationships appear when considered from other but related viewpoints. Thus the number of children declines as the income of the parents increase, the richest people having the smallest families. The birth rate also drops as education increases, though it appears that the minimum rate is found among high school graduates, there being no further decline accompanying college attendance or graduation. These findings suggest

[3] *Births and Deaths by Specified Race, United States, Each Division and State, 1945*, Vital Statistics, Special Reports, FSA, Vol. 27, No. 5, August 20, 1947.

that a relationship exists between the birth rate and intelligence, and some studies indicate that so-called intelligence tests are passed with higher scores by persons from small families than from large. However, the difficulty of rating individuals according to native mental traits renders these studies inconclusive.

Religious affiliation also appears to affect fertility. The high birth rate in China has been attributed to the influence of the religious belief that a man's status in the next world depends upon the number of descendants he has to worship him. The high fertility of Moslems is also ascribed at least in part to their religion. In the United States, it has been observed that the families of Roman Catholics are larger on the average than those of Protestants. Also it is commonly believed that the high fertility of Utah and of certain areas in the surrounding states is somehow related to the early polygamous practices of Mormonism.

The general conclusion that may be drawn from the many studies of differences in fertility is that the birth rate varies with the class level. High rank is nearly always accompanied by few children; low rank with many. Why this is true cannot be stated with finality, though a good many explanations have been offered. According to one of these, the differences in the way of life characteristic of the several socioeconomic levels are accompanied by biological changes which are reflected in the birth rate. Thus it has been maintained that the rich diet of the upper classes has an adverse effect upon fecundity. The facts offered in support of this contention come from studies of domesticated animals and plants, in which it has been observed that overfeeding reduces the number of offspring. In the case of plants, the individual sometimes responds to an injury by a heavy yield of fruit. This view is in accordance with the Spencerian theory that as the means of individual survival improve, the need for and the capacity for reproduction decreases. Spencer also holds the view that mental activity decreases fecundity, a view which, if correct, might explain the differences in birth rates which distinguish the various social groups from each other.

More generally accepted, however, are explanations in purely cultural terms, which do not assume that there is any cultural effect whatever on the fecundity or the innate capacity for reproduction. It is obvious that reproduction as an activity consuming time and

energy is in competition for the attention of the individual with other possible activities. For it must be remembered that reproduction in civilized society is an extremely complex affair, involving such preliminaries as education, economic status, courtship and marriage, followed by the support of dependents at socially established levels as a continuing obligation.

The approval and cooperation not only of a mate but virtually of the whole community is necessary before the individual can enter upon the career of rearing a family. Whether he will do it or not depends therefore not upon instinctive urges but upon the cultural demands made upon him. From the viewpoint of the individual, reproduction will be undertaken only if the rewards for effort in this direction equal or outweigh those obtainable by other means. If the culture defines the approved man or woman as one who has many children, there will be large families; on the other hand, if the culture favors the accumulation of wealth by individuals, families will be small.

In a class society the definition of appropriate individual behavior varies from level to level, or even among different sections of the same level. Our society presents different and sometimes conflicting views on children and parenthood. In the large cities children are regarded as a social and economic handicap of the most serious kind. We have seen that landlords occasionally class them with dogs in stating the conditions upon which they will accept tenants. Children are probably no noisier than street cars and trucks, but it has become appropriate to criticize the former while silently enduring the latter. Children interfere with the objectives of parents who wish to use their income to advance their own social position. Not so long ago, when most people lived on farms, children were an economic asset to their parents. There was plenty of space for everyone. Because building costs were low, many families lived in large houses. Food was cheap, plentiful, and good. The nature of farm work was such that children could earn their keep at an early age. Moreover, the accepted obligations of adult children toward their ageing parents made of the large family a kind of informal old age insurance. Elderly parents could reasonably expect to be taken care of by their children during their last years. Remnants of these attitudes still linger in the farming sections, although

the conditions originally underlying them have almost entirely disappeared.

A similar lag may be observed among certain industrial working groups of the city. These people, mostly recent immigrants or their immediate descendants, still cling to the idea that a large family is desirable. Although this idea is no longer in accord with the view of the urban middle and upper classes, they continue to have relatively large families. This is, of course, only a temporary condition. In a generation or two the influence of the foreign culture tends to disappear. In the meantime, the several classes in America continue to bear children at unequal rates.

THE DIFFERENTIAL DEATH RATE

In the determination of the rate at which a group or class increases or decreases a consideration of the birth rate alone is not sufficient. It is also necessary to take account of the death rate. If the former is not larger than the latter, the population will decrease no matter how large the birth rate may be. Like the birth rate, the death rate is not uniform throughout the numerous divisions of mankind. It varies with the group's location, race, occupation, social status and other cultural characteristics. Because of this variation, the several groups may differ in the extent to which they become the progenitors of the next generation.

As noted in Chapter 14, the lowest death rates (under 15 per 1,000) are found in those parts of the world which are occupied by Europeans, more particularly the areas colonized by them. Intermediate are Mexico, Venezuela, Chile, France, Japan. High rates (20 or over) prevail in practically all the countries of southern and eastern Asia. Egypt, remarkable for its extremely high birth rate, is equally remarkable for its high death rate (27.3 in the period 1941–45).[4]

Racial variations in death rates throughout the world are generally in favor of the European whites. Negroes and Mongoloid peoples usually show higher rates even when they occupy the same territory

[4] Information on death rates comes from *Population Index*, pp. 256–257, Vol. 13, No. 3, July, 1947. Death rates show considerable variation in time. They are, of course, influenced by wars, famines, epidemics, public health programs, and other social factors.

with the whites. Thus the Maoris of New Zealand and the Negroes of South Africa have significantly higher death rates than their European neighbors. The same thing is true in the United States. In 1945 the rate for Negroes and Indians in this country was 12.0 as compared with 10.5 for the whites.

The geographic and racial differences in the death rate may be only reflections of cultural differences which affect the length of life. High status groups have low death rates. The same is true when income, occupation, and other factors contributing to status are used as a basis for group differentiation.

It is easy to conclude from this that the length of life within the greatest attainable limits depends upon the availability of a good food supply, adequate protection from the elements, and medical care, preventive as well as curative. In our society the best of these things can be had only by those who have the money to pay for them. The same is true when one race or one country is compared with another. Usually it will be found that in those parts of the world where the per capita income is low the death rate will be high.

Differences in the crude death rate may also result from differences in age and sex distribution of the population. Young adults have lower rates than infants or old persons; women in America have lower rates than men. Urban-rural variations in the death rate are often explainable on this basis.

Taken together the birth rate and the death rate yield a net increase or decrease, which in the long run determines the size of the group. Even small differences may have significant consequences. A small rapidly increasing group will in a few generations outdistance a large group which does not reproduce itself. Herein lies the problem of differential increase and of quality. If some groups are by nature superior, their failure to maintain themselves will inevitably result in a deterioration of the race. About this there can be no question.

There is, however, little certain knowledge about the hereditary characteristics of the numerous groups into which the human race can be divided. Are the light-skinned peoples by nature superior to the dark-skinned? Do upper-class people have more native intelligence than the lower-class? Upon the answer to these and similar questions depends the significance of differential rates of increase.

There have been many different opinions in the matter. Most of these may be dismissed as of no consequence, because they only express the author's preferences and prejudices. Fortunately we are not wholly without facts. Numerous tests, many of them fairly objective, have been undertaken for the purpose of discovering inherited differences among racial and other groups. Differences of many sorts have been found, but the results remain inconclusive. It is so difficult to distinguish between the inborn and the acquired that no one can be sure that or when he has succeeded in doing it. On the basis of the evidence, therefore, we can only say that there may be significant native differences among human groups or there may not be.

On a priori grounds a fairly good case can be made for the existence of important differences. In a democratic society, where all have the same, or approximately the same, opportunities, the possession of hereditary qualities of the appropriate kind would contribute to the success or failure of the individual in his competition with others for preferment. The result of this condition would be the concentration of high native ability among the successful, which in the United States at present would be practically equivalent to receiving a large income. This does not mean that all able persons are rich or vice versa, but it does mean that the rich on the whole have greater innate ability than the poor. Since the successful do not reproduce themselves, but must be constantly recruited from below, the traits which make for success will be gradually but surely bred out of the race.

If this line of reasoning is correct, the native characteristics of the human race as a whole are sure to change. Whether the change will leave mankind better off or worse remains the unanswered question of the differential survival rate.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the factual basis for the statement, "Like begets like"?
2. Who was Gregor Johann Mendel?
3. Describe Mendel's experiments with garden peas.
4. What are the meanings of the terms "dominant" and "recessive"?
5. How is incomplete dominance manifested?
6. What is a "unit character"?
7. Describe the process of cell division.

8. Define the terms "chromosome" and "gene."
9. What is a mutation?
10. Why do we know more about heredity in animals than in human beings?
11. Why are not all human beings exactly alike as to heredity?
12. What is natural selection?
13. How do social attitudes affect the birth rate?
14. How do the racial groups in the United States compare with each other as to birth rates?
15. Which occupational groups have the lowest birth rates?
16. Is there any relationship between religious affiliation and fertility?
17. Why do European whites generally have lower death rates than other racial groups?
18. Are some human groups by nature superior to others?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Work out a pedigree for some family known to you which presents an interesting hereditary characteristic. Indicate if you can whether the characteristic is recessive, dominant, or incompletely dominant.
2. Make a list of human traits which are cultural in origin. Compare it with a list of inherited characteristics. What are the main differences between the two kinds of traits?
3. Write a theme upholding (or opposing) the proposition that the native mental level of the population of the United States is rising.

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Chapter 18

POPULATION POLICY

The welfare of any society has been always related to the number and quality of its members. For each such group there is an ideal or optimum size at which the group functions better than at any other size. As for quality, there is probably no society that would not be better off if its members could be improved in health and vitality, in intelligence and adaptability, and in many other ways.

The relationship involved has, however, been understood only rarely, and comparatively few organized efforts have been made by societies to improve their lot by the control of numbers or by the production of superior persons. At the same time there have never been any societies that did not have practices which affected the size of their populations and their quality as well.

THE CONTROL OF NUMBERS

As mentioned elsewhere, there are no examples of societies that reproduce at the highest possible rate. All have regulations governing marriage, the net result of which is to reduce the number of children born. Other laws and customs have similar effects. Since it appears unlikely that any community could rear the maximum number of children that its members are biologically capable of producing, it may be plausibly argued that the practices referred to constitute a necessary protection against overpopulation even if they are not intended or recognized as such. This would be the case among primitive peoples who have no conception of the relation of numbers to welfare or of the possibility of human control of the birth rate. Such peoples may be found practicing abortion and infanticide as customary behavior, demanded by the established mores under certain circumstances, quite regardless of the effect of

the practices on the population. Explanations, when demanded, might well be given in terms of family or individual welfare or, perhaps, simply in terms of moral obligation. But such naïveté is not universal. Some groups far down the scale of cultural development recognize the need for limiting numbers to the available food supply and engage in family limitation for that purpose. Any group so doing may be said to have a population policy implemented by specific practices.

With the sophistication that accompanies civilization comes a general recognition of the importance of controlling the population. The ancient Greeks, for example, apparently had a fairly well-developed conviction as to the ideal number of persons, or at least of citizens, in the population of the city-state, which they regarded as the most satisfactory form of social organization. Plato and Aristotle disagreed on the number, but both held that it should be small enough to permit every citizen to participate personally in the activities of the government. Infanticide was approved as a means of limitation, though a more humane method, colonization, was also recommended. If the city-state became too large, it could be reduced to proper size by sending some of its surplus citizens to a distant place to form a colony, the beginning of a new city-state.

But the population problems of the Greek cities did not always take the form of excessive numbers. Toward the end of the period of their greatness (4th century B.C.) some of them suffered not from too many people but from too few. In Sparta severe laws were enacted to compel citizens to rear children. Like most such laws, they had little effect; as a matter of fact, the decline of Greece may have been partly the consequence of a decreasing population.

The policy of expansion characteristic of Rome throughout its whole history was accompanied always by a desire for a large population. Rome's extensive military operations necessitated many soldiers, to provide which a high birth rate was desirable. During the early centuries of Roman history its leaders had nothing to complain of. The sturdy, thriving rural people of Italy had large families from which strong sons could be recruited in any number for the Roman legions.

The success of Roman imperialism, however, created the circumstances which, as in the case of the Greek cities, led to its own decline. As wealth flowed into Rome the people from the surrounding areas flocked to the city to enjoy it. The farmers found they could not sell their products in

competition with the great quantities of food collected as tribute from the conquered provinces; consequently they had to go out of business. They had no alternative but to move to the city. By the time of the accession of Augustus the rural areas were so far depleted of population that they could no longer supply recruits for the army. In the city, the decline of interest in the family and the prevalence of vice and immorality had reduced the birth rate to a low level.

Augustus made valiant efforts to increase the population. He penalized celibates by depriving them of rights of inheritance. He insisted that all men aged 25 to 60 and all women aged 20 to 50 be married. He demanded that every man have at least one legitimate child and that every woman have three, or, if a freed slave, that she have four. The security of the marriage bond was strengthened. And recognizing that any substantial increase must come from the rural people, Augustus attempted agrarian reforms of various kinds. He also established colonies and tried to revive an interest in religion.

The efforts of Augustus met with some success. At any rate he stemmed the tide; though after his death the former conditions soon prevailed again. Urbanization, celibacy, and moral decadence all contributed to a further decline in the population of Rome.[1]

In modern times almost all countries have favored larger populations, for either military or economic reasons or both. Under the influence of mercantilism governments vied with each other in the accumulation of gold, which they believed could best be acquired through a favorable balance of trade. For the purposes of trade a large quantity of manufactured goods were needed, to produce which the services of large numbers of workers had to be provided. A large and growing population was consequently desired and encouraged. Various devices were employed to further this objective, such as forbidding emigration and rewarding immigration, tax levies on celibates and tax exemptions for those marrying young or having numerous children, and the establishment of hospitals to care for foundlings.

In the eighteenth century the advent of the Physiocrats in the field of politics led to a change of emphasis in the objectives of national effort and incidentally to loss of interest in large populations. Possibly the fact that the people of Europe were at that time in-

[1] See Jules Ferlet, *Population Problems in the Time of Augustus*, tr. by Henry R Carey, Eugenics Research Association, Cold Spring Harbor, New York, 1933.

creasing at an accelerating rate may have contributed to the acceptance of the assumption that the population presented no problem. This state of affairs endured until comparatively recent times.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the prolificacy of Europe raised the fear of overpopulation, so well exemplified in the writings of Malthus, which, as indicated previously, pictured the gloomy outlook of a dense population, ever in a miserable state of near starvation. Fortunately great technological advances and the vast natural resources of the New World changed the picture. Cheap foreign-grown food became available in Europe in exchange for goods manufactured by the application of the new machine technology. Moreover, the great spaces of America absorbed some of Europe's surplus people, who crossed the Atlantic as colonists and emigrants.

MODERN EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO INCREASE THE POPULATION

The nineteenth century is notable for a tremendous increase in the number of Europeans. Birth rates remained generally high, while the improvement of living conditions and the advance of medical science continuously reduced the death rate. Every country in Europe made unprecedented gains at the same time that they supplied America with the immigrants which formed the base of the rapidly growing American population. The possibility of overpopulation was not frequently mentioned by contemporary writers.

By the end of the century, however, the evidence of a profound change in the pattern of births and deaths in Europe was too plain to ignore. The birth-control movement, stimulated by the Bradlaugh-Besant trial, made great progress, and birth rates, especially in the middle and upper classes, began to decline rapidly. While affecting all countries in western Europe, the change was at first most conspicuous in France. It was therefore in this country that the concern about the danger of depopulation first arose. The comparatively rapid increase of the population of Germany frightened the French, particularly after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The immediate result was a quickening of interest in family allowances already widely used by both private and public employers.

These allowances, originally conceived as a means of alleviating economic distress among large families, came to be regarded as a means of encouraging potential parents to rear more children than they otherwise would. Although it is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of the family allowances in increasing the birth rate, the practice has been continued and extended up to the present as a definite part of French population policy.

Many other means of increasing the population of France have been proposed, including the refusal of public employment to all men without large families, giving greater voting power to the fathers of many children, levying heavy bachelor taxes, paying premiums for births and enforcing restrictive legislation. Only the last has received serious attention. Shortly after the end of World War I the French passed laws prohibiting birth-control propaganda and the advertisement and sale of contraceptive materials. These laws have proved easy to evade and, since the government has taken no steps to improve enforcement, it appears that the legislation lacks popular support. The same is true of the laws prohibiting abortion. Although the penalties are heavy, the number of abortions is reported to be very large in France. Yet the government and certain private organizations remain active in the effort to increase the population. A noted population student says: "pronatalist propaganda is now a basic element in the social pattern in France." [2]

Concern over the falling birth rate arose later in Germany than in France, apparently for the reason that the German birth rate remained fairly high until after World War I. After the war, the rate dropped so rapidly that Germany had relatively fewer births than France. A flourishing birth-control movement together with an extremely tolerant attitude toward abortions may have operated as causal factors. With the advent of National Socialism there came a sudden change. Hitler wanted a larger population and proceeded quickly with legislative measures to secure it. Birth-control propaganda and the sale of contraceptives were made illegal and the laws against abortion were strengthened and enforced. Marriage loans, financed in part by bachelor taxes, were designed to take women out of industrial employment and to induce young

[2] D. V. Glass, *Population Policies and Movements in Europe*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1940, p. 152.

married couples to have children. The introduction of these measures, contrary to the experience of most governments which have tried to increase their populations by law, were followed by a conspicuous increase in the German birth rate. It must be concluded, then, that under favorable conditions legal means of raising the birth rate can be made effective.

Italy presents the peculiar example of a country adopting an aggressive pronatalist policy, while its population was still increasing at a rapid rate. The policy apparently grew out of Mussolini's belief that the military and political strength of a nation was directly proportional to the number of its people. Accordingly he began shortly after his accession to power to initiate a series of measures designed to increase Italy's population. Emigration, which had previously been encouraged as a means of relieving the distressing consequences of overpopulation in Italy, was made difficult by means of onerous restrictions and, for many classes of persons, prohibited altogether. At the same time, financial assistance was made available to Italians abroad who might wish to return to their homeland Extensive land reclamation projects were undertaken with the aid of the government for the purpose of increasing the capacity of the country for the support of its people. Farmers were helped to settle in the newly reclaimed areas, and the migration of rural persons to the cities was discouraged. Severe penalties were imposed for the sale of contraceptives and the furtherance of their use in any manner. A maternal- and child-welfare program was set up, a part of the cost being defrayed by taxes on bachelors. Large families were granted tax exemptions. In spite of all these efforts of the government to increase the population, the Italian birth rate changed but little during Mussolini's regime.

In our own country no drastic measures have hitherto been taken to change the trend of population growth. Doubtless this unconcern results from the fact that our population has been increasing at a rapid rate from the beginning of our national life down to the immediate present. Students of population have noted the falling birth rate and have predicted that a decline in total numbers will ultimately take place, but no governmental notice has been taken of these observations. On the contrary, there has been opposition to immigration partly on the ground that our population is already

large enough and that the admission of aliens will result in overcrowding. This notion, except as an argument against immigration, has not been generally accepted. Communities and regions of the United States continue to pride themselves on the increases of population shown by the successive censuses. The conclusion must be, therefore, that except for a diffuse belief in the desirability of a larger population, the United States does not have a population policy.

This does not mean that we shall not sometime in the near future find ourselves under the necessity of formulating and implementing such a policy. The rate of growth of the population and its size have a bearing upon the welfare of the people which cannot be indefinitely ignored. Some of the ways in which population affects the public welfare will therefore be discussed.

PEOPLE AS A RESOURCE

Population is often referred to as a resource. In a sense this view is correct, for the people supply a good deal of the energy and all of the techniques and the organizing ability required to convert the raw materials of nature into usable economic goods. It has been said that the only real resource is the people, since without them no other resource is of any value whatever. Many raw materials, *e.g.*, coal and oil, remained worthless until men devised means of utilizing their energy.

On the other hand, the population may be considered a liability. Every person added to the group means another mouth to feed, another body to clothe and shelter. In a situation yielding only a limited quantity of economic goods, an increase in the population may well be followed by a decrease in the per capita income. This appears to be the case in China and in certain other densely occupied areas. There are reports that the survivors of extensive famines regard the food shortage which kills their neighbors as a blessing to those who escape.

Such a view is completely foreign to the United States. Although there have been objections raised to immigration, every local community wants more people and hopes to grow indefinitely. The supposition is common that a growing population is conducive to

prosperity. Certainly it is true that an increasing population makes for an increasing demand for all kinds of economic goods, thereby providing the means through which the already established businesses may expand. Persons owning strategically located real estate or other natural resources are thus placed in position to reap great profits, yet it is difficult to see how this can be of advantage to the people at large. For at the same time that a few are reaping profits, many will be searching in vain for houses to live in, driving over miles of unpaved streets, standing up in crowded buses, sending their children to overflowing schools. There may be advantages in life on the frontier, but it must also be recognized that the people who are forced by population pressure into previously unoccupied portions of the earth undergo great hardships. Finally, there will be no unoccupied areas left. Further increases in the population will thenceforth result in the rapid using up of resources, such as land, mines, forests, ground water, perhaps even the food resources of the oceans. Some of these resources can be conserved, possibly even replaced to some extent, but such measures require energy and necessarily increase the amount of human effort needed to secure the economic goods that make up income. In the long run, though not too far distant in time, a static population is inevitable. Any socioeconomic system that operates on the assumption that the population will continue to increase indefinitely will eventually have to face the facts or fail in its purpose.

THE PROBLEM OF A DECREASING POPULATION

There are indications, however, that we shall not long be confronted in America with an increasing population. The experience of western Europe indicates that birth rates may readily fall to the point where the population ceases to replace itself. Indeed, this country had reached the point where it was just barely maintaining its population during the depression of the 1930's. Since that time there has been a substantial increase in the crude birth rate, especially since the the close of World War II, but this is due in part to a specially favorable age distribution and in part to socioeconomic factors, both of which are subject to rapid change. It is quite possible that in a generation or two we shall be faced with the problems of

a decreasing population, problems no less serious than those which follow too great an increase.

A population declining in numbers will soon have a large and increasing number of persons in the upper age levels. These will have to be supported by a smaller and smaller number of persons in the productive ages. Economic undertakings, such as big corporations, will shrink instead of expanding. Entrepreneurs' mistakes of judgment, no longer counteracted by an inevitable increase in the number of customers, will be costly. Primary school buildings will have to be converted into old people's homes. If other countries in the world are not suffering from similar changes, our own may find itself in a position of military insecurity.

In the formulation of a population policy for the United States careful consideration would be given therefore to the determination of the optimum population. While it would be impossible to calculate the number exactly, it should be possible to prepare a good estimate, both for the present and the future, which could be made the basis for population planning.

The attainment of any optimum population, if decidedly different from the existing number, could not and should not be sought in haste. The ideal population would have not only the correct number, but also a good distribution with respect to age groups. Such a distribution could not be secured if there occurred large and sudden fluctuations in the birth rate. Desired changes in the size of the population would therefore be anticipated as far ahead as possible and the ends sought by means which would produce them gradually.

What means would produce such changes? Hitherto in our history the birth rate seems to have shifted without regard to existing notions as to how it would affect the general welfare. Moreover, the experience of such countries as have tried to raise their birth rates suggests that governments are all but powerless to control the size of their populations. The explanation of their failure is, however, easily found. In their use of economic incentives the amount of money offered as a reward to parents has been hardly more than a symbol of official approval for the large family. To rear children, particularly in the present circumstances, is a costly undertaking; no state has as yet been willing to accept the burden of so great an

expense. If we were willing to spend as much money on our children as we do now on war and the preparation for war, it is highly probable that we should be able to induce many potential parents to rear children who now refuse, because they believe they are financially unable to give to children the degree of health, training and economic opportunity they consider necessary. Contrariwise, it would be a simple matter so to handicap potential parents economically that they would most reluctantly accept the responsibilities of children, and thus reduce the population, if such action should become necessary.

In lieu of the drastic method here suggested, or as an adjunct to it, the possibilities of propaganda have scarcely been tried, even by the French. Let it be clearly demonstrable, and demonstrated, that more or fewer children will result in a real improvement in the general welfare, and it will not be too difficult to persuade many people to act accordingly. For those not inclined to pay attention to the urgings of the government, public opinion would provide inescapable pressure. Here again, however, is need for intensive effort. An occasional preachment about the joys of parenthood will not suffice to raise the birth rate. As the advertisers of private business have discovered, it is possible to turn the spending habits of the public in almost any direction, but it takes persistent and continuous effort to do so.

THE PROBLEM OF IMPROVEMENT IN QUALITY

The problem of population is unfortunately not limited to the securing of the right number of people for the national welfare. There is also a problem connected with quality. Under present conditions in America, the rural areas are the producers of population, while the cities are the consumers. Children are born in excess in the country. At adolescence or a little later they migrate to the city. The cost of rearing children on the farm is not so high as the cost of rearing them in the city, though a large part of the difference is due to the poorer clothing and shelter, the poorer medical care and poorer education offered in the rural community. Yet the cost, high enough in the aggregate, is borne by the rural population. Moreover, a considerable part of the small wealth of the farm is trans-

ferred every generation to the city by the migrants who, though no longer on the farm, inherit their share of the family property when it is transferred from the parents to the children. The net result of the process is to impoverish one part of the population for the benefit of another, and, because of that impoverishment, the people supplied to the city by the country may be lacking in some of the qualities which are essential to efficient economic activity and to capable citizenship.

If long continued, the process may well result in still deeper rural poverty, a condition which often results in a high birth rate and which will certainly result in a further lowering of the quality of the rural youth sent to the city. According to some observers the continued drain will eventually end in the deterioration of the rural people and in the drying up of the sources of able and ambitious migrants to carry on the complex life of the cities. The consequent decay of the cities will mark the end of the civilization they have built up, ushering in a period of barbarism or savagery like that of the Middle Ages in Europe.

Such an eventuality would seem to be possible only if there is a selective process in operation through which superior rural youths are attracted to the city, while their less gifted brothers and sisters remain at home. There is a good deal of evidence that such selection does in fact take place, and some evidence that it does not. It must of course be granted that cultural influences are all but overwhelming in their effect upon the individual. But these influences are not quite overwhelming; there remains at least some trace of hereditary differences which cannot be obliterated by culture. Unless therefore it is assumed that there are no hereditary differences whatever, it can scarcely be denied that success in life, or failure, is in some degree correlated with the inheritance of traits or capacities which make for success or failure.

Success, to be sure, is of different kinds. One form of success is attained by the man who, through energy and initiative and intelligence, moves from a position of low social status to a high one, accumulating a fortune on the way. Such a man will ordinarily have few children or none, for children are a handicap to those who wish to attain social and economic success. He will leave money to his

widow or to his relatives, but will leave little or no trace of the hereditary superiority which helped him attain his high place in society.

Another kind of success is attained by the man whose intellectual development and sense of responsibility are so slight that he manifests little concern either for his own future or that of his children. Perhaps he feels vaguely that his poor powers so handicap him that there is no use of his trying to get ahead in the world. Such a feeling may easily have developed in him in the course of his early years. Coming from a family rather low in the economic scale, he may have received little encouragement or assistance from his parents in his studies at school. If his native endowments did not permit him to overcome this handicap, he would soon have become a misfit and a failure, ultimately resigned to the acceptance of a poor job at poor pay. Such a man would have no incentive to limit the size of his family, and would leave numerous descendants.

Under more primitive conditions, he would probably have left few heirs despite his prolificacy, for his poverty and ignorance would have allowed his children to starve or die from neglect. But now, under the conditions of modern civilization, the children of the poor, the ignorant, and the stupid are kept alive, largely at public expense to grow up and in turn to perpetuate their kind. Here the public-health nurse, the free school lunch, the charity ward, and the unpaid services of the doctor all play their part. These services, clearly the right of all needy persons, give the most help to those who cannot help themselves. They mitigate the "struggle for existence" and thus prevent the "elimination of the unfit."

Of course the children of "unfit" parents who are thus helped to survive are by the fact of their survival proved to be fit in the sense in which Darwin used the word. They are the ones who will become the parents of the next generation, who will become relatively more numerous while the socially and economically successful become relatively fewer. The end may be far off, but it is inevitable: the downfall of a society which has exhausted itself in saving the lives of the biologically inferior.

Against this conclusion are offered many arguments. It is stated that we know so little about human heredity that we cannot be

sure as to just how mentality is inherited, or health, or vitality, or other important characteristics. To this the answer is: We know that children resemble their parents in these respects as in all other respects involving biological structure. It will also be argued that nurture is more important than nature. This may well be granted, but if there remains the slightest differential in the survival rates of the inferiors, the latter will ultimately replace the superiors. Thus viewed, the downfall of society is only a matter of greater or less time. Another view holds that the human race has been in existence for thousands of years without deteriorating; it should be able to carry on a long time to come. Such a statement disregards history. The fact is that the acceptance by society of the responsibility for its weakling members is very recent; nevertheless there is already evidence that the civilized peoples of the earth are deteriorating.

It would be most unfortunate indeed if the solution to the problem of quality were left to work itself out without intervention. If there is danger, the human race could certainly be saved from completely destroying itself by the collapse of the social organization through which the inferiors are nurtured. Such a collapse would re-establish the natural struggle for existence and once more bestow the reward of survival upon the superior. Perhaps in due course social ideals and an appropriate organization for implementing them would again arise.

This obviously is not the intelligent way to solve the problem of quality, considering the knowledge we have of the processes of heredity and our long record of success in the application of such knowledge to the breeding of animals. What we need to do is to reduce the birth rate of the inferior and increase the birth rate of the superior. Let it not be said that we cannot tell one group from the other. The experience of insurance companies shows that children of long-lived parents live long. Hundreds of thousands of tests show that children and parents, brothers and sisters, resemble one another in intelligence. There can be no question about the existence of hereditary differences or about our ability to recognize them. The only question remaining is how to reverse the differential birth rates.

EUGENICS AS A TECHNIQUE OF POPULATION IMPROVEMENT

There are advocates of practices designed to bring about this happy result, a result that should clearly be envisaged in any complete population policy. Under the name of eugenics, these advocates of race improvement present two different approaches to the problem, the negative and the positive. The former includes all means used to reduce the birth rate of inferiors; the latter, all provisions for raising the birth rate of superiors. Education will necessarily play a large role in both negative and positive eugenics. Many persons of inferior heredity may by assiduous teaching be brought to realize the desirability of their not having children. If they are capable of playing the social role of parents, they may adopt children, and thus secure all the satisfactions of parenthood and all the experiences except the purely biological. Similarly, persons of exceptionally good heredity could be made to appreciate their value to society as parents and thus be persuaded to rear larger families. As in the case of the control of numbers, the control of quality by education or propaganda would require more intensive efforts than any heretofore undertaken. Sporadic, half-hearted appeals would have no value; but widespread, long-continued, well-planned, psychologically sound procedures could be counted on to succeed.

Sterilization of feebleminded persons, who would otherwise have to be institutionalized in order to prevent their having offspring, has been carried on successfully for many years in several states, notably in California. It is not expected that this method will go far toward improving the race, but it may already have succeeded in reducing by an appreciable number the dependent feebleminded in the communities where it has been practiced.

MIGRATION IN POPULATION POLICY

A final aspect of population policy remains to be discussed, namely, the problem of migration. Within our national borders movement is so easy and unobstructed that we may perhaps safely allow the forces of economic opportunity to bring about whatever redistribution may be necessary from time to time. However, some assistance will be required to care for certain groups which cannot

make the adjustment unaided. Populations stranded by the exhaustion of the main resource upon which they have depended for a livelihood offer the prime example. Sawmill towns after the surrounding timber has been cut, or mining towns after the coal or ore has been exhausted, often harbor stranded populations. These people, deprived completely of funds or resources, lack even the small means necessary to go to a new place and make a new start.

It may be that in addition to aid for those who must move, some direction to the movement can be given by public agencies. From time to time there will be local or regional economic opportunities of which the individual cannot become adequately informed without help. A system of collecting and disseminating information on economic conditions in all parts of the country, with the interests of the potential migrant in mind, would help to bring about a better balance in the distribution of the population, thereby increasing our economic efficiency and improving our personal adjustments.

Migration from outside our borders presents problems not so easily solved. At present we are avoiding them by permitting only a small number of highly selected immigrants to enter each year. Not only do we require them to be physically and mentally healthy, we also demand that they come predominantly from certain countries of western Europe. There are many who think this latter aspect of selection an indefensible kind of discrimination, entirely unjustified by the facts. Certainly there is involved an imputation of inferiority with regard to the excluded groups which tends to breed international bad feeling on an extensive scale. This particular problem could only be solved by abandoning the quota system, for no plan of limitation could possibly be accepted as fair to all. To do this would be to permit the influx of so many foreigners that we might not be able to assimilate them. The consequence could well be a profound change in our social, economic, and political organization, ultimately destroying the way of life we have chosen to maintain in America. Are people justified in preserving their national peculiarities? is the question which arises at this point. If they are, they have a right to exclude any person who might endanger those peculiarities, however odd they may seem to outsiders. On this basis we may justify our present immigration laws, though many of our citizens realize that these laws give rise to an unsatisfactory situa-

tion, one of the many problems which must be solved before we shall have an adequate popuplation policy.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Describe the methods used by Augustus to increase the population of Rome.
2. What was the position of the mercantilists with regard to population increase? Of the Physiocrats?
3. Describe the efforts of France to increase her population.
4. How do you account for the failure of the people of the United States to concern themselves over the falling birth rate?
5. Is the population a resource or a liability?
6. Why do local communities generally favor large and growing populations?
7. What is meant by an optimum population?
8. How is the differential birth rate related to the problem of quality in the population?
9. What is the evidence for and against the view that the differential birth rate is lowering the hereditary quality of the population of the United States?
10. Are successful people necessarily desirable?
11. How effective will sterilization be as a means of eliminating feeblemindedness?
12. What is eugenics?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Should countries with limited resources—China, for example—restrict their populations to such numbers as could be supported at an adequate standard of living? Prepare a brief for or against this proposition.
2. Study population trends in the United States and, on the basis of your findings, formulate a population policy for our nation.

SELECTED READINGS

GLASS, D. V., *Population Policies and Movements in Europe*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1940.

Describes population changes in the larger countries of Europe and the efforts made to control and direct these changes through social action.

LORIMER, FRANK, ELLEN WINSTON, and LOUISE K. KISER, *Foundations of American Population Policy*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1940.

A description of the process which is resulting in an American population policy, with an examination of the factors involved.

OSBORN, FREDERIC, *A Preface to Eugenics*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1940.

A competent discussion of the social consequences of uncontrolled biological heredity. Emphasizes the desirability of a sound eugenics policy.

Part Five

SOCIAL INTERACTION AND SOCIAL PROCESS

FROM one angle human society may be viewed as a system of social interaction through which and by means of which individuals communicate with each other, share in a common storehouse of understandings, compete and cooperate in an effort to attain certain objectives, and work out a mode of life or form of organization that represents an adjustment to the world about them. It is these basic interacting relationships—communication, competition, conflict, cooperation, accommodation, and assimilation—that are known as social processes. In the following chapters we shall discuss the essential characteristics of each process and indicate its significance as regards both the subjective experience of the individual and the collective activities of the group.

The first chapter of Part Five is concerned with communication, particularly the nature of language and the developments in mass communication resulting from technology. In the second chapter consideration is given to competition and conflict as forms of opposition, and to cooperation as an integrating process in human society. This is followed by a chapter on the adjustive processes of accommodation and assimilation. Next, social interaction manifest in certain patterns of collective behavior such as social movements, social epidemics, fashion behavior, and the behavior of crowds is discussed in both its psychological and behavioral aspects. The final chapter is concerned with various aspects of opinion formation, including the nature of attitudes and opinions, forms and types of publics, the measurement of public opinion, propaganda, and censorship.

Chapter 19

COMMUNICATION

INTERACTION between different elements occurs in all aspects of nature. It is appropriate to speak of interaction between chemical elements, or of the interaction that occurs when different organisms of the plant and animal world come in contact with each other. The forms and results of such interaction are, of course, the special province of physical or biological scientists and are of no particular interest to the social scientist except in so far as they may affect human relationships. We are therefore concerned with *social* interaction—that is, the reciprocal influences that human beings exert on each other through interstimulation and response. When social interaction involves the transmission of meanings through the use of symbols, it is known as *communication.*

INTERACTION AND COMMUNICATION

It should be noted at the outset that social interaction always occurs in an extremely complex situation involving many interrelated factors. Human beings themselves are biological organisms which, reduced to their constituent forms, are specialized configurations of chemical elements. But they are *living* organisms, capable of physiological growth, equipped to perform certain physiological and psychological functions, and characterized by a central nervous system that makes possible mental development and a mode of expression far above the level of other animals. This human organism exists in a physical, biological, and cultural environment whose many component elements form a sort of matrix in which the physiological and social development of the individual occurs and in which different persons and groups function in an interacting rela-

tionship with others. It is the cultural environment, however, that directs the development and actions of the individual, utilizes for him the physical and biological elements necessary for existence, and provides the mechanisms of communication that are so essential to his socialization as a human being.

Social interaction involves something more than a stimulus-response relationship on a physiological level, although the impressions an individual receives must be through the organs of sight, hearing, touch, taste, smell, and other sensations. It is only when the stimuli to which the individual responds are given a meaning that interaction becomes really *social* in nature. These meanings of course are learned through experience and are in no sense instinctive. This experience has both its individual and collective aspects. An individual isolated at birth from all human contact would, if he survived, have experiences, but they would be of such nature that the learning process would be limited indeed. It is therefore the experience in an interacting relationship with other persons that is basic to the development of a socialized individual. The vast majority of persons live, from cradle to grave, in a world of interacting personalities. Such meaningful interaction, or communication, is the very essence of society itself.

ISOLATION AND MENTAL RETARDATION

That "human nature" as we know it can develop only through symbolic interaction is evidenced in the cases of so-called *feral* persons who, by circumstances, have been isolated from human contact, usually in childhood, over a long period of time. Deprived of opportunities for stimulating interaction with other human beings, and therefore having none of the meanings and understandings that accrue from social intercourse on the symbolic level, these persons, when discovered, are so retarded in their mental development and so devoid of human qualities that they may be considered little more than animals.

Kingsley Davis provides an interesting description of an illegitimate child who was kept in the basement of her grandfather's home, her only human contacts being casual ones involved in feeding or tending to other

elemental needs.[1] When she was discovered and removed from the situation she was so retarded mentally as to give the appearance of feeble-mindedness. She possessed no language symbols, no understanding of right and wrong, no conception of cleanliness, no interest in play, no sense of humor, no desire to associate with other people. That her mental retardation could not be considered solely a result of low capacity was evidenced by the fact that she eventually showed considerable development after removal to a favorable environment, learning to talk in simple terms and acquiring some of the other attributes of human beings.

The case of the "wolf children" of India is another example of mental retardation and language deficiency due to prolonged isolation from human contacts.[2] Two children presumably had been "kidnapped" in infancy by a mother wolf and carried off to the wolf lair, where they spent several years in the society of animals. Eventually they were discovered, captured, and placed in an orphanage.

At the time of capture their habits and modes of expression were those of wolves. They walked and ran on all fours; they slept in the daytime and prowled at night; their only vocalizations were snarls and howls; they ate raw meat ravenously and in the manner of animals; they showed no interest in people and avoided other children.

Shortly after placement in the home the younger of the pair died, but the older one, Kamala, lived for about eight years during which time she acquired many human qualities. Mental development was so slow at first as to be almost imperceptible, but socialization became accelerated as she responded to the social influences of others in the home. Although at the time of her death, at about the age of seventeen, her mental ability was still on the level of a low-grade moron, she had acquired and was able to use simple language symbols to communicate with others; her interest in people had been kindled; there was an awakening of a sense of social responsibility as she came to distinguish "right" from "wrong"; new human habits had been acquired.

EFFECTS OF ISOLATION ON THE INDIVIDUAL

So accustomed does the socialized individual become to communicating with others that enforced isolation from social contacts

[1] Kingsley Davis, "A Case of Extreme Social Isolation of a Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 45, pp. 554–565, January, 1940.

[2] Arnold Gesell, *Wolf Child and Human Child*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1939; T. A. L. Singh and R. M. Zingg, *Wolf Children and Feral Man*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1942.

over a considerable period of time is ordinarily depressing and frustrating. We want some one to "talk to" because of the emotional satisfaction that derives from the give-and-take of social intercourse on a direct personal level. Often it makes little difference *what* is said so long as *something* is said to break what would otherwise be depressing loneliness. The human voice itself is an important element in social interaction.

Many observations have been made of the effects of prolonged isolation on socialized adults who have, during most of their years, lived a normal associational life in contact with others. In general there seems to be a tendency for individuals to deteriorate mentally and to lose some of the human qualities acquired through social interaction. Solitary confinement of prisoners is considered one of the severest forms of punishment, and persons so isolated over a long period of time commonly show signs of emotional disturbances and loss of memory. Sheep herders, lighthouse keepers, trappers, prospectors, hermits, and others who have chosen a life of isolation manifest considerable change in personality and habits. They may become "queer," indifferent to their personal appearance, neglectful of social amenities, inclined to talk aloud to themselves because there is no one to see and hear them, no one with whom they may converse.

THE FUNCTION OF LANGUAGE

Language, both verbal and "written," is a system of symbols whose function is to preserve and convey social meanings. In our own society, at least, there is a tendency for people to want to know the *names* of things; or, if there are no known names, then to attach symbolic labels to them. We are so habituated to thinking in terms of symbols that mere images are often not satisfactory. A new flower, for example, becomes more meaningful when it has a name, and there is a response to the name as well as to the object. Speaking or writing, as symbolic acts, provide meaningful stimuli to which an individual may respond and by which he may come to share the understandings of others. There are of course additional symbolic gestures besides those that are strictly linguistic: winking, shrugging the shoulders, grimacing, waving, handshaking, kissing, patting

another's shoulder, laughing, and so on; but fundamentally these perform the same function as language and may be thought of as an adjunct to a language system.

The fact that all peoples have a language system (though not all have a *written* language) would indicate that social interaction on a symbolic level is universally characteristic of human society. It is true that animals interact, that they respond to each other's simple gestures, and that even the rudiments of language exist; but they can hardly be said to possess a system of symbols capable of representing the meanings that have been acquired through experience and of transmitting the meanings by means of an intricate variety of symbolic gestures. Man alone possesses the brain capacity, or specifically cerebral potentialities, to grasp and use symbols, as well as the organs necessary for a wide variety of vocal sounds.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE

Possessed of great potentialities for physiological and mental development, the child at birth is equipped only with an organism capable of response on a physiological level. It possesses no language, no understandings, no desires, no behavior patterns other than crying, kicking, squirming, or similar movements. Its response to stimuli is purely sensory and in no sense ideational. It may cry when seized by hunger pangs; but it is not crying for something to eat because food, culturally defined, is still outside its realm of experience. When, later, vocalizations are used by the child as signals to which others may be expected to respond, such vocalizations have the rudimentary qualities of language.

Learning the meaning of symbolic gestures and acquiring the faculty for expressing them are dependent upon two conditions: physiological maturation and prolonged, intimate contacts with other persons. If either of these conditions is absent, then there is no possibility that the child can acquire the meanings and understandings characteristic of group life. But the fact that the human animal matures very slowly makes prolonged interaction almost inevitable, since the child could not conceivably survive if completely abandoned at birth.

Self-Stimuli and Self-Response

So far we have emphasized the meaningful responses of children to the symbolic gestures of others—an important part of communication, but not all of it. Just as the child responds to the vocal gestures of other persons, so does it also respond to its own vocal stimuli. At first this response to external and internal stimuli is meaningless. But as the child begins to acquire an understanding of its own vocalizations it responds to them as to the utterances of others. It is through this interplay between self-stimulating gestures and response to the gestures of others that the child learns to speak, to vocalize the symbols just as others do. The deaf child who can hear neither its own voice nor the vocal sounds of those about it is "speechless" unless it is taught, by special methods, the art of vocal expression. Even then its voice is apt to have a mechanical sound and be devoid of the peculiar intonations that characterize normal vocal sounds. The story of how Helen Keller, a deaf-mute, learned to speak and to acquire an understanding of symbolic gestures reveals the importance of communication in the development of the child.

Language of the Emotions

Not only does the child acquire the meanings and uses of standardized symbolic gestures, that is, prevailing language forms, but it also learns the "language of the emotions." These include facial expressions, nonvocal gesticulations, and particularly tonal qualities of voice that are revealing both of an emotional state and of the motives of the individual. Since communication involves not only the transmission of ideas and mental images but also feelings and motives, emotional expression appears to be about as important as the language of words. How we express ourselves emotionally may be quite as revealing of our interests, desires, worries, hopes, likes, and dislikes as the words we actually use. Thus the smile, the frown, the facial expressions betokening fright, surprise, disgust, or grief, and the innumerable nuances of voice must be interpreted by the individual if he is to participate fully in social life. What a person says may not be as important as how he says it.

Language and Thought

Thought among human beings is inseparably related to language symbols and to communication through the medium of these symbols. Thinking is therefore essentially a social phenomenon, just as is language, even though certain physiological conditions must be present if both thought and speech are to develop. While it appears to be true that a certain amount of thinking is in terms of concrete images that do not find expression in words, most thought is symbolic in the sense that it is conveyed, both to the individual himself and to others, through the medium of language symbols. Some writers have actually taken the position that all thought is merely subvocal speech; and while this may be an extreme viewpoint, there is no doubt that the individual, even when engaged in "silent thought" of the most abstract character, must rely upon meaningful symbols in order to formulate his ideas. Many of us at times have become conscious of carrying on, within our own minds, an imaginary conversation with others, or of expressing in "unspoken" words our reactions to some kind of situation. Children in the course of their social development often create imaginary companions and, alone, carry on a conversation with them, switching back and forth from their own spoken role to the role of the "other." "Talking to oneself" is considered an eccentricity when it is vocalized in a situation where others are not present to respond, but most persons soliloquize silently as they subvocally manipulate word symbols and respond to their own symbolic manipulations.

THE LANGUAGE SYSTEM

The language system of every people grows out of their individual and collective experiences. As an aspect of culture as well as a mechanism through which culture is transmitted, language grows by accumulation as human experiences are symbolized and passed on from one generation to another. The number of symbols in a language system is a fairly reliable index of the complexity of that culture. Indicative of the complicated culture of the English-speaking peoples is the existence of about 700,000 "reputable" words in the English language.

As individuals or groups have new experiences or add to the ac-

cumulated cultural heritage, new symbols must be employed to convey the meanings of these experiences or cultural additions. Conversely, when existing symbols are no longer applicable to existing conditions, they become obsolete and are often abandoned completely. In a changing society, therefore, both the "birth rate" and the "death rate" of language symbols are high, though in an expanding culture the addition of new symbols exceeds the abandonment of outmoded ones. The result is a gradual accumulation of language forms. But language itself, at least phonetic language, is something more than a mere accumulation of word symbols. It is a *system* having a distinct structure into which an infinite variety of words can be fitted to permit the comprehensive expression of ideas, actions, objects, feelings, and so on. This structure, like the word units which compose it, is constantly subject to evolutionary change.

No single individual in modern society uses or comprehends the meanings of all the words in the language system of his culture; in fact, most persons are able to communicate fairly well their needs, interests, impressions, and feelings with only a few thousand word symbols. So differentiated are the experiences and interests of individuals in the modern world that symbols which are necessary in one situation or for one group may be quite unnecessary in another. Scientists, for example, need special symbols for observed phenomena that are often outside the experience of the majority. Such scientific concepts or symbols may be meaningless to the layman, but for the scientist certain phenomena must be specifically symbolized. To the sociologist or psychologist such words as bimodality, human ecology, ethnocentrism, extroversion, conditioned reflex, genes, or psychosis have fairly specific meanings, but for the layman not familiar with scientific thought in these fields they would perhaps be merely "highfalutin'" terms. The average person would have no particular need for such words.

Language symbols may refer not only to things that are experienced through the sensory organs, but also to things that have no concrete reality. Applied to abstractions, however, such symbols may appear quite as real to the individual as things which are actually observable. Indeed, one reacts to their referents as if they were concrete realities and not mere abstractions removed

from sensory perception. We speak of mind, opinions, instincts, prejudices, morals, intelligence, motives, emotions, or nationalism as if they had some concrete reality when, as a matter of fact, they are not directly observable at all but only inferred from overt behavior which may be observed. One can see a tree, but not an attitude; yet the symbol *attitude* serves a very useful purpose even though its referent is an abstraction that can never be directly observed. What one does observe is some overt act, either vocal or nonvocal, and from this observation we infer the existence of a "state of mind," an attitude.

Written and Graphic Symbols

Superimposed upon a system of vocal symbols are graphic and phonetic symbols. While mankind has from time immemorial used pictorial symbols to transmit and convey ideas, or to describe objects and situations, the development of a "written" phonetic language has been fairly recent if viewed in terms of the long history of the human race. More recent still has been the widespread use of written symbols among the masses and the dependence upon such symbols for the transmission and preservation of ideas, beliefs, and knowledge. Indeed, so important have written symbolic systems become that an individual in modern society is considered ill-equipped to participate understandingly in the complex affairs of group life if he is not able to comprehend and use these symbols. For this reason much of the educational process is concerned with the mastery of written symbolic forms: how to read, write, and manipulate simple mathematical symbols.

TECHNOLOGY AND MASS COMMUNICATION

Mechanization of Communication

Technological developments in modern urbanized society have made it possible for man to hurdle the barriers of space and widen the range of communication far beyond the limits of direct experience. He is "in touch" with innumerable persons whom he has never seen and does not know personally; vicariously, through mechanical transmission of written or spoken symbols and graphic illustrations, he experiences situations that are far removed in time

and space from his own private world. He has access to a storehouse of information about men and events of the past, and is given a ringside seat, so to speak, from which he may observe the panorama of events occurring in the world about him.

The invention and development of the art of writing was one of man's most significant cultural achievements not only because written symbols widened the range and increased the number of contacts but also because they provided a sort of storehouse in which man's experiences could be preserved for future generations. For the most part, however, handwriting has been used either for direct personal communication or for the meticulous preparation of manuscripts, particularly sacred literature, considered worthy of preservation. Even though the art of writing has been practiced for centuries, until fairly recently its use was limited mainly to small literate minorities, the masses of common people being unable either to read or write.

With the invention of printing about 1460 (it was invented some 50 years earlier in Korea), and subsequently the development of processes for the production of printing paper, the peoples of the world, especially of Western civilization, entered an era of mass communication characterized by the widespread dissemination of duplicated symbols. Today rotary presses (an invention of 1846) are capable of printing duplicate copies of a newspaper at the rate of many thousand an hour. In the United States alone there are nearly two thousand daily newspapers with an aggregate circulation of about 50 million copies daily, not counting about 500 Sunday editions with a total circulation of around 40 million. In addition, there are hundreds of weekly newspapers and no less than ten thousand periodicals of one kind or another.

These developments in mass communication could not have occurred had there not been a corresponding literacy among the common people. In most countries of the modern world a large percentage of the population is now able to read and write, and in some areas illiteracy is virtually confined to the mentally incompetent. Many literate persons, however, are so limited in capacity or educational attainments that their understanding of what they read is restricted to the most elementary ideas. Much of the reading even of persons having considerable formal education is con-

cerned with the trivial and sensational rather than the serious and informative.

Telegraph and Telephone

The inventions of the telegraph in 1832 and the telephone in 1876 were milestones in the development of mechanisms making possible an ever-widening range of social contacts. While the telegraph has been used, in the main, as a substitute for the personal letter where speed as well as content is important, telephonic communication has a greater flexibility since through transmission of the human voice it makes possible social interaction of a direct and personal character. As a purveyor both of trivia and of important messages, over long and short distances, the telephone has played an important role in the modern system of communication. In rural areas, for example, the party line has reduced the social isolation of families and, as a medium for the transmission of gossip and other personal matters, has altered considerably the traditional custom of family visiting. Of the 51 million telephones in the world in 1946, over half, or about 28 million, were in the United States.[3] It has been estimated that American telephones carried about 37 billion conversations in 1946, or an average of 284 per capita, and that 235 million telegrams were transmitted the same year. The use of the telephone and telegraph, particularly for business purposes, is more widespread in cities than in rural districts. In 13 large American cities there was an average of 33 telephones per 100 population in 1946 as compared with 21 for the country as a whole.

Radio

More recent in its development, and in many ways a rival of the printed page in its appeal to the masses, is the radio. At the beginning of the present century radio was virtually unknown except in laboratories; today it is practically a household fixture, a commonplace possession of a large proportion of the population in many countries. In the United States alone there were about 60 million radio sets in 1946, including sets in 30 million homes and

[3] *The World Almanac*, 1947, p. 506.

in 6 million automobiles; a quarter of a century ago there were fewer than one-half million in the country. Even more than the newspaper, the magazine, or the printed book, radio has conquered time and space by instantaneous transmission of symbols. Through reproduction and transmission of the human voice, radio contacts have a directness and intimacy that the printed page can rarely achieve. For this reason, and perhaps others, many persons rely largely on radio communication for their news and entertainment. It is well known that radio listening among lower-income people is more common than in the upper-income and better-educated classes, and that those on the higher levels are more prone to rely on the printed page for their information and recreation.

Pictorial Communication

Perhaps equally important in the field of mass communication is the talking motion picture, a development of the twentieth century. Because it combines both auditory and visual impressions its influence in some ways appears equal to that of the radio and printed page. Its strong appeal to the masses is indicated by the weekly attendance at motion picture theaters, in 1940, of about 80 million persons in the United States and about 230 million in the world as a whole. Though its appeal is primarily emotional and its function mainly recreational, the motion picture has nevertheless had profound effects on the values and behavior of the masses. Since motion picture performers can be seen and heard, responses to the visual and auditory stimuli often have the emotional intensity characteristic of intimate contacts in highly personalized life situations. Vast numbers of persons, especially children and adolescents, imitate the verbal expressions, the gestures, the styles, and the general bearing of motion picture performers whom they admire or idolize. Documentary films and newsreels are now being widely used as an educational device in transmitting pictorially and verbally the activities, techniques, and cultural achievements of the world's peoples.

Long before the motion picture, however, the invention of photography (1839) opened up many avenues for pictorial communication, previously confined to hand-drawn illustrations. The widespread use of photography both for mass impressions and for

conveying technical information has been in the main a development of the twentieth century. In the dissemination of news the photographic illustration takes its place alongside the printed article or story in the daily newspaper. The popularity of picture supplements in the daily or weekly press, and especially the appeal of pictorialized magazines like *Life* and *The National Geographic Magazine,* is evidence of the importance of photography in mass communication.

New technological developments in communication have the prospect of widening still further the range of social contacts and of modifying the nature of social stimuli. By combining both auditory and visual stimuli, television, for example, has the possibility of bringing into the homes of the masses an infinite variety of impressions about people, events, and situations which could not otherwise be experienced except, to a limited degree, through the talking motion picture. The visual as well as auditory transmission of events at the moment they occur may give television a social significance surpassing any other existing form of mechanized communication. Another development is the facsimile newspaper transmitted by electronic devices and actually printed within the home. Through almost instantaneous transmission of the news it will be able to overcome the delays of printing and distribution that are at present inherent in the publication of conventional newspapers and periodicals.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Mechanized media for mass communication have their parallel in mechanical vehicles for mass transportation. Whereas man in earlier civilizations was deeply rooted in his immediate environment because spatial movement involved heavy expenditures of human energy, man in the modern world has increased his mobility a hundredfold. Spatial mobility means new situations and new impressions; it means communication with innumerable persons many or most of whom he does not know and will probably never see again; it means, quite often, stimulating intellectual and emotional experiences as the individual establishes new relationships with others or is brought into contact with new ideas, folkways, and be-

liefs. This unprecedented widening of the range of human association is made possible by the automobile, motor truck, railroad, steamship, airplane, bus, streetcar, bicycle, and elevator.

Equally important has been the transmission of ideas by means of vehicles of transportation. So thoroughly organized are the postal systems into national and international networks that the great majority of the world's population may be reached through personal letters or the printed page. In the United States alone there are approximately 42,000 post offices that distribute materials over a half million miles of postal routes. A rough gauge of the increasing circulation of reading matter is the sale of ordinary postage stamps. In 1900 about 4 billion stamps were issued; by 1930 the number had increased to 16 billion; in 1945 20 billion were sold.[4] Although the population during this half-century period had hardly doubled in size, the circulation of postal matter had increased fivefold.

Social Significance of Mechanized Communication

Since mechanized communication and transportation have virtually transformed many human relationships and human interests, we may indicate a few of the significant social and psychological effects of these technological developments.

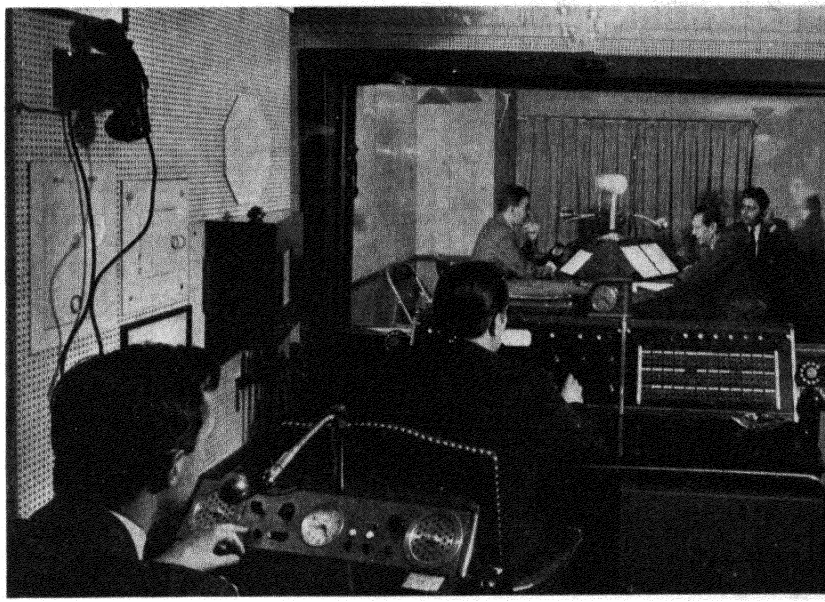
a. By extending the range of social contacts and encouraging the development of varied personal interests, modern methods of communication and transportation have made possible the multiplication of secondary types of associations. There is an infinite variety of social groups the members of whom have only indirect contacts with each other except when they gather at conventions or meetings, and often not even then. The ties that bind these members together are quite often expressed through letters, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and books, as well as the telephone, telegraph, and radio. Accompanying the growth of secondary associations has been a relative decline of the family and neighborhood as social units.

b. The growth of public opinion representing an expression of interest about varied social issues of local, national, or international significance would hardly have been possible without modern media of communication. As purveyors of news and propaganda, the press and radio particularly have provided both the factual information upon which personal

[4] *The World Almanac*, 1947, p. 792.

opinions can be based and propagandistic appeals aimed at the modification of opinions.

c. Diffusion of material and of nonmaterial culture has been accelerated through mechanized communication and transportation. The adoption and use of varied commodities and techniques, for example, are in considerable measure the results of advertising, much of which is carried by the press or the radio. Fashions in wearing apparel spread like wildfire over the country only because the facilities for mass communica-



Broadcasting news and special events. (Courtesy National Broadcasting Company)

tion bring them to the masses. Political, economic, or religious ideologies may no longer be confined to their point of local origin but gain currency through books, magazines, pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers, and radio programs. Thus the ideologies of communism, of capitalism, of Christianity, to name three examples, have been carried to almost every literate person in the world.

d. The infinite variety of social contacts which can be made through the media of mechanized communication and transportation has made modern man somewhat less ethnocentric than his preliterate forbears. At least he is more aware of the values, the achievements, and the mode of life of people who belong to a different cultural system or who lead

a different associational life. Furthermore, the broadening of man's social outlook has meant an increasing secularization of thought. However superficial his intellectual emancipation may be, he has achieved a certain freedom from the superstitions and magic so characteristic of a primitive society.

e. It is only through mechanized media of communication that large-scale organization and centralized control of human behavior can be achieved. More and more the economic activities of the world's people are being integrated into large organizations the operations of which are directed or regulated by business, industrial, and political executives in some central headquarters. The cartoonist's cliché of the busy industrialist with a dozen telephones on his desk is not necessarily an exaggeration, since the very nature of large-scale organization requires swift communication between the directing intelligence and the operational personnel. Centralization of governmental control and the expansion of governmental functions are likewise dependent upon a system of communication capable of conveying information and directives to the masses.

BARRIERS TO COMMUNICATION

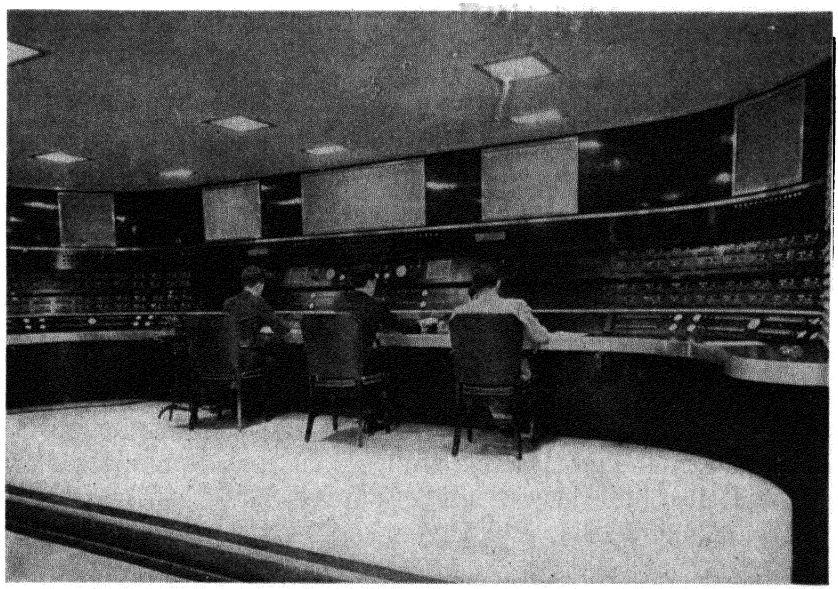
Even with all the facilities for symbolic transmission that modern society possesses, and with prospects for development of many more, there are many barriers to free and easy communication. While the barriers of spatial separation have been greatly reduced by technology—in some cases all but eliminated—psychological, cultural, and economic barriers still remain as serious obstacles to social intercourse between individuals and groups.

a. One of the barriers to communication is language itself. Even though the existence of a language implies a common understanding of symbols, it does not necessarily follow that all persons using the same basic medium of communication attach identical meanings to a particular symbol. This is true because the understanding an individual has of a symbol must of necessity be in terms of his personal experiences, and the experiences of no two individuals are exactly the same. Furthermore, specialization of interests and activities has produced countless numbers of specialized or technical symbols the full meaning of which is known to a limited number of persons.

In addition to the semantic difficulties in communication by individuals using the same "mother tongue," the separation of the world's peoples into linguistic and dialectal groups makes intercultural communication

exceedingly difficult. It has been estimated that there are 2,796 distinct languages, not allowing for the regional and class variations that exist within the same language structure. Undoubtedly one of the reasons for misunderstandings and disagreements between different peoples is the difficulty in conveying precise meanings even through translations because many expressions are not literally translatable.

b. Attitudes, values, and ideologies may either facilitate or obstruct communication between individuals and groups. Prejudices directed



Master control room of a broadcasting company. The scene illustrates the complex technology involved in one phase of mass communication. (Courtesy National Broadcasting Company)

against individuals or groups on the basis of racial, ethnic, or religious differences create social cleavages that act as barriers to social interaction. What is true of relationships between racial and cultural groupings also applies to social classes. In Boston it was said of the social aristocracy that "the Cabots speak only to Lowells and the Lowells speak only to God." Ideological differences that are manifest in diverse dogmas, creeds, beliefs, moral codes, and political or economic doctrines, while in themselves not necessarily barriers to social interaction, are often the bases for prejudices and dislikes which tend to keep people apart.

c. Poverty is a barrier to communication for many persons the world

over. Even in an era of mass communication made possible by modern technology, to share the common experiences of the group through mechanized media of communication and transportation ordinarily involves some financial expenditure. There is no doubt that the impoverished segment of our own population is more completely isolated from the cultural currents of the time than the rich or the well-to-do. Closely associated with poverty are illiteracy and other educational deficiencies which represent obstacles to social interaction on all but the lowest intellectual levels.

d. In conclusion we may mention censorship as a barrier to communication and social interaction. Although this phenomenon is discussed in a subsequent chapter, it is appropriate to point out here that the exercise of arbitrary control over the avenues of communication, whether that control be vested in private individuals or government functionaries serves to limit the flow of ideas and information. Even the mere selection, by an editor, broadcaster, or motion picture producer, of what is transmitted through mechanized media of communication means the omission or rejection of other ideas or information.

In the following chapters of this section we consider some of the forms and by-products of social interaction. Under the basic processes of competition, cooperation, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation we discuss the various patterns of social interaction on an individual and group level. In the chapters on public opinion and collective behavior we outline some of the various manifestations of communication in modern society.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the significance of the statement that communication in human society is essentially symbolic in nature?
2. The development of personality or human nature occurs only when the individual learns the meanings implicit in the symbols of communication employed by the group. Discuss.
3. What are some of the conditions that tend to prevent or reduce social interaction between individuals and groups?
4. Discuss the proposition that "thought" is dependent upon the individual's ability to use language symbols.
5. What is meant by saying that language is a system of symbols?
6. How do you account for the change that is constantly occurring in modern language systems?
7. How has technology affected the forms and extent of communication? Give examples.

8. "Nationalism could hardly have been possible without the development of mechanized systems of communication and transportation." Discuss this proposition.

9. Discuss the social significance of the radio, newspaper, and moving picture in the dissemination of ideas by means of verbal and graphic symbols.

10. To what extent and in what way are deaf and blind persons isolated from the symbolic world of others and thereby prevented from sharing intimately in the experiences of seeing or hearing persons?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Make a report on selected cases of individuals who have been isolated from human society over a considerable period of time.

2. Present a report on the way Helen Keller managed to overcome some of her physical handicaps so that she was able to communicate with others and to acquire the meanings of her social world.

3. Compile a list of words or phrases that have become more or less obsolete, and compare them with a list of words or phrases that represent relatively new additions to our language system.

4. Make an analysis of the ways in which the radio or the motion picture has influenced the attitudes and behavior of the American people.

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Chapter 20

COMPETITION, CONFLICT, AND COOPERATION

Throughout the entire range of living organisms, both in plant life and in the animal kingdom, there is an incessant struggle for survival or for position in the existing order. Species prey directly upon other species; individuals within the same species engage in predatory activities against others of their own kind; both between and within species there is a struggle for those conditions or objects which have a scarcity value but which are necessary for survival—air, sunlight, food, shelter, space. So intense is this struggle that many individual members of the species perish; indeed, some present-day observers hold that many species may eventually disappear as a result of this unceasing internecine struggle. But even with all the wastage involved in the elimination of individual organisms and the occasional destruction of the species, there is ordinarily a fairly well-balanced equilibrium between the various elements struggling for existence or domination. This equilibrium, however, is constantly being upset through the encroachments of one species upon another, the struggle between individuals of the same species, and changes in environmental conditions such as depletion of the food supply.

COMPETITION IN HUMAN SOCIETY

Man is also an animal, and like other species he must put forth an effort to secure the necessary food, space, air, shelter, and other conditions for survival. But the analogy between man and the lower organisms is far from perfect because the human animal exists within a cultural as well as a natural environment. Through his interaction with others man develops a consciousness of self and an

awareness of social position or status in group life. One of the significant characteristics of the socialized person is his preoccupation with matters pertaining to status as regards both the individual and the group.

Competition between individuals and groups is thus largely toward the objective of preserving or improving their respective statuses rather than actual survival. This appears to be especially true of societies whose advanced technology and complex social organization have made possible for the masses a plane of living far above that which is necessary for mere physical survival. Probably the great majority of Americans are not greatly concerned about the prospects of starvation (though in many parts of the world today the problem of survival is paramount in the lives of millions of people); instead, their efforts are directed mainly toward the end of maintaining or achieving a social position against competing individuals or groups motivated by similar values.

Where personal status is largely a matter of achievement rather than ascription, individuals are driven by powerful psychological incentives toward certain status goals which, by their nature, cannot be achieved equally by everyone striving toward the same objectives. Contrary to the popular adage that "there is always plenty of room at the top," in any social and economic system limitations exist concerning the number of individuals or groups that can arrive at particular goals or have the material possessions that are sought. Hence competition is usually characterized by varying degrees of success and failure. But rewards in the form of social approbation or material gain are often so alluring that individuals may spare no effort to outdistance competitors, whatever the cost in energy, money, or even in life itself.

Restrictions on Competition

The competitive struggle on the lower organic levels is undirected, unrestricted, and without any ethical implications either for the victors or the vanquished—what might be called "dog-eat-dog" competition. Human competition, on the other hand, occurs always in a cultural situation characterized by social controls which operate to restrict within certain limits the nature and scope of competitive activities. Such controls, in the form of rules, regu-

lations, taboos, laws, ethical codes, or written and unwritten agreements, may be invoked by collective action and enforced by punitive measures of the group.

Without restrictions on competition, the unscrupulous, the crafty, the lucky, and the strong would eventually eliminate or subordinate those with lesser hereditary or cultural advantages. Freedom of competition is always a relative matter at best. One of the functions of government in a democracy is to provide such restrictions as will operate to the advantage of the largest number. This is not easily achieved because individuals and groups are constantly jockeying for special competitive advantages and are therefore often opposed to measures that might hamper their own activities.

Varied Competitive Goals

Since competition among human beings always occurs in a cultural situation, the goals are defined in terms of the values characteristic of the time and place. In a society which places high value on material wealth, economic competition is apt to be intense because one's *social* position is commonly a reflection of the amount of wealth one possesses. An expensive automobile, priceless jewels, or costly attire may have no superior utilitarian value, but they are important because they have a certain "scarcity value" and are therefore symbols of success in a society which rewards pecuniary achievement.

Yet social strivings are not entirely a matter of economic competition; there are many other status goals that are not necessarily related to pecuniary gain. Even in our own society the individual may be motivated just as strongly toward academic success, athletic accomplishments, scientific achievements, or any other status-lending goal as toward the accumulation of wealth. Wherever there is a wide differentiation of values concerning what is true, good, or important, there is always a variety of status goals toward which individuals strive.

End Products of Competition

There are many end products of competition so far as the individual and society are concerned, but two that may be mentioned

as significant are the *spatial* distribution of people and institutions [1] and the *social* distribution of individuals or groups in a hierarchical status system. The spatial or ecological location of people is to some extent an indication of their success or failure in competition. In American life those whose efforts have brought pecuniary success, or whose parents or grandparents have been successful, tend to gravitate toward high-income districts within the community, while those receiving lesser rewards are to be found in areas where their incomes permit them to live. Every city has a variety of residential districts which reflect the competitive nature of the social system and the relative success of competing individuals or groups.

Similarly, individuals are arranged on a vertical social scale according to certain personal attributes, one of which is the amount of wealth possessed. While the class system in American society reflects something more than differential incomes, there is in general a tendency for the impoverished to be assigned positions in the lower social strata while the rich or well-to-do are awarded positions on the higher social levels. One is not justified in assuming, however, that either the ecological or social position of the individual implies any particular moral or intellectual quality; all it means is that some have competed more successfully than others, whether their success is due to ability, luck, "pull," hard work, fraud, or some combination of these factors.

CONFLICT IN HUMAN SOCIETY

When competing individuals or groups, in their efforts to attain a specified objective, consciously strive to annihilate, defeat, or subordinate each other, or to escape such undesired consequences, there is conflict. Although it is not always possible to draw a sharp distinction between competition and conflict, there are certain characteristic features that distinguish these different forms of social struggle. Whereas competitors are not necessarily aware of the existence of each other (a Kansas wheat farmer may not know that he is competing on a world market with wheat growers in

[1] See Chapter 11.

Argentina), in conflict there is always a focus of attention on the opposition as well as upon the goal. Competition is more or less continuous in nature, though for any person or group the form and intensity of competitive activities vary according to the social situation. Conflict, by its nature, is intermittent rather than continuous. Because it is so exhaustive of physical and emotional vitality, as well as the resources upon which individuals depend, any particular conflict is of relatively short duration.

Wherever men are in competition for things which all cannot share equally lies the seeds of conflict. Real conflict does not always result, however, when there is an unequal sharing of things that are desired. In the final analysis the presence or absence of conflict depends upon the attitudes of interested individuals, upon restraints imposed by society, and upon the self-control exercised by persons in the competitive situation. Students may compete for grades, but rarely does such competitive activity develop into open conflict even though the less successful may be embittered, frustrated, or jealous. In competitive relations between races, on the other hand, feelings may run so deeply that neither self-restraint nor societal control can always prevent the occurrence of open conflict.

The motivation of the individual in conflict is essentially a matter of attitudes and values, likes and dislikes, hopes and fears. When individuals or groups are competing for some particular objective, this competitive activity often leads to encroachments which threaten the values, status, or actual existence of those involved. Such infringements may elicit a hostile reaction, verbal or nonverbal, which in turn may draw a similar response. These hostile reactions may take the form of unrestrained physical violence, overt discrimination, or verbal attacks.

FORMS OF CONFLICT

Conflict is always a potentiality as long as individuals or groups engage in competitive activities. There are, however, certain areas of human relationships in which conflict is particularly acute and in which problems of personal and social well-being arise as a result of the destructive nature of the conflict situation. Among the types of conflict we shall consider are war, class conflict, race

conflict, political conflict, religious conflict, community conflict, and domestic conflict. These various categories refer quite as much to the general areas in which conflict occurs as to the nature of the conflict itself. By no means should these conflict patterns be considered mutually exclusive; indeed, any one of the forms may include elements from one or more of the other categories. Class conflict, for example, is frequently political in nature; it may also be a factor in community conflict, religious conflict, or war. Similarly, conflict within the family may reflect religious, ethnic, or political differences and animosities.

War

The most encompassing as well as most destructive of all forms of conflict is war. From time immemorial rival peoples have engaged in warlike activities. Their motives have been manifold: they have fought for national honor, for economic gain, for religious ideals, for freedom and independence, for the preservation and perpetuation of their own culture, for revenge; they have fought to impose a yoke of bondage on other peoples, and they have fought to escape the tyranny of an imperialist master nation. In most wars there are multiple motives. Often the official reasons are merely surface rationalizations to secure public support and to conceal the real motives if they are not honorable ones.

Probably few people in the modern world really want war; there are other things they do want, however, and they are often willing to go to war to secure these things. Although territorial aggrandizement or imperialistic exploitation of other peoples may be the real reason for warlike action, the people themselves, even in aggressor nations, are more likely to fight for national honor, freedom, home, God, or some other value about which sentiment runs deep. In a sense all wars are defensive; at least the masses go to war to defend something they cherish, even though it is merely an illusion.

War always emerges from a highly complex and dynamic situation involving a complexity of interrelated factors. While the significance of any single factor varies with the particular situation, since every war is more or less unique, there are many factors which have a bearing on warlike activities. They include such physiologi-

cal urges as hunger and sex appetite; geographical conditions like territorial limitations and the amount or kind of natural resources; economic and political systems and their accompanying ideologies; technological development as related to the arts of peace and war; psychocultural patterns such as nationalism or militarism; population pressure on the food supply and other resources. But any one of these factors, or even all of them, is not necessarily a cause of war. It is only when they are related to certain desires, fears, prejudices, hatreds, and ideologies that they figure as dynamic factors in the onset of war. In the final analysis it is the *motives* of men that pave the way to war, not merely the conditions of life, though the two can never be completely separated. The immediate precipitating factor of course is often some overt act or series of acts by one nation that threatens, or appears to threaten, the national security of another.

Population pressure on food and other resources has often been cited as a cause of war. Yet population pressure alone does not lead to warlike action: some of the most seriously overpopulated countries, like India, have had long periods of peaceful relations with other peoples. It is only when population pressure is associated with certain other conditions that it becomes important in international hostilities. An ambitious people subjected to poverty imposed by limited natural resources may become resentful toward other peoples more favorably situated, frustrated in their efforts to improve their level of living, and perhaps extremely nationalistic as they attempt to use political and military methods to gain the security or well-being they desire.

The presence in the world of competing political-economic systems has led to an ideological conflict which, if associated with certain other conditions such as nationalism, may foreshadow war. Such was the situation when the fascist totalitarian systems of Germany, Italy, and Japan emerged as a competitor of the capitalist democracies; such is the situation in the postwar period as the communist-authoritarian system of Russia and her satellites competes with the system of the various democracies. The animosities and suspicions based upon ideological differences are reinforced by mutual fears that a rival system will be imposed through military action and hostile propaganda.

When the national state of mind is one of anxiety and hostility with respect to a rival country, some untoward event can easily be interpreted as an aggressive act, to be countered by another act of retaliation. The result is war. Thus people who really hate war and fear its consequences may willingly go to war because they seek to defend certain things which appear to be in jeopardy. One of the most cherished of these values is national independence.

Class Conflict

Any class system operates on the principle of differential benefits and privileges. Those on the higher social levels enjoy certain advantages such as adequate incomes, economic security, educational opportunities, luxurious or comfortable living, and leisure time, while those near the bottom of the scale receive fewer of these benefits. Often the privileged position of the upper classes is maintained and perpetuated through systematic exploitation of those beneath them. This system of differential statuses and benefits does not, however, necessarily imply antagonism on the part of one class toward another. If the members of a given class accept the system as desirable, as the "will of God," they will not resent the differential benefits accruing from the system even if they are systematically exploited. Moreover, in an open-class society characterized by considerable freedom of movement up and down the social scale, the majority of persons may be so intrigued with the idea of individual success that their attitude toward those on the higher levels will be essentially one of admiration and respect rather than resentment.

There may come a time, however, when either the system itself or certain ways in which it functions becomes objectionable to those whose class status entitles them to a limited number of benefits. They may be thwarted in their efforts to increase their incomes and improve their standard of living; they may find the roads to social ascendancy blocked by systematic efforts of the upper classes to entrench themselves; they may even view the upper classes as exploiters whose privileged position is maintained at the expense of the disadvantaged. The frustrations and antagonisms arising from this situation may eventually find expression in an ideology of class conflict and in an organized effort to effect a change in the

status quo, either through minor reforms or through a revolution designed to change the entire class structure. Those occupying privileged positions likewise develop an ideology in support of the system and muster whatever forces are available to further entrench themselves and prevent changes that might be to their disadvantage.

Race Conflict

There appears to be nothing inherent in the racial characteristics of human beings that makes them incompatible, yet in many areas of the world occupied by peoples of different racial extraction there are violent antagonisms that often lead to some form of overt conflict. We are concerned with the way individuals react to others whom they consider to be racially different and with the patterns of conflict which reflect racial hostilities. In this country the major conflict is between Negroes and whites, but in some sections there are pronounced antagonisms between whites and Orientals and between American Caucasians and American Indians.

So long as the American Negro occupied and accepted a low-caste position characteristic of a system of slavery there was little antagonism between him and upper-caste whites. He was definitely an asset to the white man and in no sense could be considered a competitor. The prevailing attitude toward him was that of kindly benevolence for he was considered both biologically and socially inferior. As a general rule the enslaved Negroes themselves accepted the caste system and the white man as their master. With the emancipation of slaves, however, there came a change, at least theoretically, in the relative positions of the two groups. Freedom from slavery meant freedom to compete with the white man and therefore a challenge to white supremacy.

Through the years the American Negro has become increasingly competitive as he has striven for a position of equality accorded him, in theory, by the ideology of a democratic society. Every advancement the Negro has made, whether in education, in vocations, in the arts, or in science, has brought him more closely in competition with the white race for benefits that were traditionally an upper-caste monopoly. Although Negroes as a group are frequently praised for the progress they have made against difficult

obstacles, whites have, in general, resented and resisted specific advancements because they see in them a threat to their cherished status. Their professed hostility is not so much toward the colored man *as a Negro,* but toward him as a competitor. The common expression, "I don't object to Negroes as long as they stay in their place," illustrates this fact. Obviously "their place" is a low-caste position, and any attempt to rise from this status is looked upon with disfavor.

Overt physical conflict between Negroes and whites, aside from individual conflicts that often occur, usually takes the form of a lynching or a riot. There are, however, important differences between these two conflict patterns. In the lynching process a mob of whites, seeking revenge for an alleged crime committed against a white person, seizes the offender, spirits him away from officers of the law, and either hangs, shoots, or burns the victim. The alleged crime for which such punishment is meted out may be rape or murder, insulting or threatening remarks to a white man, or sexual advances toward a white woman. Where the lynching pattern is accepted there is ordinarily no disposition to deal with the offender through the process of a legal trial. Mob violence becomes a substitute for legal justice.

The race riot as a pattern of conflict has been more typical of the North than of the South. When a conflict is precipitated by some untoward event following an accumulation of racial tensions and hostilities, the two sides are arrayed against each other in a fairly even match of strength. Consequently, in a major riot, there are apt to be losses on both sides, and the conflict may never end decisively in favor of either group of rioters. Bloody riots have occurred in many of the large cities of the country, including Washington, Chicago, Detroit, and St. Louis.

Hostilities toward other racial minorities are pronounced in certain areas, but they almost never culminate in a lynching, and rioting is relatively rare. Instead, they are apt to be manifest in various forms of discrimination or segregation, or in personal conflicts between individuals. Hostile action of whites toward Orientals probably occurs more often on the West Coast than elsewhere in this country. There one finds considerable prejudice and discriminatory action against Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, Ko-

reans, and Filipinos as these minority peoples have competed against Caucasians. In many parts of the country, particularly in the Southwest, the Mexican, while more precisely a nationality rather than a racial group, is also the object of considerable discriminatory action.

Religious Conflict

Although most religious systems include an ethical code which emphasizes such values as toleration, charity, and the "brotherhood of man," there is nevertheless a great amount of religious prejudice. This is due in part to the tendency of many individuals to glorify their own religious ideologies and practices, and at the same time to look with some distrust upon rival, or at least different, systems. It is not a long step from distrust to actual hostile action, which may take the form of vilification, persecution, avoidance, discrimination, or physical attack. If the religious differences are also accompanied by ethnic or racial differences the prospects for conflict are greatly increased. So deep do religious sentiments run that ideological differences often form the basis of violent hatreds and overt forms of conflict.

History is replete with instances of wars, pogroms, riots, forced migrations, and individual persecutions, all conducted in the name of religion. The mass attacks on Jews in western Europe, the hostile attitude of Mohammedans toward "Christian dogs," the massacres of Moslems and Hindus in India, the expulsion of the Mormons from American communities, the mutual recriminations of Catholics and Protestants—these are only a few examples of a phenomenon that is almost universal in its scope.

One of the most serious aspects of religious conflict is the philosophy of anti-Semitism and the resultant attacks on Jews. While discrimination and violence have occurred for centuries, during which time there have been recurring waves of anti-Semitism, the systematic onslaught on Jews in Nazi Germany was unprecedented in its intensity and brutality. No such extremes of hostility have ever occurred in this country, yet anti-Semitic prejudices are widespread. Commonly they find expression in discrimination against Jewish individuals or propaganda attacks on the Jews as a religious or "racial" group. Some of the "native" fascist movements that

have arisen from time to time, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Christian Front, have been openly anti-Semitic and their leaders have carried on a systematic campaign of vilification against the Jews.

Inasmuch as the United States is predominantly a Protestant country, Catholics have probably been victims of hostile action more often than Protestants. Prejudices are perpetuated in part through the process of indoctrination of children by parents, in part through systematic propaganda campaigns conducted by adults in both groups. Such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan are both anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic, while part of the ideological stock-in-trade of groups like Jehovah's Witnesses is specifically directed against the Catholic Church.

Political Conflict

There is an adage to the effect that political elections represent the substitution of ballots for bullets. The implication of this aphorism is that destructive and violent conflict between competing interest groups is avoided, or at least reduced to a minimum, through the social mechanism of an election rather than the exercise of physical power. When such a system breaks down, or when no adequate provisions are made for registering the will of the public through fair elections, the result may be a revolution or a coup d'état through forcible seizure of power by those who can command the most gunfire. Political parties are, therefore, conflict groups whose members have agreed to abide by certain rules in their struggle for power. At least this is true of the democracies. In totalitarian societies there is only one legal political party; hence there can be no open political contest as we have come to know it in a democratic society. If there is a fundamental change in the existing political system it may come only through revolution or war and the forcible expulsion of those in positions of authority.

Domestic Conflict

One may infer from divorce rates and data on desertions that the home, in this country and elsewhere, is the scene of considerable personal strife. Indeed, since all personal clashes within the home do not end in separation it is certain that the amount of

conflict is more than divorce and desertion rates would indicate. Just how much more can perhaps never be known.

Domestic conflict may arise from a wide variety of issues, but almost always it reflects divergent values held by individuals who are unable or unwilling to reconcile their differences. Sometimes it occurs over conflicting interpretations of appropriate roles within the family group. Often it is symptomatic of basic differences in tastes and interests. If there are fundamental moral or religious differences which cannot be reconciled there are likely to be personal tensions. Not infrequently emotional conflicts develop over matters relating to sex. Financial matters may likewise present an issue from which personal conflict emerges. As long as marriages occur between individuals from different social backgrounds and having divergent values concerning what is important, interesting, true, or beautiful, then personal clashes, if not inevitable, are at least likely to occur.

Another aspect of domestic conflict centers around relations between parents and children. In a homogeneous society characterized by a uniformity of values and interests, children accept the values and mode of life of their parents because they are not aware of any others. But in a society having a wide differentiation of values, interests, and patterns of behavior the younger members may reject the values emphasized in the home and even repudiate their parents whom they often regard as "old-fashioned" or "behind the times." In modern urban society the revolt of youth is more or less inevitable in the very nature of the situation, and unless the parents have some understanding of the centrifugal forces that pull the child away from the home and influence his sense of values, serious conflict is likely to occur. Among immigrant families whose cultural backgrounds are different from the prevailing patterns in this country, there has been a pronounced tendency for children to reject the parental way of life and to secure social status by accepting the values of their friends or schoolmates.

Community Conflict

Any conflict occurring within a community setting is, in a certain sense, community conflict. We shall, however, confine the concept to those situations in which a considerable segment of

the community is arrayed against another segment. Racial or ethnic conflict in a local setting is community conflict. Political elections represent community conflict in so far as they may reflect the cleavage between "town and gown" elements or between racial and cultural groups. When the people living "on the other side of the tracks" come to think of themselves as having something in common and as being opposed by the residents from the "better" sections of the community, or vice versa, some overt expression of hostility is likely to occur.

Where there is a heavy and rapid influx into a community of people having different social backgrounds and therefore divergent social values, conflict is often the outcome. Such a condition developed in numerous communities during the war when large numbers of persons flocked into areas which were not prepared to receive them. As outsiders, "strangers within the gates," they frequently violated prevailing customs and mores and in so doing found themselves in conflict with the permanent residents having a different set of cherished values. Such conflicts are often present in "boom" towns, such as mining or oil communities, whose polyglot population, largely transient, is more interested in personal gain than in maintaining a stable community life. Conflict in such communities often takes the form of general lawlessness, particularly crimes of violence and other violations of the moral code.

THE NATURE OF COOPERATION

The foregoing discussion of competition and conflict should not blind us to the important fact that cooperation between individuals and groups is one of the basic social processes. Man has always sought and received the assistance of his fellows. The very fact that people live and work harmoniously together, that they develop and maintain certain rules of conduct in the form of laws and customs, that they participate in organized group activities is indicative of the cooperative nature of human society. It is thus through cooperative interaction between individuals and groups that the institutional structure of society is maintained. Indeed, without mutual assistance in the form of *organized* cooperative living it is doubtful if the human species could survive.

The very existence of groups testifies to the fact that man shares with others certain responsibilities and obligations, and by so doing shares also in the fruits of cooperative undertakings. Community life itself is a product of cooperation in so far as the people agree on certain rules of behavior and act collectively, either directly or through their chosen representatives, to interpret and enforce such rules; likewise, it is a product of cooperation in the sense that individuals within the community act collectively in maintaining social institutions and associations through which human needs may be met.

Direct and Indirect Cooperation

Cooperation, as MacIver points out, may be either direct or indirect. Direct cooperation occurs when two or more persons work together doing the same or similar tasks. Farmers as neighbors may exchange work by assisting each other in their respective fields; by working together they may be able to achieve more than by working separately. Indirect cooperation occurs when two or more persons work together toward some common end but at different tasks. The division of labor characteristic of many organized activities is illustrative of indirect cooperation. One finds in an industrial establishment, say an automobile assembly plant, many individuals working at different but closely related tasks, toward the common objective of producing a finished vehicle. It is this synchronization of activities that has made possible our modern system of mass production. Within a college, teachers, students, administrators, janitors, stenographers, and other functionaries engaged in the performance of a variety of tasks offer another example of indirect cooperation toward the common objective of education and research. For such cooperation to occur, however, the activities of each individual must be integrated into a complex system in which the various roles are synchronized more or less effectively toward the desired end. This synchronizing of roles implies not only certain responsibilities which individuals must assume but also certain limitations upon the individual's freedom to act.

Whether cooperation is direct or indirect, it can occur only when there are common understandings and objectives, which are in

turn dependent upon the transmission of ideas through the various media of communication. Such cooperation may and does take place on a personal and informal level between individuals either as members of the same group or as members of different groups; it may also occur through formal action taken within the framework of social organization, either by all or part of the members of a group acting in concert, or by their chosen representatives. Members of a labor union, for example, may authorize their officers to give financial assistance to a local welfare organization in caring for the needy; or union members, acting on their own individual initiative, may cooperate informally with their neighbors in caring for particular persons in distress.

Cooperation and Competition

Competition as an ongoing social process is always tempered by cooperative arrangements between individuals and groups who are, or may be, striving for the same goals. In a very real sense, then, there is competitive cooperation or, if one prefers, cooperative competition. If the two processes are complementary, they are also antithetical. While competition is dissociative and disintegrative in its results, cooperation is associative and integrative; in competition the success of one individual or group tends to be accompanied by the failure of other individuals or groups, while in cooperation the success of one may mean the success of another. The very restrictions on competition which we have discussed earlier are themselves forms of cooperation.

Cooperation and Conflict

While conflict may be purely a personal matter involving only two individuals, if there are several or many persons concerned the element of cooperation enters into the situation. Groups can carry on a conflict most successfully if they cooperate in the enterprise because "in union there is strength." In a conflict involving many persons there is commonly a heightening of morale and of esprit de corps among individuals on both sides. This is manifest in a closer feeling of unity derived from the common realization that cooperative, not merely individual, action is necessary if defeat is to be avoided. The more hard-pressed a group becomes, or-

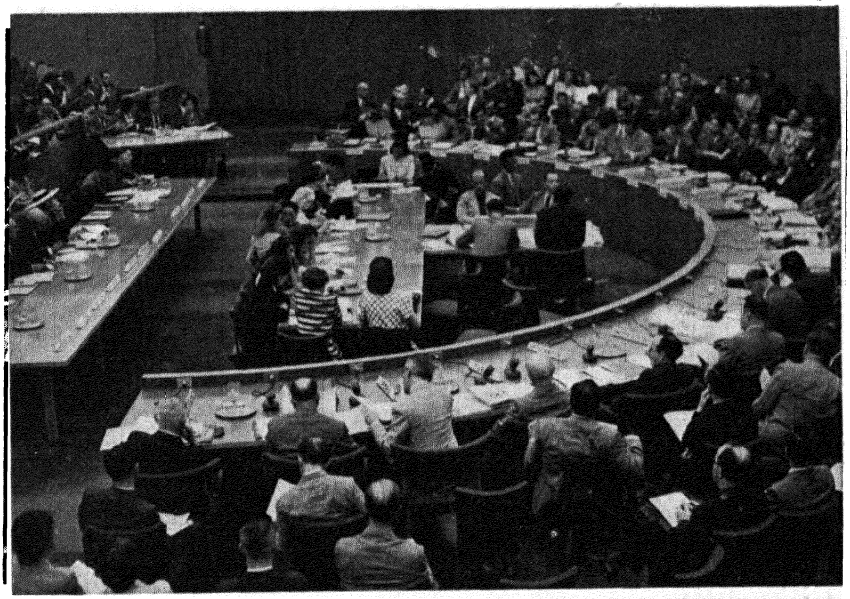
dinarily the stronger the bond of fellowship between its members. Minor differences of opinion, or personal conflicts over petty matters, become less significant as individuals grow increasingly aware of the larger issue confronting the entire group. Hence there is a tendency for them to lay aside many questions pertaining to the ordinary affairs of life and act in concert toward the greater objective. If the stakes are high and the existence of the group itself is actually in jeopardy, social pressure may be exerted on dissident or non-conforming members to force them to cooperate in the common undertaking. Thus groups in a state of conflict have a compactness, a solidarity, far more pronounced than when they are not engaged in a struggle.

FORMS OF ORGANIZED COOPERATION

While any organized group, by its very nature, is a cooperative undertaking even though its major function may be opposition to other groups, there are associations that have as their principal objective the integration of activities of individuals and groups toward common objectives. A ministerial alliance, representing various religious groups within a community, is not only a cooperative enterprise in itself but it functions also to facilitate cooperation between religious organizations having a common denominator of moral and religious values. The Federal Council of Churches and the National Conference of Christians and Jews are interchurch organizations maintained by cooperating religious bodies to promote certain ideals and programs. Industrial councils composed of representatives from management and labor are organized forms of cooperation between two groups which may have both similar and different objectives. Through parent-teacher associations both parents and teachers work toward the common goal of improving education for the youth of the community. Competing business men cooperate through chambers of commerce, real estate boards, trade associations, and other organizations which may be used for the attainment of certain objectives. Federations of labor unions are likewise cooperative arrangements between variously organized groups of workers.

A few additional forms of cooperative organization may be men-

tioned for illustrative purposes. One of these is agricultural cooperatives, maintained by "producers" to facilitate the marketing of farm products. Another is consumers' cooperatives, organizations owned and operated by consumers for the purpose of reducing the costs of commodities. Some cooperative organizations are concerned both with production and distribution. A third type



Fifth session of United Nations Economic and Social Council opens at Lake Success, July, 1947. This organization represents one type of cooperation on an international scale. (Official UN photograph, Department of Public Information)

is credit unions, financial organizations combining both investment and lending facilities and operating principally for the benefit of individuals with modest incomes. In the field of international relations the United Nations represents an attempt to expedite the cooperation of countries through an organization of member states.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Name some examples of animal species that have failed to survive in the struggle for existence.
2. To what extent would you say your own efforts, or those of your friends,

are directed toward specific status goals rather than the objective of actual survival? What are some of these goals?

3. Discuss the proposition that freedom to compete is best achieved when there are restrictions placed upon competition.

4. Give some examples of ways in which competition is controlled and regulated by government. By custom.

5. Why is it important to consider the subjective attitudes and values of individuals in order to understand the nature and causes of conflict?

6. Conflicts between Negroes and whites in this country are more frequent than was the case a century ago. How do you account for this increase?

7. What are some of the manifestations of class conflict in this country?

8. In light of the analysis of competition and conflict presented in this chapter, evaluate the proposition that man is instinctively pugnacious.

9. Discuss World War II from the standpoint of the various factors that precipitated the conflict.

10. The element of cooperation is universal even though men are in competition and conflict with each other. Elaborate on this generalization by giving concrete illustrations.

11. Drawing upon your own personal experiences, what are some of the ways in which you cooperate with others toward similar or common objectives?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Make an analysis of a specific conflict situation with which you are personally familiar, indicating the various factors that have contributed to the conflict, the forms which the conflict itself has assumed, and the possible methods of alleviating the conflicting relationships.

2. Select some group or association such as a chamber of commerce, a ministerial alliance, or a federation of labor unions and analyze it from the standpoint of the way the organization integrates the activities of its membership toward desired objectives.

3. Make a study of a producers' or consumers' cooperative organization, emphasizing particularly the specified objectives, the structural characteristics of the association, and the ways in which the members actually cooperate toward achieving the desired goals.

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Chapter 21

ACCOMMODATION AND ASSIMILATION

The concept of accommodation applies to the various forms of psychological and social adjustment that individuals or groups make to their environment. This environment represents a total situation which is composed of many interrelated elements—biological, social, psychological, and physical. More specifically, man must make some sort of adjustment to his physical and natural environment, to individuals or groups within his area of experience, and to institutional forms and ideologies that are a part of his cultural surroundings. We are particularly concerned with the adjustments between interacting individuals and groups.

THE NATURE OF ACCOMMODATION

One is justified in speaking of accommodation both as a *state* and as a *process*. As a state it has reference to the degree of accommodation at any particular time. Thus we may say that a person is well accommodated, meaning that his relationships to others are harmonious and emotionally or intellectually satisfying. As an ongoing process we may think of accommodation in its dynamic aspects, of increasing or decreasing adjustments of individuals and groups as they interact with each other in competitive and conflicting relationships.

Accommodation may also be viewed both in terms of the individual's subjective reactions and in terms of his overt behavior. Subjectively, his relationships with others may so completely fulfill his basic physiological and psychological needs that he comes to accept and enjoy the various social positions which he occupies, the roles he is expected to perform, and his relationships with others. The individual, for example, may be accommodated to his job,

which can mean that he accepts the social status that his vocation affords, enjoys doing the tasks that are assigned him, derives satisfaction from his work relations with others, both his fellow workers and his employers, and finds the physical setting of employment suitable to his needs. Similarly, one may speak of accommodation to the family situation, the neighborhood situation, the school situation, to situations involving interracial, interclass, and international relationships, and so on. Accommodation of groups is likewise psychological because relationships between groups are in the final analysis a matter of attitudes and values of the individual members.

On the behavioral level, accommodation of the individual or group involves overt expression, both verbal and nonverbal. If the person conforms outwardly to the established norms of his group, if his overt acts in his relationships with others are such as to facilitate interpersonal or intergroup harmony and friendliness, or if he cooperates with others in common undertakings that may be of mutual benefit, then he has fulfilled certain of the requirements necessary for successful accommodation. Conflict between individuals or groups implies, obviously, the absence of accommodation. The delinquent whose behavior runs counter to the sanctioned norms is not accommodated in an overt sense, whatever may be his motives for such behavior.

The subjective and overt aspects of accommodation are not, however, inevitably linked with each other. The individual who is psychologically unadjusted in his marital relationships does not necessarily quarrel with his spouse, secure a divorce, or refuse to cooperate in common family undertakings. An individual may have a distaste for his job, dislike his employer, or resent what he considers exploitation; but these attitudes may never be expressed in such overt acts as absenteeism, strikes, or insubordination. Groups may coordinate their activities and cooperate for mutual benefits though the members on both sides may be hostile in their attitudes and work together only with reluctance.

Dynamic Character of Accommodation

Where new social situations are constantly occurring and old ones being modified it is well-nigh impossible for the individual to

be satisfactorily accommodated in every sphere of life. At any rate, subjective accommodation to most situations and to other individuals is a relative matter at best. Today he may feel in tune with the world, magnanimous toward his friends and charitable toward his enemies; tomorrow the world may be black, his friends dull or unreasonable, his enemies deserving only of his ill will. Some individuals appear to be consistently well accommodated to most situations; others are chronic malcontents whose dissatisfaction extends to all areas of social relationships.

What is true of individual adjustment applies also to interrelationships between groups. At a particular time, or on a certain level, groupings may coordinate their activities in a mutually satisfactory manner; but difficulties may arise which disrupt these relationships and lead to controversy or violence. In a competitive society a change in status of an individual or group, or an act that foreshadows such a change of status, may be interpreted by others as a threat to their own position. Thus interpersonal or intergroup harmony may be replaced by controversy, intensified effort to gain advantage, or even violent conflict.

ACCOMMODATION IN SIMPLE AND COMPLEX SOCIETIES

In a simple society in which social change is slow, most persons and groups appear to be reasonably well accommodated, both subjectively and objectively. Numerous primitive societies are such examples. Here the individual accepts his status and performs his assigned roles as a matter of course. But the modern world presents quite a different picture. Rapid cultural change in almost all spheres of life is so disruptive of social relationships that personal and group unadjustments are virtually inevitable. The multiplicity of values and behavior patterns in modern society also offers both opportunities and temptations to deviate from established norms. So numerous are the social roles from which the individual may choose, and yet so great the likelihood of making a poor choice, that the "square peg in the round hole" type of adjustment obtains in the case of great numbers. The consequence is frustration and dissatisfaction. Racial, ethnic, economic, religious, class, and ideological differences that are so characteristic of modern society make

accommodation, both on the individual and group level, difficult of achievement.

Accommodation of Groups

Personal relations are commonly of an associational character in that individuals act and think more or less collectively as a unit. In this sense groups compete, cooperate, or engage in conflict with each other. So interrelated and interdependent is human society that groups must maintain some kind of working relationships with other groups most of the time merely as a matter of expediency. Such relationships may be characterized by friendly or unfriendly competition, or by cooperative activities toward some desired goal. From time to time these relationships are disrupted and there is overt conflict.

It is desirable, from the standpoint of societal welfare, that socially approved groups establish some kind of working relationship with others even though their interests conflict and their members are mutually hostile. Employers and workers frequently engage in a struggle for power, but if the result of the struggle is not disastrous for one or the other, or the public at large, there must be a coordination of activities and cooperation toward common objectives. Religious groups may be mutually antagonistic, but inasmuch as all of them possess certain rights in a democracy it is necessary that the members develop techniques of living together. The same principle applies to members of the "family" of nations.

MECHANISMS OF ACCOMMODATION

There are various mechanisms by which accommodation of individuals and groups may be achieved. The more important of these mechanisms are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Substitution

One mechanism of accommodation involves the substitution of new goals for old ones that are unattainable, or unsatisfying even if achieved. Individuals unable to achieve their desired goals commonly develop a sense of frustration, which leads to aggressive activity. Such aggression, if not properly channeled, may be disruptive of relationships with others or create within the individual

serious emotional disturbances. By orienting the individual toward new objectives, and perhaps assisting him in attaining them, he may become accommodated as his frustrations are resolved and his wishes satisfied. The principle of substitution also applies to accommodation on the level of intergroup relationships. In a highly competitive or conflicting situation, accommodation may be achieved if the groups involved redefine their objectives and set up new goals more in conformity with the values of the others.

Modifying the Situation

The same results may also be accomplished for the individual by modifying a situation to which he may be unsatisfactorily adjusted. This may involve one of any number of possible changes in the social or physical environment. It may be achieved through a new and more satisfactory social status for the individual, or a modification of the attitudes of the person's associates, or a complete removal of the person to a new environment. It may be achieved through a new job, different group affiliations, more satisfactory home surroundings, a different school situation. Many unadjusted children, for example, have been successfully accommodated by the simple method of transferring them from an unsatisfactory school situation to one that provides fulfillment for their fundamental psychological and emotional needs.

Compromise

When conflict between individuals or groups appears to be imminent, or has actually occurred, accommodation may be accomplished through compromise. In compromise there are mutual concessions in which both parties to a dispute surrender in part their claims, demands, or objectives for the sake of a working agreement that is considered highly desirable. Compromise does not necessarily imply any fundamental change in the values of individual contestants; they may continue to be hostile in their attitudes or firm in their convictions, but for the sake of the advantages accruing from cooperation or smoother working relationships they are willing to make certain concessions. On the other hand, persons involved in a controversy may come to appreciate the point of view of the opposite side and develop a more conciliatory attitude toward the claims of their rivals, or admit the unreasonableness of

their own position. This is essentially the same as tolerance except that the change in attitude occurs after a controversy has developed.

Conversion

Sometimes the accommodation of the individual is a matter of conversion. In conversion the person becomes reoriented psychologically and socially from an old and unsatisfying way of life toward a new set of values and social relationships. If the conversion is genuine and not merely a matter of form, the convert finds an inner serenity from his spiritual rebirth and his new associations that represents, for the time being at least, a highly satisfying state of accommodation. Ordinarily conversion is thought of as an aspect of religious experience, but the principle applies also to accommodation in the secular realm. One may become converted, say, to a new political faith—from Republicanism to Socialism, from capitalism to communism, or vice versa.

Rationalization

An individual may achieve accommodation by finding reasons, sound or unsound, that justify his conduct, views, or status, thereby avoiding frustrations, mental conflicts, feelings of inferiority, or other unsatisfying psychological states. This is rationalization. If, for example, one can explain satisfactorily to himself his defeat on grounds that others have also been unsuccessful, or that he wasn't given a fair chance, rather than face the real reasons for his failure, he may avoid frustrations and a sense of inadequacy. Members of exploited groups may endure the unpleasantness of exploitation by rationalizing that it is "God's will" and therefore right. Slaves and women as exploited groups have commonly accommodated themselves to a system of exploitation through such reasoning process. An inmate of a prison may effect an adjustment to the situation by rationalizing that his punishment is merited and that society is justified in putting him "behind the bars."

Tolerance

As individuals and groups interact in the process of living, playing, and working together, either competitively or cooperatively, accommodation may be achieved by the development of an attitude

of tolerance toward those who are different or who belong to a different group. This may be stated simply as a "live and let live" philosophy; or, possibly more to the point, a "live and *help* live" attitude of cooperativeness. One of the familiar methods of accommodating racial, religious, and ethnic groups to each other is through the inculcation of attitudes of tolerance among those who differ in these respects.

Coercion

Following conflict, individuals and groups may become accommodated on a superordinate-subordinate basis by the threat or use of coercion. Such coercion may involve physical force, economic pressure, or other measures designed to keep the defeated individuals or groups in a subordinate position and at the same time enlist their cooperation with the dominant elements. The relationship between victors and vanquished after a war is commonly based on coercion, at least for a time. If a defeated nation appears willing to cooperate with the victorious power it is because the threatening specter of physical and economic force is constantly present. All societies employ coercion to maintain peaceful relationships between individuals and groups. If law itself is a body of rules that define and govern the relationships of men, the observance of these rules is guaranteed, in the final analysis, by the threat of force as punishment for the transgressor.

TECHNIQUES OF ACCOMMODATION

In controversies that cannot be settled by the interested persons or groups the services of an impartial intermediary are often utilized to facilitate a working agreement between the contestants. This procedure in effecting an accommodation between the two sides may take the form of mediation, conciliation, or arbitration.

Mediation and Conciliation

Both mediation and conciliation are forms of intervention in a dispute by a disinterested third party, commonly at the invitation of the disputants themselves. But whereas the mediator is merely a go-between performing messenger service between the disputants, imposing neither his will nor his judgment in the settlement of the

controversy, the conciliator attempts to bring the disputants into agreement by offering suggestions or advice concerning the controversial issue.[1] In neither mediation nor conciliation are the disputants under any necessary obligation to come to an agreement, though the fact that they invite outsiders to intervene in the case is indicative of their desire to arrive at a working arrangement.

Arbitration

Arbitration is also a form of intervention, but unlike mediation and conciliation the disputants are obligated to accept the arbiter's judgment, which is binding on the persons or groups involved in the controversy. A dispute may be submitted voluntarily to arbitration by both sides, or in the event of an impasse which may lead to destructive conflict or serious losses to the general public, an arbiter may be appointed by a judicial or executive authority even if the disputants are opposed to such procedure. In the case of arbitration the impartial "third party" may be a single person serving as a referee, or a board consisting of several distinguished but qualified persons.

Accommodation in Labor Disputes

Industrial conflicts between management and labor are often settled through an outside intermediary when the disputants themselves can arrive at no satisfactory agreement. During World War II, for example, the War Labor Board was created by Congress to assist in the settlement of controversies between management and workers. If a labor dispute could not be settled by the interested parties, the Board was authorized to investigate the case and empowered to settle the controversy by arbitration.

In some cities labor relations panels have been established for the purpose of facilitating working relationships between management and labor. These panels, consisting of representatives from management, labor, and the general public, investigate sources of tension between employers and workers and offer recommendations for the settlement of possible disputes before controversies de-

[1] These terms are commonly used synonymously in the field of labor relationships. Indeed, mediation as we use the term is perhaps an uncommon procedure in labor disputes since mediators tend to become conciliators by attempting to help settle the controversy.

velop into a strike or some other form of conflict. The panel itself has no authority in the settlement of disputes but instead functions as an advisory body in providing a modified conciliation service. In some industries there are standing committees composed of representatives from management and labor whose function is to investigate and review various matters of concern to both groups with a view to correcting situations that might lead ultimately to industrial conflict.

Kashmir question before United Nations Security Council. The Council granted the request of the Pakistan Government for a postponement of the consideration of the Indian complaint on the situation in Kashmir. Lake Success, N.Y., January 6, 1948. (Official UN photograph, Department of Public Information)

Accommodation in International Relationships

These procedures in the settlement of disputes in the field of labor-management relations have long been applied to international relationships. In the event a controversy between countries remains unsolved and a conflict appears likely, one or more governments not involved in the dispute may intervene in the situation by attempting to bring the disputants into agreement and thereby

settle the issue. Because of the far-reaching consequences of any international conflict, most governments are willing to offer their services in the adjudication of disputes of this type. Frequently the countries involved in the controversy request the intervention of outsiders. This procedure is comparable to conciliation in the field of labor relations. Where countries are actually engaged in war attempts at mediation may be undertaken by nonbelligerent nations which act as a go-between, carrying communications between the warring countries whose governments are not in direct contact with each other. In reality, of course, such mediation is likely to involve efforts at conciliation by the intervening nations.

Actual arbitration of disputes between nations is made difficult because no international authority has power to enforce a judgment by outside intervening governments. In practice, however, the great powers, or combinations of them, may enforce the peaceful settlement of disputes between smaller nations by economic pressure or military intervention. But among the powerful nations of the world there is no recognized authority for the arbitration of controversies; if they cannot settle the disputes through their own resources, then war is a probability.

SOCIAL INSTRUMENTALITIES FOR EFFECTING ACCOMMODATION

One finds in every society numerous instrumentalities for facilitating the accommodation of individuals and groups. On the personal level, and dealing with the subjective reactions of the individual, are psychiatric and psychoanalytic clinics employing recognized therapeutic techniques for helping the person make a satisfactory adjustment. Social work in general is concerned largely with the accommodation of individuals and groups. The growth of social work as a profession and the development of numerous types of social-work organizations and activities have occurred because the complexity of modern civilization has increased the difficulties of personal and collective adjustment.

Special agencies, as noted earlier, have been created to assist in the settlement of controversies between employers and employees. Schools are giving attention to matters relating to the accommodation of individuals and groups, and the same is true of churches.

Interracial and interfaith councils are set up to prevent or reduce conflicts between racial and religious groups where hostile attitudes prevent amicable relationships. In the international realm a bold attempt is being made to shape the United Nations into an effective instrumentality for the promotion of peace and the adjudication of disputes that threaten the disruption of peaceful relationships between countries. International conferences are held to discuss problems of mutual concern to various nations and to pave the way for harmonious cooperation. Government itself, operating through a system of courts, legislative bodies, police organizations, and executive authorities, is constantly concerned with the accommodation of individuals in all spheres of human relationships.

THE NATURE OF ASSIMILATION

Assimilation may be defined from a sociopsychological point of view as the changes that occur in an individual's attitudes, values, beliefs, and habits as a result of prolonged contact with culture patterns other than the ones to which he has already been conditioned. When an individual moves from one cultural situation to another and remains in the latter a considerable period of time he often incorporates into his own personality many of the characteristics of those with whom he is associated in the new cultural surroundings.

As in the case of accommodation, assimilation is both a state and a process. One may speak of the *degree* of assimilation which an individual manifests at any particular time. As a *process*, however, the concept applies to the dynamic changes that take place within the individual, that is, the modification of attitudes, beliefs, sentiments, and habit patterns.

Assimilation and Accommodation

While assimilation is a process in which an individual acquires the values, beliefs, sentiments, and habits characteristic of another cultural system, accommodation has reference to the psychological and social adjustment of individuals and groups to their surroundings, either to other persons or groups, or to a social or physical situation. Assimilation is a relatively gradual process involving fundamental changes in the individual's personality and scheme of life; accom-

modation as a form of adjustment may be either slow or rapid, depending upon the individual or the various factors involved in a total situation. One may become accommodated without becoming assimilated, though assimilation occurs most readily when individuals or groups are accommodated to each other and have developed a mutually satisfactory system of relationships. Accommodation as a form of adjustment involves a wide range of situations and relationships in almost every conceivable sphere of an individual's life, from the cradle to the grave. Assimilation occurs when an individual comes in contact with cultural forms that are dissimilar to those of his own social background.

Assimilation and Naturalization

Merely becoming a citizen in the legal sense does not necessarily imply assimilation. Nor is the assimilative process dependent upon the legal status of citizenship except in so far as such status may provide certain opportunities for increased participation in social life and therefore a better understanding and appreciation of the new cultural milieu. Many fully assimilated persons have, for justifiable reasons, remained "aliens" in a technical sense; on the other hand, numerous naturalized citizens have been only partially assimilated, possibly for reasons which they themselves have been unable to overcome. Even loyalty to one's adopted country does not imply full assimilation of one's adopted culture.

Assimilation in American Society

In American society assimilation has occurred in various types of situations and among many peoples with widely different cultural backgrounds. During the course of their experiences and as a result of their social contacts, immigrants have usually undergone personality changes that betoken the assimilative process. Probably most of these immigrants eventually achieved a considerable degree of assimilation. Negro slaves brought from Africa (against their wish, incidentally) were so abruptly cut off from their own cultural heritage that their assimilation, or at least that of their children, was very thorough indeed. Somewhat the reverse of this situation has occurred in the case of American Indians, many of whom have been assimilated not as a result of migration to a new cultural sit-

uation but because a different culture was brought to their own habitat and, in some instances, imposed upon them. The changes that occur in the values and habits of rural persons who migrate to the city and become associated with urban culture patterns is in essence a form of assimilation.

Assimilation and Amalgamation

Assimilation is concerned with the blending of cultures, amalgamation with the blending of bloods. One is social and psychological, the other physiological and biological. The outcome of one is a cultural hybrid, the product of the other is a biological hybrid. Yet there is often a close connection between the two. Although biological fusion may occur without any appreciable assimilation on the part of either of the individuals or groups between whom there are sexual relations, assimilation is often accompanied by amalgamation if there are physical attractions and opportunities for sexual interplay. This amalgamative process may be the result of illicit sex relations, or it may occur as socially sanctioned intermarriage.

Wherever different races have come into sufficiently close contact to make possible assimilation, a considerable amount of racial blending has occurred. No better illustration could be given than relations between American Caucasians, on the one hand, and Negroes and Indians on the other. In the case of Negro-white relations the racial blending has occurred, for the most part, outside of marriage; while between Indians and whites this biological blending has been both illicit and socially approved through marriage. Where intermarriage occurs between individuals who are both racially and culturally distinct, assimilation is almost inevitable since each person in the marriage relationship is apt to be considerably influenced by the other.

Assimilation and Socialization

Something comparable to assimilation occurs when a child is inducted into the culture of its own group. This process is ordinarily known as *socialization*. Every individual at birth is an animal—nothing more. To become a human being the child must be socialized or acculturized, must *learn* the culture of its environs. Ac-

tually, assimilation and socialization are much the same as far as the learning process is concerned. But while assimilation is the result mainly of contacts outside the family group, socialization centers largely, though not entirely, around the home and school. Both processes may occur simultaneously, or assimilation may not occur until after the individual has been rather completely socialized.

FACTORS AFFECTING ASSIMILATION

The speed and extent of assimilation depend upon a number of factors in a total situation. One of these factors is personal capacity to comprehend the meanings implicit in a culture. This ability may be in part a matter of hereditary capacity, in part a matter of education. Other things being equal, the educated person may be assimilated more rapidly than the ignorant or dull individual whose understanding is limited. Young persons are assimilated much more rapidly than older ones whose thought and action patterns are deeply ingrained. Still another factor is the psychological motivation of the individual. One who is interested in identifying himself with a new culture is assimilated more easily than one who clings to his own cultural values and practices. Often the principal motivation is the desire for status, which may be achieved by identification, both inwardly and in outward appearance, with new culture patterns. Younger persons with limited sentimental attachment to their parents' heritage may seek recognition by adopting the prevailing values and action patterns of others of similar age.

One of the important factors in the assimilative process is the character of social interaction itself. If contacts between an "outsider" and those identified more fully with the existing culture are personal, intimate, and sympathetic, assimilation is usually fairly rapid, provided other conditions are also favorable. Conversely, if the contacts are casual, impersonal and limited in number, or if the person is socially or spatially isolated from cultural influences in his new milieu, assimilation is partial at best. It is not only possible but fairly common for immigrants, especially older women, to be so isolated from the influences of their new environment that they remain almost completely unassimilated throughout their lives. Tucked away in their little cultural "islands," transplanted to Ameri-

can soil, these persons think and act in the manner to which they have always been accustomed. In the early days of slavery, Negroes attached to households as personal servants were assimilated much more rapidly than those assigned to plantations and having few intimate contacts with their white masters.

The new culture may be introduced to the individual not only through personal contacts with others but also through various media of communication such as the press, the motion picture, or the radio. The foreign-language newspaper has always represented an important medium through which members of various ethnic groups have become acquainted with their new surroundings and acquired an understanding of American life. Such organizations as settlement houses in the larger cities, churches, and labor unions have likewise aided in the assimilation of individuals by providing opportunities for persons of different cultural backgrounds to meet together and participate in common undertakings.

Obstacles to Assimilation

Since the assimilation of the individual is in part dependent upon his social acceptance by others, prejudice and discrimination directed against him make it difficult for him to enter fully and freely into the cultural life of his community even if he has the desire to do so. Among certain Americans there is a strong feeling against all alien groups. As a general rule, however, the prejudices against North European immigrants are milder than against those from southern and eastern Europe or Asiatic countries. Inasmuch as prejudicial discrimination tends to force the newcomer back in his own group for his intimate associational experiences, such hostile attitudes represent a barrier to assimilation. The fact that so many immigrants have chosen to live in segregated colonies in the community is in part a reaction to the prejudices that are directed against them.

The educational, economic, and vocational status of the newcomers is an important factor in the acceleration or retardation of the assimilative process. The great majority of immigrants have been dispossessed folk in quest of better jobs and financial security. Often they have been illiterate and untrained, qualified only for unskilled or semiskilled occupations. Prejudices have therefore been

directed against them not only as racially or culturally distinguishable foreigners but also as impoverished individuals having a low level of living and employed in low-status occupations. In more recent years, however, migrants to this country have been recruited mainly from the professional and owning classes, the harassed and dispossessed victims of the totalitarian fury in Europe.

ASSIMILATION AND CULTURE

Not infrequently the assimilative process leads to misunderstandings and even conflict between individuals of the same family group. Ordinarily children become assimilated more speedily into another culture than their parents. If in the process of becoming assimilated they reject the ways of their elders, if they repudiate their parents and think of them as "old-fashioned" or "backward," showing little respect for, or loyalty to, cherished parental values, and if the parents in turn have no understanding of the situation and are critical of their children's values and behavior, a serious conflict situation may develop. Often the conflict centers around the rejection, by the children, of family rituals, religious beliefs and observances, courtships or marriage patterns, parental authority, and customary roles or responsibilities within the home. A teen-age girl, for example, may be expected by her immigrant parents to observe all the rules of their ancestral village; but in the American metropolis she may accept the prevailing values and folkways of her age-group: smoking, going out without an escort, having dates without a chaperon, failing to attend church on the Sabbath, showing no deference to her elders.

The Cultural Hybrid

One of the products of the assimilative process is the cultural hybrid, the person who is identified with two or more different cultural systems. The blending of cultures is thus in part a psychological phenomenon manifest by the incorporation, within the individual, of certain values, beliefs, sentiments, and habits characteristic of divergent cultural patterns. The fact that an individual, particularly an adult, cannot shed his culture as he can his garments means that his new cultural acquisitions must be superimposed upon the old, with displacement often coming gradually. It is natural, then, that

the cultural hybrid should have divided loyalties—loyalties to the old, loyalties to the new.

A few years ago R. E. Park coined the term "marginal man," referring to the individual who is a part of two or more cultures but not completely accepted by, or identified with, all of them. The marginal man is of course a cultural hybrid, but conceivably a cultural hybrid may be fully assimilated into two or more cultures and also socially acceptable in all of them. The marginal person lives on the fringe, so to speak, of at least one of the cultures. Because he is socially unaccepted, or because certain ties, loyalties, and convictions make it impossible for him to be identified fully with another culture, he occupies a marginal position.

Such cultural marginality has many ramifications in the individual's own personality and his social relationships. If his marginal position is due to social unacceptability reflecting the prejudices of others, he may develop a sense of inferiority and insecurity. If he desires social acceptance but is unable to gain it he may become frustrated and embittered. Should the different cultures have conflicting values and modes of conduct he may not be able to rationalize the differences and resolve the conflicts within himself.

Marginal status, on the other hand, gives the individual a cultural perspective that he might not otherwise have. Being only partly identified with another culture affords him a more objective view both of his own cultural heritage and of the system into which he is only partly assimilated. If cultural marginality involves hazards for the personality it is also intellectually stimulating. The marginal man is apt to be less ethnocentric, less culturally nearsighted, than the individual whose experiences have been confined to a single social system.

Intracultural Assimilation

Within a heterogeneous society cultural differences are sometimes as great as differences between nations. Thus the cultural patterns of an isolated rural community may be quite distinct from those that exist in a great metropolis. Urbanization of the rural migrant who moves to the city is, therefore, a matter of assimilation into urban culture patterns. The rural person becomes urbanized not because he lives *in* a city but because he has acquired many of

the psychological and behavioral characteristics of urban people. Within the modern metropolis there is a multiplicity of culture patterns based upon ethnic, religious, and class distinctions and manifest in different modes of thought and behavior.

Inasmuch as a social class has a kind of subculture that distinguishes it from other social classes, the movement of an individual up or down the social scale is usually accompanied, or even preceded, by the assimilation of that person into a different class pattern. Wealth alone is ordinarily not a passport to a higher class; acceptance of the individual is also contingent upon his acquisition of the values, manners, interests, and outward appearances considered appropriate for people on a particular social level. Thus persons who speak ungrammatically, ignore polite table etiquette, dress outlandishly, and flout standards of personal cleanliness would hardly be acceptable on middle or upper class levels where standard English, politeness, conventional attire, and cleanliness are important values.

OBJECTIVE ASPECTS OF ASSIMILATION

One of the first stages of the assimilative process is the adoption of certain outward forms, such as prevailing styles of dress, and the acceptance of particular patterns of living and working. These changes, however, are often accommodative in character and in themselves do not necessarily represent any profound alterations of the personality. When individuals or groups are linguistically different the language barriers represent an obstacle to social interaction and make it difficult for persons so separated to share in common understandings and intellectual experiences. Learning the language is therefore preliminary to full assimilation into another culture. Mere knowledge of a language, however, does not imply immediate or speedy assimilation even though it does pave the way for a common understanding and a more intimate sharing of experiences with those having a different cultural heritage.

Changes in nomenclature are often indicative of the assimilative process. Outsiders who seek to identify themselves with the prevailing cultural patterns frequently change their family or given names to conform with the name forms prevailing in the adopted society. In some instances this may be done as a means of avoiding discrimina-

tion that may be directed against persons having names that label them as foreigners, but in most cases it probably represents a preference for the prevailing name forms. Thus the family name of Cohen may be changed to Cowan, or Schmidt to Smith, Adamczek to Adams, Mueller to Miller; Hoogestraat becomes Highstreet, or Becchetti is changed to Beck. In some instances the new name may bear no resemblance to the original one. Parents who themselves are undergoing assimilation may adopt Anglicized names for their children, at the same time retaining the family name form and their own original given names. The retention of original names, however, does not necessarily imply that assimilation has not occurred, but may be merely indicative of pride in family or cultural heritage.

Retention of Cultural Practices

Individuals or family groups may retain certain features of their original cultural heritage even though they may have been thoroughly inducted into a different culture. Often folk practices with respect to the preparation and consumption of food, observance of social rituals, and the celebration of festive occasions are continued if there is a prideful interest in them and particularly if there is no social stigma attached. Indeed, customs of this type may become a symbol of unity for families and other groups that have undergone assimilation into the deeper meanings of the new culture. In most groups, however, there is a tendency to abandon these practices as oncoming generations lose the sense of identification with their cultural past.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What distinction may be made between accommodation and cooperation?
2. How does social change create problems of accommodation for individuals and groups?
3. Why is accommodation of the individual more difficult in a society characterized by cultural heterogeneity than in one having fairly uniform values and folkways?
4. From your own observations and personal experience, how extensive are vocational unadjustments?
5. Give concrete examples of the various mechanisms of accommodation.
6. How are assimilation and amalgamation related to each other?
7. What distinction would you make between assimilation and socialization?

8. Why is the young person usually more easily assimilated into another culture than an older individual?

9. How may assimilation lead to conflict?

10. Not all ethnic groups coming to this country have been assimilated with equal rapidity. How do you account for the differences in the rate of assimilation?

11. What are some of the personal problems that marginal individuals frequently encounter?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Make a study of the work of some organization like the War Labor Board in effecting working adjustments between management and labor during the war. An alternative would be an analysis of the plan that has been followed in Toledo, Ohio, in the accommodation of management and labor.

2. Prepare a report on the work that has been done in the Springfield, Massachusetts, school system in the accommodation of racial and ethnic groups.

3. Analyze the work of some agency or organization in your own community that has been especially concerned with the accommodation of individuals and groups?

4. Write an account of your personal experiences with particular reference to your own efforts, successful or otherwise, to become accommodated in various spheres of life.

5. Select some family representing a particular ethnic or nationality background and observe the extent to which various members of the group have been assimilated into our own culture. Note those aspects of the original culture that have been preserved.

6. Prepare a report on the problems and characteristics of the assimilative process with reference to some immigrant group now a part of American culture. (Examples would be the Poles, Italians, Greeks, Swedes, Mexicans, Japanese, or Filipinos.)

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Chapter 22

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR

ALL human behavior, aside from reflex actions and certain physiological functions of the organism, is collective behavior in the sense that individuals share collectively the meanings and understandings of the group and behave overtly in accordance with these understandings. From the cradle to the grave we are, with rare exceptions, members of some group, participate in the activities of that group, and share the ideas of others who have similar social connections. Life at all stages and ages is a collective undertaking. There has been a tendency in recent years, however, to restrict the term collective behavior to certain specific aspects of group life, particularly such phenomena as social unrest, social movements, crowd behavior, social epidemics, fashions, and fads. It is this restricted conception of collective behavior that we shall follow in our analysis. Obviously there can be no sharp distinction between collective behavior so defined and collective behavior that encompasses all forms of group activity.

FRUSTRATION AND UNREST

In the competitive struggle for survival or the attainment of specific goals the individual is confronted with many obstacles, both physical and social. It is inevitable, therefore, that frustration should occur when aggressive tendencies cannot be carried out because of the character of the situation or the individual's own limitations. The infant may reach for a distant toy and express the frustration arising from his failure to grasp it by crying or looking puzzled. As the individual matures, aggressive tendencies may be directed toward socially defined goals, the anticipation or realization of which would, he believes, provide him satisfaction.

Yet some of these goals are either altogether unattainable or attainable only with the expenditure of considerable physical or mental effort. The response of the individual to these obstacles may vary greatly, depending on the person's temperament as well as upon the nature of the goal and the situations creating the obstacles. There may be dogged determination to attain the goal, in which case the individual may be richly rewarded by the emotional satisfaction that comes of attaining the cherished objective. There may be, on the other hand, only failure, accompanied by a sense of frustration, and manifested in attitudes of cynicism, bitterness, bewilderment, dissatisfaction, or apathy. This feeling of frustration may be temporary or permanent; it may remain subjective in nature or it may be verbalized in the form of criticism, complaints, or other manifestations of discontent; it may, as a matter of fact, find expression in aggressive action, either individual or collective.

So long as this sense of frustration and the discontent arising therefrom are confined to one individual the phenomenon may have relatively little significance for the broader aspects of collective behavior; but when many persons share the same or similar emotionally toned feelings of discontent, individual unrest becomes collective in nature. More often than not unrest arises from a social situation, indicating man's dissatisfaction with existing social conditions through the failure of institutions to achieve fulfillment of human desires.

Situations Creating Unrest

It would not be feasible to catalogue all of the specific situations which give rise to individual or social unrest. There are undoubtedly many persons who are dissatisfied with their jobs because the associated status is not compatible with their conception of a desirable social position, because they find their occupational roles and relationships disagreeable, because their incomes are not sufficient to support the scale of living they cherish, or because the job itself provides no security against economic adversity. There is apt to be considerable unrest among minority peoples who, as objects of prejudice and discrimination, are prevented from achieving the status they desire or performing the roles they wish to play. There is, in our society, a great deal of dissatisfaction among individuals, both children and adults, for whom family relationships are frustrating

in the extreme. The political and economic system under which we live is the source of considerable discontent because the system and those who administer it are often held responsible for the failure of individuals to attain desired objectives. Similarly, there is considerable dissatisfaction with religious ideologies and practices, with the educational system and the way it operates, with the courts, the press, the radio, and countless other things.

Overt Aspects of Unrest

Social unrest may be manifest in various overt reactions. Mass migrations often reflect the dissatisfaction of whole peoples with conditions that deny the fulfillment of their desires. Unrest among workers is commonly manifest in strikes, boycotts, mutinies, excessive absenteeism, and riots. Factional schisms that frequently occur in religious or political organizations are indicative of discontent. Religious sects, and political movements in the form of third parties, for example, are commonly expressions of protest against the existing order of things. The same is true of certain types of crowd demonstrations such as parades and mass meetings.

If social unrest is not channeled into some form of organized activity it may be expressed in such excesses as drunkenness, erratic sexual behavior, orgiastic carousals, lawlessness, race rioting, vagabondage, or extravagant efforts to "keep up with the Joneses." In a very real sense, however, it may become a psychological mainspring of social change for when dissatisfaction with existing arrangements occurs individuals may be motivated to initiate new systems of thought or social relationships, or modify those that are already in existence. Thus a social movement may come into existence.

NATURE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

A social movement may be defined as a collective effort to effect changes in the social order by substituting new values and suitable forms of organization for the ones already in existence. For a social movement to occur, two psychological conditions are necessary: (1) a considerable number of individuals must have lost confidence in the efficacy or desirability of existing customs, beliefs, procedures, or organized systems of relationships; and (2) they must have envi-

sioned the preferred social forms which they propose to substitute for the ones already in existence. The first condition implies unrest arising from the failure of the existing social order or parts thereof to meet satisfactorily the basic needs or desires of the persons who are identified with it. A social movement must therefore have both purpose and motivation. At the same time there must be organization, if the goals betokening a new order of things are to be realized. These basic components of social movements, the subjective and the overt, are invariably interrelated, for only when the attitudes which individuals share in common are overtly expressed in a pattern of collective action can a social movement exist.

Social Movements and Social Unrest

Social and psychological conditions in the modern world, particularly in democratic societies, are conducive to the development of social movements. Not only is there widespread social unrest, as we have seen, but there is also widely prevalent a secular attitude that all aspects of the social order should be judged with a critical eye. In such a secularized civilization, therefore, many of the well-worn customs, traditions, beliefs, and institutions lose their sacred character. They are "good" or "bad" only as they do or do not satisfy human needs; if they do not perform this function, or do not perform it well, then they are likely to be sharply scrutinized.

This does not imply, however, that nobody is satisfied with the status quo, nor that there is a universal desire to bring about changes. The masses are essentially conservative, and even if they are restive under certain social conditions their desire for change is usually relative to particular aspects of society, and not to the entire social system. The orthodox religionist, for example, may view an existing system of religious beliefs and practices as the ultimate achievement of God's handiwork; at the same time he may look upon certain political or economic systems as the work of the devil and devote his efforts to changing them.

While many persons may be dissatisfied with existing ideologies or systems of relationships that bear the earmarks of antiquity, others, looking back to the "good old days," may be displeased with new social forms that have come into existence. Hence a social movement may be designed either to eliminate the old and substitute the

new, or eliminate the new and restore the old. Thus a movement may be either forward-looking or backward-looking.

Reform and Revolutionary Movements

A reform movement is an organized effort to effect certain segmental or piecemeal changes in the social system; a revolutionary movement, on the other hand, has for its objective the radical alteration of the entire institutional structure of society. Such a sharp conceptual distinction, however, does not always exist in reality for the differences are often matters of degree. Some so-called reform movements are so far-reaching in their effects on the social structure and on the masses of people that they are essentially revolutionary in character even though their stated objectives imply only limited changes. Nevertheless, certain important differences do exist, as might be easily observed in a comparative analysis of, say, the consumers' cooperative movement and the communist movement.

There are also differences in the extent to which reform and revolutionary movements challenge certain basic assumptions or tenets. The leader of the old-age pension movement, Dr. Francis Townsend, publicly proclaimed many times that he had no intention of tampering with the existing political system, the capitalist economic structure, the system of organized religion, the school system, or the American family pattern. These he accepted. All he desired, he said, was two hundred dollars a month for life for every aged person. The leaders of the Nazi movement in Germany, on the other hand, launched an attack on a wide range of beliefs and forms of organization, seeking to change not only the political and economic system, but also the religious, recreational, and family life of the German people; no segment of society was to remain untouched. Women were encouraged to bear children out of wedlock for the good of the state, and those who were legally married were urged to have as many children as possible.

Inasmuch as revolutionary movements represent a challenge to accepted beliefs and institutions, vigorous resistance is likely to occur. The "bystander" may view with amused tolerance many social movements of a reformist character, mainly because he does not regard them as a serious threat to his cherished institutions or

his own personal status. But toward movements that seek to revolutionize the entire social system his attitude is more likely to be one of resentment and hostility. Most Americans are probably indifferent to, say, the social-work or to the consumers' cooperative movement; at the same time they may be antagonistic to communism as an ideology and to efforts on the part of communists to change the existing social order. So pronounced is such resistance that revolutionary movements are often accompanied by violence and open conflict.

IDEOLOGY, LEADERSHIP, AND ORGANIZATION

The Ideology

It should be apparent from the foregoing that a social movement must be both *for* and *against* something—*for* that state of affairs which is assumed to be more desirable than existing conditions; *against* some belief, practice, or form of organization which represents the status quo. When these positive and negative objectives become defined more or less clearly and woven into a system of beliefs, creeds, dogmas, or working principles, the movement may be said to have an *ideology*. On the positive side the purpose and goal are usually pictured as forcefully and attractively as possible in order to gain new recruits to the cause and at the same time retain the loyalty and enthusiasm of those already identified with the movement. On the negative side is a body of criticism directed at the existing order of things, with emphasis placed upon the defects and shortcomings of all or part of the social system, or upon the allegedly dishonest, stupid, or otherwise undesirable character of those who defend the existing order. Whether the ideology of a movement is fantastic or realistic, rational or irrational, for many individuals it may have the appeal of a religious faith. It is the religious fervor that provides the social movement, particularly the revolutionary type, with an emotional driving force. For the loyal adherent imbued with the rightness and righteousness of the "cause," no personal sacrifice may be too great, no obstacle too formidable.

Leadership

The quality and form of leadership in a social movement may vary according to the nature of the movement and the situation in which it occurs. But there must be one or more individuals with sufficient interest, intelligence, enthusiasm, and persuasive powers to formulate an ideological system, shape the policies, map out an organizational plan, and carry the appeal to the rank and file. Leaders may be of the charismatic ("divinely gifted") type—demagogues who possess a special virtuosity in manipulating their followers or hearers through emotional appeals; they may be scholarly individuals who direct their appeals mainly on a rational level; or they may be proficient agitators or organizers. Any single individual may of course be sufficiently versatile to exercise more than one form of leadership, but it is not likely that such versatility can encompass the entire range of leadership techniques.

Organization

One of the functions of leadership in a social movement is to weld its adherents into a unified social force, for it is only when individual activities are synchronized and systematized that effective collective action can be achieved. While the form of organization usually varies according to the type of movement, there are often striking similarities in the patterns which the organizations assume. Generally there is an over-all organization, which may be local, national, or even international in scope. This organization may have various divisions serving specific functions in the formulation of policies and direction of activities. Below the over-all organization there are often subordinate divisions representing some major geographic division or political area. At the bottom of the scale are the local organizations whose membership is composed of the rank and file. These are commonly known as clubs, "cells," committees, or associations. As mechanisms for maintaining or building morale and esprit de corps among the members, as well as for the recruitment of new adherents, these subordinate organizations are indispensable. It is through them that members achieve a sense of identification with the larger movement and are able to coordinate their activities toward a common goal.

Although local organizations provide a setting for direct and per-

sonal contacts between members, the integration of the movement as a whole can ordinarily be achieved most successfully through some form of mass appeal. Hence mass meetings, demonstrations, conclaves, rallies, and forums bring large numbers of persons together for inspiration and guidance. Not only do the participants in these mass gatherings experience a kind of spiritual uplift that welds the group together in a psychological sense, but the demonstrations themselves serve to impress nonmembers with the importance of the movement.

Communication

Perhaps equally important in the management and direction of a social movement is the use of mechanized media of communication, notably the radio, press, and motion picture. More than any other medium the radio has expanded the territorial scope of communication, often bringing a movement to the attention of individuals who might not be reached by other media. Most movements have a literature which serves both as a guidepost to the future and as a means of communication between the members and their leaders. This literature may encompass a wide range of printed materials—newspapers, books, magazines, brochures, tracts, leaflets, and posters. Though such literature tends to be propagandistic in nature, its quality may range from a logical and rational analysis of a situation, or an argument buttressed by carefully selected data, to sentimental appeals featuring familiar shibboleths, slogans, or catch phrases. Indeed the same movement may feature both intellectual and emotional appeals. Some movements have a "sacred" literature which not only has symbolic value but which also embodies part or all of the ideology of the crusade.

LIFE CYCLE OF A MOVEMENT

The emergence of a social movement does not necessarily mean that the current of activities set in motion will run its complete course toward projected goals. Sometimes the actual launching of a movement is poorly timed in terms of public interest. If there is a sharp distraction of public interest as a result, say, of a major event, a movement launched under such conditions may wither and

die. Sensational developments in a society such as war or a depression may so engage the attention of the masses that their earlier interests are pushed into the background. For this reason a social movement in a rapidly changing society is always in danger of breaking down early in its career, or even of distintegrating after it is well along the road toward its objective.

Different social movements in a democracy are constantly bidding for public support. Consequently many movements are stifled in the competitive race for survival. Some of them linger on indefinitely without making appreciable progress toward their goal but with enough support to keep them alive. This seems to have been the case with the second Ku Klux Klan, which was started as a movement about the time of World War I, flourished for a few years in the 1920's, then practically disappeared during the 1930's, only to be revived after World War II. Some movements are suppressed by force if their existence is considered inimical to broader social interests. Attempts at suppression are not always successful, however, as evidenced by the underground activities of revolutionaries in countries where subversive organizations are strictly prohibited. Leaders of the communist movement in Czarist Russia were executed, imprisoned, or banished to Siberia, but the movement itself continued to flourish in spite of such obstacles.

Not all social movements fall by the wayside, even though the mortality rate is very high. During the past century many movements "arrived at their destination," or at least in that vicinity. When the existing organization or some phase of it is changed in accordance with the objectives of a movement, and when the new patterns and ideologies become an established feature of the social order, the movement has reached the stage of institutionalization. Social movements are therefore embryonic institutions.

Few movements, if any, ever attain in full measure the objectives idealized in their ideologies. Often leaders are forced to compromise with the opposition in order to achieve any degree of success in their crusade. Frequently the new forms of organization, even when put into operation, fall short of expectations owing to the unworkable nature of the reforms or to difficulties in grafting new organizational forms on the old social structure. Some of the difficulties may arise from the failure of former adherents to support the

new organization for which they actually labored. Perhaps even more significant is the unorganized resistance in the form of deeply ingrained habits and modes of thought among the masses. Even when a social movement has reached the stage of institutionalization the organized and the unorganized resistance to it may be so great that only partial attainment of its objectives can be realized; and if it cannot deliver in its promises of a better order of things a tide of reaction against it may set in.

SOCIAL EPIDEMICS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

There are times when certain ideas, beliefs, or forms of behavior stir the imaginations of large numbers of people and, like wildfire, spread rapidly over a considerable area. These are the so-called crazes or social epidemics. Although a social movement often possesses some of the characteristics of the epidemic, there are important differences. A movement, particularly in its advanced stages, has a formal organization; a social epidemic is more or less nebulous, with only a limited organization at best. A movement ordinarily has a hierarchy of leaders whose functions or roles may be clearly defined; in a social epidemic, leadership, if such may be said to exist, is more or less spontaneous, and without any clearly defined roles. A social movement has specific objectives toward which a number of persons may strive collectively, sharing in the responsibilities of attaining these goals and in the benefits that come with success; in a social epidemic there is a minimum of shared responsibilities, and the objectives are mainly a matter of personal satisfaction through individual efforts rather than satisfactions derived from changes in the social system. A social movement, if its cycle is completed, may have a life span of years or even decades; more often than not the epidemic has a flash-in-the-pan quality, a transitoriness born of shifting personal interests.

Like the social movement, however, the epidemic often appears to be a product of individual and social unrest. But such unrest, instead of being crystallized in a body of social criticism and a collective effort to change the existing system, may be expressed in waves of behavior or ideas which sometimes are extravagant and faddish. The innovator of the behavior pattern, idea, or mode of

expression may have no notion of the social possibilities of his creation; but for some reason it may appeal to popular fancy, spreading rapidly as individuals become affected by the contagious spirit of "Everybody's doing it." Not only do the imitators find satisfaction in being "one of the crowd," they may also win recognition or attention, find surcease from boredom, enhance their social or economic status, or escape from their frustrations by breaking with the conventional modes of behavior.

SITUATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF SOCIAL EPIDEMICS

Social epidemics must always develop within a particular cultural situation and for this reason they tend to be colored by the basic values that characterize a social order at the given time. Some of the earlier epidemics in western Europe occurred at a time when the masses were preoccupied with religious beliefs. Among these epidemics were the dancing manias which occurred from time to time among religionists, the Children's Crusades in search of the Holy Grail, and the flagellant manias characterized by self-flogging as a religious rite, symbolic of the sufferings of Jesus.

Within the past century or two the secularization of society and the increasing emphasis upon material gain have introduced a pecuniary element in many of the social epidemics. Thus the get-rich-quick philosophy, so widely prevalent in Western civilization, seems to have been the motivating influence in such phenomena as the California and Klondike gold rushes, the Florida land boom, stock-market gambling manias, the chain-letter craze of the 1930's, and the pyramid-club craze of the late 1940's. But even earlier in western Europe, during the seventeenth century, there developed the so-called Tulip Mania in which large numbers of Hollanders participated in a fantastic speculative orgy, buying and selling tulip bulbs at fabulous prices—until the market collapsed and thousands were made penniless; also the Mississippi Bubble, another speculative craze which caught the fancy of the French population and which, after the inevitable collapse, virtually bankrupted their country.

Bizarre epidemics have occurred in this country during the past two decades, some of them apparently symptomatic of the wide-

spread unrest accompanying such social disturbances as the depression and the two world wars. During the 1930's various types of endurance contests became epidemic. These were the walking and dancing "marathons," flagpole-sitting contests, and endurance-flying exhibitions. Even goldfish swallowing developed into a craze on several college campuses. Popular dances have likewise attained epidemic proportions, among them the Charleston, the Big Apple, and jitterbug. Every season in American society produces one or more popular song hits which attract the public for a brief time and then fade into the limbo of musical antiques. Of much the same character are the slogans, catch phrases, and quips which seem to arise spontaneously, flourish for a short season, and then sink into oblivion. Such expressions as "Twenty-three Skidoo," "Oh Yeah?" "Where's Elmer?" "Kilroy Was Here," "Quoz," and "Let George Do It," nonsensical as they may appear, were popular crazes each in its own day.

Rumor as a Cause of Social Epidemics

One of the most significant forms of social contagion is *rumor*. Rumors are often symptomatic of confusion, uncertainty, anxieties, or unrealized hopes and desires. When individuals are "in the dark," when they possess inadequate information for the satisfaction of their curiosity concerning past, present, or future events, when they are apprehensive or overwishful about "things to come," and when they lack a reasonable understanding of what is happening about them, they may become highly susceptible to suggestion and thus fall prey to rumors and rumor mongering. Once a rumor gets started it tends to spread rapidly, often reaching its peak coverage within a few hours or days from the time of origin. As a stone tossed into a placid pool starts a series of waves that spread in all directions, so may a rumor attract attention and gain currency, spreading far beyond its point of origin. Its disappearance may be equally swift, though the life span of the rumor varies with the specific situation.

Spontaneous and Deliberate Rumors

Rumors may originate either spontaneously or with deliberate intent. Spontaneous rumors originate when one or more persons who are preoccupied with a particular situation or event verbalize

their explanations or predictions. Other individuals, especially if they are similarly preoccupied, seize upon these explanatory or predictive expressions and pass them on as truth or fact. The deliberate rumor, on the other hand, is planted for the express purpose of influencing attitudes or behavior. Rumors so originated are obviously propagandistic in nature. Owing to the obscure origins of rumors it is not always easy to distinguish between the spontaneous and deliberate varieties. When in 1942, for example, a predictive rumor developed concerning the imminence of clothes rationing, causing a heavy run on clothing stocks, it was not possible to determine whether this report had been planted by enemy agents or was merely spontaneous in nature. However the rumor may have originated, the psychological receptivity of the American people caused it to spread swiftly all over the country.

Social crises that disrupt the familiar patterns of life and reduce the dependability of normal expectations are almost always productive of rumors. This is eminently true of modern warfare which by its nature creates confusion, uncertainty, and apprehension among the masses. Since military strategy is not a matter for openhearted discussion, the censorship that is necessarily imposed prevents the great majority from obtaining reliable information concerning what has happened or is about to happen. There is, consequently, a tendency for individuals to fill the gap with their own explanations or predictions or to accept those that have been suggested by others. These rumors may be utterly fantastic, without the slightest plausibility, or they may be astonishingly accurate, based on realistic observations of actual conditions or trends.

THE NATURE OF FASHION

Fashion behavior has many of the characteristics of the social epidemic. Once a fashion is created and finds immediate acceptance it may sweep the country within a few weeks and be the subject of widespread interest and conversation, only to be abandoned as "old-fashioned" at the end of a brief season when attention is directed to new styles or designs. Then the cycle is repeated. It is this ephemeral and rhythmic quality that differentiates fashion from custom. Fashion is, in essence, a deviation from some conven-

tional norm—a minor departure from and a return to the highroad of custom, as Sapir put it. It is custom to wear clothes; it is fashion behavior to wear a particular design or style of clothing if the wearing of such attire is a matter of voluntary choice.

While fashion is commonly associated with attire, there are also fashions in the arrangement of hair, in the decoration of the face or limbs, in speech and in mannerisms; fashions in furniture, in foods, in automobiles, in recreational activities, in architecture, even in ideas. The length of the fashion cycle varies according to the type of fashion; in attire the life span of a given fashion may be only a few months, but in furniture or in architecture a fashionable design may be dominant for years or even decades. In the summer of 1929 miniature golf became a fashionable sport for millions of city people; within a year it had lost its appeal as the masses turned to other forms of recreation. "Period" furniture as an upper-class fashion has a much longer span of popularity. Fashions in women's attire tend to change more often and more radically than fashions in the clothing of men.

Fads

Fads are fashions carried to the extreme. Faddish behavior tends to be more ephemeral, spectacular, and bizarre than fashion behavior; and being exotic and extravagant the fad often does violence to the prevailing canons of propriety and good taste. While a particular fashion may find acceptance by the majority, a fad, because of its extremist character, tends to be confined to a relatively small coterie of individuals. Even more than fashion, the fad has a flash-in-the-pan quality; it is here today and gone tomorrow. Figuratively speaking, it is the "lunatic fringe" of fashion.

Fashion and Personal Status

Fashion behavior is an expression of individualism and of preoccupation with personal status. In an individualized society such as ours there is not only social pressure for conformity but likewise a strong motivation for deviant behavior. One may feel the need to conform in order to maintain or improve one's status; but there is also a compulsion to be different, though not *too* different. It is

partly because of this tendency to be different, to express one's individuality, that fashion has such a popular appeal, for through socially approved deviations one may attain recognition or attract attention. The demands of fashion for conformity to the prevailing styles are, therefore, always tempered by the freedom accorded the individual to express himself as he chooses, either to reject the prevailing fashions altogether or to make whatever adaptations of the fashion he desires. In the end he usually conforms to the prevailing fashion trends.

Aside from the basic factors of social change, other conditions characteristic of Western culture are favorable to fashion behavior. One condition is the wide diffusion of wealth among the masses. Only in a society having an economic surplus above that necessary for actual survival can fashion play an important role in social life. Certainly these conditions obtain in the middle and upper classes, and there is also a considerable amount of leisure time which permits the individual in our society to develop interests and engage in activities not directly related to earning a living. Still another factor is technology. Modern systems of mass production have created vast numbers of objects many of which come to be associated with fashion behavior. Combined with this is the existing system of mass distribution, including transportation and modern merchandising, which not only makes fashion objects available to those who can afford them but also functions to stimulate widespread interest in them. No less important is mass communication, especially the press, the radio, and the motion picture, which has greatly expanded the range of human interests. These media of communication have been effectively used by the advertiser to focus attention on fashion objects and to maintain a constant preoccupation with fashion behavior.

Situational Factors in Fashion Behavior

Fashions and fads are not only products of a changing social order; they are themselves forms of social change—the most rapid change in any society. Fashion waves or epidemics may also reflect the temper of the times. An upsurge of nationalism, for example, is expressed in fashions that are symbolic of the national spirit. The

military *motif* in wearing apparel is widely accepted in time of war. In times of widespread social unrest the incidence of extravagant fads apparently tends to increase.

CROWD BEHAVIOR

In common parlance a crowd is any considerable number of persons who are gathered together in close physical proximity to each other. Sociologists and psychologists, however, give the term a somewhat more restricted meaning. As they define it, a crowd is a temporary or ephemeral social grouping characterized by (1) direct or face-to-face contacts, (2) emotional excitation among individuals in the group, and (3) more or less uninhibited behavior as an expression of increased suggestibility. Such a conception of the crowd is primarily concerned both with the subjective experience of individuals in the group and with the overt behavior patterns that reflect these inner experiences. Yet because of the wide variety of types of crowds and of situations producing crowd behavior, any generalized definition can have only limited application.

Varied Situations Producing Crowds

Crowd behavior is universal, as much a feature of modern civilization as of primitive society. What varies is the particular psychological and behavioristic pattern which the crowd may assume. Every crowd must develop within a general cultural framework and in response to a specific social or physical situation. Since these situational factors are widely varied and themselves constantly changing, it is inevitable that crowd behavior should be manifest in a variety of forms. Each crowd, of course, is unique to a certain degree; yet certain uniformities in overt behavior and subjective responses may be observed.

Most if not all societies provide certain mechanisms for channeling the crowd tendencies of individuals into socially approved patterns. Through participation in these sanctioned forms of crowd behavior the individual may experience emotional satisfactions in the release of inner tensions or in escaping from strains and burdens imposed by the demands of conventional life. Crowd participation may thus have a certain therapeutic value for the individual. But not all crowds are socially approved, nor are they necessarily bene-

ficial either to the participant or to society. Some of them, indeed, are downright destructive of personality and social relationships, to say nothing of property and other forms of wealth.

Ephemeral Character of Crowds

Because of the intensity of emotional reactions of individuals participating in crowd activities, crowds are ephemeral in nature. Within a few hours at best the participants are "burned out"—emotionally exhausted or physically enervated. For this reason a crowd can have no tradition, no literature, and no division of labor beyond that of simple leadership and followership. Yet a crowd may be associated with some other group that does have these attributes. Individuals participating in a social movement may at times behave as a crowd, but the crowd as such is not a necessary adjunct to a movement nor does it possess the permanence, the formal organization, the ideology, or the leadership that are invariably characteristic of movements in Western society. Perhaps it is correct to say that the movement merely provides the setting and motivation for crowd behavior.

Organization and Crowd Behavior

It is hardly correct to say that all crowds are *unorganized.* Some are—spontaneous crowds that occur when a crisis develops suddenly, or an unexpected event attracts the attention of a large number of curious persons. Certain types of crowds, however, have a considerable degree of organization in the sense that there are formally designated leaders with specified functions to perform, fairly definite patterns of behavior which the group is expected to follow, and a specified time and place for the crowd to assemble. Great spectator crowds or mass demonstrations, exemplified at football games or at political rallies, have some semblance of organization. Yet within this tenuous organizational framework there is a great deal of freedom for relatively uninhibited behavior expressive of certain emotional or feeling tones. Members of a crowd, individually or collectively, may, however, deviate from the accepted pattern of behavior and act in a manner that is neither anticipated nor approved, as in the case of a pleasure-seeking football crowd being transformed into an angry mob.

The Panic

On the subjective side of crowd behavior there are dominant feeling tones that tend to produce somewhat different types of overt responses. One of these is fear. Where individuals gathered together become dominated by fear, a common response is flight, an attempt to escape from the situation. This is the type of crowd behavior known as panic. Almost everyone is familiar with panics that occur when individuals frantically attempt to escape from a sinking ship or a burning building. Even armies have been known to break discipline under fire and behave as a panic-stricken crowd. Unlike certain other types of crowds, panic behavior is highly individualized—it is a case of "every man for himself." There is no unity of purpose or action in a panic except as each individual may try desperately to free himself and flee from the situation, often at the expense of others in the group. A panic invariably results in the immediate disintegration of the group unless the obstacles to flight are insurmountable or unless there is a response to counter-suggestions designed to calm fears and effect an orderly form of behavior.

The Mob

Another dominant feeling tone, hatred or anger, is commonly expressed in a pattern of crowd behavior known as the mob. Unlike the panic, the mob acts in concert toward a particular objective. During its brief life span the mob becomes a highly integrated type of grouping. Once its objective has been attained, or an insuperable obstacle is placed in its path, it may disintegrate as rapidly as it came into existence. Mob behavior is most characteristic of situations in which ethnic, racial, religious, or class differences have been accompanied by deep-seated prejudices and strained relationships. A criminal offense, either real or trumped-up, is often the signal for mob action, particularly if tensions between racial or cultural groups are already present. The race riots and man hunts so common in certain parts of America usually occur when a Negro is accused of committing an offense against white persons. On the Western frontier the most despised individual was probably the cattle rustler, and the accepted method of dealing with him was summary action by the lynching mob.

Sometimes mob action is a sort of psychological explosion in which the pent-up emotions of a considerable number of individuals, such as inmates of a prison or members of a ship's crew, find expression in attacks against those in authority. Most frequently mob action is directed against a single individual or a group of persons, but not infrequently the members of a mob may give vent to their feelings by destruction of property, particularly if the property symbolizes an idea or relationship which they despise.

The Orgiastic Crowd

The feeling tone of pleasure or gratification appears to be the dominant subjective characteristic of the orgiastic crowd. While the panic crowd tends toward rapid dissolution as members attempt flight from a situation, and the mob achieves solidarity through a fusion of hate sentiment and direct collective action toward a common objective, the orgiastic crowd becomes welded together as individuals find emotional gratification in "milling" around or jointly participating in pleasurable action. Since in the orgiastic type of crowd the individual may find surcease from his worries, respite from the monotony of the workaday world, intense stimulation from associating with others, or even a feeling of inner serenity for having engaged in some joint activity, such crowds probably occur in every society.

One of the most exotic patterns of the orgiastic crowd is the dance of preliterate peoples—the rain dance or sun dance, for example. Very similar in some ways is the revival meeting in which individuals become so emotionally excited and spiritually uplifted by the rhythmic singing, the prayers, the sermon, and the very presence of other ecstatic individuals that a definite pattern of crowd behavior emerges—uninhibited dancing, singing, weeping, shouting, and "speaking in tongues." Every society has its festival days that are occasions for merrymaking and revelry. In this country, as elsewhere, New Year's Eve is probably the most important single occasion for unconventional group behavior. However, meetings of certain veterans' and fraternal organizations may be occasions for uninhibited group behavior, as may also political rallies and parades.

The Spectator Crowd

When an aggregation of individuals is motivated by curiosity concerning a person, act, event, or object, and the attention of the group is focused on the thing of interest, the phenomenon may be called a spectator crowd. Ordinarily such a crowd is more or less passive, though it may easily be galvanized into action. In some ways it is similar to an audience, yet the latter is usually more reflective and somewhat less transitory than the spectator crowd. Examples of spectator crowds would be the pedestrians who suddenly focus their attention on a street accident, a fire, or an exhibit in a store window.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How would you distinguish between individual unrest and social unrest?
2. What conditions in modern society are conducive to unrest?
3. How would you relate social unrest to social movements?
4. Show by examples some of the conditions or situations in our society that are the results of social movements.
5. Indicate some of the ways, other than social movements, by which changes occur in the social order.
6. Of what significance is the statement that social movements are embryonic institutions? Give examples.
7. How does a social movement resemble or differ from a social epidemic?
8. How do you account for the rise and spread of rumors?
9. What conditions in our society are conducive to the appearance and spread of fashions or fads?
10. Males in this country are apparently less preoccupied with fashions than females. What explanation would you offer?
11. A crowd is a social group, but not all groups are crowds. What distinctions would you make?
12. Name and illustrate the major types of crowds discussed in the text.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Select a social movement in which you may be interested and make an analysis of it, emphasizing particularly the conditions that gave rise to the movement, its organizational features, ideology, leadership, and tactics employed in achieving the desired objectives.
2. Make a study of a social epidemic that has occurred in recent years, indicating the social conditions under which it developed, the extent to which it spread, the kind of people who succumbed, and the life span of the epidemic itself.
3. Identify rumors that have been circulated in recent months or years

and make an analysis of them, indicating particularly the conditions that were apparently responsible for their occurrence.

4. Analyze a specific innovation in fashionable attire, noting especially the reactions of individuals to the new styles, the resistance offered to the changes, and the extent to which the fashions were eventually adopted.

5. Recall some crowd which you have observed and describe the reactions of individuals, yourself included, to the situation.

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Chapter 23

PUBLIC OPINION

An attitude is a tendency to act positively, negatively, or neutrally toward some meaningful thing in our world of experience. That thing or object may be either material or nonmaterial in nature: it may be a house, an article of clothing, a person, an idea, a system of religion, a racial group, a form of government, a behavior pattern, or any other identifiable thing which has a certain meaning and upon which some value is placed. Usually an attitude is acquired in two ways: indirectly through communication with other individuals in which there is transmitted, commonly by verbal symbols, certain values or meanings; or directly through experience with particular objects or things. Often the specific attitude which an individual holds toward something is acquired both indirectly and directly.

ATTITUDE AND OPINION

In the foregoing definition of an attitude the emphasis must be placed on the *tendency* to act. It is not so much a complete act as the subjective phase of the act. In a real sense it is the psychological mainspring which may terminate in some form of overt action. One may hate another individual, thereby displaying an attitudinal tendency to act with respect to that person. The act is not complete, however, until that tendency is carried over into some form of overt expression which is indicative of the attitude of hatred. Until some overt manifestation occurs the attitude may remain unexpressed as a "state of mind." By their very nature, therefore, attitudes are inferential in nature; that is, they must be inferred from some overt expression because they cannot be observed directly.

The overt expression of an attitude may be a symbolic or nonsymbolic act. Thus it may take the form of a verbalized expression, either oral or written; or it may be manifest in some bodily action of a nonverbal character. An individual's attitude of hatred for persons of a given race may, for example, be verbalized in the form of criticism or other expression of dislike, or it may be manifest in physical attacks on such persons. Often such overt expressions are both symbolic and nonsymbolic. It is for the symbolic expression of an attitude that the term opinion is reserved. When the individual's subjective tendency or state of mind is externalized in the form of a verbal expression, then it is correct to say that he has an opinion about a particular thing.

These tendencies to act are commonly associated with certain emotional qualities, or feeling tones, to which we commonly apply such terms as anger, fear, love, grief, pleasure, satisfaction, dissatisfaction. The character or intensity of these feeling tones may depend in part upon the condition of the organism, in part upon the cultural definitions associated with particular situations. Often the *overt* expression of an attitude reveals the emotional state that goes with and partly constitutes the attitude. In the area of international relationships, for example, attitudes are frequently charged with deep-seated feeling tones that virtually dominate the judgments of individuals.

THE NATURE OF PUBLIC OPINION

Through social interaction the individual acquires certain values, meanings, and tendencies to act in particular ways. It is in this interacting relationship that a *public* opinion develops. As the concept is commonly used, it has reference to the opinions that are expressed concerning some issue, question, or situation which is viewed with interest by a considerable number of persons. When a situation or condition arises which is unanticipated and for which no provision has been made by society, individuals affected by it may reflect upon the matter, discuss the problem pro and con, and perhaps eventually arrive at some working agreement on social policy or group action. Their evaluation of the situation and the views they hold concerning an appropriate policy of action may vary

widely. At the same time there often exist points of agreement as well as disagreement.

A society characterized by a flow of events so rapid as to make existing forms of organization unworkable, or a society having a wide divergence of definitions as to the good, the true, and the beautiful, provides a setting conducive to the development of a dynamic public opinion. Many social events assume the form of crises to which some kind of adjustment must be effected by individuals or groups. Out of these crisis situations issues arise which may necessitate an appraisal of the problem and collective action toward a specified objective. The situation becomes, then, an arena of discussion, controversy, or even overt conflict. The issue may be of concern to relatively few persons having specialized interests, to an entire community, or to millions of individuals representing different national and cultural backgrounds.

It may elicit sober, reflective discussion in which all interested persons strive to arrive at a mutually satisfactory agreement as to the nature of the problem and the desirable forms of collective action; it may, on the other hand, occasion such violent disagreements that no working basis for a solution to the problem can be achieved. Public opinion developing around "live" issues rarely achieves unanimity, though in a democratic society there may be tacit agreement that the will of the majority should prevail.

It would be misleading to assume that public opinion is the end product of strictly rational and logical thought. Even when a critical judgment is exercised it by no means implies an unbiased judgment, nor a judgment free of prejudice, stereotyped ideas, illogical methods of reasoning, or emotional reactions. Thus the opinion of individuals often reflects their prejudices, anxieties, hopes, aspirations, and personal likes or dislikes. Furthermore, interested individuals may base their judgment on a limited number of facts selected for them by propagandists with special axes to grind. Many issues are so involved and the relevant data so complicated and inaccessible that the average person, even if he has the time and inclination, cannot be familiar with all the pertinent facts. On broad national or international issues it is doubtful if the masses always have sufficient information on which to base a valid opinion one way or the other. Nevertheless, they do have opinions.

PUBLIC OPINION AS A CONDITION AND AS A PROCESS

Public opinion may be viewed both as a *state* of the public mind and as a *process*. The former approach is concerned with the content of public opinion on a specified issue at a particular time; that is, what the public actually thinks. The second approach involves the process of opinion formation—how men make up their minds and arrive at collective judgments on various issues that challenge their interest, or how their attitudes and opinions change under the impact of social or other influences.

At the risk of oversimplification, one may say that the initial stage in the development of a public opinion occurs when a few persons recognize in some situation a problem, reflect upon its significance, and discuss its various ramifications for the group. A second stage occurs when, after reflection upon and discussion of the situation, proposals for some form of collective action relative to the problem are offered. At this point the focus of attention and discussion shifts to the merits of the proposals themselves. Inasmuch as individuals may appraise the problem differently, so may they differ greatly on proposed forms of action dealing with the situation. Hence there may be proposals and counterproposals, charges and countercharges, efforts to line persons up on one side or the other, calm deliberation or violent controversy, with the issue itself sometimes becoming obscure in the interchange of opinion and the clash of personalities. As a final stage there may be some kind of working agreement indicating tacit acceptance of majority rule. Even at this stage the issue is not necessarily settled in a final sense because dissatisfied members of the public may continue their discussions, voice their protests against the policies that have been formally approved, or actually attempt to block the program of action in the hope that their own ideas may be put into effect.

PUBLIC OPINION AND SELF-INTEREST

Public opinion on social issues commonly, though not always, reflects the self-interest of particular individuals or groups striving for some advantage. Wherever there are religious, racial, ethnic, economic, or class differences, personal judgments with reference to

a live issue may reflect these deep cleavages and the attitudes prevailing within each group. This may be illustrated by the issue of price control during the period immediately following World War II. Probably most individuals with commodities to sell were opposed to the control of prices because larger profits could be earned when prices were increasing. Self-interested groups opposed to price control included farmers, manufacturers, and merchants. Favoring price control were individuals and groups on relatively fixed incomes whose standard of living was reduced as the price level increased; consequently, consumers with nothing to sell except their services or labor, notably manual workers and white-collar employees, were inclined to support legislation for the control of prices. Here, then, was an issue that was hotly debated for many weeks. All shades and varieties of opinion were expressed. When a policy of action was finally formulated it was, as might be expected, a compromise, perhaps not completely satisfactory to any of the interested groups.

There are various ways in which issues are settled. Interested individuals may gather to discuss the problem, examine carefully all the available information bearing on the question, and arrive at a unanimous agreement on a given procedure. For many broad social questions, the resolution of the issue may be a compromise, with the policies enforced by some agency or organization having authority to carry out the program. Where one or both of the opposing groups are unwilling or unable to make concessions, open conflict may result. In this case the decision is handed down to the losers by the victors. So far as the losers are concerned the issue may remain a live one though it may be removed from the arena of open debate and discussion by those in authority.

Even though it is possible to attain through precision tests a fairly faithful picture of the content of public opinion at any given time, such a picture does not necessarily take into account the dynamic nature of the phenomenon. If there is one thing that does characterize the reflections and judgments of men it is their evanescent nature. On particular issues one may detect ebbs and flows of public opinion, minor flurries here and there, and occasionally great outbursts that reach tidal-wave proportions. Public opinion polling organizations are aware of these shifts, and through a series of polls

over a considerable period of time attempt to show the trends which are occurring. It is not always possible, however, to account for these trends, though in some instances the factors appear to be fairly clear. During the early phase of World War II, before the United States became a belligerent, sharp shifts in American public opinion on the issue of assistance to England occurred with each announcement of a major German or British victory.

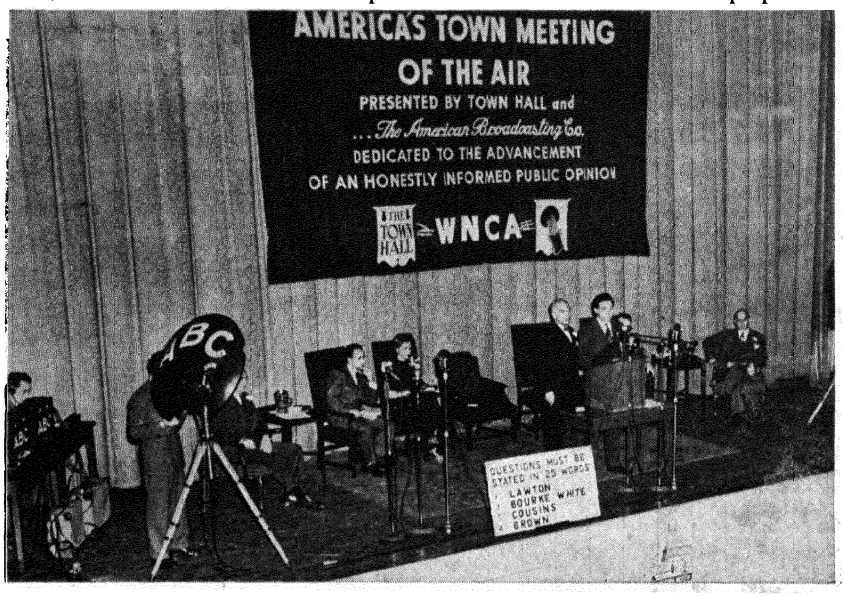
FACTORS AFFECTING PUBLIC OPINION

The development of mechanical media for mass communication, particularly the press, the radio, and the motion picture, has greatly altered the character of public opinion formation. For one thing, mechanized communication has expanded the scope of social issues to include problems far beyond the immediate experiences of the individual. So long as communication was limited largely to personal contacts, and so long as communities were isolated from the outside world by the barriers of geographic distance, issues tended to be defined mainly in terms of local situations about which the individual had some first-hand knowledge. Today these problem situations extend far beyond the person's immediate experience. It is as though the whole world had dumped its problems on the lap of the individual through the agencies of mass communication, demanding, though not always getting, his interest in the broader affairs of men.

Secondly, through mass communication modern man has easy access to a far greater body of information or ideas than he would ordinarily have if his contacts were limited to personal relationships in his primary groups. The significance of this fact can hardly be overestimated because sound judgments must have a factual foundation and because an acquaintance with ideas of others is a necessary stimulant to opinion formation. It is for this reason that the channels for the mass dissemination of "news" and opinion must be kept open if an enlightened public opinion is to develop. The funneling of information and ideas to the individual through mechanized media does not mean, of course, that direct contacts with the ideas of others through personal discussion or debate are of no consequence in the crystallization of opinion. In the final

analysis it is these personal relationships that often are decisive in the actual formulation of individual judgments concerning particular issues.

Another important factor in the development of public opinion is the character of the educational system. If the major objective in education is proficiency at rote learning or mastery of a technical skill, the individual is not provided the intellectual equipment



The famous and influential Town Meeting of the Air in action. In the summer of 1949 Town Meeting made a round-the-world tour during which there were a dozen broadcasts in the capitals of important countries. (Courtesy Town Hall, New York)

necessary for a critical evaluation of many important issues. For this reason increasing recognition is being given by educational leaders to the development of socially intelligent and informed citizens. Still another factor is the occupation and income of the person. Where individuals or entire groups are ground down by the ruthless heel of poverty, there may be little time, energy, or inclination to reflect and act on issues of the day, even though their own destinies may be determined by the way these issues are decided. Numerous studies indicate that impoverished individuals,

on the whole, are less adequately informed and less interested in social issues than persons whose economic position has made possible stimulating contacts, better education, and a degree of freedom from the grinding task of earning a living.

THE PUBLIC

A "public" has reference to those persons who reflect upon and discuss a particular issue. A public may include a large or small number of persons; it may be ephemeral in character or it may exist over a considerable length of time; it may be concerned with highly specialized issues or with issues that are important to persons in all walks of life. So long as individuals differ on questions pertaining to the political, economic, religious, artistic, scientific, or social aspects of life, and so long as these questions form the basis for an expression of views, then a public, or, more correctly, numerous publics, may be said to exist. Since there are as many publics as there are issues, it follows that in a changing society like our own there is a vast number of publics of one kind or another. As new issues or problems arise, new publics come into existence; as the old issues are resolved, the publics to which they gave rise become only a memory of the past.

One may distinguish between a "general" and a "special" public.[1] Those individuals who are interested in a particular issue but who lack special competence to deal with the problem because they do not possess certain skills, information, or experience may be thought of as a general public. They are laymen so far as this particular issue is concerned. At the core of the general public may be a number of "insiders" who, because of their special knowledge, mastery of techniques, or advantageous position have a far greater understanding of the problem, and frequently more competence to deal with it, than the "bystanders." This is the special public.

In a great many instances a particular issue is so far removed from the experiences of the average person that a general public can hardly be said to exist. An illustration would be an issue relative to the merits of a particular scientific theory about which only a comparatively small number of scientists would be interested or

[1] See especially C. D. Clark, "The Concept of the Public," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 13, pp. 1–10, March, 1933.

have relevant information. Frequently such issues eventually become publicized so that the circle of interested persons is enlarged to include laymen who have no special competence to deal with the question but who have opinions about it nevertheless. At this stage there would be both a special and a general public. When the famous Scopes trial concerning the teaching of evolution was held in Tennessee several years ago it attracted widespread attention all over the country. Opinions were divided over the question whether biological evolution of the human species was a scientific fact or merely a fanciful idea concocted by the servants of the devil and designed to undermine morality and religion. Of the large number of persons who held or expressed opinions about the matter, probably only a small group of scientists or other well-informed persons had the requisite knowledge to deal with the matter logically and rationally. A large portion of the general public, deriving its information from popular literature or from hearsay, thought largely in terms of stereotypes, prejudices, and half truths.

Among the members of a public there is likely to be a wide range in the intensity of feeling and interest. This might be thought of as a continuum. At one end of the scale would be individuals for whom the issue transcended all other questions in importance; at the opposite end would be persons who were aware of the issue, who even participated in the discussion, but whose interest was relatively slight. Between these two extremes would be persons with moderate interest in the issue.

There is also a considerable variety of differences in the way the members of a public appraise an issue and the methods of dealing with the situation. Again one is likely to find two polar extremes of thought with an infinite variety of opinions between the extreme positions. Instead of a public's being neatly divided into two controversial camps representing the "pro" and the "con," there are frequently many "pros" and many "cons," each representing a somewhat distinct shade of opinion.

PRESSURE GROUPS

A pressure group is a public which, directly or through its representatives, brings its influence to bear upon other organized groups

in favor of, or in opposition to, particular forms of thought or collective action. As the term is commonly used it applies to publics operating in the affairs of government, though pressure publics certainly operate in other phases of modern society. Often a pressure public functions on the basis of narrow group interests, however much the members of the public may rationalize their efforts as being desirable for the common welfare. Whether the policies of a pressure group are actually in the interest of the larger society depends upon the nature of these policies. Some are; some are not.

Government in a democracy, designed to express the "will of the people," functions largely in response to the influence of pressure groups. This is not to imply that pressure groups have equal strength or are equally articulate. Manifestly many pressure groups have the wealth and prestige to secure from government many of the things they want, or to block governmental programs which they do not desire. For this reason government often favors powerful pressure publics rather than publics which are unorganized and therefore incapable of exerting much influence, even though the latter may have just as meritorious a case.

Pressure groups are usually spearheaded by an individual or a small number of persons who formulate the pressure tactics and either carry them out directly or delegate such actions to other designated individuals. In a democracy these unofficial representatives may be just about as important in the affairs of government as the officially elected representatives of the people. Many powerful publics maintain permanent staffs, commonly known as lobbies, whose function is to influence governmental officials for or against particular policies. The tactics they employ are dictated by the situation and the disposition of the officials whom they seek to influence. Often they provide lavish entertainment for their "clients," or distribute gifts among those who are willing to accept them. Through intimate personal contacts they may influence the views and ultimately the votes of officials. Armed with facts and figures carefully selected for the particular purpose, they may be the principal source of information to which a legislator or administrator has ready access. Another method is to create an impression of widespread popular approval of their ideas by inducing large numbers of persons to communicate with the official representatives,

demanding their support of, or opposition to, designated policies. Even bribery is not unknown.

In this country the strongest and most influential pressure groups are industrialists, business men, farmers, organized labor, and veterans. Representing the industrialists is the National Association of Manufacturers, an organization with vast financial resources available for pressure activi-

SUMMARY

WORLD CONDITIONS and events since the war make it imperative to study the foreign and domestic economic policy of the United States, and to revise it to make it realistic. The foreign and the domestic economic policies are vitally related and should not be established independently.

The economic policy should derive from the Dynamic Economy of the United States.

Freedom, peace, and prosperity are common goals and aspirations of our people.

In pursuing these goals, the Dynamic Economy of the United States can increase the prosperity and welfare of the people at home as well as abroad.

Almost infinite diversification of economic activity has given this country's economy its dynamic character. Specialization would tend to make it static. As a world leader in production and trade, the United States has the responsibility to provide diversity and increasing volume of production distributed widely throughout its territory, and must take part in the growth of foreign trade, both export and import.

Meanwhile, a perspective should be maintained on the relative parts in our total economy performed by domestic and foreign trade. The domestic economy accounts for at least 90 percent of the total, and foreign trade not over 10 percent.

So long as there are nations, and political boundaries preventing the free movement of people, there cannot be free movement of goods, that is, free trade. So long as there are nations, there will be need for the regulation of trade between nations.

It is generally conceded that customs duties can regulate foreign trade with a minimum of interference with the flow of goods. It must be kept in mind that only about 35 percent of our imports, based on value, are subject to customs duties. The majority enter the United States free of duty.

A Doctrine of Scientific Tariff is proposed. A high tariff is one with rates of customs duty higher than necessary to serve the purposes of tariff. A low tariff is one with rates too low to serve the purposes. A Scientific Tariff is one with rates of customs duty maintained at levels which just serve the purposes, and with no duties imposed where no purpose is served. The purposes for a given duty should be stated, and the need for any change in a duty should be judged in respect to those purposes.

A System of Equitable Tariff is proposed, that is, tariff which is fair, just, balanced, and impartial. As most of the purposes for a customs duty are served when the duty on imports equalizes certain differences in cost of production in the United States and abroad, such as wages, taxes, and social security, a system which defines and provides for equalization is necessary to implement the Doctrine of Scientific Tariff.

A Policy of Flexibility is proposed. As conditions of production and trade are not static, but forever changing, the need and purposes of customs duties likewise are changing. Only with a Policy of Flexibility can a Scientific Tariff Doctrine be practiced.

A United States Commission for International Trade is proposed as the body to handle the economic and tariff problems of foreign trade. That body would act as a commission, in some respects along the lines of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

It is proposed that the administrative provisions be in an act of Congress separate from the Dutiable and Free Lists. Changes in the administrative provisions, in the political field, would require an act of Congress. Changes in the Dutiable and Free Lists, in the economic field, could be made in the absence of Congressional action.

The Trade Agreements Act is rigid. Trade agreements under the Act are hampering our trade and our foreign relations. Section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, known as the Trade Agreements Act, should be allowed to expire. The status of customs duties and agreements should be explained to the public. At the earliest practical time, legislation should provide the doctrine, policy, and system proposed for handling customs duties.

The Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization should not be approved by Congress. It should be renegotiated to provide for constructive activities based on sound principles universally applicable.

If these proposals are adopted, it should then be practical to resume our foreign trade where it has ceased, to increase it where it exists, and to develop new channels and new commodities in trade. It should be possible for the government to win the confidence of all segments of our economy and the support of all sincerely interested groups and people at home. The system should improve our foreign relations as well, and encourage the adoption of similar systems in other countries to the mutual benefit of all.

Propaganda by pamphlet. (From *Declaration of Principles and Program for World Trade*, by American Tariff League)

ties. For the business men of the country the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Association of Retail Grocers, and the Association of American Railroads are among the most influential of the organizations devoted to pressure methods. For farmers there is the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Farmers Union, and the Grange, each of which represents a somewhat distinct segment of the agricultural population.

Who wants the "Closed Shop"?

NOT THE PUBLIC . . . A 1947 nation-wide poll revealed that only one out of every ten people favors the closed shop—which requires every worker in a company to belong to a union BEFORE he can be hired.

NOT THE WORKERS . . . The same poll disclosed that only one out of every ten of the nation's manual workers favors the closed shop.

NOT EVEN THE MEMBERS OF UNIONS . . . According to this same study, among union members themselves, one out of every five favors the closed shop.

THE PUBLIC has learned by bitter experience that the closed shop, together with industry-wide bargaining, gives union leaders almost unlimited power—power that can stop the production of goods, shut off an essential public service, and put the health and comfort of hundreds of thousands of people in jeopardy.

MANUAL WORKERS as a whole know that the closed shop can deny them the right to work in their chosen jobs—unless they join the union.

UNION MEMBERS themselves have found that the closed shop means they must forfeit their individual freedom and follow union dictation, whether they agree with the rightness of such dictation or not!

IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST, as well as in the interest of both industry and labor, the National Association of Manufacturers believes that all forms of compulsory union membership should be prohibited because they are contrary to the American way of life.

[Write for your copy of "Americans Won't Stand for Monopolies," which includes the full text of NAM's program for industrial peace and national prosperity. Address: NAM, 14 West 49th Street, New York 20, N. Y.]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS

For a Better Tomorrow for Everybody

Reproduction of a newspaper advertisement giving the National Association of Manufacturers' views on the "closed shop."

Organized workers function as a pressure public mainly through the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the railway brotherhoods. Former service men are represented by the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Veterans Committee, and several minor organizations. Most of these publics are organized on a national, state, and local basis.

Other publics maintain effective pressure organizations as well. A large percentage of the physicians of the country are identified with the American Medical Association and subsidiary state and county organizations. Teachers, organized into the National Education Association and various state or local organizations, are in a position to make known to legislators their likes and dislikes concerning legislation having a bearing on the interests of the teaching profession. The American Bar Association and the state organizations of lawyers perform the same function for lawyers. One could enumerate many other organizations such as the Federal Council of Churches, the League of Women Voters, the American Bankers Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National Consumers League, or the American Association of Social Workers which function on behalf of the particular publics which they represent. Sometimes several pressure groups having similar interests cooperate toward the attainment of specific objectives, as in the case of the combined opposition of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Farm Bureau Federation to price control after World War II.

THE MEASUREMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION

Social psychologists have been interested for many years in the scientific problem of measuring attitudes and opinions. Out of their efforts have come many tests, questionnaires, scales, and other precision devices designed to measure objectively the "attitudes" of individuals on a wide variety of questions and issues. A parallel development has been the so-called public opinion poll. Although public opinion polls of a crude nature were conducted in this country even before 1900, it was not until the *Literary Digest*, which entered the polling field in 1916, had conducted several extensive opinion polls that the procedure became very well known.[2] Marketing specialists and businessmen have also carried on surveys of consumers' opinions about particular commodities or trade practices,

[2] The *Literary Digest*, however, eventually had to suspend publication following an avalanche of cancelled subscriptions that came on the heels of its erroneous prediction that Landon would defeat F. D. Roosevelt by a wide margin in the 1936 Presidential election. Twelve years later virtually every magazine and newspaper in the country went even further wrong in predicting a sweeping victory for Dewey over Truman, but while the public opinion poll lost some of its prestige for a while, the press as a whole was able to live it down.

and newspapers and radio broadcasters frequently use such devices to determine the character of reader and listener interest.

In recent years opinion polling on popular issues has become sufficiently precise and objective to merit confidence in its techniques as a reasonably accurate gauge of public opinion, in spite of the fact that all polls without exception went wrong in 1948 in predicting a Republican victory. Many private polling organizations are actively engaged in polling activities, but the three that are best known for their work in this country are the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll), *Fortune* Magazine Survey, and the National Opinion Research Center. The Crossley (Archibald M.) polls have likewise attracted widespread attention. Government bureaus have also made extensive use of polling techniques for the purpose of estimating public sentiment on particular issues.

Technically, public opinion polling has become a highly specialized procedure in which complicated problems of sampling and other statistical procedures are involved. Most of the polling organizations now operate with a comparatively small sample of interviewees because in most polls it would be virtually impossible to obtain information from all adults in the country or even in a minor territorial division. One of the accepted procedures of polling is to select a sample of persons whose opinions represent a cross-section of the views of the entire population. If, for example, the poll is expected to show what the American people think on a particular issue, the sample may be composed of persons distributed according to age, sex, race, religion, political affiliations, economic status, education, occupation, regional location, rural or urban residence, or other pertinent characteristics in about the same proportions as the population of the country as a whole.

A second technical problem is to get expressions of opinion that correctly reflect the individual's views on a particular issue. Questions must therefore be carefully framed if the verbalized responses of those interviewed are to be accurately indicative of the attitudes which are actually held. Because questions can be so framed as to secure almost any answer that is desired, an opinion poll may provide results that are completely misleading. Unscrupulous poli-

ticians and propagandists are well aware of this fact and often load their questions to get the answers they want. Even when every effort is made to obtain an accurate picture of public opinion the polling expert must constantly guard against biased or ambiguous questions, influence of the interviewer, or any conditions that might result in misleading replies.

Public opinion polling has been a significant development for democratic procedures. No longer is it possible for government officials, if they are honest and reasonably intelligent, to plead ignorance of what the people want or do not want. As was demonstrated in World War II, when various governmental agencies made extensive use of the poll to ascertain public sentiment on many matters relative to the war effort, the opinion poll is of inestimable value in formulating administrative or legislative policies the success of which is dependent upon public support. It is significant that public opinion polling has attained its highest degree of objectivity and reliability in the democracies rather than in totalitarian countries, where information on public sentiment has to be gathered mainly by secret police or other representatives of an espionage system. Nevertheless, the failure of all of our polls to predict correctly the outcome of the 1948 Presidential and Congressional elections shows that much remains to be done in perfecting polling techniques.

Whatever may be the value of the opinion poll in a modern democracy, it has become increasingly apparent that certain limitations are inherent in the methods and in the evaluation of the results. By the very nature of a poll, the results obtained represent responses to symbolic stimuli in the form of questions or statements. It does not always follow, therefore, that responses of individuals to particular symbolic stimuli correlate with their overt behavior in a concrete rather than a symbolic situation. Predictions of how people will actually behave are not always accurate. A survey of proprietors of restaurants and hotels made a few years back, for example, elicited the general response that Chinese would not be admitted as guests to their establishments; a few weeks before the survey, however, a Chinese couple, in company with an American, was given food and lodging at these places with no apparent objection from the proprietors.

Another limitation has specific reference to the actual process of opinion formation. Interest in a particular issue may be so slight, or information about the issue so scanty, that opinions are not held with any degree of conviction or certainty. Such uncrystallized opinions are apt to be highly evanescent. A survey in 1945 showed that about four out of five Americans wanted Hirohito tried as a war criminal. Yet when he was actually retained on the throne by American military forces there was no outcry against it, and the majority of Americans in 1947 indicated, on a poll, their approval of the administration of Japanese affairs by the military government. Either those who were opposed to keeping Hirohito on the throne did not have strong convictions, or else their judgments were so colored by their feelings that they failed to see the various ramifications of the problem.

THE NATURE OF PROPAGANDA

As a social phenomenon propaganda is perhaps as old as the human race itself, though the actual term is of relatively recent coinage. First used by the Roman Catholic Church in the seventeenth century in propagation of the faith, the concept came into popular usage in World War I when it was commonly associated with German efforts to influence public opinion among the allies. Since that time the concept, so far as the general public is concerned, has carried overtones suggestive of trickery, deceit, or selfish motives.

Among most social scientists, however, the concept is used descriptively with reference to the deliberate manipulation of symbols designed to influence the attitudes and behavior of individuals or groups in a specific direction. Manifestly such a definition includes many socially applied influences which, in popular usage, are not considered propagandistic. The common distinction between "education" and "propaganda," often tantamount to a distinction between "good" and "bad" influence, is not always applicable if the definition as here stated is accepted. Whether propaganda is "good" or "bad" depends, therefore, on the individual's evaluation of it. What is considered desirable by one person may be thought undesirable, unethical, or immoral by another.

If you work for a Living, you're Labor...so

Don't be a NAM fool!

NAM — Spelled out, it's the National Association of Manufacturers. A tight little group of the most reactionary employers in America. NAM was charged on the floor of Congress with having dictated the (Hartley) SLAVE LABOR BILL, a charge published in the Congressional Record and never refuted.

What's the NAM's Game?

If we are to believe their sweet-talking propaganda campaign, they seek to protect the individual's "right to work." NAM gets its money for newspaper advertisements and lobbying from the employers referred to above. Since when is this crew *defending the rights of workers?*

NAM asks: — "Who wants the closed shop?"

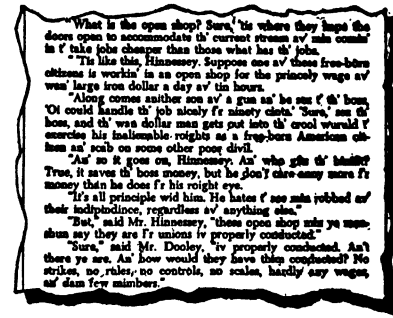
That's easy! Millions of union members who *know* they are now able to provide something a little better than a bare living for their families as a result of the high standards won by strong and secure Unions — workers who know their continued economic welfare is bound up in the *security of their union.* They *know* that the "closed shop," plus collective bargaining, gave them that extra hour to play with their kids, to fix the screens, or dig a vegetable garden in the back yard. Further, progressive employers by the thousands accept and prefer the closed shop because it helps to stabilize industry and encourage business enterprise and initiative.

YOU SHOULD KNOW that the prosperity of the entire country depends on strong and secure unions which can obtain fair wages for workers who, in turn, can buy the products of farm and factory and keep business going full blast.

Don't let NAM kid you — like they did on "lower prices"

[continued at top of next page]

Suppose NAM has its way and its SLAVE LABOR BILL becomes law and the closed shop is banned? What then? The answer is: COMPULSORY OPEN SHOP IN AMERICA. What is the open shop? What would it do? Read what Mr. Dooley, the canny character created by Finley Peter Dunne, famous American author and humorist, had to say about it:


"What is the open shop? Sure, 'tis where they keep the doors open to accommodate th' current stream av' min comin' in f' take jobs cheaper than those what has th' jobs.

"'Tis like this, Hinnessey. Suppose one av' these free-born citizens is workin' in an open shop for the princely wage av' wun' large iron dollar a day av' tin hours.

"Along comes another son av' a gun an' he say f' th' boss, 'Oi could handle th' job nicely f'r ninety cints.' 'Sure,' say th' boss, and th' wun dollar man gets put into th' cruel wurald f' exercise his inalienable roights as a free-born American citizen an' scab on some other poor divil.

"An' so it goes on, Hinnessey. An' who gits th' benefit? True, it saves th' boss money, but he don't care annywan more f'r money than he does f'r his roight eye.

"It's all principle wid him. He hates f' see min robbed av' their indipindince, regardless av' anything else."

"But," said Mr. Hinnessey, "these open shop min ye mintshun say they are f'r unions iv properly conducted."

"Sure," said Mr. Dooley, "iv properly conducted. Ain't there ye are. An' how would they have thim conducted? No strikes, no rules, no controls, no scales, hardly any wages, an' dam few members."

Mr. Dooley's remarks are two generations old—like all truths, they are timeless.

***So don't be a NAM fool!* Fight the Slave Labor Bill!**

American Federation of Labor

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Reproduction of a newspaper advertisement indicating what the American Federation of Labor thinks about the NAM's position on the closed shop.

The Dissemination of Propaganda

Although man has always attempted to influence his fellows toward particular ends, the development of modern means of mass communication has given propaganda a social significance which it did not possess in earlier days. Through the radio, motion pictures, newspapers, books, and other media of communication the propagandist can get his message across to thousands or millions in a way that would have been impossible a century ago. Witness the use made of the radio by demagogues who have risen to power or prominence on a wave of public sentiment created and stimulated in considerable part by mass radio appeals. It is safe to say that many of the great social movements of recent times could hardly have occurred, at least in the forms which they actually took, had it not been for modern media of communication which conveyed special pleadings to countless numbers of readers or listeners. Moreover, advertising appeals, a special form of propaganda, have exerted profound influences on the habits and attitudes of innumerable individuals.

Propaganda Principles and Techniques

One of the familiar techniques of the propagandist is repetition of the appeal. Because the individual in modern society is constantly bombarded with propaganda of all kinds and from many sources, he often tends to develop a certain degree of immunity to these external influences in order to retain his sanity, or at least his balance. Repetition is one way of breaking down this resistance; it is also one way, as the psychologists well know, of facilitating the learning process. If a person sees or hears some idea repeated over and over it may become imbedded in his consciousness. Hitler was credited with the statement that if a lie is told often and forcefully enough it is eventually accepted by the masses regardless of the extent to which the truth is distorted. While the statement may be an exaggeration, the amazing success of this particular propagandist in winning acceptance of his ideas indicates that he had a fairly clear understanding of the nature of human nature. Further evidence of the effectivenes of repetition is indicated by the achievements of advertisers in their sales appeals.

Another related technique of propaganda is simplification. Inasmuch as most individuals think in relatively simple and concrete terms, the appeals, if they are to attract attention and get a favorable reception, must be made in simplified form. Close reasoning, complicated data, or involved phraseology are not usually found in the propagandist's arsenal. For this reason propaganda directed toward a general public is often conveyed most effectively through slogans, catch phrases, shibboleths, proverbs, emotional appeals, and graphic presentations that are quickly grasped and easily understood.

Still another technique of the propagandist is the selection of materials that support the ideas to be disseminated. Since propaganda by its nature is special pleading or indoctrination, its objectives can be achieved most effectively if the materials to be presented in a favorable light represent only one side of the issue. At best, therefore, propaganda is little more than a half-truth; and while we would certainly not go to the extreme of asserting that the propagandist inevitably becomes a liar, as one writer puts it,[3] he can hardly be expected to present objective, unbiased consideration of all the

[3] William Albig, *Public Opinion*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1939, p. 313.

CIO and the Community

From its formation, the CIO has concerned itself with the social and economic welfare of the nation as a whole, and has steadfastly refused to adopt a purely business unionism outlook. CIO organizations on the state and local level have always recognized their community responsibilities and worked to enrich and broaden everyday life in America.

This activity has been carried on in particular by the 300 state and local Industrial Union Councils. These embrace all CIO local unions in a given area, regardless of international union affiliation. Through the councils, the international unions and the women's auxiliaries, people who never before participated in community affairs have found new outlets for their leisure time and creative impulses.

The councils have been particularly effective on the state legislative front. Only recently the New Jersey State Industrial Union Council led a successful fight to increase workmen's compensation benefits. During the past year, largely due to the efforts of CIO councils, a number of state legislatures liberalized existing unemployment insurance benefits. Laws and enforcement machinery to eliminate racial and religious discrimination in employment, followed agitation by the state industrial union councils of New York and New Jersey. These and other councils are waging intensive educational campaigns to promote racial and religious tolerance.

Throughout the country, CIO has led the fight to improve the nation's schools. Cooperating with other progressive groups, it has been successful in liberalizing educational laws in several states, in raising teaching standards and in increasing teachers' salaries. In Connecticut, for example, the state CIO Council, the State Teachers Association and the State Department of Education have jointly worked out legislative programs introduced into the state legislature.

In the field of adult education, too, CIO has pioneered. Working with a number of colleges and universities, it has hammered out a program to educate a good part of its membership in the nature and responsibilities of trade unionism, and in principles of good citizenship. In Virginia, the Textile Workers Union is cooperating with public school authorities in conducting special classes to eliminate illiteracy among both Negro and white workers. This union plans to extend the campaign to the rest of the South.

CIO has also joined with various private and public housing groups in leading the attack on slums, and pushing the development of comprehensive low-cost housing projects. A number of internationals, notably the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers in Camden, New Jersey, and the United Automobile Workers in Michigan, have been outstanding in promoting and securing low-cost housing. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers in New York, and the Textile Workers Union in Virginia have employed their own resources to construct special housing projects for their workers.

CIO achievements in safeguarding and improving national health are no less noteworthy. Virtually all international unions have participated in the struggle to extend industrial safety programs and legislation. Many of them have also succeeded in negotiating health insurance programs as part of their collective bargaining agreements.

Leads in Providing Medical Care

In providing direct medical services, progress is also being made. The UAW-CIO health center in Detroit, the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees' center in St. Louis, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' dental clinic in Chicago are important community landmarks. The Fur and Leather Workers Union has also supported the drive to check tuberculosis, by setting up an X-ray machine in one of its buildings in New York, and furnishing free examinations to its members. The Chicago Industrial Union Council, with the help of the Tuberculosis Institute, provides similar testing in union halls.

The Counselling Service, a relatively new function of the CIO Community Services Committee (formerly the War Relief Committee), has already proved its worth. Union counsellors aid workers in solving such out-plant problems as housing, legal difficulties, child care, or transportation.

Working with recreation leaders, CIO has helped develop sound recreational programs for workers. Union athletic teams and leagues have been notably successful in a number of areas.

An excerpt from *The Truth about CIO the First Ten Years: 1935–45*, a pamphlet discussing participation of the organization in community services.

facts in the case. This by no means implies that he seeks to deceive others, or that the ideas he disseminates are unworthy of serious attention. Much that is commonly accepted as progress or improvement has been made possible by propaganda campaigns designed to shape public opinion toward some form of collective action.

Propaganda in War

In both world wars propaganda became an important adjunct to the military; so important, in fact, that psychological warfare became an official function of the belligerent nations in their struggle for survival. Long before World War II the Nazi government in Germany established the Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment which was the source of propaganda for distribution at home and abroad. For the German population the official propagandists, through various channels of mass communication, spread fallacious doctrines of racial superiority, urged the people to sacrifice butter for guns in the interest of a strong nation, created an illusion of insecurity by repeated warnings of impending attacks by enemy countries, denounced democracy, glorified the Nazi system, and carried on campaigns of slander and abuse against minority groups in Germany. In the schools and youth organizations the government made sure that children were properly indoctrinated with ideas favoring the Nazi system and its activities. For the rest of the world, especially the countries that were considered potential enemies, a continuous campaign of propaganda was carried on toward the objective of undermining the morale of the people, blocking national defense by stirring up internal strife, and, in some instances, appealing for support on the grounds that the Nazi government was motivated only by a sense of justice and good will. These propaganda activities were continued throughout the conflict, sometimes with amazing success for the Axis powers.

Nor were the Allies unaware of the importance of propaganda as an aid to victory, though in the earlier stages of the conflict their efforts in this direction were comparatively feeble when contrasted with the farflung and varied activities of the Axis propagandists. As the conflict intensified it became increasingly apparent that psychological campaigns were both cheap and effective. Consequently, extensive preparations were made for propaganda cam-

paigns through every conceivable channel of communication. It was the avowed objective of Allied propagandists to undermine the morale of the enemy by creating disaffection in the ranks of civilians as well as the military, thereby slowing down the war efforts of the Axis powers. At the same time encouragement was given to resistance organizations, both within the Axis countries and in other nations that had been conquered by the Axis powers. Neutral or friendly countries were also on the receiving end of propaganda designed to enlist their support, or at least to keep them out of the war if they were sympathetic to the Axis cause. In this country the Office of War Information, a wartime agency, had for one of its major functions the dissemination of propaganda both at home and abroad. In cooperation with comparable Allied organizations, a shortwave radio network of global dimensions was developed to carry messages of the Allies to every people in the world.

Propaganda in Peace

Rival political parties in the United States—Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Communist, and minor organizations—carry on a continuous campaign of psychological warfare. From radio stations, newspaper columns, and public platforms political propagandists proclaim the virtues of their leaders and their causes, at the same time denouncing those who differ from them in political or economic philosophy. All the tricks of political trade are brought out: vilification and abuse of political opponents, oratorical or editorial attacks on "strange doctrines," championing of the underdog, and flattery of the "common people." Since it is public opinion that decides the winners and losers, it is the public, or rather a multitude of publics, whose support must be secured by political propagandists.

But practicing politicians are not the only ones active in the dissemination of propaganda. Special publics functioning as pressure groups maintain staffs of paid or unpaid propagandists. Business and industrial groups purchase time on the radio, buy full-page newspaper advertisements, and mail out vast quantities of literature for the purpose of convincing the people that their cause is just. The same methods are employed by organized labor, but with different objectives. The American Medical Association, through its

information service, carries on a vigorous campaign to persuade the people that socialized medicine is a nefarious device to enslave the family physician and reduce the quality of medical care. Negroes argue publicly against the evils of racial discrimination; Catholic priests fulminate against the evils of communism and atheism; the military advocates a bigger army and navy; organized farmers through their representatives and the farm press present their case to the people. A thousand other causes are pleaded with equal devotion. Caught in the cross-fire of this incessant barrage of propaganda are Mr. John Q. Citizen, his wife and children. Obviously it is not easy for them to exercise sound judgment on what is gold and what is dross, to assess the relative merits of the various appeals. But even so, this is the stuff of which public opinion is made.

CENSORSHIP

While the propagandist is concerned with presenting his case in the most favorable light to the public, the function of the censor is to prevent the public from securing access to certain facts or ideas. Censorship is not, however, solely a function of government; any limitations imposed by individuals or groups upon the free circulation of ideas and information take on the character of censorship. In a social order characterized by a wide variety of ethical and moral standards, however, there is considerable disagreement both on the ideas or facts to be censored and on the manner of imposing the restrictions.

Official and Unofficial Censorship

With the development of mechanized media of mass communication and the increasing dependence of the public on these media, particularly on the press and the radio, censorship has become a potential threat to freedom of discussion because it narrows the channels of communication, permitting only the circulation of ideas or facts which the censor wants the public to have. If government or some other agency is in a position to dictate to the press, radio, motion picture industry, or schools what the public shall or shall not read, see, or hear, that agency may in time have almost a complete monopoly of control over the content and expression of

men's thoughts. This simple fact is well known to the dictators of the modern world. Wherever continuous censorship is exercised the result is a regimentation of thought on questions of social import that makes impossible the growth of a vigorous and critical public opinion.

In the democracies government has played a minor role as censor except in times of war; and even then its function has ordinarily been limited to censoring information or news that could conceivably be used by the enemy. Early in World War II the Office of Censorship was established in the United States for the purpose of controlling the circulation of information of strategic importance. As the functions were defined and more or less consistently followed, there was to be no interference with the free circulation of ideas or the expression of critical views. So far as the press was concerned the censorship was more or less voluntarily imposed by the publishers for the duration of the war. In a few instances, however, periodicals that were openly inflammatory and manifestly sympathetic with the Axis were suspended from publication and their publishers indicted for subversive activities.

In times of peace the federal government in this country has limited its censorship activities mainly to moral matters. On occasion it has prohibited the importation of foreign books or other literature allegedly inimical to public morality, and not infrequently the Post Office Department has banned from the mails literature which the authorities consider offensive or subversive. Local communities more than the national government have exercised powers of censorship to prohibit the circulation of literature which the authorities consider undesirable. Such distinguished books as Upton Sinclair's *The Brass Check*, Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*, Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, and Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit*, as well as other notable volumes, have at one time or another been outlawed by local censors in the United States.

The radio and motion picture industries have been relatively free from official governmental censorship in this country, but the organizations engaged in radio broadcasting and in the production of pictures have themselves taken over many of the functions of the censor. In the field of radio the Federal Communications Com-

mission has so far been primarily concerned with maintaining open channels for the dissemination of ideas and information. Broadcasting companies exercise authority to delete from any radio manuscript materials which are judged offensive to the public taste or which are inflammatory in character; they may even deny the use of the radio to individuals or groups whose utterances are considered an incitement to violence. No federal action has ever been taken to censor motion pictures, but some states have from time to time created official boards of review empowered to censor films before they are presented to the public. So sensitive is the motion picture industry to the likes and dislikes of the people that it maintains its own board of review having authority to maintain certain standards with respect to the character of films.

Among the unofficial censors the Roman Catholic Church has exerted considerable control over the circulation of ideas and information. While having no legal authority to enforce the acceptance of its views, the Catholic hierarchy maintains an *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in which are listed the books or other works of literature that the communicants are not supposed to read. Literary works that contain ideas in conflict with the doctrines of the Church, or materials that allegedly undermine the morals of the group, may be placed on the *Index*, though by no means all of the unapproved books are so listed. At the same time, the Church occasionally circulates lists of books which are considered especially desirable for the members. In the 1930's Catholic leaders, concerned with the effect of motion pictures on the morals of youth, organized the Legion of Decency as a pressure group to combat what they considered evil influences in the film industry. Supported by Protestants as well as Catholics, and claiming a membership of twelve million persons, the Legion undertakes to boycott all pictures which allegedly threaten public morality.

RESTRICTING PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND TEACHING

Other aspects of censorship are concerned with freedom of assemblage and freedom of discussion in the schools. While the federal and state governments have ordinarily followed a "hands-off" policy with reference to public speakers, whether they are soap-

box orators in Union Square or rabble-rousing leaders in command of a mass following, local communities or groups acting unofficially have not infrequently interfered with speakers championing an unpopular side of an issue. In some instances public gatherings have actually been broken up through the use of force. One of the common methods of restricting public discussion is to deny unpopular speakers the right to use community facilities for public meetings.

Because of the unique position of teachers in their relations with the younger generation, there is always considerable interest in what is being taught in the classroom. Consequently, teachers who hold opinions not acceptable to the majority within the community, who are critical of existing institutions or practices, or who champion causes which are unpopular with the rank and file are often muzzled by those who disagree with them. Powerful or vociferous forces within the community frequently bring pressure upon school administrators to discharge teachers who are accused of indoctrinating students with unacceptable ideas, or to discard textbooks containing ideas not acceptable to the more conservative citizens. Even administrators as self-appointed guardians of public virtue and truth may on their own initiative dictate what shall or shall not be discussed on pain of discharge if their demands are not met. Sometimes educational boards of control or even state legislatures specify ideas, theories, or types of information that must not be considered in the classroom. About three decades ago the Tennessee Legislature enacted a law prohibiting any teacher in a tax-supported school in the state from discussing the theory of evolution in the schoolroom.

This brief summary indicates that the control of ideas through some form of censorship is continually being exercised even in a society committed ideologically to freedom of expression. No society, it must be emphasized, permits absolute freedom of expression, for to do so would invite disaster. But the problem of what to permit and what to prohibit, of where to draw the line, does not lend itself to a simple solution. Individuals differ greatly in their beliefs, and ideas that would be acceptable to some are utterly repugnant or blasphemous to others. Who, then, shall decide on what is to be censored? Shall a Boston judge, a Catholic priest, a federal bureaucrat, the American Legion, the Daughters of

the American Revolution, or the chairman of a local library board be given authority to determine what the public shall or shall not read, see, or hear? Does the Postmaster General possess infallible judgment as to what is inimical to public morality? How much and what kinds of criticism of public officials, government, the economic system, religion, or marriage shall be permitted? Should Communists and Socialists as well as Republicans and Democrats be allowed to express their views in print or in public meetings? Should criticism of public policy be permitted in time of war as well as in peace? Where should the line be drawn, if any is drawn at all, on literature, films, or art dealing with sex or race relations? Shall the majority have the right to dictate what the minority cannot read or hear, or vice versa? What standards can be imposed without jeopardizing the development of an enlightened and vigorous public opinion? The pertinence of these questions to practical affairs is clearly indicated by the upsurge of resistance to almost every form of censorship that has been proposed or put into operation in this country. The simple formula, *vox populi vox dei*, is certainly not always workable because the people themselves are rarely agreed on what is good and what is bad.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How do you distinguish between an attitude and an opinion?
2. What is meant by public opinion?
3. How would a modern democratic society differ from a custom-bound society in the exercise of collective judgments on important questions?
4. What historic factors have been responsible for the development of public opinion in the Western world?
5. Does a public opinion exist in an authoritarian society?
6. How would you distinguish between a general and a special public with reference to some of the specific issues of today?
7. Would you say that the activities of pressure groups in public affairs are in harmony with our democratic traditions, or do they do violence to the principle of democracy?
8. Professional opinion-polling organizations may conduct a national survey of opinion using only a small sample of a few thousand persons. With such a small sample how can the surveyors hope to get an accurate picture of public opinion for the entire country?
9. Would you make a distinction between education and propaganda? Why?

10. What are the values of public opinion polls, and what are some of their limitations?

11. What are some of the ways in which censorship may be exercised, and what are the social implications of censorship in a democratic society?

12. If freedom of speech is only a relative matter at best, then where, when, and how should the line be drawn between what is suitable or desirable and what is undesirable?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Make a study of a pressure group, describing the techniques employed in attaining the specified objectives.

2. Read some of the literature on standard methods of opinion polling, then conduct a poll in a local community on some current issue.

3. Collect samples of printed propaganda, then make an analysis of the materials, indicating especially what appears to be the objectives of the propagandists. In terms of your own values, classify the propaganda according to its desirable or undesirable qualities.

4. Make an analysis of propaganda methods used by both sides during World War II.

5. Present a report on the work of the Office of Censorship during the last war.

6. After examining the literature in the field, report on the question of the censorship of morals in this country.

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Part Six

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

THE major social institutions of government, family, religion, education, and economic order have been objects of study and speculation at least since the times of Plato and the Hebrew prophets. Men have wondered about their origin, have sought for explanations of differences between their institutions and those of their neighbors, and have tried to imagine and construct ideal forms of these institutions. Even primitive people have folk tales that serve to satisfy their curiosity about such matters.

It has been commonly believed that certain of these institutions, if not all, were originally the creations of the gods, who generously revealed them in their entirety to benighted mankind; or else that they were the work of some towering genius of antiquity, a Moses or a Hammurabi. Sociologists today are agreed that these institutions are the products of human effort, that they arise from man's attempts to satisfy his physical, social, and psychological needs, and that they vary from time to time and from group to group.

Several social sciences have arisen in recent years, each taking one of these institutions as its province, and seeking to understand its inner workings. It is not the purpose of the present Part to deal with the subject matter of these special fields. Sociologists are interested in all of the social institutions, but their interests differ from those of the economist, the political scientist, and the theologian. In the past sociologists have devoted much effort to the futile search for the origin of institutions and have attempted to reconstruct the stages of their evolutionary development. We shall not be concerned with these problems but instead shall direct our attention to only five aspects of social institutions: (1) their nature; (2) their functions; (3) their variations; (4) their interrelationships; and (5) their incessant change. While we may roam far

afield in our choice of illustrations, our purpose is always to gain a better understanding of these institutions as they exist in our own society.

With this in view, considerable space is given to the description of social institutions in the United States, and to a discussion of current practical problems identified with these institutions.

Chapter 24

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Social institutions, unlike certain concepts in the mathematical and physical sciences, cannot be defined in terms of hard-and-fast axioms and postulates or expressed neatly as differential equations. As we shall see in a later section, they have been defined and analyzed in a variety of ways by a number of eminent sociologists; rather than attempt a synthesis of these definitions at this point, it seems more to our purpose to present a specific example of how social institutions arise. The story of Pitcairn Island provides an interesting and perhaps unique illustration.

PITCAIRN ISLAND—THE GENESIS OF A CULTURE

This tiny speck of land in the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean has attracted an amount of attention during the past 150 years that is out of proportion to its size and historical importance. Anthropologists, sociologists, missionaries, novelists, and even movie scenarists have found the strange story of its settlement a never-ending source of interest. The present population of the island, which totaled 177 in 1943, has been the subject of more extended research than that devoted to any other group of comparable size, with the possible exception of the Jukes and Kallikak families.

There were no human inhabitants on Pitcairn Island when it was discovered in 1767. It was not until 1790, when Fletcher Christian and 26 others debarked from the ill-fated *Bounty*, that human beings first set foot on the island, and it was not until 1808 that their strange settlement became known to the outside world.

The story of Pitcairn Island begins in the 1780's. British planters in the West Indies were eager to find a cheap food for the slaves on their sugar plantations. From the South Seas came reports of a fabulous tropical

plant, the breadfruit. This plant, they were told, produced abundantly, and the fruit, when baked, tasted like a cross between bread and potatoes. It seemed to be exactly what the plantation owners wanted. Accordingly, they petitioned George III to send out an expedition to transport a cargo of these plants from Otaheite (Tahiti) in the Pacific to the West Indies.

The petition met with favor, and Lt. William Bligh, of His Majesty's Navy, was chosen to carry out the request. Though only thirty-two, Bligh was an excellent seaman, and had some knowledge of the islands and peoples of the Pacific. He was placed in command of the *Bounty*, a 215-ton boat, 90 feet in length, constructed of sturdy English oak. The party included a botanist, a gardener, a surgeon, midshipmen, officers, and seamen, fourty-four in all, carefully selected for the task. On December 23, 1787, the *Bounty* sailed from Spithead, laden with provisions for eighteen months, and a generous supply of nails, axes, mirrors, and other articles for which, Bligh knew, the natives would be eager to barter. The voyage was not an easy one, but ten months later the *Bounty* arrived at the island of Tahiti.

The natives received the British cordially, and gladly traded their fruits and other produce for the glass and metal articles which their visitors offered. They agreed, when asked, to send King George all the breadfruit plants he wanted, and were rather amused at their white visitors for having been so hesitant and cautious in coming around to what was obviously the purpose of their visit. The crew thereupon got busy and before long had on board 1,015 plants, in addition to many other botanical specimens from the island. The *Bounty* finally set out on the second leg of its journey on April 4, 1788. Parting was not easy, for in the five months during which the British and the Polynesians had been associated, many deep attachments had been formed.

Twenty-four days later, when they were in the vicinity of the Tonga Islands, a mutiny occurred, led by Fletcher Christian, the master's mate. Many and diverse accounts of this rebellion have been written; the truth will probably never be known. There is abundant evidence, however, that Bligh was an extremely tyrannical officer, while Christian, on the other hand, a youth of twenty-five, was known to have a very fiery nature. The mutineers forced nineteen of their shipmates, including Bligh, into a small cutter, provided them with the barest necessities, and set them adrift. The fact that they eventually reached the island of Timor after covering more than 3,600 miles in an open boat testifies to Bligh's remarkable seamanship.

The *Bounty*, after a brief sojourn at the island of Tubuai, returned to Tahiti. There sixteen of the British, some of whom had not really

supported the mutiny, decided to remain, prepared to stand trial in England if they should be found. The other nine, under Christian's leadership, proposed to sail on to Pitcairn Island, a spot so remote and so little known that there was some doubt as to its existence. They persuaded a few of the Tahitians to join them in this venture—twelve women and six men. There followed many trying days of sailing and searching until finally the sheer rock of Pitcairn Island, lying 25°4′ S. and 130°5′ W., rose into view.

When this band of mutineers and their Polynesian friends arrived on the island, a multitude of problems stared them in the face. It was necessary, of course, for them to conceal their whereabouts, for they were sure that the British Admiralty would institute a search for the mutineers. As a matter of fact the Admiralty immediately sent out H.M.S. *Pandora* to run the criminals down, but that is another story, and a long one. On Pitcairn, therefore, every precaution was taken. The *Bounty* was scuttled, and the mutineers constructed their shelters so carefully that a passing ship would never suspect that the island was inhabited.

There were more fundamental problems than these to be solved, however, if they were to survive on an island that was only two miles long and one mile wide. What would they eat? How would they protect themselves from the elements? Who would wield authority? How would they resolve their inevitable disputes? How would they deal with refractory members of the group? Who would own the land, and how would they divide the produce? And of course the age-old problem of sex had to be faced. Who would marry whom? The fact that here were nine white men, twelve Polynesian women, and six Polynesian men, none of whom presumably would willingly accept a life of enforced celibacy, added complications.

The Pitcairners, fortunately, had the combined heritage of two civilizations to fall back on. Long before their time these same problems had been faced by their ancestors, both in England and Tahiti. In fact, they have to be solved by every human society. These refugees accordingly brought with them to Pitcairn ready-made answers of a sort to all of these questions. They understood some of the mysteries of agriculture, and fully appreciated the advantages of having domesticated animals. They had even shown sufficient foresight to bring with them yams, goats, pigs, and chickens. They had some understanding of law and government, of marriage, justice, religion, and property. A few of them could read and write. They were wise enough to remove from the *Bounty*, before they burned it, a supply of tools, nails, anvils, and a Bible. Poor as they were in material wealth, the mutineers who settled on Pitcairn

were by no means devoid of culture. The truth is they were richly endowed, possessing an abundance which would have amazed Neanderthal man, the Swiss Lake Dwellers, Eskimos, Hottentots, or most American Indians. Of course the white men and the brown did not always agree on the solution of these problems. For example, the former were disposed to divide all the land into nine equal parts among themselves, in good British fashion, and to permit their colored companions to work for them as servants or slaves. In this plan the Polynesians did not concur. Conflicts of this sort brought on much strife and even bloodshed in the early days of the colony. In addition to the conflicts between the two cultures, there was also the fact that many of the customs that had functioned adequately in England or Tahiti or upon the high seas were not suited to the new environment. Therefore it was often necessary for them to modify their old, familiar ways; and it is seldom easy or pleasant for people to change their culture.

To say, then, that these pioneers brought with them to Pitcairn a considerable body of culture is not to minimize the problems of adjustment that they faced. One cannot read an account of their struggles and sufferings without concluding that their survival was little short of miraculous. At one time the prospects of their making a success of their venture seemed so dark that some of them built a boat, determined to return to Tahiti, but it collapsed before they could embark. They had no choice but to remain on Pitcairn—to survive or perish.

In time, however, life settled down to an even pace. Order was established. The population increased. The Pitcairners became deeply attached to their homeland. There developed a "we" feeling, a group loyalty, an esprit de corps. A harmonious blend of British and Polynesian cultures emerged, with not a few traits uniquely Pitcairnian. There arose a consensus as to how the problems of life should be met. In short, the motley, heterogeneous band that landed on Pitcairn Island developed into a *society*. To be sure, it took time, effort, and even a shocking loss of life. But the transformation was made; and when a British ship finally discovered the settlement, the commanding officer went ashore, made a thorough inspection, and reported back home that he had found "a happy and well-regulated society." And so it has remained to this day. An interesting sidelight on the story is that the present inhabitants of the island are all Seventh Day Adventists.[1]

It is a far cry, certainly, from the tropical island in the South Pacific to the rock-bound coast of New England. The people who settled these

[1] For a good account of the full story of Pitcairn, see Harry L. Shapiro, *The Heritage of the Bounty*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1936.

two regions were as different as their separate environments. On the one hand we have a group of youthful, irresponsible British sailors and their carefree, simple Polynesian companions; on the other, a stern, strict, stolid band of Pilgrims. But the situation each faced was much the same; the colonists of New England were confronted with problems not unlike those which the Pitcairn refugees had to solve. The Pilgrims also had to make a living, establish homes, rear children, govern and protect themselves. The story of their settlement is a familiar one—how they gained a foothold in the hard, forbidding wilderness and then went on to lay the foundation for a great new nation. One of their own number summarized their experience in the following words, which are inscribed on the Johnston Gate at Harvard:

> After God had carried us safe to New-England
> And wee had builded our houses,
> Provided necessaries for our livelihood
> Rear'd convenient places for God's worship
> And settled the Civill government,
> One of the next things we longed for
> And looked after was to advance Learning
> And perpetuate it to Posterity.

Fletcher Christian and his little band faced the very same problems, though they hardly would have expressed them that way—nor listed them in that order.

Indeed, wherever human beings have come together to live, certain universal and persistent problems have arisen to demand solution. Those of hunger, shelter, sex, children, order, group solidarity, and the like are constantly being met with. These persistent human needs are present in all societies, and are the bases upon which social institutions are erected.

WHAT ARE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS?

The term institution is used in various ways. The little red schoolhouse is called an institution, and so is the grim penitentiary on the outskirts of the city. The local moron who has peddled newspapers for as long as anyone can remember is said to be an "institution" in the community. In short, almost anything, whether visible or invisible, that is well established in the culture is likely to be so labeled.

It is not unusual for people to identify social institutions with certain buildings or groups of buildings. For example, the institution of religion, or the church, brings to many minds the cathedrals, synagogues, temples, and meeting houses in which the members of these various groups assemble for worship. Likewise, it is assumed that the institution of government consists essentially of the capitols, court houses, city halls, jails, and office buildings in which the governmental functions are performed.

It is not unusual, either, to identify social institutions with the *agents* through whom the institutions function. Thus, it is held that governments are in essence the kings, presidents, governors, mayors, senators, councilmen, police, and judges who perform political functions; and the religious institutions are primarily the bishops, priests, rabbis, deacons, and members of the various sects, cults, and churches.

Now it is true that social institutions ordinarily make use of buildings, and it is equally true that each institution depends upon its agents, many of whom specialize in the performance of institutional functions. However, it is neither the agents nor the buildings nor the associations of people that constitute the essential element in the institution. A social institution is, in essence, a pattern of nonmaterial culture traits—of folkways, attitudes, beliefs, rules, and usages.

The term institution, then, is popularly used to cover a variety of meanings, and the dictionaries offer a wide range of definitions. Sociologists, however, have sought to give a more specific definition to the term. Sumner said: "An institution consists of a concept (idea, notion, doctrine, interest) and a structure. The structure is a framework, or apparatus, or perhaps only a number of functionaries set to cooperate in prescribed ways at a certain conjuncture. The structure holds the concept and furnishes instrumentalities for bringing it into the world of facts and action in a way to serve the interests of men in society." [2] According to Ogburn and Nimkoff, "social institutions are organized, established ways of satisfying certain basic human needs." [3] Panunzio defines them as "those com-

[2] William Graham Sumner, *Folkways*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1906, pp. 53 ff.
[3] W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1940, p. 555.

plexes of thought and activity which are more or less timeless, universal, and which are directed to the satisfaction of basic human needs." [4] According to Young, "a social institution is a culturalized, more or less standardized, set of habits, associated attitudes and ideas centering around primary or derived wants or needs of individuals, such as survival, sustenance, sex, child-bearing and child-rearing, community protection, transmission of culture, etc." [5] Finally, Gillin and Gillin say that "a social institution is a functional configuration of culture patterns (including actions, ideas, attitudes, and cultural equipment) which possesses a certain permanence and which is intended to satisfy fundamental social needs." [6]

These definitions agree that social institutions consist of a complex of elements and possess certain features which distinguish them from other social phenomena, such as groups, crowds, mores, races, social classes, and nations. First, they are based upon, and grow out of, fundamental human needs or interests. These basic needs have been the subject of considerable study and discussion by psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists, and have been described and classified in various ways. Concerning them, Linton has this to say:

> These needs can be grouped under three headings, biological, social, and psychic. The *biological* needs are those which derive from man's physical characteristics. They include such things as the need for food and shelter, for protection from enemies, whether human or animal, and the need for reproduction to perpetuate the species. These needs are common to men and animals and are of a particularly immediate and pressing sort. Unless the culture provides adequate techniques for meeting them, neither the individual nor the group can survive. . . . The *social* needs of human beings arise from man's habit of living in groups. . . . The first and most vital of these needs is that of preserving the solidarity of the group. Closely connected with these are the needs for reducing friction between individuals and minimizing open clashes, for training individuals to particular statuses in the social system, and for

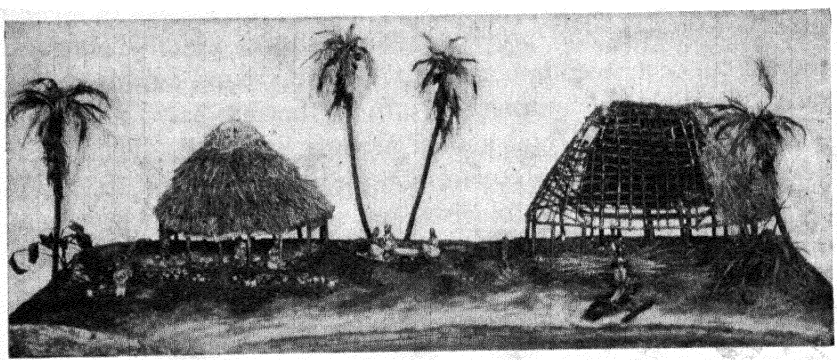
[4] Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1939, p. 3.

[5] Kimball Young, *An Introductory Sociology*, The American Book Company, New York, 1939, p. 971.

[6] John L. Gillin and John P. Gillin, *An Introduction to Sociology*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1944, p. 318.

coordinating their activities and providing the group with leadership and direction. . . . Lastly, there are the *psychic* needs, which are extremely difficult to define but real nevertheless. . . . All human beings have desires for favorable response from other individuals, for things which are unattainable (or for easy roads to attainment), and for psychological escapes. In the long run the satisfaction of these needs is probably as important to the effective functioning of a society as that of the needs of the other two categories, although they are less immediate and pressing. One of the most important functions of any culture is to keep a majority of the people who share it happy and contented.[7]

In the second place, each institution is a complex of folkways, mores, beliefs, traditions, symbols, attitudes, and of material traits,



Dwelling group of Samoans, showing primitive arrangements as compared with those in our society. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

some of symbolical significance and others purely utilitarian. These elements in the complex are not a haphazard aggregation, but are bound together, interrelated, and integrated around one or more basic needs, interests, or values. The institution of religion, for example, consists of: (1) beliefs, in the form of creeds, doctrines, and articles of faith; (2) folkways, mores, and usages, such as forms of worship, singing of hymns, saying of prayers, making sacrifices, burning candles, observing commandments and rules of conduct; (3) attitudes, such as reverence, fear, awe, and devotion; (4) symbols, in the form of crosses, altars, stars, vestments, and idols; (5)

[7] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1936, pp. 394 ff.

utilitarian traits, including churches, cathedrals, temples, office buildings, pews, organs, and hymnals.[8]

Third, social institutions possess a relative permanence and universality. The *differences* between societies the world over have aroused no little interest, and men have resorted to many theories, including geography and sheer accident, to account for them. But the *similarities* in cultures, though not so obvious, are equally surprising. In the past scholars have resorted to "instinct" to account for these similarities, and even now there is no explanation that is entirely satisfactory. The fact remains, however, that in every society known to history or ethnology we find such phenomena as government, economic activities, education of children, courtship, family, marriage, games, sports, and religious beliefs and practices.[9] These institutions, moreover, are ancient as well as universal. The institution of religion, for example, has flourished on this earth at least since the time of Neanderthal man. As a social institution it has survived although individuals, and even species of man, have come and gone, and an infinite variety of groups, organizations, and associations have borne the responsibility for perpetuating it.

FUNCTIONS AND INTERRELATIONSHIPS

We have been thinking chiefly about the *structure* of social institutions, the elements of which they are composed, and the fact that such elements are unified and organized into a system. However, it is necessary to bear in mind a further fact, namely that social institutions have functions to perform. It is a function of the political institution, for example, to protect society from enemies without and to preserve order within. In our society we look to the institution of the family to produce children so as to perpetuate the group, and to transmit to the young a considerable body of our culture. It is the function of the school to inculcate in the oncoming generation other aspects of the culture which the family is not equipped to transmit. To be sure, there is no little discussion as to just where an institution's functions begin and where they

[8] Cf. F. Stuart Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1935, p. 16; Gillin and Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

[9] G. P. Murdock, "The Common Denominator of Cultures," in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, Ralph Linton, ed., Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 123 ff.

end. There are those who insist that the state has performed all of its proper functions when it has kept the peace and warded off enemies, while others would have the state involved in a multitude of functions in addition to these two basic ones. Consider, further, the perennial debates over the proper activities of the schools, the church, and the family.

It is apparent that we are not entirely clear in our minds just where to draw the line between the duties and responsibilities of, say, the government on the one hand and of private business on the other, or whether or not the church should "meddle in politics," or where the fault lies, whether with the home or the school, when children become delinquent and fail to observe the group's mores and laws as they should.

The fact is that the institutions of a society are very closely interrelated, and they overlap in their fields of activity. When, in 1929, something went wrong with our economic institution, every other institution in our society felt the effects. The Industrial Revolution, which was essentially a change in the economic institution, had repercussions upon family, state, church, education, and recreation. Thus, every institution in a society affects, and is affected by, every other institution; and changes and maladjustments in one are reflected in all the others.

BELIEFS ABOUT SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The interpretation of social institutions which is here proposed—namely, that they are the products of human invention and that they grow out of human needs and wants—will not be generally accepted. Of course, few will deny that the various games and amusements that constitute our pattern of recreation are man-made devices, though some have insisted that they are but the machinations of the devil. But few people can bring themselves to believe that the family, state, and church are the products of mere man, so powerful and venerable are these institutions, so impressive is their architecture, so inspired is their literature, so hoary are their traditions. It is not surprising, then, that the origin of social institutions has often been attributed to some divinity or to some legendary hero or leader.

The traditions of many peoples abound in myths which purport to tell how these institutions miraculously came into being. Few primitive people are without their stories of "culture heroes," like Hiawatha, to whose genius they owe one or more of their institutions. In Greek mythology it was Prometheus who taught mortal man those things that lifted him from the animal to the human level, and in doing so brought upon himself the wrath of Zeus. The Greek dramatist Aeschylus (flourished B.C. 450) has Prometheus, in the midst of his punishment, cry out defiantly:

> List rather to the deeds I did for mortals; how being fools before, I made them wise. . . . Nor knew to build a house against the sun, nor any woodcraft knew, but lived, like silly ants, beneath the ground in hollow caves. . . . Blindly and lawlessly they did all things. . . . I taught them how the stars do rise and set, . . . devised for them number, the inducer of philosophies, the synthesis of letters, and, besides, the artificer of all things, memory. . . . I was first to yoke the servile beasts in couples, and none but I originated ships. . . . If a man fell sick, there was no cure, till I showed them all those mixtures of remedies, whereby they might be rescued from disease. . . . I led my mortals to an art abstruse, and cleared their eyes to the image of fire. For the other helps hid underground, the iron and the brass, silver and gold, can any dare affirm he found them out before me? . . . In one word learn the whole—that all arts came to mortals from Prometheus.[10]

The ancient Hebrews, too, had their beliefs about the source of their institutions, and these, as recorded in the Bible, have come into our own cultural heritage, and have been accorded a very prominent place. In this version social institutions were certainly not man-made products, but derived directly from God, who revealed them to mankind, sometimes in person, but often through the mediation of some great leader such as Moses. Even today the marriage ceremony of many religious bodies includes these words, "We are gathered together . . . to join together this woman and this man in holy matrimony, which is an honorable estate, instituted of God."

A rude shock was given to the great-leader and divine-origin theories of social institutions in the nineteenth century when the doctrine of evolution gained wide acceptance. Students of culture

[10] Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, in the Elizabeth Barrett Browning translation.

and society concluded that if earth, plants, and animals were the results of an evolutionary process, perhaps social institutions could be best understood as the products of a similar process. Herbert Spencer and a host of other scholars, relying principally upon evidence provided by the primitive peoples of the earth—"living fossils,"—proceeded to construct evolutionary stages through which, they supposed, social institutions had invariably and inevitably progressed. The economic institution, they said, moves through the steps of hunting, pastoral life, and agriculture; art begins with realism, develops through conventionalization, and eventually becomes wholly geometrical and symbolical; religion begins with animism, totemism, ghosts, shadows, echoes, or dreams (there were many theories as to its origin), and develops through a series of stages up to monotheism.

Most of these early evolutionary theories of social institutions have been discarded, or have been radically overhauled. This does not mean, however, that there has been a return to the ancient, pre-evolutionary doctrines. Sociologists still are convinced that our institutions are the products of long development, that they are continually changing, that they are man's devices for getting certain essential things done, and they are not absolute and final either in their structures or their functions.

VARIABILITY IN INSTITUTIONS

While it is true that people everywhere are confronted with the same problems, it does not follow that they will all arrive at the same solutions. The fact is that men have adjusted themselves to the conditions of life in a wide variety of ways. Moreover, these adjustments work pretty successfully, so that it is a mark of provincialism to insist that only one method of meeting life's needs is right and true, while all others are wrong or inferior. For example, every society experiences the fact of death, and the problem of disposing of corpses has presented itself to all men. Some have solved the problem by inhumation, some by cremation, some by water burial, and some by exposure to birds, beasts, and the elements. People come to feel that their particular practice is the right one, showing proper respect for the deceased. But the truth is

that all of these methods succeed in meeting the problem, revolting though some of them may seem to us. Can we maintain that the prevalent American practice of inhumation is superior to all others?

It is so with other aspects of culture. Consider the wide variety of dwellings with which men in different parts of the world have protected themselves against the rigors of the climate. Consider the various ways in which the problem of hunger has been successfully solved, or the problem of training the young, or of ornamenting the body.

Institutions vary from one society to another (1) in structure, (2) in functions, and (3) in value. The complex of folkways, attitudes, beliefs, symbols and utilitarian traits which make up the structure of an institution in one society may be quite different in another. The Todas of southern India, for example, have their religious institution even as we do here in the United States; but the elements of the two institutions are quite different. We have our symbols, such as crosses, stained glass, candles, altars, and steeples; and we have our peculiar doctrines, creeds, and modes of worship. The Toda religion, strange to say, centers around their herds of buffalo; their priests are the dairymen; and their ceremonies and beliefs are calculated to insure the products of their sacred animals. The symbols and utilitarian traits in their institutional pattern include dairies, churns, vessels, bells, and lamps. All of these material and nonmaterial elements have been organized and integrated to form the Todas' religious institution. And so, while institutions everywhere are composed of beliefs, attitudes, usages, symbols, and the like, the particular elements in the complex, and their arrangement, admit a wide range of variability.

Institutions differ not only in their structure but also in the functions they perform. In most societies, for example, the care of the aged is a responsibility of the family, and this was true in the United States until recently. Now, however, we see this function being surrendered by the family and assumed by the state, a change that has encountered considerable opposition. The punishment of crime we consider to be a proper function of the state, and when a family or some other group takes it upon itself to avenge a wrong, as in a feud or lynching, the action is a violation of the law. In many societies, however, the political institution does not con-

cern itself with such matters, leaving them instead to the family, clan, or some other social unit.

Institutions also vary in the value or emphasis placed upon them. The family in some societies is the most important institution of all, outweighing even the state in the loyalty and interest it evokes. Religion is all-important in some societies, while in others it is accorded a lesser role. Among the Hopi Indians religious ceremonies consume a tremendous amount of time, energy, and

Family group of the Samoans, an illustration of institutional variability. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

thought, while their political institution is a relatively minor concern. Education with us is a value to which we devote a great deal of attention and money and in which we have almost unlimited faith, while to the Eskimo it is informal, casual, and unorganized.

CHANGES IN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Social institutions vary not only from place to place but from time to time as well. The probability is that throughout man's history these changes have been so rare and so gradual that most people have been quite unaware of them and have naively assumed that life continually repeats itself, each generation being virtually

a carbon copy of those preceding it. Ours, however, is a time of radical and rapid change, with the result that one need not be very old to have witnessed many fundamental changes in our family patterns, in the way we make our living, and in our educational, political, and recreational institutions.

Sociologists have devoted much of their efforts to observing, explaining, and recording the various changes that are occurring in our society. House says: "It has been asserted by some sociologists of repute, and it has been clearly implied in the writings of others, that the fundamental objective of social science, including sociology, is to explain the facts of social change. The proposition can be defended to this extent and in this sense: In a society in which little change is going on or has gone on for some time, there is little or no interest in social science, or in any other kind of science, for that matter. In a very stable society, custom and tradition comprise the only kind of knowledge that exists. When the things we have to deal with undergo change, we are led to think about them reflectively and critically." [11]

A large part of the literature of sociology deals with the changes in our social institutions. Among the classics in this field is a study made of Muncie, Indiana, in the years 1924–1925.[12] It was the purpose of this project to make a full-length portrait of the culture of an American community, in much the same manner as an anthropologist would describe the society of a band of Eskimos or a tribe of Indians. Even so, the authors found it necessary to make constant reference to the multiplicity of changes that had been taking place during the thirty-five years prior to their arrival upon the scene. Hardly had their report been published when the depression of 1929 struck, and so far-reaching were its consequences that the authors felt it expedient to return to Middletown and to study the transformations which had been brought about in the brief span of ten years.[13]

A study of a different sort, but likewise indicating how social in-

[11] Floyd N. House, *The Development of Sociology*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1936, p. 3.

[12] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

[13] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1937.

stitutions change, is that of a group of Russian peasants who came to America early in the present century and settled in Los Angeles.[14] Under the impact of their new environment, especially their adoption of an urban community as their home, the social institutions, to which they were fanatically devoted and which they made every effort to perpetuate in their children, began to change, giving rise to frequent conflicts between older and younger generations, and between the Russian immigrants and their neighbors in Los Angeles.

SOCIAL FACTORS AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

All that we have been discussing thus far—the existence of social institutions, their universality, their variability, and the fact that they change in spite of man's inertia and conservatism—can be attributed to the operation of the geographical, hereditary, and cultural forces that underlie and affect all social life. If we are to understand our institutions it is important that we relate them to these factors, and especially that we learn to assess properly their influence. It is a temptation, into which many have fallen, to exaggerate the importance of some particular factor, or to underestimate others.

For example, many scholars have supposed that they have found in the climate, the soil, or in some other geographical condition the key to understanding these problems; others have insisted that the variability and changes in institutions can be adequately explained by reference to some hereditary factor, such as racial differences, the crossing of races, or deterioration in the human stock through the elimination of superior individuals and the propagation of inferior quality. Still others have emphasized, at the expense of geographical and hereditary factors, the tendency of culture traits to diffuse from the center in which they were invented, or the primacy of some other cultural factor or process.

That social institutions are based upon certain needs which are apparently universal has been stressed. Included among these needs are those of food and drink, shelter, sex, reproduction, child

[14] Pauline V. Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian Town*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932.

rearing, and protection. Many of these needs have an obvious physiological basis, are present in other animals, and are readily identified with those drives which are part of the hereditary equipment with which all human beings begin their lives. Other needs, arising from man's habit of group life, which itself is perhaps related to an inborn tendency toward gregariousness, call for certain adjustments that develop into institutions. These inborn drives, however, find satisfaction in a variety of ways, and are themselves influenced both by the geographic environment and by the culture in which they find expression. The relation between man's hereditary needs and his institutions is not a simple and direct one. It must not be supposed that each drive has its corresponding institution, or that each institution can be referred back to a single drive. The sex drive, for example, finds expression through most of our institutions, and not only through marriage and the family; the hunger drive finds satisfaction not only in the economic institution but in family, in religion, and in political and educational institutions.

The relation between drives and institutions, moreover, is reciprocal. Institutions come into existence in order to satisfy the needs created by our drives, but often they become rigid, divorced from reality, thwarting the wants that brought them into being. Thus the economic institution may develop along lines which make it a hindrance rather than a help to the satisfaction of man's physical wants; education may come to be considered an end in itself rather than a means for equipping the individual for effective life in society. Thomas Jefferson had this in mind when he wrote:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men. . . . That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it. . . .

The relation of the geographic environment to man's institutions has been the subject of much study and thought as far back as we have historical records.[15] Some have made it the all-

[15] Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1928, pp. 99 ff.

important factor while others have ignored it altogether. That it is influential in social life will not be questioned by sociologists; but that geography offers the key to our understanding of man's family, political, religious, or even his economic institutions is open to question. To put it briefly, geography *influences* social institutions but does not *determine* their structure and changes. Or, as another has expressed it, "Geography decrees that such and such things shall *not* be, and that such others *may* be, but does not dictate what *must* be." [16]

It is apparent that certain institutions, such as the economic, are more closely related to environmental factors than, say, religion and family are; but these latter are by no means independent of geography. It is also probably true that the simpler societies are closer in their institutional framework to geographical influences than are more complex societies. Man, by improvements in his cultural equipment, learns to become less dependent upon his immediate environment, and is even able to alter radically his geographical surroundings by the application of science and technology.

Cultural factors and process play their part, too, in the form and functions of our social institutions. Every element, material and nonmaterial, that goes into the making of an institution had to be invented somewhere, sometime, and by someone. The veils, rings, honeymoon, superstitions, ceremonies, and conventions that go to make up our marriage institution trace back to some point of origin in the remote past. They have been transmitted from generation to generation for countless centuries, either by imitation or inculcation. They have also been diffused, being carried from their point of origin to the far corners of the earth.

As a matter of fact, the greater part of American social institutions was brought to this country from Europe, and Europe in its turn had received much of its culture from Egypt, China, and the Near East. To understand any of our institutions, therefore, we need to bear in mind the hereditary, geographic, and cultural factors that determine its form, that affect its function, and that operate in causing it to change. It is also important that we assess properly the influence of these various factors, for they are not all of equal

[16] Robert H. Lowie, *Are We Civilized?* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929, p. 22.

importance, and their significance is not uniform at all times or in all situations.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What needs had to be satisfied by the pioneers who established the colony on Pitcairn Island?
2. What are some of the symbolic traits that enter into the structure of the American family institution?
3. Do you agree with Linton in his statement that it is as important for a culture to satisfy man's psychic needs as it is to satisfy his biological needs?
4. In what respects are all societies similar?
5. How would you account for the differences between one culture and another?
6. What are some of the functions of the educational institution?
7. What changes have you observed in certain of our social institutions?
8. Discuss the interrelationships of family and school. Of family and religion. Of government and education.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Study the various definitions of the term institution to be found in the dictionaries, and compare these with the sociological definition.
2. Compare the theories of several social scientists with respect to man's needs.
3. Investigate the interrelationships of institutions in Soviet Russia, and compare the situation with our own.
4. Report on Herbert Spencer's theories about the origin of social institutions.

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An exhaustive study of the role of institutions in adjusting man to his needs and environment. Rich in valuable and interesting material.

Chapter 25

THE FAMILY INSTITUTION

MARRIAGE and the family are ancient institutions, and around them have grown up deep and powerful sentiments and traditions. There are not a few people who go so far as to insist that these are unique and sacred institutions, the creations of God rather than the products of man, and that they are absolute, final, and unalterable. Others go to the opposite extreme and declare that marriage is an outworn, obsolete custom, and that it is high time we cast it upon the cultural rubbish heap, along with stone tools, cannibalism, ghosts, and other such traits that have no place in modern civilization. Between these two extremes are many people who, though they doubt the Biblical account of the origin of these institutions, do not deny that marriage and the family are very ancient, the family at least as old as the human race, and that they are as indispensable today as they have been in the past. While they may hesitate to apply the adjective "sacred" to them, they will use other terms almost as strong.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

The words "marriage" and "family" are commonly linked and are often held to be virtually synonymous. Actually of course they are not one and the same, nor are they invariably found together. By marriage we mean a union between persons of the opposite sex which is unequivocably sanctioned by society.[1] It is thus not co-extensive with sex activity, for there are unions which society does not approve, and there are others which, though condoned, are given inferior status in the scale of values. "Family" is a more difficult term to define, since the institution differs so widely from place to

[1] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton–Century Company, Inc., New York, 1936, p. 173; also Robert H. Lowie, article "Marriage," *Encyc. Soc. Sci.*

place. A standard dictionary gives several definitions including the following: (1) "The group comprising a husband and wife and their dependent children." (2) "A group of kindred or closely related individuals." These two definitions suggest the two poles around which societies have built their family structures—the conjugal and the consanguineous.

The conjugal type of family institution is the one which we in the United States prefer. It emphasizes the marriage bond at the expense of the blood tie. To be sure, we do not overlook the fact that there are relatives, and that there are certain conventions, obligations, and privileges involved in consanguinity. The family, however, means to us primarily two spouses and their offspring, while cousins, aunts, uncles, and grandparents are secondary and incidental. They are on the fringe, not at the center of the institution.

The consanguineous type of family, which is found in a great many societies, places major emphasis upon the blood relationship. In these societies marriages of course occur, yet they are but incidents in the life of the family. The following is a striking and extreme illustration of how the family institution may be erected upon consanguinity rather than upon the marriage bond:

> The Nayar provide no place for husbands or fathers in their social system. Their women marry, in accordance with Hindu law, but the marriage is contracted with a stranger and is terminated at the end of three days by a formal divorce. The husband does not enter the picture again. The satisfaction of sexual needs and the perpetuation of the group are provided for by a series of informal love affairs which, although socially recognized, establish no permanent bond between the parties or between the man and his offspring. If the lovers are compatible the relationship may continue for years, but it can always be broken without notice. The woman is in complete control of the situation and can dismiss her lover by simply returning his last gift. She is free to have several lovers simultaneously, and no greater degree of faithfulness is required of the man. The real family unit in this society consists of a woman and her sons and daughters. The children continue their association after the mother's death, and the son regards his sister's house as home, and takes much of the same interest in her children that a father would take in his own children in our society. The rationalization which the Nayar give for this system is that since they are a warrior caste, making their living mainly as mercenaries, it is better for their men not to set up house-

holds or assume the duties of paternity. Freedom from such responsibilities makes it possible for them to take the field at a moment's notice and without regret.[2]

The family institution, then, is found in all human societies, and everywhere we find both the custom of marriage and the recognition of blood relationship. It so happens that some societies in the development of their family institution have magnified the one and minimized the other, while elsewhere the reverse situation has prevailed. Each system has its advantages and its disadvantages. And they both work.

WHAT MADE THE FAMILY?

A superficial answer to this question would be that sex is the foundation of the family institution, but that is true only in part. To be sure, the fact that there are two sexes is of tremendous importance, and is a condition of life to which every society must make an adjustment. The sex drive, however, did not force man to develop marriage and family institutions. That sex needs can be met outside these institutions is proved by the case of the Nayar, as well as by our own statistics of illegitimacy and by the wide prevalence of prostitution. The powerful sex drive, however, is something which no society can afford to ignore. Every society has attempted to control and direct it for its own welfare and survival.

While sex is nowhere regarded as a private affair, it alone could not bring about the prolonged association of adult males and females, which is the *sine qua non* of the family institution in all but exceptional instances, such as that of the Nayar described above. In addition to the sex drive, which all societies agree must come under the regulation of the folkways, there is the fact that children come into the world helpless and ignorant. Someone must be responsible for their care and training. Again, both prior to and following the birth of a child the female needs the support and cooperation of an adult male. Therefore it is the sex drive plus certain other conditions to which societies have responded by developing the social institution of the family.

Bisexuality, accordingly, raises not one problem but a multitude

[2] Ralph Linton, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 ff.

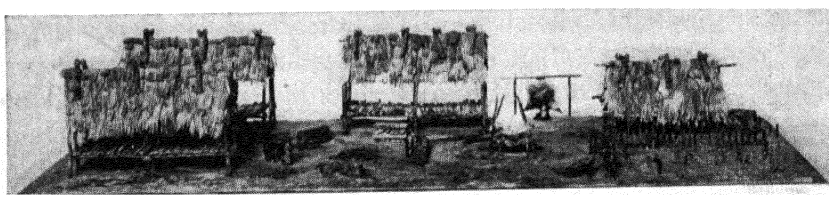
of problems, for which solutions must be found. Who may marry whom? At what age? How should one obtain his mate, and how many mates may he have? What characteristics make one more desirable than another as a spouse? Where shall the newlyweds reside? Who shall exercise the authority? How shall they divide the duties and responsibilities? How shall they act toward their relatives? How reckon descent and relationship? How transmit property? If the marriage should prove unsatisfactory, should it be terminated and, if so, on what grounds? If death should take one partner, how should the survivor conduct himself or herself? These and many other problems have confronted every human society, and no society has failed to work out some sort of answer to each of them. The answers become established in the folkways and win the approval of society. The individual, therefore, does not have to bother himself too much over these questions. He merely learns the "right" answers—that is, the answers his particular group has agreed upon—and conducts himself accordingly. The complex of usages, traditions, attitudes, symbols, and beliefs that constitute a group's adjustments to these problems we call the family institution.

VARIABILITY IN FAMILY INSTITUTIONS

These questions all permit more than one answer, with the result that the family institution varies widely from place to place. Take, for example, the question, "Who may marry whom?" No society that we know about has seen fit to permit complete freedom in sex relations. Provincial and myopic travelers observing the strange and un-American love life of certain primitive peoples have come home and branded them promiscuous. Had they possessed more insight, however, they would have seen that, though people may differ greatly as to their notions of propriety, they all draw the line somewhere. The Eskimo who practices what is to us the shocking custom of lending his wife to a guest, and the African chieftain with his score of wives, are both scrupulously following the best traditions of their respective societies. All peoples have rules, laws, or mores stipulating that one must marry *outside* of certain groups or relationships. We speak of these practices as *exogamy*. With

rarest exceptions societies forbid the marriage of parents and offspring, of brothers and sisters. Many societies insist that one must look beyond the limits of the tribe for his spouse (tribal exogamy), or must go outside the clan (clan exogamy), or look beyond the phratry, or the moiety.

For that matter, our own states differ as to their exogamous regulations. Some permit the marriage of first cousins while others do not. Sex relations within these prohibited degrees are termed incest; and, as revolting as incestuous practices are to us, they are even more seriously regarded by many so-called savages. So deep-seated are man's feelings about incest that some scholars have maintained that it is instinctive, though the probability is that culture, rather than heredity, is the deciding factor.[3]



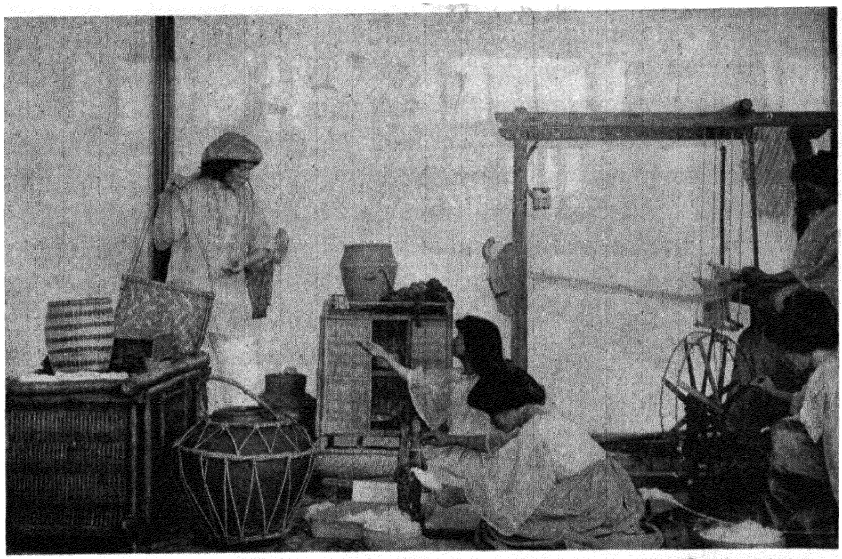
Dwelling group of the Seminole Indians. Note the contrasts with any corresponding group of acculturated Americans. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

Societies also have laws and mores of *endogamy*, requiring that one marry *within* certain groups or limits. Many primitive peoples insist upon tribal endogamy; all groups whose social system includes castes require that one marry within his caste. Many of our own states prescribe racial endogamy; even in those states where the law does not forbid interracial marriages the mores are firmly set against them. Likewise, we have strong sentiments that marriages, to be successful, should be confined to members of the same religion, or of the same social class, or of the same nationality.

Some societies, not satisfied with laying down the limits of endogamy and exogamy, even go so far as to indicate a preference for certain unions. Arabs, for instance, hold that it is desirable for a boy to marry his father's brother's daughter, a parallel cousin,

[3] *Cf.* Reo Fortune, article "Incest," *Encyc. Soc. Sci.*, and Otto Klineberg, *Social Psychology*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1940, pp. 131 ff.

though such a marriage would be forbidden in not a few societies. Many primitive people show a preference for cross-cousin marriages, that is, choice of a mother's brother's child or a father's sister's child. To our way of thinking these are all first cousins, and we make no distinction between them; but many people consider the difference between a cross cousin and a parallel cousin (or orthocousin) a very important one, forbidding marriage to the one and holding marriage to the other in high esteem.



Family group of Filipinos, another instance of cultural variability in family groupings. (Courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

The question, How many spouses may one take? can be answered in one of four ways: one man and one woman (monogamy); one woman and two or more men (polyandry); one man and two or more women (polygyny); and two or more men and two or more women (group marriage). This last form, though it has been reported, is exceedingly rare, and some of the best authorities doubt its existence.[4] Polyandry is also a rare form of marriage, though it is found in Africa, in Tibet, among the Eskimo, among the Todas

[4] *Cf.* Robert H. Lowie, *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1940, pp. 245 ff.; also Franz Boas *et al.*, *General Anthropology*, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1938, p. 432.

of southern India, and in several American Indian tribes. Polygyny is the form which most human societies seem to have chosen; that is to say, polygyny is permitted, and perhaps even favored, but the ratio of the sexes makes it impossible for every man to have more than one wife. Consequently, while most societies permit polygyny, most marriages are monogamous. Many societies, including our own, look upon monogamy as the only form that is legal, ethical, and conducive to happiness. Such an attitude, however, is indicative of our ethnocentrism; for those who practice polygyny, both men and women, have staunchly defended their system, and those who are born in a society that observes polyandry are equally convinced that their form is the most natural and desirable.

The question, How shall one obtain his spouse? can be answered in a variety of ways, and no method is without its devotees. Our own system of courtship and individual choice would strike many people as strange and unworkable. The Chinese, for example, would not think of placing so great a responsibility upon young and inexperienced shoulders, nor would they consider romance a proper basis for a successful marriage. Instead, engagements and marriages are generally arranged by the parents of the young couple, the latter exercising no choice in the matter. Negotiations are handled by a professional matchmaker and the bride and groom meet for the first time on the day of their wedding. For centuries this system has functioned very satisfactorily.[5]

In addition to these two means of obtaining spouses, or in conjunction with them, are others which many societies have adopted: purchase, service, inheritance, capture, and exchange. It is doubtful that any society has resorted solely to the capture of women as a means of obtaining wives for its male members, but many have not been above stealing women from their neighbors. The Hebrews, while they had other methods more highly esteemed, were apparently addicted to the wife-stealing habit. A special ceremony was prescribed for marriages of this type, as recorded in Deuteronomy xxi:10–13: "When thou goest forth to war against thine enemies, and the Lord thy God delivereth them into thy hands, and thou hast taken them captive, and seest among the captives a beau-

[5] *Cf.* D. N. Mitra, "A Hindu Marriage in Bengal" and "A Hindu Wife," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 52, November, 1946, pp. 255–262.

tiful woman, and hast a desire unto her, and wouldest have her to thy wife; then thou shalt bring her home to thine house; and she shall shave her head and pare her nails, and she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house and bewail her father and her mother a full month; and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife."

The purchase of wives is more widespread. It must not be inferred from this, however, that women are regarded as property, or as slaves, or even that they feel degraded because a price has been paid for them. On the contrary, it is often a matter of great pride to a woman if the price has been high enough; it is an occasion for much boasting. A marriage that does not involve a bride price is a matter of scorn in some societies, where it is likened to the mating of swine; in others, a woman who marries only for love may be compared to a cat—the only animal to be obtained for nothing.

Related to the purchase of wives is the practice of rendering service in lieu of a bride price. Jacob, it will be remembered, served his father-in-law Laban for fourteen years, in return for which he received as wives his two cousins, Rachael and Leah—and for good measure, two handmaidens (Gen. xxix:1–30). The early Hebrews were by no means alone in subscribing to such a queer practice; the literature of ethnology records many similar customs.

Elsewhere men have obtained their wives by means of exchange. This has been a popular method among Australian tribes, whereby a father could obtain a wife for his son and a husband for his daughter at one stroke. Two families, each having both a son and a daughter, would simply arrange for the boys and girls to marry. Often elaborate ceremonies were involved in the process of exchange.[6]

Among some people, especially in Africa, the custom of inheriting wives is found. A man, for example, will inherit the wives of a deceased elder brother, or perhaps even his father's wives (with the exception of his own mother).[7]

Once the marriage has been performed, the next question is, where shall the young couple reside? We in the United States are

[6] *Cf.* W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927, Vol. III, pp. 1636 ff.

[7] *Cf.* W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1937, pp. 111–117.

convinced that newlyweds should by all means set up their own home, or at least move into an apartment of their own. Dorothy Dix, Beatrice Fairfax, or anyone else who makes a profession of giving advice to the lovelorn would doubtless advise against the pitfalls of living with one's inlaws. Temporarily, or in an emergency, of course, it is permissible for a couple to live with their parents, but even then it is considered better for the woman to move in with the man's parents than for the husband to "sponge" on his wife's. To us this seems quite natural and reasonable. It is not, however, the universal pattern, and many societies would look upon our customs as unnatural and undesirable. In certain societies it is the usual practice for the young man to take up his abode in the house of his wife, a practice known as *matrilocal residence.* When an Iroquois man married, to cite only one of many possible cases, he would make his home in the long house where his wife resided; he would not acquire any rights or power there, for authority rested with some older woman—the grandmother, mother, or maternal aunt of his wife. On the other hand, many societies have favored a system of *patrilocal residence,* while with others it is the practice for the new couple to live first with one set of parents and then with the other. Finally, many societies feel, as we do in America, that it is desirable for newlyweds to establish their own independent home.

Family institutions the world over vary in many other details. They differ in their assignment of authority, some inclining toward the *patriarchal,* some toward the *matriarchal,* while others approach a *democratic* adjustment between husband and wife. The institution varies, also, in methods of reckoning descent, some adopting the *matrilineal* system of tracing through the female line, others preferring the *patrilineal* system, while many, including ourselves, trace descent through both the mother's and father's line. Moreover, every society must face the fact that not all marriages turn out to be successful. Some societies have responded by making divorce free, easy, and reputable; others have permitted divorce only in certain circumstances, though the legitimate grounds vary widely from place to place; and some societies have forbidden divorce altogether.

Thus the institution of the family manifests infinite variability

in form or structure from group to group. Differences are also seen in its functions, though they have a certain degree of uniformity. Two functions are almost universally assigned to the family institution: (1) satisfaction of the sexual needs of spouses, and (2) the care and rearing of children. It must be noted that the family institution does not have a monopoly upon the first function, for, as we have seen, there are various kinds of extramarital sexual relations that are accorded a certain tacit approval. Concerning the second function, the family is virtually without exception the approved institution for procreating, rearing, and training children; but here again it does not have a monopoly upon this function, for most societies place some of the responsibility upon other agencies.

In addition to these two basic functions are innumerable others that the family institution is capable of performing, and societies vary as to which they sanction. The family, especially in China, but also in most other societies where ancestor worship is established, performs important religious duties. In most societies the family is an important economic unit, more so in some places than in others. Not a few cultures assign to the family the responsibility of protecting the persons and property of its members, minimizing their misdeeds and fighting their battles when they have been injured. Care of the aged and the infirm is still another task that most societies assign to the family.

THE AMERICAN FAMILY INSTITUTION

American culture is not so well integrated nor so homogeneous as that of a band of Australian aborigines or a village of Osage Indians. In consequence it is impossible to draw a picture of the "typical" American family. The institution varies greatly from one section of the country to another, from social class to social class, from race to race, and from ethnic group to ethnic group. It is a far cry from the portrait of the family drawn by Sinclair Lewis in *Babbitt* to that portrayed in Richard Wright's *Black Boy*, yet both families are American types. The childless, apartment-dwelling couple is as much an American family as the husband and wife in a Kentucky mountain shack surrounded by their numerous progeny and relatives. Then there are the Mexicans, the Chinese,

the Italians, the Molokans, and innumerable other minorities, all with their typical cultures and family patterns.

In spite of this diversity, however, it is possible to select a few characteristics of the family institution which most Americans would regard as ideal or desirable. As Americans we believe that persons should not marry until they have reached the age of maturity; reports of child marriages and betrothals strike us as crude, primitive, and shocking. We believe that the man and the woman should make the choice themselves, or at least be allowed to think they do; and we resent any interference on the part of parents or other relatives. We believe that love and romance are essential, and while we permit people to marry for other motives, we regard love as the best basis for marriage. We believe in making an occasion of a marriage, using a ring, rice, veil, flowers, and many other symbolic traits. We have in our minds an ideal pattern governing the behavior of both the man and the woman after they begin their wedded life.

James West has made a study of a small town in the Middle West, and while his picture of the family institution there is not representative of the whole country, many of its features will have a certain familiarity to us all. The following is a digest of his portrayal:

In Plainville the immediate family is called "my family," or for stress, "my *own* family." The greater kin group, including even "in-laws," is also called "family," but it is more often called "kinfolks," "connections," or "relatives." Confusing as the extended use of the word "family" may seem, there is never any difficulty in knowing which "family" is meant in Plainville verbal context.

As each individual born into Plainville society begins to talk and to "understand," the language begins transmitting to him a series of kinship terms. Through observation, direct instruction, "correction," and innuendo, he learns to feel the sentiments and practice the behavior considered appropriate toward each relative.

Migration, machinery, money, have all weakened the functioning of kinship. Yet many Plainville people still live "surrounded by kin," and all live surrounded by neighbors whose sharp eyes and tongues are persuasive goads to conscience when questions of familial "duty" arise.

The firmest kinship bonds are between members of one's "own" or immediate family. The husband "owes his wife a good living"; he

should "be true to her," and "kind to her"; he should not "meddle with the house." The wifely obligation is to "be a good helpmate." She should be a good cook, a clean housewife, "saving and not extravagant." Her "average conception" of her "wifely duties" includes also the idea, I believe, that she should "yield to her husband (sexually) without mind ing it too much." She should be a "good and patient mother to her children" and a "comforter" to children and husband. She should not "nag" children or husband, especially the latter. She should "tend to her business" and "not meddle with the farm" or "with money matters." Husband and wife should "advise with" each other, however, when important decisions must be made in either's economic domain, or when problems arise concerning their children. If they fail to reach a common decision, then the wife should yield to her husband's judgment. Publicly, neither husband nor wife should "look with (sexual) interest at another person," nor should they ever demonstrate affection toward each other by word or deed.

Parents are supposed to take care of their children until they are "educated," "grown," "married," or "able to make their own living." This "care" includes affection, feeding, clothing, medical attention through home remedies and by doctors if necessary, and home discipline and teaching. Through all this "support" and "loving care," a "debt of gratitude" is built up in the growing child which he must "pay off" as well as he can—he can never fully repay it.

The care and home teaching of children are considered to be mostly maternal, though the father teaches the boys at least as many things as the mother does. What children are particularly expected to learn from their parents at home are morals, financial honesty, obedience, and work techniques. The ideal child is docile, obedient, willing to work, never questioning the rightness of parental authority. What children, while children, owe their parents is love, respect, and obedience. Grown children owe their parents love, or at least respect, the gratitude already mentioned, and economic care in case of need.

Marriages are arranged only by the contracting individuals, though their families have a large veto power through supervision of the "company that young people (especially girls) keep." The "matchmaker" is not unknown, but is not taken very seriously. An older woman may introduce "two young people that ought to meet," and may suggest her intentions with approving nods, smiles, and words. More effective matchmaking is done by a younger person, usually an engaged girl, who arranges dates and transportation for a couple whom she would like to bring together.

People who marry should not be kin, or at least close kin. It is "not right" to marry a "close cousin."

Marriages are quite permanent. Divorces are granted, of course, but "the better class of people" are nearly as unwilling to solve a family problem by divorce as by "wife beating" or "the rolling pin." No very high degree of sexual compatibility seems necessary to the placid continuation of the average marriage, which is an economic, a social, and a sexual union giving both spouses adult status, a home, a working partnership by which both earn a living, and an "own family," including children.[8]

CHANGES IN THE AMERICAN FAMILY

That the American family institution has been changing radically in recent decades is clearly revealed in statistical records and is a matter of observation and experience to almost everyone above the age of forty, many of whom regard these changes with deep concern for the welfare of our society. Back in the 1930's, at the depth of the Great Depression, an elderly reader, obviously motivated by nostalgia, sent the following letter to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch:*

At the close of the Civil War, my father bought a small farm in Southern Illinois. I was 9 years old at the time. We had two horses, two cows, and three brood sows. The sows were turned loose in the woods. We also had a small flock of sheep. From the wool of these sheep, and cotton from a small patch, my mother spun, wove, and made up the clothing for the entire family.

We planted 10 or 12 acres of corn. There was no market for corn, so we raised only enough for our own use. We also sowed four or five acres of wheat. This was cut with a cradle and threshed out with a flail. There was but one wheat fan in the neighborhood. We borrowed this and fanned the chaff from our wheat. We took the wheat to the mill and had it ground into flour for our own use, the miller taking a toll of the wheat to pay for the grinding. We sold no farm produce for the simple reason there was no market.

We had the yard full of chickens, geese, and turkeys. My mother occasionally traded some of these, together with butter and eggs, to peddlers for groceries and other small needs.

During the summer months we children—there were four of us—dug

[8] James West (pseud.), *Plainville, U.S.A.*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945, pp. 57–69, by permission of the publishers.

ginseng, while in winter the older members of the family trapped small fur-bearing animals. Ginseng and pelts were the two things we could sell for cash. From the sale of these we purchased the family shoes and paid taxes.

Winter always found us with at least 2,500 pounds of smoked meat, plenty of potatoes, turnips, cabbage and apples "holed up" to last us until we had spring vegetables.

When we wanted to go anywhere, our only conveyance was a farm wagon or a home-made sleigh. Our only recreation or amusement was going to a log-rolling, house-raising, or "coon hunting." We did cut an occasional "bee tree." We had no money, and in our method of living needed very little. Many farmers today spend more for gasoline than we did for all our needs.

The joke of the whole matter is we thought we were doing fine. We were warmly clothed, comfortably housed, and usually had a year's food supply. When we wanted fresh meat, we killed the wild game in the woods about us. Above all, we were not in debt. When crops were bad, we put up no "wailing wall." We asked nobody for help. We helped ourselves.

The family institution which this old-timer recalls is not an inaccurate picture of the institution as most Americans of the nineteenth century knew it. At that time most families were rural; it was not until 1920 that a majority of our people were living in communities of more than 2,500 population. The family as described in this letter was largely a self-sufficient economic unit —it supplied its members with the clothes they wore, the food they ate, and most of their other material needs; there was a well-recognized division of labor, in which men, women, and children participated; the family had many functions to perform, recreational, educational, protective, religious, as well as economic; and this family of six was doubtless not considered a large one for that period.

Recent years, however, have witnessed profound changes in the family—the traditional roles and statuses have been modified; it has lost many of its functions; it is not as stable as it was formerly; it has decreased in size; it has lost much of its religious sanction; and our sex mores have undergone a transformation. Some of these changes have come as a result of deliberate, organized effort, but many of them are the unforeseen consequences of certain social

and cultural developments; moreover, it is safe to say, none of them has come without considerable opposition, and all have caused deep concern to many who envisage an impending doom for our society, declaring that the very foundations are being undermined. Let us consider some of these changes.

First, the family has been growing smaller. This decline in size is not, however, a trend of recent years only, but has been in evidence for a century and a half. When the first census was taken in 1790 there was an average of 5.7 persons per family. By 1800 the average had fallen to 5.6; by 1880 to 5.0; by 1900 to 4.7; and by 1930 to 4.1.[9] These figures, however, do not tell the whole story. The U.S. Census has its own working definition of a family; and if we consider only related individuals, the median size of the American family in 1930 was 3.4 instead of 4.1. Thus the popular idea of the "typical family" consisting of two parents and their three children is fallacious. Actually only 17.5 per cent of our families were of this type and only 18.5 per cent consisted of six or more members.

This tendency for married people to have fewer children is not confined to the United States but has been characteristic also of England, France, Germany, Italy, and several other countries. It has been a matter of concern to militarists and statesmen as well as to religious bodies. Mussolini and Hitler made frantic efforts, not without some success, to stem the tide. In this country President Theodore Roosevelt was deeply aroused by the trend, and used to deplore what he termed "race suicide."

The reasons for this decline in family size has been a subject of speculation and research, but positive conclusions have not been reached. Some have thought that the decline in the birth rate might result from a tendency for persons to marry at a later age than formerly, thus shortening the length of the childbearing period, but statistical data do not give evidence of such a relationship. Others have attributed the decline to the ravages of vice, disease, the use of alcohol, or degeneration in the quality of the national stock. The probability is, however, that with the spread of the

[9] Mildred Parten and Ruby J. Reeves, "Size and Composition of American Families," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 638 ff.

knowledge of birth control, more and more people are deliberately and voluntarily limiting the size of their families.[10]

Second, the family is less stable than formerly. Fewer and fewer marriages live up to the promise contained in the words "until death do us part." Mark Twain once said that one could not really understand what love was unless one had been married twenty-five years; if he was right, an increasing number of people are going to remain forever ignorant of love's meaning. Statistics on divorce are clear evidence that marriage is no longer the solid, permanent institution it once was. Divorce has been growing more common, more respectable, and more easy to obtain. Between 1887, when there were 55 divorces per 1,000 marriages, and 1937, when there were 175 per 1,000, the divorce rate showed a steady annual increase, except for a brief interlude in 1932. World War II and its aftermath have accelerated this rate. "The American divorce rate," states a recent survey, "already the highest in the world, has reached an all-time peak. Divorces which in 1890 had ended one out of seventeen marriages, by 1930 were ending one out of six. For 1945, there was one divorce for every three marriages." [11]

The mobility of the American family is also an indication of its greater instability. One sociologist has expressed it thus:

American families are notably mobile. Although we may sentimentalize about the "old plantation" and "down on the farm," few individuals actually possess an old homestead to return to if they would. A city apartment cannot even be sentimentalized about. In urban neighborhoods, before the shortages of wartime housing, Moving Day on the first of May was a recognized day in the calendar, and many moved from one apartment to another every year or so. Attachment to a neighborhood, or to a city as a whole, such as the New Yorker's feeling for New York, or to a region such as the South, the East, or the West Coast is probably greater than to any specific building or location, but even this does not appear to be of great importance. Sentiment for the small town of one's origin appears to be considerable, but it is not enough to keep people from moving away and settling elsewhere. Even where

[10] *Cf.* Frank Lorimer and Frederick Osborn, *Dynamics of Population*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, pp. 255 ff.

[11] Bradley Buell and Marion Robinson, "Whither Family Life?" in *Survey Midmonthly*, January, 1947.

families appear to have made the effort to take root by buying land in a country location and building their own home, a new turn of events or a profitable financial arrangement will easily lead them to sell and move on.[12]

Stephen Leacock, the well-known Canadian humorist, brooding over the trend toward increased mobility and its effect upon the family institution, was prompted to "modernize" the old poem beginning

> Well do I remember
> The house where I was born
> And the little window where the sun
> Came peeping in at morn . . .

Mr. Leacock's modern version reads:

> I wish I could remember
> The house where I was born
> And the little window where perhaps
> The sun peeped in at morn.
> But father can't remember
> And mother can't recall
> Where they lived in that December—
> If it was a house at all.
> It may have been a boarding house
> Or a family hotel,
> A flat or a tenement:
> It's very hard to tell.
> There's only one thing certain from my questioning as yet,
> Wherever I was born, it was a matter of regret.[13]

A third change concerns the roles and statuses of members of the family. The patriarchal type of authority has been giving way to one more democratic and equalitarian. Marriage is no longer the only career that society approves for women, and a woman is no longer stigmatized for failing to get herself a husband. "Old maid" as a term of pity and reproach is seldom heard any more, and there is even a disposition to adorn spinsterhood with an aura of charm. Even the married woman no longer has the role of

[12] Margaret Park Redfield, "The American Family: Consensus and Freedom," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 52, November, 1946, p. 179.

[13] *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1927, p. 253.

housekeeper forced on her, for she has increasingly become a breadwinner. Statistics for the employment of women bear this out. In 1890 approximately 5 per cent of the married women were gainfully employed; by 1930 it was about 12 per cent; and in 1940, about 16 per cent.[14] Women have been given the right to vote and increasing numbers of them have been taking an active part in politics. A century ago the colleges began admitting women students; women have since been breaking the masculine monopoly in various professions and occupations. Married women have won many legal and economic rights, such as the right to execute deeds, to bring suit, to control their own property, to make contracts, and to serve on juries, although the extent of these rights varies from state to state. Lest we assume that these changes have been an unmixed blessing, ushering in an era of justice and equality, we must point out that they have confronted women with innumerable contradictions and inconsistencies, placing them on the horns of many a dilemma, producing conflicts not only in their own personalities but in their relations with their families and others in society.[15]

Fourth, the family has lost many of its traditional functions. A few generations ago the American family was a busy institution, with a multitude of duties to perform. It was in the home that bread was baked, food canned, and butter churned; clothing was produced, repaired, laundered, cleaned and dyed; soap, brooms, and furniture were made. It was in the home that babies were born, and one turned to the family for care during sickness and for protection in old age. The family, moreover, performed many religious functions, provided a large part of one's recreation, and was responsible for no small part of one's education. In short, the family performed many indispensable functions—economic, protective, religious, educational, and recreational.

American families isolated in mountain hollows still perform most of these functions, but for most families and especially for those in cities these functions have largely been taken away by other institutions. Babies are born in hospitals, not in homes; the aged

[14] John D. Durand, "Married Women in the Labor Force," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 52, November, 1946, pp. 217–223.

[15] *Cf.* Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," *Am. Jour. Soc.*, Vol. 52, November, 1946, pp. 184 ff.; also, Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 7, October, 1942, pp. 604 ff.

rely more upon pensions provided by the state, and less upon their children; recreation is bought and paid for outside the home; religious functions such as family prayers and grace at meals are largely obsolete; property is protected, not by the family, but by a greatly augmented force of police and firemen; families produce very little of the food, clothing, and household goods and furnishings which they consume.[16]

To be sure, not all of these functions have slipped away. The invention of the washing machine has kept a considerable amount of laundering in the home, although the growth of the laundry business has been great. Radios, phonographs, books, and magazines testify to the fact that much of our recreation is still provided in the home. The family is still an important educational institution; and while it is no longer such an important producer of economic goods and services, it is an extremely important consumer. Actually, the homemaker is still an essential producer; preparing food and other goods for consumption is a skilled occupation.

In view of the tremendous increase in divorce, the loss of family functions, the decline of the birth rate, the weakening of the sex mores, and other changes taking place, many people have issued gloomy pronouncements as to the decline and disappearance of the family as a social institution. Says Sorokin, "The family of the last few decades has grown ever more unstable, until it has reached the point of actual disintegration." [17] Another sociologist, Zimmerman, is not overly optimistic:

> The future of the family in our society is as yet unclear. On the one hand, we must recognize in reality our system is approaching a crisis. Only twice in all human history, once in Greece and once in Rome, has a large family system approached a developmental extreme as violent as ours. At certain periods Greek and Roman demoralization was more advanced than our own, but in a short space of time we shall resemble them at their worst. On the other hand, while their demoralization was a simple and extrovert thing, ours is hidden and introvert.[18]

[16] *Cf.* William F. Ogburn, "The Family and Its Functions," in *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933, pp. 661–708.

[17] Pitirim Sorokin, *The Crisis of Our Age*, E. P. Dutton and Company, New York, 1941, p. 187.

[18] Carle C. Zimmerman, "The Social Conscience and the Family," *Am. Jour. Soc.*, Vol. 52, November, 1946, p. 268.

Even so, the family still has an important role to play. Our society still looks upon the family as the most approved institution for the expression of the sex drive, although extramarital relations apparently evoke less condemnation than formerly.[19] Furthermore, we still regard the family as the proper institution for bringing children into the world and for perpetuating our society. Suggestions that the task of procreation be assigned to a specialized and highly selected group of "breeders" have never been taken seriously. And with all of its shortcomings we still regard the family as the best institution we have for rearing children, for developing their personalities, and for introducing them to the culture in which they live. Children need love and affection as much as they need a balanced diet and applied child psychology; there is no adequate substitute for the family.

Finally, we look to marriage and the family for the achievement of certain psychological values—for affection, companionship, recognition, and security—to a much greater degree than we did in the past and to a greater extent than other societies. Consequently considerable attention and study are being given to the factors making for marital happiness and to the possibility of predicting success or failure in marriage.[20]

Certainly there is no indication that Americans have lost faith in the institution of marriage or that they are prepared to discard the family. Instead, there is evidence for believing quite the contrary.[21] The fact seems to be that the American family institution, with its roots in the dim prehistoric past, developed into its present form under simple rural conditions; but it now faces the task of adjusting itself to a complex, industrialized, urban way of life. The going is hard, but there are grounds for believing that with patience, effort, and the application of all the scientific knowledge that we possess, the family will survive.

[19] *Cf.* Austin L. Porterfield and H. Ellison Salley, "Current Folkways of Sexual Behavior," *Am. Jour. Soc.*, Vol. 52, November, 1946, pp. 209 ff.

[20] *Cf.* E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939; also L. W. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938.

[21] *Cf.* Theodore Newcomb, "Recent Changes in Attitudes Toward Sex and Marriage," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 2, October, 1937, pp. 659 ff.; also, Ruth Shonle Cavan, *The Family*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1945, p. 135.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Distinguish between the terms marriage and family.
2. Why is it incorrect to speak of a single American family pattern?
3. Give examples of endogamy and exogamy in our own society.
4. In what ways is the American family institution similar to that of primitive people?
5. How has the family been affected by the coming of the automobile? Of the radio? Of urbanization?
6. What do you think are the reasons for the decline in the birth rate?
7. Do you think that the family is "degenerating"?
8. How would the "ideal" wife in one society differ from the "ideal" in another?
9. Are the changes in the American family institution deliberate and planned, or are they the result of forces of which we are unaware?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Compare two American families with which you are familiar, preferably two that are quite dissimilar.
2. Make a study of divorce among preliterate people.
3. Report on the differences between various states of the United States with respect to their laws of endogamy.
4. Investigate the family institution of the ancient Hebrews, as portrayed in the Book of Genesis.

SELECTED READINGS

BABER, RAY E., *Marriage and the Family*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1939.

One of the better textbooks, treating comprehensively the family as a social institution.

BURGESS, E. W., and L. S. COTTRELL, JR., *Predicting Success and Failure in Marriage*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939.

A careful study of the factors contributing to success or failure in marriage.

STERN, B. J., *The Family, Past and Present*, D. Appleton–Century Company, Inc., New York, 1938.

A useful collection of readings supplying factual and descriptive material on the family institution in primitive and ancient societies as well as in present-day America.

Chapter 26

THE ECONOMIC INSTITUTION

With few exceptions, men everywhere are faced with the necessity of making a living, whether they are members of a primitive agricultural society or are part of a complex industrial civilization like our own. As has been noted, the Pitcairn Islanders, in creating their own self-sufficient community as the only solution to the problem of survival, were obliged to erect shelters, clear garden plots, gather and store food, and work out an equitable division of labor, property, and income. In effect, they created their own economic institutions as they went along.

The average American wage earner, whether or not he has had a course in economics, is pretty familiar with the general outlines of our modern economic institutions, which are infinitely more complex than the simple yet efficient institutions of the Pitcairn settlers. He works in a factory or office and is paid for his services in cash or check; he buys groceries, clothing, furniture, and other necessary commodities with the money thus obtained; he saves part of his income in a savings bank, or borrows money from the bank to buy a home or an automobile. He and his employer pay a certain fixed amount to the government for unemployment insurance and old age security, and each year he pays an income tax to the state and federal governments. He probably carries insurance on his own life and on his home and car. He pays rent, gas and electric bills, fuel bills, doctors' bills, repair bills, and has other miscellaneous expenses. From birth to death he is inextricably a part of the economic system and of the economic institutions that comprise it. So, too, is the Eskimo, the Hottentot, the Bushman, and the Maori, though their institutions are a lot simpler than our own.

VARIATIONS IN ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

Economic institutions the world over manifest an infinite variety of forms. Take, for example, those of the Bushmen. These small, brown-skinned savages live in the barren, inhospitable country of southern Africa. Their life is an unceasing struggle for existence, in which their wits and skills are pitted against a fierce and uncompromising environment. Through August and September the weather is hot and dry, making life almost unbearable. The rains come in October and November, causing the desert to burst into bloom. May sees the onset of winter, and in June and July the nights are so cold that the Bushmen suffer intensely in their scanty clothing and flimsy shelters.

There is a wealth of game, however. One finds the elephant, lion, leopard, hyena, wildcat, jackal, lynx, antelope, giraffe, ostrich, zebra, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus, to say nothing of ants, lizards, frogs, bees, and locusts. The Bushmen have built their economy upon the hunting of these animals, and upon the gathering of roots, plants, berries, insects, and reptiles.

Water, rather than food, is the big problem for the Bushmen, especially during the dry, hot season. They dare not pitch their camps near the thinly scattered water holes for fear of scaring off the game. Consequently, water must be transported long distances and must be carefully conserved. For this purpose they make use of the shells of ostrich eggs, drilling small holes in the tops, and using grass as stoppers. When water is unobtainable they quench their thirst with the juices of melons and other fruits. When even these sources fail, they resort to sucking water from the ground, using a digging stick to make a hole down to the wet subsoil, and inserting a hollow reed at the end of which is attached a bundle of grass to act as a filter. The water, which is sucked up through this instrument, is kept in ostrich-shell containers.

The Bushmen's tools are crude and simple. In addition to the digging stick mentioned, they use a variety of snares, traps, spears, fire drills, throwing sticks, poisoned arrows, and even camouflage or disguise that enables them to stalk the more wary game. Their homes are but hemispheres about four feet in height, made of light sticks interlaced with twigs and thatched with grass. Their clothing, which is quite scanty, is made of skins.

There is a division of labor, based on sex. The men hunt the big game,

their occupation demanding no small degree of skill and endurance, together with considerable training. The successful hunter is highly esteemed by his fellows; and a man, to procure a wife, must give evidence of hunting ability. Women, on the other hand, have the task of collecting roots, berries, grubs, insects, and smaller game, such as tortoises, frogs, and lizards. It is their duty, also, to collect the firewood and secure the water. Men on the hunt do not hesitate to gather into their leather sacks such tasty morsels as they come across, such as honey, melons, roots, ant hills, and the eggs of the large white ant, known as "Bushman rice."

Bushmen are not without an understanding of property rights, though theirs are quite different from ours. Land, for example, is not owned by individuals. A band will regard a certain area as its own hunting ground, and it would be dangerous indeed for a hunter to trespass upon the territory of another band, unless he enjoys friendly relations with that group and his arrival is openly and frankly announced. A Bushman family hunts and gathers for its own needs; it does establish private property rights in what it brings in. Moreover, if a man in the course of his wanderings should come across a bee hive, a nest of ostrich eggs, or a patch of edible roots, he will lay claim to his discovery, sticking an arrow into the ground and making his identity known by some marking on the shaft. His right to this property will be recognized by other Bushmen. On the other hand, when large game is brought into camp, it is the usual practice to share it with the others in the band, the hunter keeping the hide and sinews, and directing the division of the meat. Trade and exchange are not common practices, though small parties do occasionally make brief visits to neighboring camps for the purpose of bartering food and skins for weapons and ornaments.[1]

The economic institution of the Hopi Indians offers a complete contrast to that of the Bushmen. The Hopi, too, live in a dry desert-like country, but their adjustment to it is quite different.[2] Theirs is an economy built upon intensive agriculture. Hunting, such as there is, is religious rather than economic. Rabbits are hunted with boomerangs; antelopes, foxes, coyotes, and birds are

[1] For brief descriptions of Bushman society and culture see C. Daryll Forde, *Habitat, Economy and Society*, Methuen and Company, Ltd., London, 1934, pp. 24–31; also Paul Radin, *Social Anthropology*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1932, pp. 145–151.

[2] *Cf.* C. Daryll Forde, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–245; G. P. Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, pp. 324–358; R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1940, pp. 452–467.

stalked, trapped, or captured. The domesticated turkey is raised, but it is the feathers, not the flesh or the eggs, which the Hopi use. Their main reliance is upon agriculture, and the principal crop is maize, though squash, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, and cotton are important crops. The practice of agriculture in so arid an environment makes great demands upon their skill, patience, and industry.

The division of labor among the Hopi offers several strange contrasts to that usually found in other societies. Upon the men falls the duty of making all the clothing, both for themselves and for their families. They spin the thread and weave the blankets, belts, and sashes, even ornamenting them with tassels and embroidery. The men, moreover, engage in hunting, gather fuel and building material, carry on all the agricultural pursuits, and perform virtually all of the religious and governmental functions. Women's duties include the care of children, preparation of food, making baskets and pottery, collecting seeds and roots, building and repairing houses, and carrying on trading operations.

The Hopi engage in a fairly extensive trade with neighboring Indians. The Havasupai, an agricultural and hunting tribe living a hundred miles to the west, make the long journey along the rim of the Grand Canyon to trade for Hopi blankets. The Navajo, also, come to Hopi pueblos to trade wool and meat for agricultural products.

As with so many other preliterate peoples, the Hopi do not recognize individual ownership of land. Instead the cultivated land is owned by the various matrilineal clans of each village, and each clan parcels out plots to the families. Actually it is the women who are considered the rightful owners of the land, as well as owners of the products of the land, the houses, and the household furnishings and utensils.

The Hopi well illustrate the interdependence of institutions. Their economic organization is obviously not something set apart from the rest of their culture, but is an integral part of it. Land ownership and cultivation are intimately related to the family institution, and the relationship between their religion and the manner of making their living is so close that they are inseparable. Rain making plays a central role in their religious ceremonial, and every step in their agricultural activities is accompanied by its appropriate ritual.

A third group that illustrates the variability of economic institutions is the Masai, a hybrid race inhabiting a tropical grassland east of Lake Victoria, in Africa. The Masai are a tribe of warriors and

cattle herders, who long ago dispossessed and conquered the agriculturalists who formerly occupied that territory.

The Masai disdain both hunting and farming, devoting themselves exclusively to tending their domesticated animals. Cattle are by far the most important of their livestock, but their use is hedged about with countless taboos and superstitions. Milking is done by the women twice a day—first before daybreak, after which the men and boys take the cattle out to pasture, and again when they are brought back after sunset. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour, and butter is manufactured, though cheese is unknown. Cow's blood, strangely enough, is a very important product. This they get by tightly strapping the necks of their cattle and piercing them with a special type of arrow. The blood thus obtained is drunk fresh, clotted, or mixed with milk. Cows are never slaughtered but instead are treated with care and affection; however, the flesh of a cow may be eaten when it dies. Other cattle are slaughtered to provide hides and meat for payments, gifts, and feasts.

Sheep, though less highly regarded than cattle, are almost as numerous and equally important. Their milk, blood, and meat are used as food. A few goats are kept, donkeys are used as beasts of burden, a few Masai have camels, and, finally, there are dogs, which, however, are of little economic use.

The Masai have various restrictions on the time and place of eating meat. Also, meat and milk must never be used on the same day, nor allowed to come into contact with each other. Violation of this taboo, they are convinced, would cause serious disease among the cattle.

Agricultural products, which play a minor role in the Masai diet, are obtained by exchange from neighbors and traders. Millet and maize are eaten by all except the warriors. Bananas and root crops are scorned by the men but not by women and children. Some wild game and birds are either hunted or obtained through trade, but it is their skins, feathers, and horns that are used, and not their flesh. Wild honey, eaten fresh or used to make beer, is a favorite delicacy.

The Masai have a more elaborate division of labor than either the Bushmen or the Hopi. They maintain what is virtually a standing army, in which all young men serve between the ages of sixteen and thirty, during which time they live apart from their family and clan. Upon retiring from military service a man marries and assumes the duties and role of a tribal elder. One of the clans specializes in religious and magical functions. From one of the families in this clan comes the *Laibon*, the priest-chief of the Masai, the office being hereditary, passing from father to son. The

magicians and medicine men, who specialize in diseases of man and beast, are recruited exclusively from the clan of the *Laibon.* The men of this holy clan are exempt from military service.

Another group of specialists found among the Masai are the smiths. Theirs is an important occupation, for they manufacture the weapons which are so important to the warlike tribe, and also the mental ornaments used by men and women alike. The smiths, however, do not enjoy high status. Though they are members of the tribe, and of the same racial stock, and even of the various clans, they constitute a distinct and inferior caste. They are despised and feared by other Masai, and the weapons and ornaments that they manufacture must be "purified" before they are used.

Finally, the native tribes, whom the Masai conquered when they took possession of their present territory, perform certain specialized functions in the economy. The Wandorobo, for instance, are employed to do all the slaughtering, for no Masai will kill a domesticated animal. As a matter of fact, they have been virtually reduced to the status of serfs, manufacturing shields and headdresses for their masters, hunting wild game, and acting as intermediaries in the trading of livestock for agricultural products.[3]

FEATURES OF PRIMITIVE ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

These three examples are sufficient to indicate that the economic institutions of primitive people differ greatly from tribe to tribe. It is an oversimplification of the facts even to classify them under the familiar categories of collecting, hunting and fishing, agriculture, and pastoral nomadism, for within each of these types there are wide variations. From the examples given we also see the error in the popular ideas about how the so-called savages make their living, leisurely gathering the bountiful offerings of nature, or whiling away pleasant hours in hunting and fishing, or sitting idly by while the women do all the work. It is manifestly impossible to generalize about the economic institutions of primitive people; however, there are a few features that, though not universal, are commonly found, and that are extremely interesting and suggestive to us who are accustomed to the complex American system.

[3] For a more complete account of the Masai see C. Daryll Forde, *op. cit.*, pp. 287–307.

Property

It is surprising to learn how people's ideas about property and ownership vary from society to society. So strange and unfamiliar are they at times that travelers have often reported that certain primitive tribes are "communistic" or that they are entirely lacking in any concept of private property. Such is hardly the case, however, for even the simplest people recognize ownership with respect to clothing, weapons, ornaments, and personal effects, and most of them even acknowledge the individual's right to the use of certain songs, myths, artistic designs, and magical formulas.[4] In several ways, however, the folkways of the primitive are quite different from our own. "Many native peoples," say Sumner and Keller, "can no more entertain the white man's conceptions about property than a child can take in differential calculus; they have not grown up to them through the indispensable intervening stages. The native cannot understand the white man, and if the latter takes no pains to find out what is in the mind of the former, collisions are sure to result." [5] The difference between ourselves and the primitive is especially prominent when we consider ownership of food. Most of them would find it difficult to comprehend the existence of poverty in the midst of plenty as we see it in our society; for with their attitudes toward food and hospitality no individual would starve as long as there was anything to eat in the community.

Among ourselves food supplies are chattels over which we have absolute rights of ownership. However, most primitive peoples tend to regard food as a part of nature over which only limited control can be exercised. The Zūni believe stored corn has a will and runs away if the laws of hospitality are violated. (The Zūni family with whom I lived would never accept direct remuneration for food. They would sell almost anything else, but to sell food violated their deepest sentiments. They were insulted if offered money for food, but would accept "presents" of money offered as "remembrances" of a visit.) Restrictions on the ownership of food may be nothing more than rules of hospitality, the requirement to feed every visitor, or to give food to whoever requests it, or it may be a requirement to share in time of need, or it may be full communality of food among members of the same camp or village or com-

[4] *Cf.* R. H. Lowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–282.

[5] W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927, Vol. I, p. 287.

pound. . . . The Dakota feel that food actually cannot be owned. This attitude is expressed in their language. The possessive pronoun cannot be used with reference to food. One can say "the meat that is in my tipi," but one cannot say "my meat" any more than one can say "my mountain" or "my buffalo." The attitude revealed in language is substantiated by behavior. They interpret very broadly the requirements of hospitality. One must be prodigal with food. On the hunt old men or women without male providers go along and ask for whatever portion of the kill they desire, and self-respect demands that it must be given. Anyone may ask for anything as a gift, and it may not be refused. Refusal would brand one as "not a true Dakota." [6]

Division of Labor

Accustomed as we are to an economic system characterized by a multiplicity of occupations, minute division of labor, and extreme specialization, the simplicity of life in a primitive tribe offers an appealing contrast. However, there are no people so backward as not to have discovered that there is efficiency in some degree of specialization. At the lowest levels we find no more than a division of labor based upon sex; that is, custom assigns certain tasks to males and certain other tasks to females. We are likely to feel that cooking, sewing, and caring for children are "natural" occupations for women, while hunting, war, and other more strenuous activities invariably fall to the lot of the men. The facts, however, do not bear out these assumptions. It is true that the bearing and nursing of children offer handicaps to women, inclining them to more sedentary occupations, whereas the men are free to engage in warfare, hunting big game, and other more arduous tasks. The literature, however, abounds in surprises. In Dahomey, for example, there are regiments of women who are trained for the warrior profession and enjoy high reputations for their proficiency and ferocity. Elsewhere we find that cooking is considered man's work, while carpentry is woman's, or that agriculture is a male occupation in one society and female in another. To a very considerable extent the sexual division of labor seems to be arbitrary and accidental, rather than the outgrowth of biological and psychological differences.

Many primitive societies, moreover, have gone beyond this simple

[6] Ruth Bunzel, "The Economic Organization of Primitive Peoples," in Franz Boas (ed.), *General Anthropology*, 1938, pp. 345 ff. Courtesy of D. C. Heath and Company, Boston.

specialization of the sexes. In Samoa there are guilds of carpenters composed of highly honored craftsmen who have their rules, rituals, masters, and apprentices. Aztec men were highly specialized in such trades as jewelry, fishing, metal-working, carpentry, and featherwork; it was customary for a son to follow the occupation of his father, though this was not compulsory. The Incas used to take boys at an early age and train them to work in gold, silver, and copper, at which tasks they became remarkably expert. In like manner they selected girls for special occupations, such as textile weaving, with the result that they succeeded in weaving fabrics that have never been surpassed in quality anywhere. Not a few primitive peoples thus have discovered that specialization leads to skill and efficiency.

Attitudes toward Wealth

Societies differ, too, in the value they attach to wealth. In our own society wealth is regarded very highly; it means comfort, prestige, power, leisure, security, success. We have difficulty in understanding societies in which wealth is regarded otherwise. There are other peoples, to be sure, who approach us very closely in their evaluation of material possessions. One such people were the Indians of the Pacific Northwest. It has been said concerning them: "Property here reigns supreme. It has been described and should be recognized as the dominant social value of these people. In property-mindedness they are second to no one, not even ourselves. Even individual names are, among the Haida, derived from property. They talk property, live property, manipulate property, as lustily as any group of modern business men." [7] But even among these Indians wealth had a different significance from that which we attach to it in the United States. To them it also meant social position and prestige, but it did not mean luxury, comfort, or leisure, for the wealthy Haida would work just as hard and live just as simply as his poorer fellow tribesmen. Wealth, therefore, was something to give away or destroy at the potlatch ceremonies; not something to hoard, invest, or spend on oneself, or use as a means of power over another.

[7] A. A. Goldenweiser, *Anthropology*, D. Appleton–Century Company, Inc., New York, 1937, p. 153.

At the other extreme are primitive tribes who actually look upon the accumulation of wealth as undesirable, and the individual who persists in accumulating it is regarded not with envy and admiration but with suspicion, pity, and contempt. Still others have a moderate regard for it, attaching some slight prestige to its possession but holding it in far less esteem than they hold, say, fortitude, military prowess, courage, modesty, or conformity to the group's mores.

A recent study of the Sioux Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota offers a good illustration. We are told:

> Among the Sioux Indians property does not have the high value associated with it in white society. This carries over into Dakota child-training in ways that are astonishing to white observers. . . . White people will sit outside an Indian home in bewilderment and utter frustration watching children tear a headlight off a car or drag good harness over the ground in play, while the parents sit by undisturbed. To the whites it seems preposterous that people who are so poor should allow children to damage useful objects that have been earned with great difficulty. This is part of the lack of concern over property which underlies the Dakota virtue of generosity; it is also a way of teaching children not to set a high value on property.[8]

FEATURES OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC INSTITUTION

Let us suppose that there came to our shores a visitor from Pitcairn Island, or from the land of the Bushmen, the Hopi, or the Masai; and let us suppose, further, that this visitor manifested toward our culture the same curiosity that we have shown toward his. What is there about our economic institution that would strike such a person as interesting, remarkable, or strange? In what significant ways does the American economic system differ from those that have gone before it?

The High Standard of Living

The visitor would doubtless be amazed at the abundance of things we possess. He would marvel at our lofty buildings, our great cities, our highways, automobiles, airplanes, radios, and washing machines.

[8] Gordon MacGregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 1946, p. 127. Courtesy of University of Chicago Press, publishers.

In our markets he would be surprised to see, at any season of the year, fresh fruits and vegetables from all over the earth. In comparison with his rude shelter, he would find our homes well heated and lighted, and equipped with amazing devices for comfort, health, and convenience.

If he should find it hard to believe his eyes, as well he might, we could quote figures to prove the miraculous efficiency of our economic system. The total wealth of the United States is estimated to have increased from 4.1 billions of dollars in 1860 to 627.3 billions in 1929.[9] According to one thorough study, real annual wages (wages adjusted for changes in the purchasing power of money) in all industries except agriculture rose from $469 in 1890 to $611 in 1926.[10] The annual per capita expenditure for consumers' goods indicates also that our standard of living has been rising, the figures being $479 for the period 1909–1914, $532 for 1925–1927, $584 for 1929, $405 for 1933, and $549 for 1937.[11] The total income for the nation tells a similar story, reaching the hitherto incredible sum of 89 billions of dollars in 1929; in 1947 it amounted to approximately 16 billions per month, or 200 billions per year.[12]

If our visitor should suppose that this abundance has been bought at a sacrifice of leisure, he would be told that the reverse is the case. Actually, while production was being stepped up at this astonishing rate, man has continued to win for himself more and more leisure time. A century and a half ago a working day of fourteen hours was customary, sixteen hours was not uncommon, and it was only a seventeen- or eighteen-hour day which was regarded as an abuse. In 1840 our government introduced the ten-hour day for its employees and in 1868 the eight-hour day, but private industry was slow to follow such utopian leads. It is estimated that the average working week was seventy-eight hours in the United States in 1840.[13] In 1909 the average weekly hours actually worked in all manufac-

[9] Robert R. Doane, *The Measurement of American Wealth*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1933.

[10] Paul H. Douglas, *Real Wages in the United States, 1890–1926*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1930, p. 646.

[11] *Studies in Enterprise and Social Progress*, National Industrial Conference Board, Washington; D.C., 1939, p. 137.

[12] The New York *Times*, July 27, 1947.

[13] "Hours of Labor," *Encyc. Soc. Sci.*

turing industries were 52.7; in 1919, 47.8; in 1929, 45.7; and in 1939, 37.6.[14]

There has been a trend, and a concerted movement, to shorten the hours of labor and in spite of the powerful opposition this goal has been realized. Leisure, once the privilege of the few, has now become the possession of all. In fact, one now hears discussion of "the problem of leisure." The providing of amusement has become commercialized, and recreation itself has grown into a giant industry.

To what do we owe this high standard of living which we in America enjoy? There are those who insist that credit be given to our capitalistic system, with its free enterprise, competition, private property, and the profit motive. Others say that the rapid growth in population is not to be overlooked as a factor; others attribute it to the wealth of our natural resources, or to the brilliant array of scientific and technological discoveries and inventions which the nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought forth. Whatever the causes, there is ample basis for the familiar boast of Americans that never in the history of mankind has an economic system produced material goods and services on so lavish a scale.

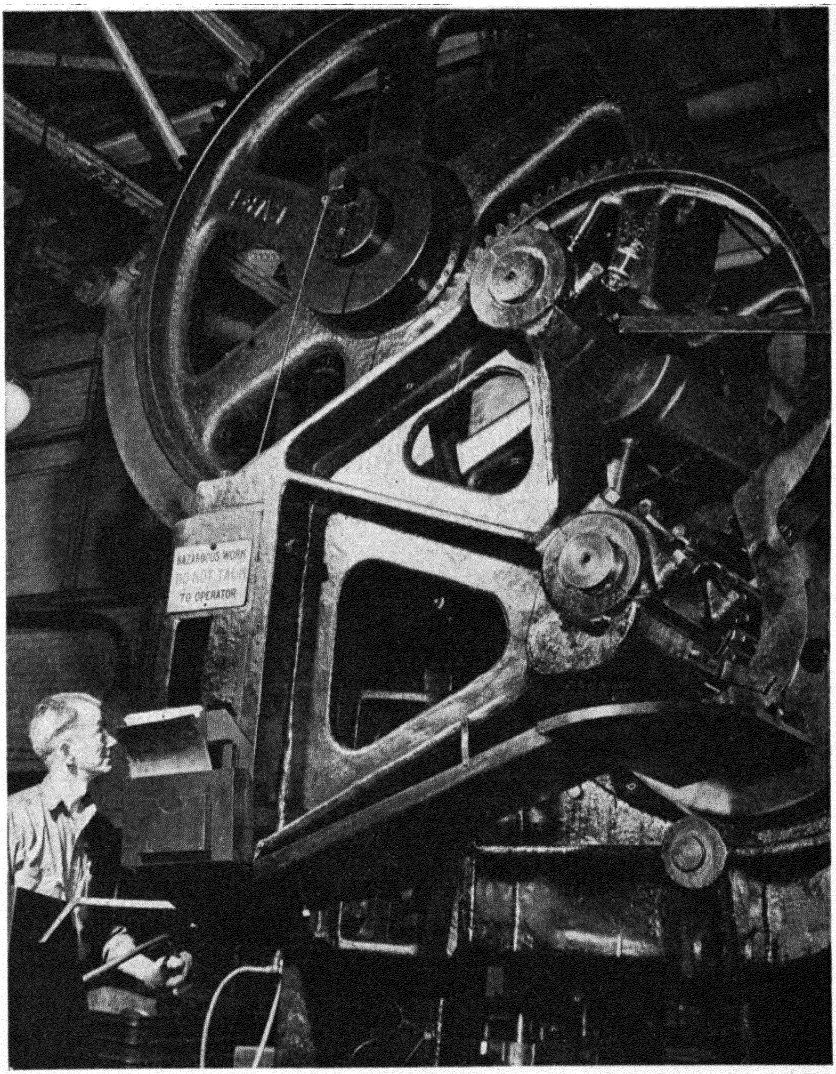
Mechanization

Our visitor would no doubt be impressed by the prominent role played by machinery in our economic life or, for that matter, in our whole culture. The machine, to be sure, is not a peculiar phenomenon of modern times nor of Western civilization. The bow and arrow and the lever are machines, as are water wheels, compasses, and other ancient inventions. However, it was not until the advent of the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century that the machine began to dominate our means of livelihood.[15]

The effects of this introduction of machinery have been far-reaching. Certainly the great increase in productivity, referred to above, would not have occurred without it. Machinery places at the command of each industrial worker the power equivalent of eighteen slaves. With the aid of machines we are able to produce

[14] Witt Bowden, "Wages, Hours, and Productivity of Industrial Labor, 1909 to 1939," *Monthly Labor Review*, September, 1940, p. 520.

[15] H. E. Barnes, *Society in Transition*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1942, pp. 6 ff.



Machinery used in Gilbert and Barkers' manufacturing plant at Springfield, Massachusetts. An illustration of the complicated machines used in American industrial production. (Courtesy Standard Oil Company (N.J.); photo by Parks)

a farm wagon in forty-eight man-hours of labor, instead of the 221 formerly required; a dozen pairs of woolen gloves in eight hours instead of 360; 25,000 pounds of soap in 21 hours instead of 423; and 100,000 cigarettes in 14 hours instead of 520.[16] Machinery makes it possible for all to possess innumerable articles which under a handicraft economy would be luxury items available only to the few. Machinery, moreover, has delivered man from the laborious work of digging, loading, pulling, plowing, and carrying burdens.

The machine, however, has not come as an unmixed blessing. It has made warfare incredibly horrible; it has caused people to concentrate in dirty, congested cities; it has increased industrial accidents; it has taken from man's work much of the thrill of creative craftsmanship. Finally, it has brought into existence the factory system, itself the source of many social and psychological problems.

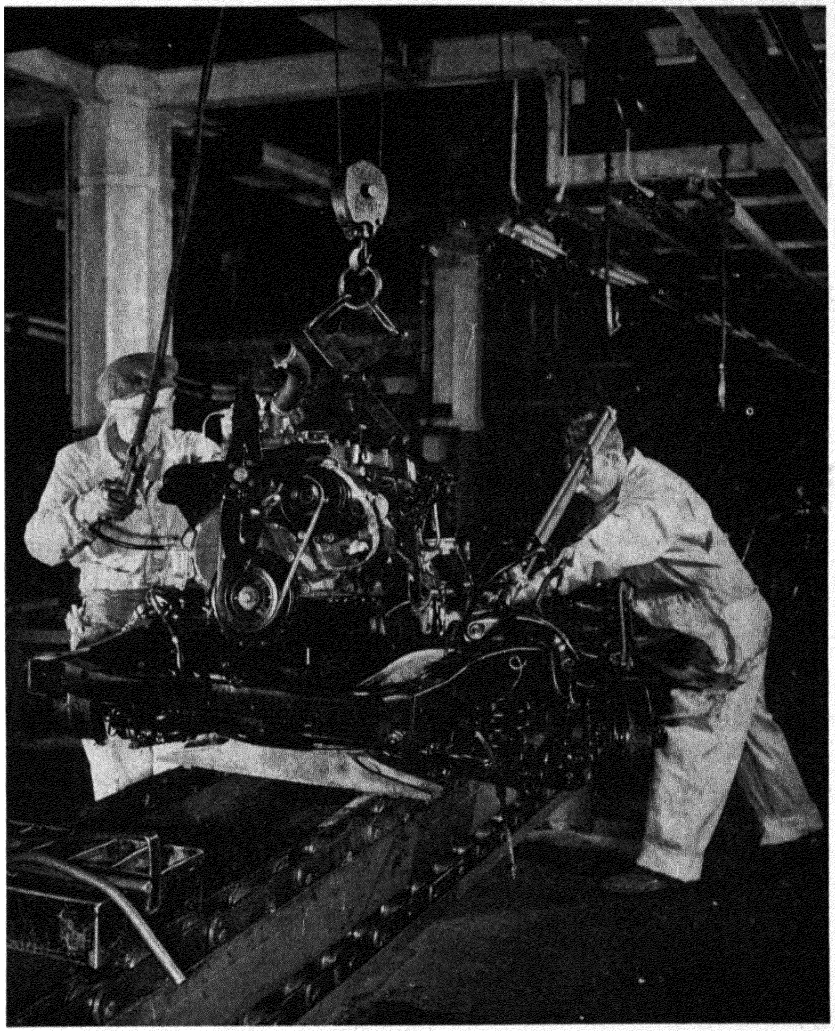
Organization

Our visitor, if he should inquire further into the nature of our economic institution, would be amazed at the extent to which we are formally organized. He would hear a great deal about "capital" and "labor," employers and employees, their differences and conflicts. He would learn that there has been a tendency for those who own the tools of production to unite into more and more powerful units—joint stock companies, corporations, and holding companies. The trend has been away from competition and toward monopoly. In 1933 there were 338,564 corporations in the United States, but 594 of these owned 53.2 per cent of the total assets of all corporations.[17]

Employers have united into such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the employees have likewise established unions in order to strengthen their bargaining power, to battle for higher wages and for improved hours and conditions of labor. The trade unions came together in 1886 to form the American Federation of Labor, and in 1935 the CIO came into existence.

[16] E. L. Bogart and C. E. Landon, *Modern Industry*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1927, p. 363.

[17] *Big Business: Its Growth and Its Place*, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1937, p. 54.



Employees at Ford Motor Company's River Rouge plant fit an engine onto a chassis on the final assembly line. A present-day illustration of mass production, to whose development Henry Ford contributed greatly. (Courtesy Ford News Bureau, Dearborn, Michigan)

Consumers, too, have been impelled to organize for the better protection of their interests. Cooperatives of many types have been established; such organizations as Consumers' Research and Consumers' Union have arisen to give some guidance to the bewildered individual as he gropes his way through this complex economy.

Distribution

Our economic institution has been so remarkably successful in producing, in quantities heretofore undreamed of, the things men want that we are likely to overlook the possibility that our system may not be entirely perfect. Our economy, for example, has suffered a series of depressions, bringing with them unemployment, bankruptcies, poverty, and suffering. Between 1790 and 1939 there have been thirty-six depressions of varying duration and severity. Some maintain that these business cycles are inevitable; others hold that they are actually beneficial, weeding out the unfit; and still others insist that they are indications that our capitalistic system is disintegrating. Few will deny that it is highly undesirable for 13 million people to be unemployed, as was the case in the 1930's; for factories to be closed, and millions of bales of cotton left unused while people stand in need of clothing; and for farmers to be complaining of having surplus food on hand or going to waste while millions suffer from undernourishment and malnutrition.

In short, the fruits of our economic institution are inadequately and unevenly distributed. Franklin D. Roosevelt in his Second Inaugural Address said, "I see one third of a nation ill housed, ill clad, ill nourished," yet there were people who thought that the President was overstating the case. The fact is, however, that even in the best of times a very large percentage of the families of our country must live on incomes that do not permit them to enjoy even the essentials of the American standard of living. Nor can it be maintained that it is the intelligent, the industrious, and the deserving who obtain their just rewards, while the shiftless and stupid reap only poverty and insecurity.

Social Control

Certain features of our economic institutions—the trend toward monopoly, the severity of business depressions, unfair competition,

employer-employee conflicts, waste, insecurity, unequal distribution—have made it increasingly necessary for our society, through its constituted government, to exercise control over the economy. There are those who denounce this policy, hurling such epithets as "regimentation" and "communism" at all efforts toward social control. They declare that free enterprise and competition are the mainsprings of the economic system that has so abundantly produced the material goods that men want. Whatever the merit of such charges, the fact remains that there has been a growing trend toward collectivization and social control of our economic institutions.[18] We are not, however, restricted to the two extremes of free enterprise on the one hand and of political control on the other. The problem, rather, is that of the *kind* of governmental control that is most desirable under modern conditions, and the *areas* in which it should operate.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a high degree of specialization in economic activities.
2. How have differences in their attitudes toward land proved to be a source of conflict in the relations between Europeans and the preliterate peoples with whom they have come in contact?
3. What do you think are the main reasons for the high standard of living in the United States?
4. What do you understand by the Industrial Revolution?
5. Is government control of economic activities desirable?
6. How does the maldistribution of wealth in modern civilized society compare with that in preliterate societies?
7. With which other institution in our society is the economic institution most closely interrelated?
8. Do primitive people engage in economic activity because of a profit motive?
9. What are some of the unsolved problems which the coming of machinery has introduced into our society?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Report on the economic institution of some preliterate people who differ greatly from those described in this chapter.
2. What are the principal characteristics of a capitalistic economic system?
3. Study the changes in the role of women in the economic institution.

[18] *Cf.* Seba Eldridge and Associates, *Development of Collective Enterprise*, University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, 1943.

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Chapter 27

THE INSTITUTION OF EDUCATION

EVERY human society that has ever existed has been faced with a variety of problems that demand solution if the society is to survive. The immediate necessities of food, clothing, and shelter are by no means the only problems involved, for while the satisfaction of these insures the existence of the present or current generation, it does not provide for the continued survival of the group through successive generations, nor for the amassing of a social heritage without which each new generation would have to begin the struggle afresh.

The first of these additional demands on a society is the necessity of passing on to each new generation the knowledge, skills, and values that constitute its culture. Human societies, unlike those of the insect world, cannot rely upon the mechanism of biological heredity to perform this task, but must invent artificial means. Secondly, individuals must be trained for the roles they will have to play when they reach maturity, and for the status they will occupy when the older members of the society grow enfeebled and die.

In solving these two problems, societies have experimented with many schemes and have hit upon a variety of customs, attitudes, symbols, and utilitarian traits which together constitute the institution of education. While it is the basic function of the educational institution to meet these two problems, it is true that many other functions may be and have been added. These added functions, in turn, are shared by other social institutions.

VARIABILITY IN THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

The twofold problem of group and individual education can be successfully met in more than one way, thereby making possible the infinite variety of civilizations which we find on this earth. Accordingly, while no society is without its educational institution, the variations from place to place are striking. There are, to be sure, certain similarities. For instance, the family is everywhere charged with the responsibility for transmitting a considerable portion of the culture to its new members, as well as for training them for their roles and positions in society.

Michelson has recorded an Indian woman's account of her early years and her education, which suggests that the differences between the so-called savages and ourselves are not so great as we commonly suppose. This woman, a Cheyenne by the name of Mack Haag, told how she learned to ride a horse at the age of four, and how to perform the tasks and accept her responsibilities around the tipi in which she lived. She recalled vividly the part that her aunt played in her training for one of the roles she was destined to play. The aunt thus instructed her:

> I hear you are beginning to have admirers. Your father and mother have reared you with great care. Your father especially has seen to it that you have had good things to wear such as other girls of your age do not have. And your mother has taught you with great patience the art of things that each woman is supposed to know, that she might make a good and successful wife. As you go through life all these things, and what I am now telling you, will be of great benefit to you. . . . It is silly to exchange too many glances and smiles with this young man, especially in the presence of people. He will think you are easy and immoral. When he comes to see you at night you must never run away from him. If you do so this indicates that you are silly and not sufficiently taught and educated to respect the attentions of a suitor. You must never consent to marry your suitor the first time he asks you . . . no matter how good-looking he may be. . . . And if he really thinks anything of you he will not be discouraged, but will continue his visits and come to see you. . . .[1]

[1] T. Michelson, *The Narrative of a Southern Cheyenne Woman*, The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1932.

A Papago Indian woman, also, has given a picture of the part her parents played in inducting her into the culture of that society, and in training her for her role in it. She says, for instance:

Early in the morning . . . we children would wake in the dark to hear our father speaking. "Open your ears, for I am telling you a good thing. Wake up and listen . . . open your ears. Let my words enter them." He spoke in a low voice, so quiet in the dark. Always our father spoke to us like that, so low that you thought you were dreaming. "Wake up and listen. You boys, you should go out and run. So you will be swift in time of war. You girls, you should grind the corn. So you will feed the men and they will fight the enemy. You should practice running. So, in time of war, you may save your lives." For a long time my father talked to us like that, for he began when it was black dark.[2]

Those who have lived among primitive people agree that the greater part of the responsibility for the education of the child is assumed by the family. This does not mean, however, that oral instruction is the only method, or even the primary method of teaching employed, as the instances we have cited would seem to imply. On the contrary, primitive people rely more upon imitation than they do upon "lecturing"; in many primitive languages the word for "teach" is the same as the word for "show."

The Tami, who inhabit a small island southeast of New Guinea, are skilled wood carvers. These people never tell the boys to carve. If one wants to do so, he is allowed to try his hand at making a bowl. If he shows aptitude at his first trial he is encouraged and advised, but if his first try is a failure no one takes the trouble to comfort him, and the chances are he is never again allowed to try. The Tami believe that one should not work unless he feels like it. If a person were forced to work when the mood was not on him, something dire was bound to happen and no one could expect success. Since the population of the Tami area is small and the output in wood carving is large, it is to be concluded that many individuals showed aptitude and that there were many times when they "felt like" working.[3]

Primitive people rely, too, upon innumerable other informal techniques for transmitting their folkways, attitudes, skills and values

[2] Ruth Underhill, *The Autobiography of a Papago Woman*, Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 46, 1936, p. 5.

[3] Franz Boas *et al.*, *General Anthropology*, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1938, pp. 473 ff.

to each new generation. Children play games, and these games are often reflections of adult activities in the society. Primitive people have their riddles, conundrums, and proverbs, and they make far more use of these literary devices than we do for impressing upon the young the knowledge they will need. The folklore of a primitive tribe abounds in myths, legends, and moral stories, through which children learn their tribal history, the nature of the world, and the ideal patterns of conduct to which they are expected to conform.

Many preliterate peoples, however, have found these informal techniques inadequate for transmitting the body of their culture and for training the youth for their roles in society. Consequently, more elaborate and formal methods have been devised. One of the best-known and most interesting of these formal devices is the *initiation*, a well-nigh universal practice among preliterate peoples. Adolescents must undergo a prescribed ritual that marks their passage from childhood to adulthood, in the course of which tribal secrets are revealed to them and they are instructed in the duties and responsibilities of their new roles in society. It is not an uncommon feature of these ceremonies for the neophyte to be subjected to severe tests of courage and fortitude, for initiation is essentially a serious matter, being regarded as the climax of the educational process.[4]

Some primitive peoples, moreover, have even established schools for the achievement of their educational objectives. Among the Aztec Indians, for instance, commoners used to send their sons to boarding schools, where they were taught singing, dancing, and rhetoric, and were subjected to strict discipline and military training. Sons of the nobility attended a priestly seminary, where they were taught astronomy, history, and theology. Among the Incas education for the masses was entirely informal, but youths of the upper classes were sent to a four-year "college," where they were trained for public life, the curriculum including mathematics, natural science, history, law, statecraft, engineering, theology, music, and poetry.[5]

[4] *Cf.* Nathan Miller, "Initiation," *Encyc. Soc. Sci.*; also, W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1937, pp. 340–357.

[5] G. P. Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, pp. 384, 435.

This brief survey must not give the impression that uniformity prevails in primitive society. While it is true that the underlying purpose of education, in both its formal and informal aspects, is the induction of the child into the social heritage, and while the family assumes a large share of the responsibility, primitive peoples manifest wide differences in their educational methods, aims, and emphases. Some groups, for instance, consciously set about training their children to have a respect for property, while others allow such attitudes to be acquired casually, if at all; some societies place great stress upon etiquette, or upon religion and magic, or upon swimming, or sex knowledge, while in other societies the emphasis may be upon the arts of warfare, or the skills of weaving or dancing. Primitive people, it would seem, are not unfamiliar with a problem which also confronts our own society, namely, what to include and what not to include in the curriculum.

Primitive societies differ, too, as to the type of "educational psychology" upon which their treatment of children is based. Some regard children as miniature adults—somewhat clumsy and inexperienced, but fully responsible; while elsewhere they are looked upon as "unaccountable and irritating creatures, to be deceived, threatened, and intimidated." [6] There are differences, too, in educational methods. As a rule, primitive people treat children with great indulgence, and regard corporal punishment as inconceivably brutish. However, they commonly rely upon supernatural sanctions and fear to enforce their precepts. Thus, the Samoans control their children with threats that Sina, the Eye-Eater, will punish them; and the Nandis tell their children that, if they wander away from home after dark, they will fall prey to Chemosit, half man and half bird, with a red mouth that shines like a lamp. Ainu woman teach their daughters that if they marry without being tattooed the devils will perform the painful task at one sitting after they are dead.

VARIABILITY IN THE AIMS OF EDUCATION

When we turn to the formal aspect of education—the agencies and specialists employed by many societies to perform some of the

[6] Margaret Mead, "Education, Primitive," *Encyc. Soc. Sci.*

educational functions—we observe a great variability in aims.

Conformity has been the deliberate purpose of formal education in not a few societies. This has been especially true of primitive groups. In the initiation ceremonies, for example, the neophyte is strongly enjoined to accept without question the traditions of his group, to abide by them without the slightest deviation, and to help perpetuate them. Critical attitudes on the part of initiates are not tolerated. A better example of how formal education succeeds in preventing social change is found in the traditional Chinese system. The school in China is very ancient, but little is known of its history prior to about 500 B.C. About that time the system took on a form and purpose that has persisted well into modern times. Only a small percentage of the population attended the schools, but their influence was tremendous, for it was they who held all the positions of leadership in the society. It was the aim of the school system to make these public servants the bulwarks of conservatism and tradition. To that end they studied only the Chinese classics and the sacred literature of China. These they memorized, imitating their style in their own writings. Criticism, originality, skepticism, and curiosity were cardinal academic sins; the virtues inculcated and demanded were conformity and obedience.

Training for *military service* has been the purpose of formal education in many societies, ancient and modern. Thus in Sparta the central purpose of the schools was to produce loyal, obedient, and courageous soldiers. To that end the Spartan boy was taken from the home at the age of seven and went to live in public barracks at the expense of the state. There he was put through a vigorous program of military drill, choral dancing, hunting, wrestling, boxing, and other sports. Between the ages of eighteen and twenty he made an intensive study of military science, following which he served for ten years in the army. Finally at the age of thirty he was discharged, became a full-fledged citizen, and was thereupon allowed to marry. In recent years we have seen the school systems of Italy, Germany, and Japan organized in a similar way to develop blind, uncritical devotion to military ideals.

Salvation has often been the objective of formal education. Among the early civilizations the Jews were somewhat slow in es-

tablishing schools, but in the fifth century B.C. the synagogue began to be a center of instruction, and schools were eventually established. The emphasis was upon religion, the Holy Scriptures forming the core of the curriculum. The early history of Christianity also offers examples of formal education devoted to religious aims. The rapid spread of Christianity throughout the Roman world following the conversion of the Emperor Constantine in A.D. 312 presented a multitude of problems to the church. The pagan philosophers had to be refuted, converts had to be instructed, Christianity had to be propagated, doctrines had to be expressed in convincing and intelligible language. To these ends the church developed a variety of schools—catechumenal (for new members), catechetical (for training priests) and cathedral (for training bishops)—for the purpose of elucidating, propagating, and defending its doctrines.

Training for *leadership* has been the objective of formal education in many societies. Rome offers an example of this educational aim. In the early period of their history, however, the Romans felt no need for agencies and specialists in education. Mothers and fathers, plus a rigorous apprenticeship system, were thought to be adequate for the task of inculcating in their children the simple skills and virtues that would enable them to perform their duties as Roman citizens. Somewhat later there did arise a system of relatively unimportant elementary schools that taught reading, writing, and arithmetic; these schools, however, gradually increased in importance. In the first century B.C., radical changes occurred in the formal educational institution. A system of organized, state-supported grammar schools was developed and spread throughout the cities of the Empire. These schools gave instruction in literature, mathematics, science, music, dialectic (logic), and Roman history. The elementary schools developed into preparatory institutions for these grammar schools. Following graduation from grammar school at about the age of fifteen, the Roman boy entered a rhetorical school, where special attention was given to oratory, but where instruction also included philosophy, mathematics, music, and astronomy. The purpose of these rhetorical schools was to develop men who by virtue of their knowledge, skill in oratory, and general bearing could assume positions of leadership in society.

In our own nation it has often been held that the prime function of the school is to train leaders. "The one thing that justifies popular education for all," said William Graham Sumner, "is the immense value of men of genius to the society. We have no means of discerning and recognizing, in their early childhood, the ones who have genius. If we could do so it would be a good bargain to pay great sums for them, and to educate them at public expense. Our popular education may be justly regarded as a system of selecting them. The pupils retire from the schools when they think that 'they do not want any more schooling.' Of course, thousands withdraw for one who keeps on. It is a very expensive system and the expense all falls on the taxpayers. The beneficiaries are left entirely free to spend their lives wherever they please. If the system is sound and just it must be so by virtue of some common interest all of the people in the United States have in the social services of men of talent and genius in any part of the United States." [7]

At certain times and in certain places the aim of the school has been to provide a liberal education—that is, to free the individual from the domination of the group; to help him to be informed, articulate, sensitive to life's values, and able to think and act as a responsible being; and to train the mind to be disciplined, curious, sensitive, rational, and skeptical. This educational ideal was first formulated and practiced in ancient Athens, but suffered an eclipse during the Middle Ages, when the objectives of education became largely religious. With the coming of the Renaissance, the classic ideal was revived. The discovery of the language and literature of classical Rome and Greece revealed to the European a conception of life that seemed larger and freer than his own. The study of Latin and Greek assumed great importance, for these languages unlocked the rich civilizations of the past. A new conception of education arose, aimed at introducing the individual to a richer and broader life. The new learning sought to explore the realms of nature and art, to break the shackles of authority and tradition, and to develop free moral personalities.

Still other objectives have dominated the formal educational agencies established in one society or another. Some educators

[7] William G. Sumner, *Folkways*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1906, p. 628.

have conceived their function to be the training of youth for citizenship; others, the preparation of the individual for a particular vocation; a few have held that the purpose of education is to teach the social graces and accomplishments suited to a life of leisure.

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The American pattern of education includes free, public, secular, state-supported, compulsory schooling. This pattern is the product of long development and incessant change. Fully to trace its historical backgrounds we should have to go back to the days of Egypt, where, about 3,000 B.C., palace schools were established for the sons of the upper classes, and somewhat later, "instruction houses" were set up for those lower in the social scale. We should have to consider, too, the early Greeks, who developed a system of schools that contributed to the pattern we now accept. We should have to describe the monasteries of the Middle Ages, whose influence is still manifested in our academic caps, gowns, and hoods, and to note certain movements such as scholasticism, the Renaissance, printing, nationalism, democracy, the Industrial Revolution, and the Protestant Reformation.

Our present educational institution, therefore, is a configuration of elements that have come down to us from the distant past, from widely different sources, and have been affected by many historical forces. It is only in recent times, however, that formal education has assumed great importance. In earlier times, and in simpler societies everywhere, its role was a minor one; but nowadays, and especially in our American society, it has taken its place along with the state, the church, the economic system, and the family as a major social institution.

The original settlers of America brought with them the educational attitudes and theories that prevailed in the countries and social classes whence they came, and these they transplanted in their new home. In all of the colonies formal education was controlled by the church, and its purpose was strongly religious. Nevertheless there developed three distinct and antagonistic points of view with respect to the educational institution.

One of these viewpoints found expression in colonial Massa-

chusetts, and has since been designated the "compulsory maintenance attitude." This attitude is simply the logical application of trends initiated by the Protestant Reformation. According to the Protestant theory, salvation is a matter of the individual and his relation to God, without the mediation of the church; and, since God's will is completely revealed in the Bible, it is indispensable that everyone be able to read the Scriptures. European Protestants, kept busy fighting for their very existence, were unable to carry this theory to its logical conclusion, namely, universal literacy. The colony of Massachusetts, however, proceeded almost immediately to do so. In 1642 a law was passed imposing a fine on parents and masters who failed in their duty of training all children "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country." [8] Five years later a supplementary law was passed requiring that every town having fifty householders provide a schoolmaster to teach all children "as shall resort to him, to write and reade," and every town of one hundred families to "set up a gramar schoole, y^e^ master thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fited for y^e^ university." "It can safely be asserted," says Cubberley, "that these two Massachusetts laws of 1642 and 1647 represent not only new educational ideas in the English-speaking world, but that they also represent the very foundation stones upon which our American public school systems have been constructed." [9]

Quite a different viewpoint prevailed in the Middle Atlantic colonies, where, instead of the religious homogeneity found in Massachusetts, we had a multitude of sects—Moravians, Mennonites, German Lutherans, Catholics, Baptists, Quakers, and others. In these colonies education was placed in the hands of the churches, and state interference was strongly opposed. The various churches conducted their simple schools, in which clergymen taught the rudiments of reading, writing, counting, and religion. There were private schools for those who could pay for the privilege of attending them.

The third attitude, found in the South, was that endorsed by the

[8] E. P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, p. 17.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Church of England. The state, according to this view, had no responsibility for education except to see to it that orphans and children of the poor were properly apprenticed and trained for some useful trade, a responsibility that was shared by the church. For those who were able to pay, there were private tutors, private and select schools, or an English education abroad.

The American pattern of free, state, compulsory schools is essentially a product of the nineteenth century. It was of course no easy task to create such a system, and every step was bitterly contested. A series of "battles" had to be fought, and of these the following were the most decisive: (1) the battle for free state schools; (2) the battle to extend the system; and (3) the battle for compulsory attendance.

Concerning the first of these, Cubberley writes:

> The second quarter of the nineteenth century may be said to have witnessed the battle for tax-supported, publicly controlled and directed, and nonsectarian schools. In 1825 such schools were the distant hope of statesmen and reformers; in 1850 they were becoming an actuality in almost every Northern state. The twenty-five years intervening marked a period of public agitation and educational propaganda; of many hard legislative fights; of a struggle to secure desired legislation, and then to hold what had been secured; of many bitter contests with church and private-school interests, which felt that their "vested rights" were being taken from them. . . . Excepting the battle for the abolition of slavery, perhaps no question has ever been before the American people for settlement which caused so much feeling or aroused such bitter antagonisms. Old friends and business associates parted company over the question, lodges were forced to taboo the subject to avoid disruption, ministers and their congregations often quarreled over the question of free schools, and politicians avoided the issue. The friends of free schools were at first commonly regarded as fanatics, dangerous to the state, and the opponents of free schools were considered by them as old-time conservatives or as selfish members of society.[10]

The battle was waged around various strategic issues, including: (1) the necessity for securing support from taxation; (2) the elimination of the pauper-school idea; (3) the struggle to make the schools actually free; (4) the establishment of state supervision, in

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 119. Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Company.

lieu of less efficient substitutes; and (5) the fight to eliminate sectarianism from the schools. Among the leaders in this struggle were Horace Mann and Henry Barnard.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed the adoption of the idea of free, tax-supported, nonsectarian schools, but this idea was applied only to the elementary level. There remained, therefore, another battle that had to be won before the present American pattern could take shape—the system had to be extended to the secondary and higher levels, and to include women as well as men. In Boston, in 1821, there was established the first high school in the United States; in 1827 Massachusetts passed a law requiring every town of 500 families or more to maintain a high school. From Massachusetts the movement spread, though slowly, gaining momentum only after 1865. The West adopted the plan of free high schools quite readily, the South very reluctantly. The great advance in high-school enrollments, however, did not come until the turn of the twentieth century.

Extension of formal education involved also the provision of collegiate training for all citizens, not only the sons of the well-to-do. By the end of the colonial period nine colleges had been established, but these were church-controlled, and their aim was primarily that of training ministers. By 1800 there were twenty-four colleges in the United States, their combined faculties numbering perhaps a hundred, and their student bodies between one and two thousand. There were few state universities prior to 1870, and even these were small and hardly distinguishable from the denominational colleges. It was after 1860 that state-supported colleges and universities began to be established in significant numbers; and it was after 1885 that their greatest period of expansion set in.

The nineteenth century also witnessed the entrance of women in the field of higher education.

> In 1800 women could not enter any college in the United States. In 1821 Emma Willard had opened a seminary for girls in Troy, New York, and in 1837 Mt. Holyoke Seminary (later College) was opened by Mary Lyon in Massachusetts. These mark the beginnings of higher education for girls. By 1840 there were only seven institutions of all kinds for the higher education of women, but by 1860 the number had increased to sixty-one. . . . After the Civil War, during which so many women filled

places formerly held by men, and especially in teaching, the colleges began to open their doors somewhat generally to women students. Today eighty per cent of the non-Catholic colleges are open to women, while many special colleges for them also exist.[11]

The third battle that had to be fought in order to establish the characteristic type of formal education as we have it in our society was that of making attendance compulsory. As we have seen, Massachusetts was first to enact laws for compulsory attendance, doing so in 1642 and 1647, and Connecticut soon followed this lead. These laws, however, fell into disuse; it was not until 1852 that the idea was taken up seriously, Massachusetts again taking the lead. The District of Columbia followed suit in 1864, and Vermont in 1867; but the two decades between 1870 and 1890 witnessed similar legislation by twenty-three other states. By 1900 virtually all of the northern and western states had passed such laws, and when Mississippi enacted its law in 1918 the policy had become nation-wide. There is, however, wide variation among the states, with respect to both minimum and maximum ages for compulsory attendance, the number of years' attendance required, length of the school term, exemptions from attendance, and degree of actual law enforcement.

The American pattern of education includes more than the school system. The family and other primary groups play a significant role in the induction of the individual into the culture. Even when we think of the formal aspect of our educational institution, the schools, colleges, and universities do not by any means complete the picture. A thorough account would call for a description of the libraries and museums, motion pictures and radio, the press, and a large number of organizations, such as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and the Y.M.C.A., all of which perform educational functions.

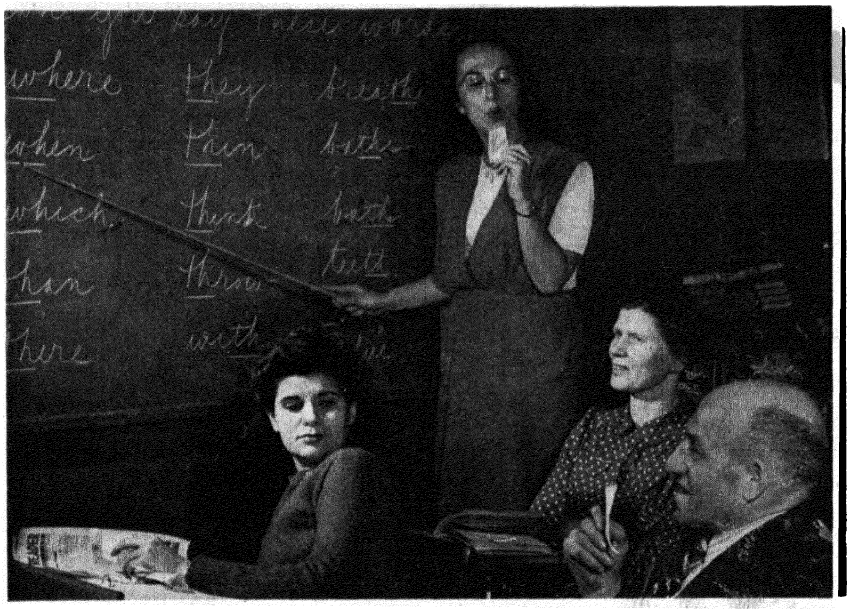
MODERN TRENDS AND PROBLEMS

The broad outline of the American pattern of education was, as we have seen, laid down in the nineteenth century. The principle of free, tax-supported, state-controlled, compulsory schools has now

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 209. Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

been firmly established in our culture, and the members of our society have great faith in such an institution. Education is virtually a fetish with us, a panacea, to which we turn for a solution of whatever difficulty besets us, whether it be war, crime, divorce, or racial strife.

The institution of education, however, is not without its own problems. There is a widespread feeling that all is not right with



Foreign-born students in an English class. For those not conditioned from childhood to wh's and th's, their proper enunciation is difficult to learn. (Photo by Jeanne Friedberg)

the schools. Parents, newspapers, taxpayers, and the educators themselves are continually debating the matter. Experiments of many kinds are being tried in hopes of finding solutions. What are the proper functions of the school system? Are the schools too far removed from "real life," or are they too close to it? Should they seek to raise the general level of the population, or should they seek out the superior individuals and train them for leadership? To what degree should they train for specific vocations? Of the various areas of knowledge, which should receive the major emphasis? What

are the most effective methods, and what the best organization, for achieving educational aims? How shall teachers' salaries—admittedly too low in many parts of the country—be raised? Should the long-pending controversial program for increased federal aid to education—especially in the poorer states—be enacted into law?

Most of the problems that today disturb the educational system can be traced to two factors. One is the unprecedented increase in enrollment, especially in secondary schools and colleges. So great and swift was this increase that it has been described as "explosive." In 1870 approximately 80,000 students were enrolled in the secondary schools of the country, and about 60,000 in the colleges. By 1940 the secondary school enrollment had increased to 7,000,000, while the colleges took in 1,500,000, and another 1,000,000 were enrolled in part-time, vocational, adult education and university extension courses. In late 1947 the number had increased to 2,238,000, of whom 1,133,000 were veterans, virtually all of them aided through the GI Bill of Rights. In 1949 the number of enrolled veterans was declining, yet college and university enrollments in the fall of that year had increased to 2,457,000. Future enrollments will doubtless outnumber the 1940 figure, but accurate forecasts are impossible. These numbers alone presented the schools with a staggering problem; but added to this was the fact that they represented a much wider range of abilities, interests, backgrounds, and ambitions than the schools had been accustomed to handling.

The second factor was more significant than the inundation of pupils, namely, the social changes occurring in our society and making ever new demands upon the schools. Just at the time when our system of formal education was taking shape, and while it was attempting to assimilate pupils in increasing numbers, American life itself was undergoing a transformation, the repercussions of which were keenly felt in the schools. At the beginning of this period we were very largely a simple, homogeneous, agricultural nation, living in sparsely settled communities. In less than two generations, however, we had changed from an agricultural to an industrial society, from rural to urban. There was a great expansion of commerce and industry, of the use of machinery; improvement in transportation and means of communication; changes in the family, in the status of women; in the multiplication and growth of the sciences

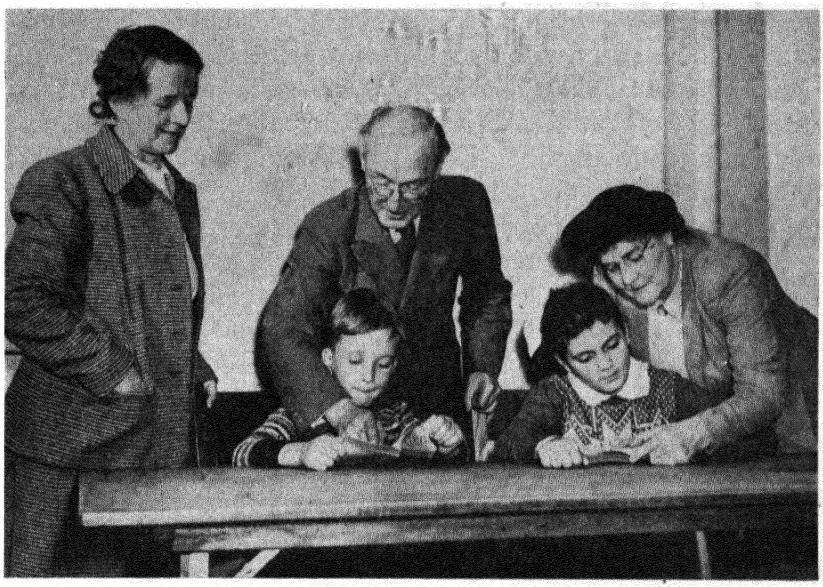
and their application to everyday affairs. If education were to have any meaning for life, it had to keep abreast of these social changes. It is not surprising, then, that the schools, confronted with problems of adjustment so numerous and overwhelming, should at times have lost touch with reality and have floundered around in bewilderment. It is to their credit that they have met these difficulties as successfully as they have.

The fundamental question facing our schools today is this: What is the proper function, or aim, of formal education? There are many who insist that its aim should be "practical," that schools should train one to make a living, to hold down a job, to be able to step directly from the classroom into the office, factory, or department store. Accordingly, public schools have been pointing with pride to their shops, lathes, typewriters, adding machines, printing presses; colleges have expanded their professional and vocational offerings, and have organized their traditional courses into *pre*-medical, *pre*legal, *pre*journalism, or *pre*commercial curricula. Just prior to World War II the federal government alone was spending nearly fifty million dollars a year on vocational training.

At the same time there are many who regard this vocational emphasis with disfavor, and insist that liberal education is still the proper objective of the school. Education, they say, should encourage the student to think for himself, to discipline his mind, to make him rational, informed, sensitive, and independent. There are others who think that the major function of the schools is to discover the more able pupils and train them for leadership in society; and they regard as extremely wasteful our efforts to educate the thousands of pupils of mediocre ability and thus tax the facilities of the schools and colleges. There are those who consider this last objective contrary to the American democratic tradition, and insist that it is the function of education to raise the general level of intelligence, information, and skill, to train everyone for responsible citizenship in a democracy, and not merely single out and develop those of superior talents. There are many who regard *indoctrination* as the major function of the schools, the doctrines to be inculcated varying from one individual to another, depending upon each one's particular convictions and prejudices. Still others insist that *social guidance* is the main function of education. The

proponents of this position say, "Education must itself assume an increasing responsibility for participation in projecting ideas of social change and taking part in their execution." [12]

These various conceptions of the function of education are not of necessity mutually exclusive and antagonistic. There are educators who believe that it is possible for the schools to train the individual to make a living *and* to live a fuller life, to think for himself and to



Basic English class at Harvard University. This language is a recent social invention designed to supply the need for a universal, easily learned language. (Courtesy Rockefeller Foundation, *President's Review for 1948*)

acquire special skills, to appreciate traditional ideals and values and to think creatively of the future. Nor is the democratic ideal of educational opportunities for all incompatible with the desirability of discovering and giving needed opportunity to the gifted student. "The hope of the American school system," says a recent report on this problem, "indeed of our society, is precisely that it can pursue two goals simultaneously: give scope to ability and raise the average.

[12] John Dewey and John L. Childs, "The Social Economic Situation and Education," in William H. Kilpatrick (ed.), *The Educational Frontier*, D. Appleton–Century Company, Inc., New York, 1933, p. 44.

Nor are these two goals far apart, if human beings are capable of common sympathies." [13]

Another category of problems confronting our educational institution today has to do with the curriculum. Those who believe the aim of education is vocational training maintain that the traditional subjects should either be supplanted by others of a more "practical" nature or at least presented in such a way as to make them contribute to vocational efficiency. Many who hold to the liberal ideal of education insist that the classics and the humanities are the most effective instruments for achieving that objective. Others insist that these ancient subjects have served their purpose and should either be discarded altogether or relegated to a secondary role in the curriculum.[14] Even those who believe the sciences, rather than the classics, deserve emphasis are not agreed as to the relative merits of the physical, biological, and social sciences.[15]

A third category of problems with which our educational institution is grappling today has to do with the methods of achieving its ends. Teachers, parents, and the pupils themselves have all been painfully aware of the fact that much of our teaching effort fails to reach its mark; and consequently much thought has been and is being given to an examination of methods of instruction. Revolt against the traditional methods of instruction has been more or less organized under the banner of *progressive education.* Its tenets and principles include the following: (1) The school exists for the child, not the child for the school. (2) Interest is the only satisfactory motive for work. (3) Teaching should be geared to, and the material organized around, the pupil rather than the subject. (4) School work should be closely related to current living. (5) Less emphasis upon textbooks and lectures, and more upon current events, field work, and projects. (6) Emphasis upon the personality development of the pupil.[16] The merits of these principles are still the subject of considerable debate, but there can be no doubt that

[13] *General Education in a Free Society:* Report of the Harvard Committee, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1945, p. 35.

[14] *Cf.* George A. Lundberg, "What to Do with the Humanities," in *Harper's Magazine,* No. 1117, June, 1943, pp. 64–71.

[15] *Cf.* George A. Lundberg, "Can Science Save Us?" *Harper's Magazine,* No. 1147, December, 1945, pp. 525–531.

[16] *Cf.* L. A. Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1937, pp. 340 ff.

the traditional and orthodox methods of instruction have been greatly modified as a result of the controversy.

The institution of education in American society has many features in common with that of other societies the world over, but it possesses many characteristics uniquely its own. Ours has never been a static institution, but instead has been in a continual state of flux. This is especially true of the present day, when our schools are desperately trying to define their proper functions in our democracy and to discover the best means of performing these functions.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are some of the informal means of education found both in primitive societies and in our own?
2. Describe some of the formal aspects of primitive educational practices.
3. What is meant by a liberal education?
4. Which institution does more to transmit our culture to the new generation, the family or the school?
5. What are the differences between the traditional and the "progressive" methods in education?
6. Do the extracurricular activities in college have educational value?
7. Discuss the educational functions of the radio, the motion picture, and the press.
8. Should the schools encourage students to be critical of our culture or to accept it and believe in it?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Investigate the arguments used against the extension of free public education when the system was being advanced in the United States.
2. Report on the relative merits of the physical sciences and the social sciences as instruments for achieving a liberal education.
3. Interview a number of teachers and report on their conceptions of the purpose of education.

SELECTED READINGS

General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1945.

The first chapter is a good analysis of the effects of urbanization and industrialization upon the American educational institution.

HAMBLY, W. D., *Origins of Education Among Primitive Peoples,* The Macmillan Company, London, 1926.

An exhaustive and detailed treatment of the emergence and history of the educational institution.

Chapter 28

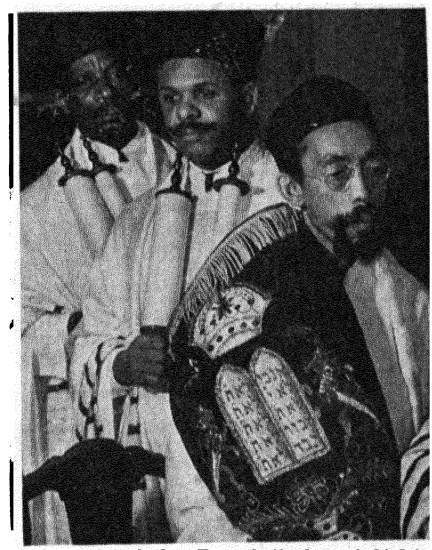
THE INSTITUTION OF RELIGION

RELIGION is universal. No society has yet been discovered in which the people did not have some conceptions of supernatural power and did not perform certain acts in consequence of those beliefs. This itself is a puzzling fact, for we do not find in man any physiological basis for religion, nor is he thought to possess, as is the case with hunger and sex, some inborn drive upon which the institution is built. There are those who have supposed that man is equipped with a religious "instinct," and the orthodox will insist that religion, unlike other social institutions, was "revealed" by God to man, and that man had no part in its origin, but has merely been the passive recipient of the revelation.

Religion is also very ancient. The fact that it is universal is perhaps a testimony to its great age. It is often true that a feature of culture that is widespread is also very old—for instance, the domestication of animals, the use of fire, and flint tools; but this principle has to be applied with caution. The evidence of archaeology would seem to point to a great age for religion, but here again the facts must be interpreted with care, for something as intangible as religion cannot be completely explained from artifacts and tablets alone. However, we are told that Neanderthal man buried his dead in his cave dwellings, and it is hard to understand why he would have done so had he not believed in a soul, a future life, or some such religious ideas. The indications, then, are that religion is quite an old institution—not so old as the family, language, hunting, fishing, stone tools, weapons, and the use of fire, but much older than bows and arrows, domesticated animals, agriculture, and the state.

WHAT IS RELIGION?

Religion varies so much from one society to another that it is difficult to find any common denominator. The coldly intellectual Unitarian thinks, perhaps, that his faith has nothing at all in common with that of the Hopi Indian, whose religion takes the form of dancing around his pueblo with a live rattlesnake in his mouth; or with the religion of the Kentucky mountaineer, whose shouting and shaking under the influence of the Holy Spirit is his variety of religious experience. Too often the Christian sees no kinship between his religion and the magic of the savage; the Moslem and the Hindu consider their respective religions to be as far apart as the poles. One may ask whether, as a matter of fact, all of these faiths have anything in common.



Members of the Royal Order of Ethiopian Hebrews in their synagogue in Harlem. This scene illustrates the fact that members of any race may become adherents of any religion, and particularly that Jews are a cultural, not a racial, group. (Photograph by Alexander Alland)

The average American, at the mention of religion, probably thinks of an organization, the church; of a holy book, the Bible, in which the true religion is expounded; of specialists known as ministers, priests, or rabbis; of a holy day, the Sabbath, of heaven and hell; of the Ten Commandments; of hymns, pews, stained glass, incense, and sermons. True, all of these loom large in our institution of religion, but are they the fundamental, basic elements?

When we consider other cultures than our own we find that these elements are not always present. Many people have religion, who do not organize themselves into churches, denominations, or sects,

nor do they erect temples, synagogues, or mosques. Instead of ministers and priests there may be shamans and medicine men, while not a few people manage to worship their gods without the assistance of specialists at all. Many have their sacred books, but others practice their religion without any written records. Nor are heaven and hell essential, for there are millions of people who conform to religious principles yet give little or no thought to a future life nor to the matter of rewards and punishments in the hereafter. Therefore, while these features may seem important in our own religious pattern, they are certainly not essential elements in all religion.

When we attempt to define religion, or to sift out the common elements, we must guard against two mistakes. First, we must avoid too narrow a definition, such as was given by the Reverend Mr. Thwackum in *Tom Jones*, who said, "When I mention religion, I mean the Christian religion, and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion, and not only the Protestant religion, but the Church of England." Likewise, Matthew Arnold's statement, "Religion is morality touched with emotion," and Johann Fichte's "Religion is conscious morality," are both too restricted, for there are many societies in which religion and morality are not associated at all. On the other hand, it is a mistake to make the definition too broad. Various scholars have proposed some such definition as this: Religion is that to which man attaches supreme value. If that be the proper definition, however, almost anything may find itself classified as religion—communism, fascism, patriotism, money, football, or atheism. Needless to say, a definition should be descriptive rather than normative; that is, we should neither condemn religion nor praise it, but merely describe it. Reinach's statement, "I propose to define religion as a sum of scruples which impede the free exercise of our faculties," does not define it at all, but merely expresses the writer's prejudice.

If, therefore, we try to be objective and to take into consideration the religions of all people, we find that there are three features common to all faiths, whether Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan, Hindu, Sioux, Aztec, or Eskimo:

(1) There is the belief in the existence of supernatural power or powers, who are thought to have some effect upon man's life

and destiny. (The term "supernatural" may cause some concern. By it we certainly do not mean to imply "contrary to nature": instead, we mean mysterious, holy, wonderful, superhuman.)

(2) Man has certain attitudes toward this power, such as fear, awe, reverence, love, hate, dependence.

(3) Men do certain things and refrain from doing others in order to establish and maintain friendly, harmonious, satisfactory relations with this power or these powers. They sing, pray, sacrifice, dance, fast, make pilgrimages, give alms, tithe, obey commandments, follow the Eightfold Path of Buddhism, observe the Sabbath, or keep the fast of Ramadan. They refrain from eating certain foods, deny themselves certain pleasures, avoid certain places, refrain from wearing this or that garment, and abstain from using certain words or from performing various acts.

We shall define religion, therefore, as the belief in the existence of, and attitudes toward, supernatural power or powers, which are thought to affect man's destiny, and man's efforts to adjust himself to such power or powers.

FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

Every feature of culture has some reason for its existence; it has certain jobs to do, certain functions to perform. Houses, chairs, money, bicycles, neckties—all perform functions. Even the bow on a man's hat, the buttons on his coat sleeve, and the antique spinning wheel in his modern living room are performing functions; there are at least sentimental and ornamental reasons for their presence. When a trait ceases to have any function whatever it tends to drop out of the culture. Religion, then, must have some function that it performs, or several functions. There is little agreement, however, as to just what its functions are, or ought to be. When a group of people gets into a discussion of the question "What good is religion?" or "What is religion for?" a lively debate is assured, and a variety of opinions will doubtless be expressed. Such a group does not even agree on the definition of religion. The following are some of the theories as to religion's function:

(1) *Delusion.* According to G. A. Dorsey, "all religions perform the function of delusion. Their business is to make life

tolerable." [1] The idea is that man develops a great many wishes, wants, and interests which his world fails to satisfy. He desires life, but is confronted with death; he longs for justice, but sees the righteous suffer and the wicked flourish; he wants health, happiness, and good fortune, but is dogged by sickness, misery, and misfortune. Religion, accordingly, is a fiction that has been adopted whose function is to make this disappointing world tolerable. Man is assured through this comfortable fiction that death is but the beginning of a better life, that justice eventually prevails, and that the Creator of this apparently hostile universe is really aware of man's existence and is concerned about his welfare.

(2) *Social control.* Marx expressed this idea when he declared that religion is "the opiate of the people." The chief function of religion, according to this view, is to bolster up the status quo, to endow the prevailing mores with supernatural sanction, and to throw the fear of Divine wrath into those who would upset society and its conventions. Religion thus plays the role of a policeman. Without doubt religion has always functioned in this way, although we may not agree that instilling fear is its principal or basic purpose. Students of social control have never underestimated religion's role. Says Landis: "From a purely sociological viewpoint, religion probably has been of greatest significance in human culture because of its influence in social control. Dealing with the inner life of man, and connecting man with those powers which he conceives to control life and the universe, religion possesses potentialities for regulating man's conduct to a remarkable extent." [2] Frazer has developed the interesting theory that certain institutions now firmly planted in our culture (marriage, private property, etc.) in their infancy depended for survival upon the support they received from religion, magic, and superstition.[3]

(3) *Luck.* According to Sumner and Keller,[4] man must adjust

[1] G. A. Dorsey, *Man's Own Show: Civilization*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1931, p. 175.

[2] Paul H. Landis, *Social Control*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Chicago, 1939, p. 237. *Cf.* also E. A. Ross, *Social Control*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1901, pp. 196 ff., and F. E. Lumley, *Means of Social Control*, D. Appleton–Century Company, New York, 1925, p. 35.

[3] Sir James G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1909.

[4] W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927, Volume 2, pp. 737 ff. See also Robert H. Lowie, *Are We Civilized?* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929, pp. 214 ff.

not only to his natural and social environments but also to the aleatory element, the factors of luck and chance. Life is full of uncertainty, perplexities, hazards, and irregularities. Even though man uses all available knowledge and makes the most careful plans, things often go against him. This element of chance is of no small concern even to civilized man, but for our primitive ancestors it was a vastly more serious matter. The operation of luck becomes identified with the activities of ghosts, demons, and gods—the spirit environment—and man seeks through coercion, propitiation, or avoidance to adjust himself to these powers. The function of religion, therefore, is to assist man in dealing with this inexplicable and fortuitous element in his universe so that he may insure good luck and avoid ill.

(4) *Salvation.* It is widely believed that man has a soul, a spirit, or a ghost, which leaves the body at death. Even primitive people give some thought to the fact of death and speculate as to the destiny of the soul. Belief in heaven and hell as the ultimate destiny of the good and wicked, respectively, is by no means universal, but it was not the Christians alone who developed this idea, and who hold that their faith is the only road to heaven. Accordingly, many have considered it the major function of religion to snatch as many souls as possible from eternal punishment, and to point the path to future bliss. This conception of religion has been dominant in our own society in the recent past, and is by no means without its adherents today.

(5) *Social action.* For many persons the chief function of religion is that of holding up to man certain ideals and of inspiring him and helping him to attain those goals. These ideals are sometimes thought of as personal—perfection of character in the individual—and sometimes as social—the development of a perfect society on earth, of "the kingdom of God." Such a conception of religion was held by the ancient Hebrew prophets, who taught that justice and morality rather than tradition and ceremony were the major concerns of religion. Throughout the history of religion down to the present time there have been prophets and leaders who have insisted that religion should concern itself less with affairs beyond the grave and more with current problems, such as war, racial discrimination, economic injustice, and poverty.

(6) There are many who view the function of religion in terms of its stabilizing and integrating effect upon the personality. Religion, they say, gives unity, meaning, and purpose to man's existence, and these are indispensable in the development of well-adjusted, healthy-minded individuals. One spokesman for this viewpoint has expressed it thus:

Life may be said to consist broadly of two activities, the adjustment of things to ourselves and the adjustment of ourselves to things; the former is the object of all practical work, the latter is the object of religion. If men are to live in any safety and comfort much labor must be performed upon the outer world; nature must be subdued and refashioned to become adapted to man's needs. But this is not all. When the highest degree of physical security and material luxury is wrested from mother earth, when knowledge is won and art developed, there remain sources of dissatisfaction and distress. That residuum in the nature of things which man cannot change confronts him and warns him that his human nature too must be tamed and reshaped if he is to attain to a sure and abiding happiness. Thus, religion is . . . a psychological necessity. Every man must be religious if his life is to be a complete success. Beset as he is by warring and unwise impulses, surrounded by other human beings with wants and wills of their own, confronted by the obdurate facts of pain and separation and death, he must learn to weed out and harmonize his desires, to adjust his will to the welfare of those about him, to set his heart upon such things that the uncertainties of life cannot take away his joy in living and plunge him into despair. To these fundamental and irremovable aspects of life he must adapt himself; he must struggle till he attain to the life of purity, the life of love, and the life of peace. The necessary adjustment of life to its conditions is made when we have a harmony of our impulses with one another, with the wills of other people, and with the fortune that befalls us. By enlisting men's devotion to such ideals . . . religion has, for those who have grasped it, proved a solution of the great problem of life. . . . The function of religion is then, in a word, to create in men a clean heart and renew a right mind within them.[5]

VARIABILITY IN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Religion everywhere implies a belief in the existence of a supernatural power or powers, but the objects of man's worship vary

[5] Durant Drake, *Problems of Religion*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1916, pp. 243–245. Courtesy of the publishers.

greatly from place to place. In some societies, for example, it is believed that the supernatural powers are visible to the naked eye, and that the gods actually walk in human form among men, eating, drinking, talking, and even intermarrying with them. Elsewhere such a belief is abhorrent, for the gods are held to be pure spirit, invisible, without material form and substance. Societies differ, too, as to the number of supernatural powers in which they believe, those adhering to *monotheism* insisting that there is only one God, while those embracing *polytheism* believe in the existence of many gods. Cultures vary, moreover, as to whether the supernatural powers are male, female, or sexless; whether they are good, wicked, or amoral; whether they are personal or impersonal; whether their powers are restricted and limited or omnipotent; whether they are but slightly superior to man in knowledge or omniscient.

Not a few societies have believed in, used, and worshiped impersonal supernatural power or powers, usually referred to by the Melanesian term *mana*.

The Melanesian mind is entirely possessed by the belief in a supernatural power or influence, called almost universally *mana*. This is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature; it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and things, and is manifested by the results which can only be ascribed to its operation. When one has got it, he can use it and direct it, but its force may break forth at some new point. A man comes by chance upon a stone which takes his fancy; its shape is singular, it is like something, it is certainly not a common stone, there must be mana in it. So he argues with himself, and he puts it to the proof; he lays it at the root of a tree, or he buries it in the ground when he plants his garden; an abundant crop on the tree, or in the garden, shows that he is right, the stone is mana, has that power in it.[6]

The Melanesians are not alone in believing in this vague, diffuse, electric-like power or influence. Anthropologists have reported similiar beliefs from many other societies; the Iroquois called it *orenda*, the Sioux *wakan*, the Algonkin *manitou*, the Crow *maxpé*, and the Ekoi of Africa, *njomm*.[7] A material object, should it be-

[6] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford University Press, London, 1891, p. 118. Courtesy of the publishers.

[7] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1924, pp. 75 ff.

come the abode of some of this supernatural power, is referred to in our literature as an *amulet;* if it is a personal power that enters, we call it a *fetish.* One need only consider the multitude of amulets and fetishes that circulate in our own society, and recall the allusions to "luck," to realize that these phenomena are not confined to the so-called primitive people of the earth.[8]

American Moslems reading the Koran. This gathering demonstrates the independent variability of nationality and religion. (Photograph by Alexander Alland)

Generally, however, men have directed their worship and their religious activities not to such vague power as mana but to spirits and gods conceived of as persons. The fact is that most people do not draw sharp lines as we do between the animate and the inanimate, the personal and the impersonal. Even those primitive people who recognized a mana-like influence in the universe would often address that power as though it were personal.[9] For that matter, we

[8] *Cf.* A. M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925, pp. 225 ff.; Brewton Berry, *You and Your Superstitions,* Lucas Brothers, Columbia (Mo.), 1940, pp. 208 ff.

[9] W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1937, pp. 314 ff.

ourselves do not in practice observe distinctions as consistently as we might. John A. Rice writes of his father, a college president:

> There was no inanimate nature. A door knob that came off in his hand, a faucet that would not turn on, a desk drawer that stuck, all these were treated as if they acted out of evil intention. Nature had no business playing tricks on a serious man. When automobiles came in he was convinced of the conspiracy against him. A flat tire was a personal affront. When the car broke down his first act was to get out and shake it, and then, if it still would not go, give it a kick. The funny thing was that it sometimes worked. I remember the satisfaction with which he made the lights come on by this simple procedure, and his climbing back into the driver's seat with all the assurance of a superior moral being.[10]

It is but a short step from such primitive concepts to that of animism, or the belief in spirits. Men believe not only that they themselves possess a spirit, or soul, but also that spirits dwell in rocks, trees, clouds, animals, and mountains. Animism and religion are closely related, but they are not identical. Men may simply believe in the existence of innumerable spirits, not necessarily "immaterial," as Lowie has pointed out, but "they are certainly less grossly material than the bodies of ordinary physical objects." [11] Animism partakes of the character of religion, however, when men adopt attitudes of fear or reverence toward the spirits, and perform certain rites in order to bring themselves into harmonious relations with them.

Among the supernatural powers to which considerable attention has been directed the world over are *ghosts*. Sumner and Keller have described in great detail the multitude of beliefs and practices involving these spirits which have departed from the body but which remain for a time in the vicinity.[12] Ghosts, it is believed, can play havoc with the living; they are genuinely feared, and men have sought to appease them by kind words, clever tricks, and offerings of food and flowers.

Ancestor-worship is still another form which man's belief in the supernatural has assumed. For the most part, however, men in all

[10] John A. Rice, *I Came Out of the Eighteenth Century*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1942, p. 99. Courtesy of the publishers.

[11] Robert H. Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[12] *Op. cit.*, pp. 827–930.

societies have directed their religious efforts, not toward mana, natural spirits, ghosts, or their ancestors, but toward gods; but these gods, as we have seen, have been conceived in a multitude of forms.

VARIABILITY IN RELIGIOUS TECHNIQUES

Religion is not simply a matter of believing in certain supernatural powers and of reacting emotionally toward them; it also involves overt behavior in the effort to reach harmonious relations with them. To this end men have feasted and they have fasted; they have bedecked themselves in robes and jewels and they have rent their garments and mutilated their bodies; they have waged war and espoused pacifism; they have indulged in sexual license and they have embraced celibacy; they have offered up prayers, sung hymns, burned incense, and danced; they have denied themselves the things they wanted, and have placed taboos upon foods, clothing, places, and times; they have gone on pilgrimages, and have made hermits and recluses of themselves; they have sat on nails, walked on broken glass, and played with dangerous snakes; they have given gifts to the poor, honored their parents, practiced honesty, justice, and mercy. They have sacrificed everything imaginable—plants, animals, and human beings. All these things men have done because they sought thereby to adjust themselves to their gods. These patterns of behavior, of course, do not all obtain in any single culture. Each society places the stamp of its approval upon certain specific actions which it considers efficacious.

This list of activities gives the impression that man's efforts in promoting friendly relations with the supernatural powers have been haphazard, arbitrary, and capricious. On the contrary, they are quite logical (granted the premises); they are usually well integrated with the rest of the culture, and they have the sanction of the society in which they are practiced. Nor are they as variegated as they may seem, for man's religious techniques fall into four neat categories.

First, men have sought to adjust themselves to certain supernatural powers by the simple device of *avoidance*. This technique, of course, is not employed in our society, for we have been taught

that God is omnipresent. As the Bible states, "though we flee to the uttermost parts of the earth, He is there." Many of us, however, do avoid ghosts by staying away from cemeteries and "haunted" houses. In many societies, avoidance is an approved method of dealing with the sacred powers. Certain primitive bands, for example, when sickness or other misfortune befalls, will pick up and move their village in hopes of escaping the attentions of whatever spirits are responsible for their bad luck.[13]

Coercion is a second technique which has been commonly employed. This, too, is foreign to our culture, for the idea of forcing supernatural powers to do man's will is incredible to us. Nevertheless in many societies it is an approved method. On this subject Sumner and Keller say:

> Primitive people are found now and then treating their gods in a most cavalier manner, beating their images, dragging them in the mud, or casting them into the water. This is when the idols seem to have lost their virtue, that is, when their spiritual possession is doubtful or weak. Images of Hindu divinities are sometimes treated as the people of a Portuguese village once treated their patron, Saint Anthony; they knocked his head off and substituted for it the head of Saint Francis, because, contrary to agreement, he allowed the Spaniards to plunder the town.[14]

Propitiation is the religious technique that most of the human race has chosen to employ. Men have sought in every conceivable way to persuade the supernatural powers to grant them their wishes, by performing acts which they supposed would be pleasing, or by refraining from acts which they thought would be displeasing to those powers. Thus they have refrained from eating certain foods, they have desisted from work on certain days, they have refused to utter certain words, to visit certain places, to walk under ladders, to sit at a table with thirteen persons, to commit adultery, to take God's name in vain. In short, they have placed *taboos* upon countless words, thoughts, and deeds in the hope of placating the powers that determine their fate.

At the same time a variety of positive behavior patterns have

[13] For other examples see Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 1070–1082.

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 1156 ff., courtesy of the publishers, Yale University Press, New Haven. *Cf.* also Sir James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, The Macmillan Company, London, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 78 ff.

been prescribed. Men have sought to prevail upon the gods to grant favors by prayers and song, by wearing such clothing as their gods approved, by thinking the right thoughts, by saying the proper words, by believing the correct doctrines, by joining organizations, by performing rituals. Especially through *sacrifice* has the divine favor been sought. It has been estimated that the Aztec Indians used to offer as sacrifices to their gods no less than twenty thousand human lives each year. Most people, however, have chosen to sacrifice the fruits of their fields and the products of the chase.

Ethical religion appears when men come to believe that what the divine power demands is not sacrifice, taboos, and ceremonies, but a certain type of conduct. Religion of this sort was especially developed in Hebrew society, where the influence of the prophets was particularly effective. The prophets denounced the conception of religion that placed emphasis upon ritual, feasts, formalism, and sacrifice, and declared that what God demanded was justice and mercy. Convinced that they were speaking for God Himself, they heaped scorn on the slavish devotees of ritual: "I hate, I despise your feast days. . . . Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them . . . Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols." (Amos v:21–23.) "Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting." (Isaiah i:13.) "For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." (Hosea vi:6.)

A fourth technique whereby men have sought to adjust themselves to the supreme powers is *submission.* The idea has prevailed among some people and in some societies that the supreme power cannot be coerced, or avoided, or even persuaded to do man's will, and that the only possible adjustment for man is to learn to submit to, and accept, the dictates of his God. This is the essence of Mohammedanism, or Islam, which means complete and entire submission of body and soul to Allah. This attitude is also present in Christianity, the supreme example being found in Christ's prayer at Gethsemane to His Father, "Not my will, but thine, be done." (Luke xxiii:42.) In actuality, however, most members of both the

Mohammedan and the Christian religions resort to propitiation in the form of prayers, fasts, pilgrimages, charity, and the observance of moral precepts.

THE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION

A conspicuous feature of the institution of religion in our society is its extreme heterogeneity. We have our Buddhist temples, Mohammedan mosques, Hindu shrines, Jewish synagogues, Roman Catholic cathedrals, Protestant churches, and countless minor sects and cults. Yet the overwhelming majority of our citizens who are affiliated with religious organizations belong to one of the more than two hundred Christian denominations in this country. Moreover, the differences between these various Christian groups are so great that a Baptist, for example, would feel out of place at a Catholic Mass, and the Unitarian would be quite uncomfortable at a meeting of the Penitential Holiness Church or the Two-see-in-the-spirit Predestinarian Baptists. Even within these various groups there are wide differences of belief. The Episcopalians have their High, Low, and Broad churchmen; and many Protestant bodies are torn between their Fundamentalists and their Modernists, their Conservatives and their Liberals.

In view of this diversity of belief and practice, even though we may say that the American religion is predominantly Christian it is difficult to enumerate specific features that would be characteristic of our institution as a whole. The Lynds, in their study of Muncie, Indiana, were able to make these generalizations:

> The more obvious manifestations of religion are the setting aside of one day in seven and of forty-odd buildings throughout the city for religious ceremonies. . . . Membership in one of the religious groups is generally taken for granted. . . . Middletown exhibits a wide variety of religious beliefs, but almost without exception, the beliefs of all groups center in . . . the *Bible*. . . . Prominent among these beliefs is a confidence in the all-sufficiency for all mankind of this religion. . . . A second commonly held belief is that in the sacredness of the Bible. . . . There is a general feeling in Middletown that the book is "perfect." A third outstanding belief is that in God as completely revealed in Jesus Christ, "His divine son." . . . A fourth belief is that in life after death in "Heaven" and "Hell." . . . There is a strong disposition to identify the

church with religion and church-going with being religious. . . . There is a persistence of a vague belief in God even among many who are lax or skeptical in other beliefs. . . . Doubts and uneasiness among individuals may be greater than a generation ago.[15]

It is widely believed that religion is one aspect of life which is eternally the same; it is unchanging, absolute, and final; "the same yesterday, today, and for ever." (Hebrews xiii:8.) Churches have emphasized this thought, emblazoning on billboards such slogans as "A changeless Christ for a changing world." There are reasons for thinking that many people, bewildered by the innumerable and rapid changes in our society, have found consolation in the thought that religion is one thing in our culture which is permanent, static, fixed.[16]

The truth is, however, that the institution of religion is no exception to the rule that society and culture are never static. The beliefs, attitudes, usages, and symbolical and utilitarian objects of the institution are continually changing, as the study of the history of religion will readily reveal. The Bible itself shows how religious beliefs and practices change through the years. No doubt the religious institution is more conservative than others, and it resists innovations with a stubbornness and an effectiveness surpassing other institutions, but it changes nevertheless. Let us consider some of the major changes and trends manifested in American religion:

(1) In comparison with other institutions, religion apparently occupies a less important place than it has in times past. A careful study made in the 1930's indicated a marked decline in the public's interest in religious matters.[17] It was found, for example, that between 1900 and 1930 there was a great increase in the circulation of popular scientific periodicals while religious periodicals showed a corresponding decrease; that there was a decline in the proportion of books on religion published; that there was a decrease in the proportion of space given to religion in the magazines; and that there was an increase in the press in antagonistic criticism of the church,

[15] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929, pp. 315–331. Courtesy of the publishers.

[16] *Cf.* Lynd and Lynd, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

[17] Hornell Hart, "Changing Social Attitudes and Interests," in *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933, pp. 382 ff.

of ministers, and of traditional creeds. Neither the depression of the 1930's nor the terrors of World War II seem to have brought about a revival of religious interest, as many hoped and predicted they would; and the leaders of the various churches frankly and openly admit that American culture is becoming increasingly secularized.[18] Sociologists in their studies of American communities have observed this decline in interest in religion. The Lynds, for example, in their earlier study of Middletown concluded that "doubts and uneasiness among individuals may be greater than a generation ago," and "the lack of dominance of religious beliefs becomes more apparent." [19] In their later study they could report no evidence that the harrowing experiences of the depression had awakened an interest in religion; on the contrary, "the ministers are themselves harried, overworked, and perplexed that religion has not vindicated itself more. . . ." [20]

(2) Religious beliefs have been changing. Many doctrines to which people used to adhere with conviction are nowadays discarded or viewed with indifference. Fewer and fewer persons, even within the ranks of the religious, hold to the belief in a personal Devil, the Virgin birth of Jesus, miracles, and a literal heaven and hell. In 1933 a study was made of the religious beliefs of scientists.[21] It was found that only 30 per cent confessed to believing in a "God to whom one may pray in the expectation of receiving an answer," while 70 per cent accounted themselves either doubters or disbelievers. They expressed a similar skepticism with regard to immortality.

The scientists are not alone in their growing disbelief. The clergy themselves reflect a shift in religious thinking to bring them into harmony with modern ideas.[22] Sociologists, too, in their studies of American communities have observed such a trend. Says West, "Perhaps a fourth to a third of the people [in Plainville] have been

[18] *Cf.* Charles C. Morrison, "Can Protestantism Win America?" *The Christian Century*, Vol. 63, No. 14, April 3, 1944, pp. 425 ff.

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 331, 406.

[20] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1937, p. 308.

[21] James H. Leuba, "Religious Beliefs of American Scientists," *Harper's Magazine*, August, 1934, pp. 291 ff.

[22] George Betts, *The Beliefs of 700 Ministers*, Abingdon Press, New York, 1929. *Cf.* Luther Fry, "Changes in Religious Organizations," in *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933, pp. 1009 ff.

so permeated by rational ideas from the outside world that they no longer believe the received tenets of fundamentalist Protestant theology, or they at least discredit any literal interpretation of the Bible." [23] It is not simply a matter of discarding ancient dogmas that are in conflict with modern conceptions of the world; religious leaders have found it increasingly necessary to square their theology with the findings of science and scholarship.

(3) Religion has become more concerned with the *social* application of its principles. The various churches, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant, have issued encyclicals, "social creeds," and resolutions, expressing their attitudes toward war, labor, racial discrimination, capitalism, divorce, education, and almost every other aspect of society; and they have established commissions, committees, and other instruments for realizing their objectives.[24] The churches are not far apart with regard to their stand upon social issues, different though they may be upon theological matters. It is impossible here even to summarize the pronouncements of the various religious bodies, but a few excerpts from "The Social Creed of the Methodist Church," adopted by its General Conference, May 5, 1944, will give some idea of this trend toward a social emphasis in religion:

> The Methodist Church aims to view the perplexing times and problems which we face today in the light of the teachings of Jesus. . . . We believe that personality possesses the highest value. We test all institutions and practices by their effect upon personality. . . . Since personality is being oppressed in so many parts of the world, we seek for its emancipation and for those things which enrich and redeem it. . . . We stand for equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life; for the protection of both the individual and the family by the single standard of purity; for education for marriage; for proper housing; proper regulation of marriage, and uniform divorce laws . . . for proper regulation of working conditions for women . . . for the abolition of child labor. We urge the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, from unsafe and unsanitary working conditions, and from occupational diseases. . . . We stand for reasonable hours of labor, for just wages . . . and for an equitable division of the product of industry. . . . We stand for some form of

[23] James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945, p. 142. The names of both author and village are fictitious.

[24] *Cf.* C. Luther Fry, *op. cit.*, pp. 1014 ff.; C. C. Eckhardt, *The Papacy and World Affairs*, New American Library of World Literature, New York, 1937; William Scarlett (ed.), *Christianity Takes a Stand*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1946.

security for old age . . . for the right of employees and employers to organize for collective bargaining and social action. . . . We stand for the rights of racial groups, and insist that the above social, economic, and spiritual principles apply to all races alike . . . for the recognition and maintenance of the rights and responsibilities of free speech, free assembly, and a free press.[25]

(4) There has been a trend toward cooperation and unification of the various religious bodies. The churches, laying less stress than formerly upon the minor doctrinal issues which have divided them, and facing together the common threat of the secularization of our culture, have been learning to minimize their points of disagreement and to magnify the faiths upon which they agree. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, founded in 1908, is an outstanding example of this cooperative movement. The National Conference of Jews and Christians is another organization which has been active in bringing together Jews, Protestants and Catholics, and in promoting greater understanding and tolerance. These are but two examples indicative of this trend.[26]

There has also been a slight tendency toward church mergers. There has occurred an amalgamation of the Congregational and the Christian churches, and the unification of the Methodist branches has been effected. Other denominations have been involved in mergers also; and still others, such as the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, are in the process of discussing a basis upon which they may unite.

(5) The functions of the religious institution have been changing. Certain activities formerly performed by the church have been taken over by other agencies in society. There was a time when it was regarded as a proper function of the church to make provision for the socially inadequate, the poor, the aged, the widows and orphans, and the crippled. Again, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, formal education was once considered a function of the religious institution. This was especially true of higher education; Harvard, Yale, and many another American college and university were established by religious persons and for religious purposes.

[25] From a leaflet issued by the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church, 740 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

[26] For others, see C. Luther Fry, *op. cit.*, pp. 1041 ff.

Both of these functions have of late been slipping away from the church. Even art and music were formerly much more closely identified with religion than they are at present.

At the same time, the church has been taking on new functions, which it had not assumed in the past. This has been especially true of city churches, many of which have expanded their traditional activities of worship and preaching to include day nurseries, employment services, dramatics, gymnasium classes, dispensaries, clinics, libraries, lectures, orchestras, adult education, and a host of organizations for old and young.[27] Such a development in the church's program has not escaped criticism, for there are those who feel that this multiplication of activities tends to obscure the purely religious function which is the church's main concern.

The fact seems to be that the institution of religion, like that of education, is bewildered by the profound transformation that has come over our society, is confused as to its proper function or functions, and is endeavoring to discover the role that it should play in the modern world.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What human needs does religion attempt to satisfy?
2. May communism be classified as a religion?
3. Criticize the definition of religion offered in the chapter.
4. Contrast the conception of supernatural power held by some sect in our society with that held by some preliterate group.
5. Is there any evidence that the primitive belief in *mana* is not absent from civilized society?
6. Do you think that the religious institution in the United States has less influence and importance than formerly?
7. In what respects has the religious institution been changing in our society within the past generation or two?
8. Do you believe that the scientific attitude toward the universe is incompatible with the religious?
9. Discuss some of the efforts being made to reconcile the viewpoints of religion with those of modern science.
10. Does religion give stability and integration to the personality?

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Investigate the religious beliefs and practices of some tribe of preliterate people.

[27] H. Paul Douglas, 1,000 *City Churches*, G. H. Doran and Company, New York, 1926, pp. 81 ff.

2. Compare Islamism, Judaism, and Hinduism with respect to their conceptions of supernatural power and their adjustment techniques.

3. Compare and contrast magic, science, and religion.

4. Make a study of current superstitions and determine their similarity to primitive religious and magical beliefs.

5. Interview a number of persons and inquire as to their conceptions about the nature and function of religion.

SELECTED READINGS

EDWARDS, D. MIALL, *The Philosophy of Religion*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1924.

Chapter V presents a good analysis of the nature of religion and of its relation to other aspects of culture.

LOWIE, R. H., *Primitive Religion*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1924.

Contains descriptions of religion as found in several simpler societies, and a discussion of several theories of origin.

Chapter 29

THE POLITICAL INSTITUTION

As an introduction to our discussion of the political institution, we will find it convenient as well as illuminating to refer once more to the unique experience of the Pitcairn Islanders. As has been noted, their story recapitulates in miniature the long history of many societies in rising from a disorganized band of individuals to a well developed social group having many of the institutions of modern civilization.

Our own Pilgrim Fathers, in contrast to the *Bounty* mutineers, provided themselves with a political institution before they set foot on Plymouth Rock. As everyone knows, they gathered together solemnly in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and subscribed to a "compact" or frame of government, and elected one of their number to serve as governor of the colony they were going to establish. They foresaw the need for an institution of some sort that would preserve order, adjudicate their differences, and mold the group into a united front against their strange neighbors and their hostile environment. In so doing they were borrowing from the vast social heritage of the English nation, where parliamentary law had already become a high art and government was the subject of many erudite volumes.

The situation was quite different on Pitcairn. The band of reckless, irresponsible adventurers who established that society seems never to have given a thought to the type of government they would have. The need was present, no less than at Plymouth, but they were blissfully unaware of it. Food and sex, and escape from British justice, were the things that were uppermost in their minds. However, even though they perhaps did not realize it, they did possess a set of attitudes and usages that would serve them for a time. From their experiences on the sea, and as members of His Majesty's Navy, they had acquired a certain respect for

authority. Fletcher Christian, as the highest ranking officer aboard, automatically assumed the role of leader, and his orders were apparently obeyed without too much question—at least by the British seamen in the group. Christian's leadership continued up to the time of his death.

The "government" on Pitcairn Island, such as it was, was thus a sort of dictatorship, although a fairly benevolent one. It was Christian who went ashore to decide whether or not they would make Pitcairn their home. We are told, incidentally, that he took into consideration not only the island's resources of food, water, vegetation, and soil, but also its numerous caves and hollows, which would enable them to defend themselves against possible enemies, and against British officers sent to arrest them for mutiny. Christian, if we can rely upon the scanty records, possessed many qualities of leadership. John Adams, who outlived all the other mutineers many years, never ceased to refer to him as "Mister Christian."

Christian's authority, however, was not absolute and he was not always obeyed. For instance, he decided, after consulting the others, that the best way to destroy the *Bounty* was to run her ashore against the rocks; but Matthew Quintal proceeded on his own initiative to set fire to her, and there is no record of his having been punished for his disobedience. Too, the Polynesians, both men and women, were not disposed to respect the commands of an officer of the British Navy. The settlement had barely been made before the native men, outraged by an act of flagrant injustice, conspired to murder the whites. Christian, learning of the plot, seized a gun and proceeded to quell the rebellion. This incident was settled at a cost of two lives and for several years a degree of tranquility prevailed. At the end of this relatively peaceful period, however, the brown men, again outraged, staged a more successful revolt. This time they murdered Christian and three other British, drove the rest into hiding, and became masters of the island. They did not remain in control very long, however. We may omit the gory details; they fell to quarreling among themselves, and in one week's time all of the native men were dead, and there remained alive on the island four British sailors, ten women, and a considerable number of half-breed children.

For many years thereafter old John Adams was the leader of the community. He developed into a kind, just, and merciful patriarch, beloved by all. His decisions were the law of the land, and he was the court of highest appeal when disputes arose. Legislative, executive, and judicial functions were combined in his person. It would not be correct, however, to say that John Adams was the "government." Nor would it be correct to say that "anarchy" prevailed simply because there was no

formal, organized political institution. The people lived at peace most of the time, even in the early years; differences were often settled without the shedding of blood; common enterprises were undertaken; individual whims and impulses were commonly subordinated to the welfare of the group; leadership was recognized and appreciated. The government was simple, to be sure, and was informal and unorganized. They had no jail, no written constitution, no congress, no elected officials, no definite code of laws. Most of the traits which we regard as indispensable features of a political institution were absent. Nevertheless, we may say that there existed on Pitcairn a complex of usages, attitudes, customs, and beliefs which served the function of government.

John Adams died on March 5, 1829, at the age of sixty-five. Before his death he called all the islanders together and urged them to select a leader who would maintain order and mete out justice. His suggestion was not carried out, and the political history of Pitcairn for some years thereafter is a turbulent one. Adams, however, had done a great deal toward the development of a political institution. Among other things, he had instilled into his followers a loyalty to the British Crown and a feeling that they were a part of the Empire. So strong was this attitude that the people of Pitcairn came to regard the captain of any visiting British man-of-war as a court of highest appeal in disagreements which they could not decide themselves.

It is not our purpose here to trace the political history of the island, but only to point out (1) that the need for order and harmony necessitated the development of a complex of usages and attitudes that would serve governmental functions, and (2) that both the form and functions of the institution thus developed were continually changing. Many of these changes can be traced to the influence of newcomers who arrived at the island from time to time. In 1832, for instance, there came an elderly gentleman, Joshua Hill, bearing letters, subsequently proved to be forgeries, purporting to show that he had been appointed governor. He thereupon set to work to alter the whole political structure. He appointed elders and privy councillors; he built a prison, formulated laws, meted out punishment, and banished those who threatened his authority. For five years Hill's dictatorship flourished.

The forms and functions of government on Pitcairn continued to change from year to year. In the year 1892 the islanders felt that drastic reforms were necessary. In consultation, therefore, with British representatives, they drew up the following "resolutions":

"Whereas, we have witnessed in the past, that thro' lack of strength and firmness, on the part of the government officers, some evil has resulted,

and, Whereas, we believe that a larger number of officers would tend to make a stronger government, and that plans for the public welfare would be executed with better success, therefore,

"Resolved, that we heartily endorse the plan of having a government consisting of a parliament of seven, with power to legislate, to plan for the public good, to execute all decisions of the court, and to see that all public demands are attended to without unnecessary delay." [1]

Accordingly, they proceeded to write a "constitution," enumerating the various offices and the duties thereof, and recording the laws and the appropriate punishments for their infraction. With slight modification this "constitution" and code of laws has endured to the present time.[2]

Pitcairn Island, then, like every other society in the world, has had to cope with the problem of developing a complex of culture traits capable of maintaining internal peace and order. The details of its institution are unlike those of any other people, but the basic needs are present wherever men come together to live. Sumner and Keller have expressed it as follows:

Men's relations are not confined to those existing between themselves and the natural environment, but include also contacts with the human or social environment; human beings have to get along with their like as well as with nature. This amounts to a necessity of mutual adjustment; that cannot take place, however, without regulation of men by men and the development of an organization for that regulation. Such a development is indispensable for any society that is to persist, for it is only by limitation of freedom and imposition of obligations that men can get on together. Any society, in order to continue to exist, must present a united front; and that can be done only under condition that law and order prevail within the society.[3]

VARIABILITY IN INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

Government is no less universal than are religion, family, and economic activities. The needs upon which it is based are present wherever there are people living together; those needs must be satis-

[1] Harry L. Shapiro, *The Heritage of the Bounty*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1936, p. 130. Courtesy of the publishers.

[2] *Cf.* Shapiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 289–317.

[3] William G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927, Vol. 1, pp. 353 ff.

fied if a group is to survive. The ways in which these needs can be adequately met are innumerable.

The variability in types of governmental institutions is readily apparent to anyone who considers the nations of the world today. No two of them are identical with regard to the political institutions by which they are governed. To be sure, certain features are found to be fairly common in all; the similarities, say, between the British and ourselves are far more numerous than are those between ourselves and the Chinese. Nevertheless the pattern of culture traits and complexes which constitute the government is unique for each of the nations of the world today.

For that reason philosophers and political scientists have never devised a satisfactory system of classifying governmental institutions. Long ago Aristotle said there were three types: monarchies, aristocracies, and democracies. These, when debased or perverted, were designated tyrannies, oligarchies, and ochlocracies respectively. Again, it has been suggested that there are two types: (1) the autocratic, wherein power is directed by an individual or by a select class of persons constituting a minority in the state, and (2) the popular, wherein substantial power is vested in the entire body of persons who constitute the state. Another classification is that of (1) monarchies, wherein the chief magistrate is hereditary, and (2) republics, in which the chief magistrate is elective. Nowadays we are disposed to classify governments as democratic, totalitarian, communistic, socialistic, and the like. All of these classifications and labels, however, oversimplify the facts; they make the mistake of confusing the external form of a government with its real and essential character.

The wide variability in the forms of governmental institutions can better be illustrated by comparing several simple societies than by considering the more complex political structures of modern nations. Let us therefore take a look at several tribes of American aborigines.

In northwestern Greenland, less than a thousand miles from the North Pole, live a small tribe of Eskimos. They are separated by hundreds of miles from their nearest neighbors, with whom their contacts are infrequent and negligible. The family is an important institution with them, possibly the most important of all. Families will occasionally come to-

gether to form a village or camp, but such communities are temporary and shifting. It has been reported that among these Eskimos there is no political organization whatsoever. There are no chiefs, or officials of any sort, who have authority to legislate, enforce tribal rules, or judge disputes. "The Polar Eskimo is his own master in everything he does, and he permits no interference from others." [4] It appears that here we have an instance of one human society in which there is a complete absence of a political institution.

The Polar Eskimos, however, do have their disagreements. There are occasional individuals who violate the traditions and mores of the group. They find it necessary to preserve peace, harmony and order no less than other societies. What is more, they have their devices for achieving these ends. These devices are informal, unorganized, and no special agents, either hereditary or elective, are responsible for their operation. Public opinion is effective in winning conformity to the group's mores. A man is supposed to earn a living for himself and his family and not interfere with the livelihood of others. One who persists in violating these principles will be punished. He will not receive a trial; but those whom he has offended, perhaps on the advice of a shaman and with the connivance of others in the community, will get their vengeance. Personal disputes, too, are sometimes settled by wrestling matches.

There are individuals, moreover, who stand out as leaders among their fellows. The able hunter is an object of esteem, and his words carry weight. More important, however, is the shaman or medicine man, who is supposed to possess the power to cure disease, punish enemies, foresee impending danger, control the weather, and summon or banish seals. The shaman, to be sure, is a religious leader, not a secular one; and while he has no authority over the lives of his fellows, he does exert tremendous influence. It is not surprising, then, to learn that a certain shaman, who persisted in deceiving the people and frightening them with false predictions of disaster, was taken out and killed by several men of the tribe.

The institution of government among the Crow Indians of Wyoming and Montana was fairly complex.[5] They had many chiefs. These, however, were neither hereditary nor elective; but any warrior who performed certain prescribed exploits in warfare automatically ascended to the office. All the chiefs formed an advisory council. One in each camp was recog-

[4] G. P. Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, p. 210.

[5] *Cf.* R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1935, *passim*; G. P. Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, pp. 264 ff.

nized as the head chief, a position which was achieved not by election but by the accumulation of military honors. Little authority, though, was given to the head chief except on certain occasions. It was he who determined when the camp should be moved, and where the various lodges would be erected when a new camp was pitched. He exercised greater authority at the time of the buffalo hunt, and at other times when united action was necessary.

The Crow had societies and clubs, military and social in character, which performed certain functions of government. These groups played a major role in the wars of the Indians. Each spring the head chief would choose one of the clubs to serve as a police force for the ensuing year. Among the duties of the police was that of enforcing the commands of the head chief and of preserving order during the buffalo hunts. They would severely whip anyone who attacked the herd prematurely or who confiscated game illegally. At other times they had the authority to prevent a war party from setting out at an inauspicious moment, to direct the movements of the camp, and to settle disputes among their fellow tribesmen.

The Crow also had well-established customs for dealing with problems of internal discord. If two men became enraged, a pipe was thrust between them; to disregard this command to desist from fighting was a serious offense. The clansmen of a murdered man would avenge his death unless an indemnity was paid. Ridicule was a powerful weapon for keeping individuals within the tribal rules, for a Crow dreaded no punishment so much as being made a laughing stock. One who offended the group's mores would find himself the butt of derisive songs, jibes, jeers, and jokes. As a last resort the Crow would cut a lock of hair from the head of an especially offensive person, a penalty which any warrior would have considered worse than death itself.

The Iroquois had a political institution much more elaborate and complex than that of either the Eskimo or the Crow. At the apex of the system was the celebrated League of the Iroquois, originally a union of five tribes, to which others were subsequently admitted. The affairs of the League were handled by a council of fifty sachems. Each of the member tribes was represented on the council, though not equally. This discrepancy was not serious, however, since the tribes voted as units, and decisions had to be unanimous. Among the duties of the council were those of maintaining internal peace and order, declaring war, and making treaties. The council did not enjoy absolute and arbitrary power but was highly sensitive to public opinion. Meetings were held once a year, and special meetings were called to deal with emergencies. Any group of war

riors or women could propose subjects to be debated and discussed by the council, and its meetings were open to all. Meetings of the council were, in fact, occasions for great social gatherings.

The office of sachem was hereditary in a particular family or lineage. Within the family, however, the position was elective. While only men could be chosen sachems, it was the women who possessed the nominating power; the women could also impeach the sachem whom they had chosen if he lost the respect and confidence of his constituents. As a matter of fact, so powerful politically were the Iroquois women that many early white visitors reported that the form of government was a "matriarchate."

Each of the member tribes had its own local government, consisting of a council of representatives of the various clans. Among the many duties of these councils was the trial of criminal cases. Iroquois courts were conducted according to strict and established rules and precedents. Those found guilty of witchcraft, after a careful weighing of the evidence, were sentenced to death; habitual violators of the tribal customs were banished; whipping was the penalty for adultery; theft was commonly punished merely by the expression of an aroused public indignation.

This brief sketch by no means does justice to the intricacies of Iroquois government, but it does indicate that so-called "savages" are capable of developing a political institution that is efficient, elaborate, and even democratic.

Most highly organized politically of all the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere were the Incas. High in the Andes Mountains of South America a population estimated at more than ten million had been molded into an empire covering the present Ecuador and Peru and parts of Chile, Argentina, and Bolivia, and extending 2,500 miles from north to south. Especially amazing is the fact that so many people covering so great a territory could have been formed into an efficient and effective political unit when their culture included no system of writing. How could the necessary records be kept, taxes collected, armies maintained, capital accumulated, officials held responsible, schools conducted, and other intricate problems solved without the art of writing? Part of the answer is that the Incas possessed an ingenious device known as the *quipu*, whereby they could record important data by tying knots in a fringe of colored strings. The secret of the success of the Inca Empire, however, lay in the thorough organization of the political system.[6]

[6] *Cf.* Paul Radin, *Social Anthropology*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1932, pp. 85–91; G. P. Murdock, *op. cit.*, pp. 403–450; P. A. Means, "The Incas: Empire Builders of the Andes," in *The National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 73, No. 2, February, 1938.

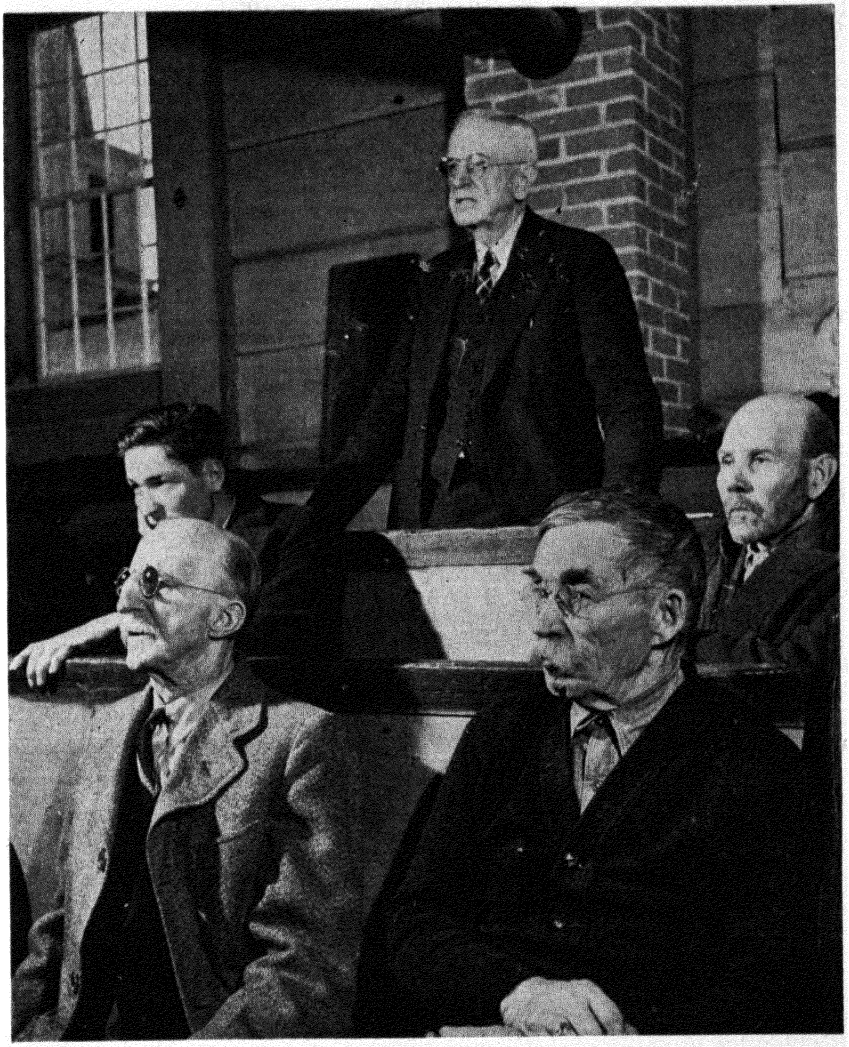
The basis of the organization was the *puric*, the young man in the prime of life, between the ages of twenty-five and fifty. The puric was a married man, a householder, the head of his family, a laborer for himself, his government, and his religion. Besides cultivating his own crops, or tending his own llamas, he was required to perform a certain amount of labor for the state and for the national cult.

Each ten purics constituted a "decury," one of them serving as foreman over the rest. Ten "decuries" formed a "century," over which there presided a "centurion." Ten centuries, that is, a thousand purics, made up a phratry; and ten phratries, or 10,000 purics, made a tribe. Four of these tribes formed a province, and the provinces of the empire were formed into four quarters. Each of these units, from the decury to the quarter, was under the supervision of an official, who saw to it that the system functioned, that the commands of the emperor were executed, and that peace and order prevailed. The governor of a province was a very important official, having civil, judicial, and military functions, and being responsible for his 40,000 purics, their wives, children, and aged dependents. The quarters were ruled over by viceroys, who resided at the court, and who constituted an advisory council, or cabinet. There were innumerable other agents and officials, including a corps of spies, who traveled through the empire, observed conditions, heard complaints, and reported upon the activities of lesser civil servants.

At the head of this elaborate system was the Sapa Inca himself, a hereditary monarch, regarded as a divinity by his subjects and having almost absolute authority. He wore the finest raiment, ate from plates of gold and silver, never using the same utensils twice.

The Inca government has been described as "communistic," "socialistic," and "theocratic." Certainly no aspect of life was removed from control and supervision of the state. It regulated and insisted upon marriage; was identified with religion; controlled such formal education as there was; built roads and bridges; monopolized the hunting of large game; constructed aqueducts and canals, and drained swamps; supported the arts; and controlled practically the whole system of production and distribution of economic goods. The term "totalitarian" would be quite appropriate as a description of the political institution of the Incas.

These cases illustrate several facts about the political institution: (1) the *form*, or structure, varies greatly from society to society; (2) the *functions* of government, too, manifest wide variability, from the simple and basic maintenance of internal order to the other extreme of regulating virtually every aspect of a society's life;



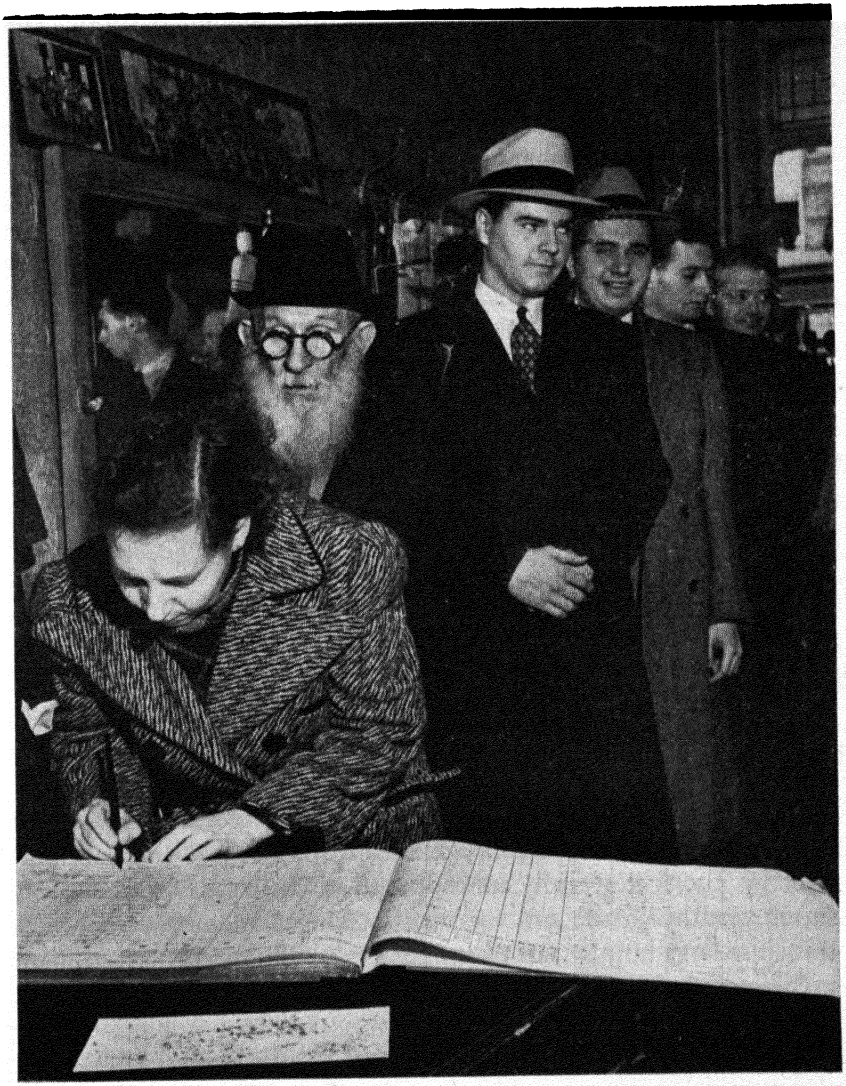
Session of a town meeting, in which free discussion prevails. Such meetings, which date from the colonial period of our history, are now in process of adaptation to an urbanized society. (Photograph by Sanders of Black Star)

(3) the institution of government is intimately related to other institutions, such as the family, religion, and the economic system; and (4) this institution, like all other parts of the culture, is continually changing to meet new conditions that arise.

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL INSTITUTION

It is a common belief, not limited to Fourth-of-July orators and Daughters of the American Revolution, that our own institution of government is well-nigh perfect, sacred, and eternal. Its form, embodied in the Constitution, was the pure and miraculous creation of the inspired Fathers, who foresaw all emergencies, and from whose views and prescriptions it would be disloyal to deviate. The truth is, however, that our political institution conforms to the same basic principles that we have noted for all human institutions: it is a man-made product, based upon our fundamental needs; it is a complex of attitudes, beliefs, and usages which have been brought together in a unique configuration; many of its features are quite ancient, many were imported from foreign lands, and a few are the creations and inventions of our own society; and it is continually changing, both in its form and in its functions.

That government is a human institution, developed by man to fill certain needs, was recognized by the Founding Fathers. In the Declaration of Independence Jefferson wrote: "That to secure these rights [life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness] Governments are instituted among men. . . . That whenever any Form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government . . ." And in the Constitution the Founding Fathers declared: "We the people of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America." It will be noted that those who laid down the form of our government did not restrict its functions to defense and the preservation of order, but made them sufficiently elastic to include promotion of the "general Welfare."



The secret ballot in operation in an American city. Under this electoral system anyone may vote as he chooses. (Photograph by Partridge of Black Star)

The particular form of government, moreover, was not the unique creation of a few individuals, however brilliant and patriotic, but was, like all institutions, a complex of features brought together from far and wide. It is even supposed that the League of the Iroquois Indians had its influence upon the framing of the Constitution. Be that as it may, it is certainly true that, if we were to trace back the various features of our government to their sources, we should find ourselves delving into the institutions of ancient Rome. We would see that the medieval belief in natural law exerted an influence upon the Founding Fathers. Especially would we have to give credit to England for her concept of the common law, for Magna Carta and many other charters, for the idea of a constitution, for the principle of representation in government, for the assumption that all governmental power is derived from the people, for the belief in majority rule.

An appreciation of the nature of our political institution demands that we recognize that there is more to the institution than meets the eye. Just as the institution of education includes more than the formal organization, and the family is more than the laws regulating marriage, so does the institution of government involve more than the formal structure as specified in its constitution, statutes, and charters. There is a difference, even a conflict, between the "ideal" pattern of government and the "real" pattern. If we were drawing a true and complete picture of the political institution as we have it, we should have to include the "invisible" government as well as the visible; we should confess that, in spite of universal suffrage, effective power is actually concentrated in the hands of a relatively small, wealthy group, and various subterfuges are employed to disfranchise large numbers of the population. The "real" government includes not only the Congress, the President and his Cabinet, the Supreme Court, governors, and legislators—all and each performing their respective executive, judicial, and legislative functions—but also political machines, political parties, "bosses," lobbies, and ward heelers, employing money, propaganda, patronage, fraud, "ghost voting," the "big fix," vote-buying, and innumerable other devices for thwarting the will and welfare of the people.[7]

[7] *Cf.* H. E. Barnes, *Society in Transition*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939, pp. 509 ff.

Finally, it must be apparent that the American political institution, far from being static, is continually changing. Its form or structure has been subject to incessant though gradual change. For example, the suffrage, once closely restricted, has been progressively broadened to include the Negro as well as the white race, women as well as men, and, in some cases, minors between the ages of 18 and 21. More significant, however, have been the changes in the functions of government. Municipal governments have been taking on new functions, such as zoning, traffic control, and provision of airports and playgrounds. State and national governments, too, have been led step by step into new fields.

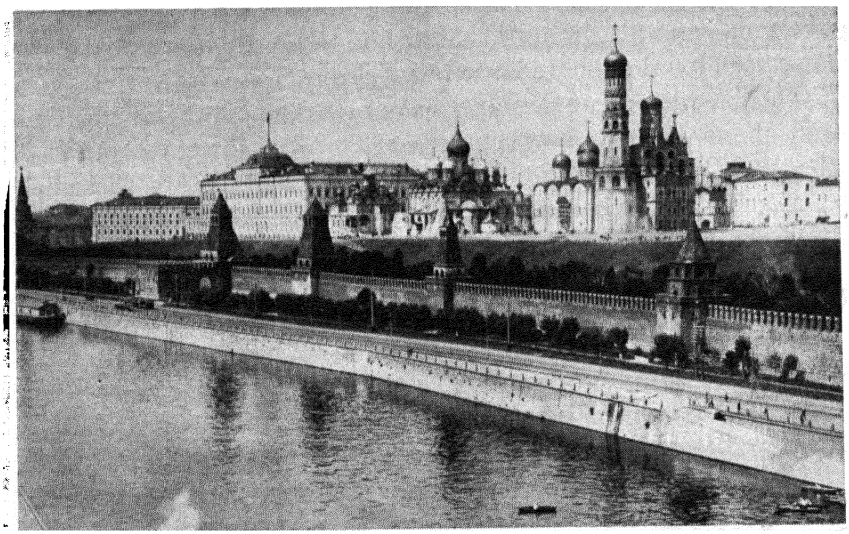
This broadening of the functions of government is not entirely a new phenomenon. Two centuries ago most of the governments of the world exercised minute and extensive control over the whole economic life of their people. Business, commerce, and industry were subjected to innumerable regulations. A reaction to this policy set in about the time of the French Revolution, and there developed a political philosophy of individualism and laissez faire. The functions of government, according to representatives of this school such as John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, should not exceed the minimum required to defend the state from external attack, preserve internal order, and adjudicate individual rights. "That government is best which governs least" was the accepted slogan.

In practice, however, no government ever adhered strictly to this theory. In the United States, though we have subscribed to "rugged individualism" and have condemned as "socialistic" the expansion of the powers and functions of government, there has been a continual trend toward enlarging the functions of the political institution. Government has taken on many activities that might conceivably remain undone or be left to private initiative, such as the coinage of money, regulation of trade, maintenance of highways, postal service, sanitation, public education, control of the issuance and sale of securities, and care of the insane, the poor, the unemployed, and the unfit.

Ogburn and Nimkoff have well stated the situation:

> Government is one of the major factors in our lives today. When we are born our birth must be registered with the government. Govern-

ment regulations regarding sanitation and contagion protect our childhood. Education is furnished for us by the government. We must get the government's consent to marry. In building a house to live in we must conform to the legal specifications regarding space, light, plumbing and water. A fair-sized proportion of all the money we earn must be paid to the government in taxes. State policies affect the price and amount of food and clothing and fuel we consume. They also regulate our recreational activities and tell us what we can and cannot do. In



View of Moscow River and the Kremlin, the latter the seat of government for the Soviet Union, the most powerful totalitarian state on earth. (Ewing Galloway)

many countries government provides medical care for us when we are sick, and gives us aid when we are out of work. It protects us from enemies on the outside of our state and from hazards within our community. It forces us to send our children to school and will not permit them to work for pay until they become of a certain age. If we would travel outside our country, we must first secure permission from the government. Nor may we separate from our mates and marry again without the consent of the state. If the state is in danger we fight for it. As we become too old to work the government helps to take care of us. Even our passing, through death, must be registered with the government, and if we have no money for a burial the government will bury us. So from the cradle

to the grave every day of our lives we come in contact, directly or indirectly, with the government.[8]

There has been vigorous opposition to the government's entering each new area of activity. Here we simply note the ways in which the political situation is changing. Certain institutions in our society have been losing one function after another, while the governmental institution has been steadily engaging in new functions, and taking over functions formerly performed by other institutions.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is it possible for a society to exist without government?
2. What do you understand by the term democracy?
3. Distinguish between the formal and the informal aspects of the political institution. Between the visible and the invisible. Between the real and the ideal.
4. State your reaction to the statement, "That government is best which governs least."
5. What is the difference between the government and the state?
6. Would you describe the political structures of the Iroquois and the Eskimo tribes as democracies?
7. What do you understand by the terms communism, socialism, and totalitarian? What would you call the political institution of the Incas?
8. What would you say are the essential characteristics of the totalitarian type of political structure?
9. Name some functions our government has taken on recently.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Report on various theories as to the origin of government.
2. Investigate the political institution of some preliterate group.
3. Make a study of the "boss" in the American political scene, with special reference to techniques employed to gain and hold power.
4. Report on various functions performed by foreign governments which our government has not assumed.

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MACIVER, R. M., *The Web of Government*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1947.

A survey of the nature, evolution, kinds, and spheres of government.

SHEPARD, W. J., "Government: History and Theory," in *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932.

A concise account of the nature of the institution of government, its functions, and the historical backgrounds of the American pattern.

[8] W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1940, p. 617. Courtesy of the publishers.

Part Seven

PERSONALITY AND SOCIETY

HUMAN personality is the theme of Part Seven. Chapter 30 undertakes to tell what factors, what "raw materials," enter into personality make-up. This is done largely by means of a life history of a particular individual, in which it is shown how these various factors each played a part.

The processes of personality growth is the subject of Chapter 31. Special attention is given to social interactions identified with primary-group relations and mass communication. This chapter also considers personality types as results—or perhaps as controls—of the growth process, and emphasizes the fact that in any realistic account of personality development great weight must be given to the life cycle of the human organism from the cradle to the grave.

Chapter 32 goes more systematically into group influences and differentials, showing the far-reaching effects of family, play, educational, occupational, religious, and other groups in differentiating human personalities one from another; it discusses also the comparable influences of sex, race, class, and national differences, along with related diversities in mass-communication agencies and the bodies of literature, art, and other communicable content which these influences make accessible to different peoples.

Chapter 33 is given over to a critical exposition of contemporary civilization as a builder of personality. It calls attention to many questionable features of our civilization in terms of their effect upon personality development. Chapter 34, which concludes Part Seven, presents a sort of design for a personality-centered culture and notes trends and movements contributing to the evolution of such a culture.

Chapter 30

RAW MATERIALS OF PERSONALITY

PERSONALITY is a word of many meanings. A psychologist has distinguished fifty different concepts, most of them in current use. Among the definitions are: "external appearance (not the true self)"; "superficial attractiveness"; "social-stimulus value"; "the sum total of all the biological innate dispositions, impulses, tendencies, appetites, and instincts of the individual, and the acquired dispositions and tendencies—acquired by experience." [1]

A definition more in line with our situational conception of human life has been formulated by Hornell Hart. Personality, he says, is

> that dynamic organization of ideas, attitudes, and habits which is built upon the foundation of the biologically inherited psycho-physical mechanisms of a single organism and of socially transmitted culture patterns, and which embodies all the adjustments of this individual's motives, desires and purposes to the requirements and potentialities of his social and sub-social environments. The personality includes: (*a*) the focus of consciousness; (*b*) the pre-conscious area of sensori-motor experience and of unrepressed memories, ideas, wishes, attitudes and purposes; (*c*) the unconscious, including repressed memories, ideas, wishes, and attitudes; and (*d*) the patterns of behavior which can be overtly observed and operated upon by others.[2]

This unusually comprehensive definition may serve as a point of departure for our consideration of the raw materials—or the various kinds of influences—that go into the making of a personality. Good as it is, Hart's definition does not expressly recognize natural environment, affective elements (emotions, feelings), or complex, socially conditioned interests as components of personality makeup.

[1] G. W. Allport, *Personality, a Psychological Interpretation*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1937, Chap. 2, *passim*.

[2] H. P. Fairchild (ed.), *Dictionary of Sociology*, Philosophical Library, New York, 1944, p. 218. Courtesy of the publishers.

Broadly considered, personality has its sources in (1) culture, including subcultures associated with age, sex, race, occupation, socio-economic status, community, nation; (2) hereditary (or genetically determined) characteristics and capacities; (3) the "natural," or geographic, environment; (4) interpersonal relations and social participations; (5) mass communications (press, radio, motion pictures, including literary, musical, pictorial, and other communicable content). A classification of this nature should allow for two composite subdivisions of the foregoing categories: (*a*) such physical traits as stature, body build, skin color, hair type, and physiognomy; (*b*) such physiological phenomena as glandular balance, energy level, and pathological conditions. One must recognize, in addition, the roles of plan and chance in determination of a life career.

AN ILLUSTRATIVE LIFE HISTORY

Perhaps the best way of bringing out the significance of these various factors is to show how they have operated in the life of a particular individual. A biographical sketch of Peter Blackman will serve this purpose.

Peter was born on a farm in the South toward the end of the nineteenth century. He was the seventh of nine siblings, two of whom died prior to his birth; a third, a newborn infant, died two years afterwards. A married sister died of childbirth when Peter was six years old. Her infant son was reared in Peter's home and was treated just like another brother. The household also included a maiden aunt. As finally constituted the family consisted of the parents, five siblings—one sister and four brothers—the nephew, and aunt. Two of Peter's brothers were older and one younger than he.

Little is known of Peter's ancestry beyond the grandparents' generation. A maternal aunt when a small child had heard stories of the Revolutionary War from a grandfather who was in the Continental army. This with other bits of information indicated that Peter's forbears had been farm folk for generations and that his as well as other white families in the vicinity were of pure English extraction.

Peter's father, Joseph, was a land-owning farmer and he also served as a lay (and unpaid) minister of a minor denomination well represented in that locality. He owned a farm of two hundred acres, half of it in woodland. The cultivated acreage kept three mules busy during the

crop season; one of these was used by a tenant farmer who worked his farm on shares. For most of Peter's boyhood this "sharecropper" was a certain Negro with a large family, who nevertheless made a good living according to the standards of the time. A considerable minority of the local population was of the same race.

There as in other parts of the country the Negroes were a distinct caste. At that time this caste division was not questioned by members of either race. White farmers themselves were divided into two distinct classes—

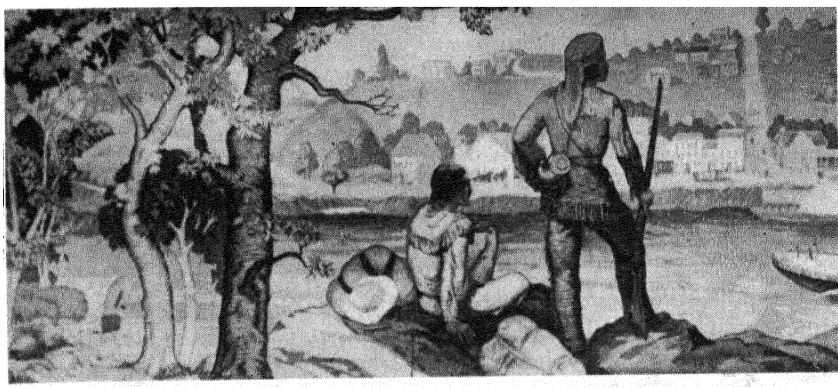
This and the several following scenes from Kansas City history are reproduced from murals in a Sears Roebuck and Company store in Kansas City, Missouri; the artist is Daniel MacMorris. The series of reproductions indicates the rapid changes in the material and nonmaterial culture of the same area, which have a marked influence on personality development. Shown here is the artist's conception of trading in furs between the early French settlers and Delaware and Shawnee Indians, at the junction of the Kaw and Missouri Rivers.

landowners and tenant farmers. There was virtually no "social" intermingling of these two classes. The tradesmen and professional men of the surrounding trade centers were commonly considered by both farmers and townsmen themselves a higher class than landowners.

Joseph Blackman was a hard-working, prosperous farmer. The soil was good and Joseph made it still better through crop rotation, including soil-building crops, and by liberal applications of barnyard manure and commercial fertilizer. Virtually complete economic security was provided, particularly as there was not too much dependence on cotton, the chief money crop. Indeed, Joseph's farm was almost a self-sufficient economic unit. The money derived from cotton and part of the hog

and poultry products was spent mostly for commercial fertilizer, simple tools and machines, part of the clothing needed by the family, and for such food requirements as flour, salt, sugar, pepper, coffee, and on rare occasions a "mess" of salt fish. A small part of the money income was saved and put away in the form of cash. Drought, excessive rainfall, or a "cold spring" sometimes caused anxiety, and of course crop yields fluctuated with weather conditions; but there was never any want of the necessities of life, and never any fear of want.

The family also provided security in the emotional sense. The children were distressed by occasional parental quarrels, and were themselves subject to strict discipline, enforced at times by corporal punishment. Joseph was a sterner disciplinarian than Betty, the mother, and the children sometimes took chances in disobeying her when they would not have dreamed of doing so with the father. Neither parent was overly demonstrative in their affection for the children. Yet there was never any question of being "rejected" by either parent; and in later years Peter realized that his father loved him devotedly, and perhaps with deeper understanding than did his mother.

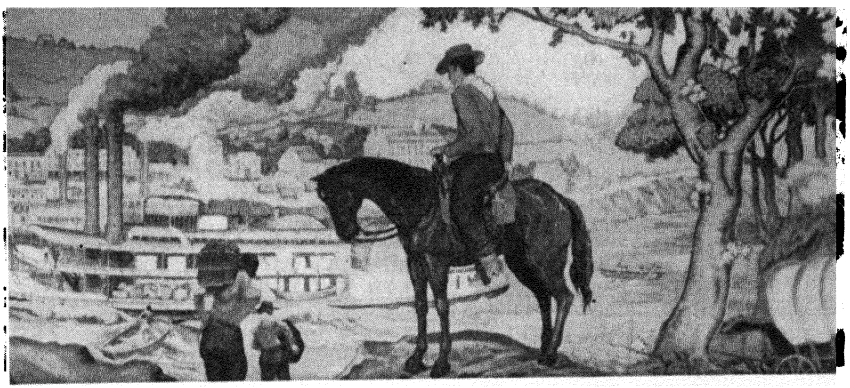


Steamboats from St. Louis, stopping at Kansas Landing, unloaded settlers and cargoes ready to build a town. Settlements pushed southward from the

These parent-child relationships were greatly influenced by two factors. First, the limited demonstrativeness and the strict discipline were prescribed by the prevailing folkways. Those traits characterized almost any family group in the community. Second, the entire family were engaged in a common enterprise—running the farm—and their attention was focused on this undertaking far more than on their interpersonal relationships. Everyone was too busy with farm or household work to

become morbid about himself or his relations to the others. Incidentally, this led to a conviction in Peter's later years that the difficult problems of child rearing in cities would be greatly eased were children provided with plenty of useful tasks.

Peter's father was a strict taskmaster. All the children began working at a tender age and worked at all seasons of the year except for the few winter months when school was in session. Peter cannot remember a time in his childhood when he did not share in the farm work, although tasks were always adapted to his strength. As with the other children, this discipline generated habits of industry that persisted throughout his later years—perhaps in too great measure, as he has always had difficulty in taking a holiday from his accustomed activities.



levee, forming the nucleus of Kansas City, important trading post for overland wagon trains.

Many other traits were learned from the parents' examples. Among these were strict honesty, truthfulness, and thrift. The entire community cooperated in the inculcation of a strict sex morality—so strict, in fact, that the mores allowed *no* outlet for sex drives in the young or unmarried, whether autoerotic or heterosexual in nature. Naturally, there were violations of this puritanical code, followed of course by misgivings and feelings of guilt.

These, then, were some of the personality traits developed in such a milieu. But life was not all work, nor so hard as the foregoing sketch might indicate. Saturday afternoons and Sundays were reserved for play, though church attendance claimed many Sundays. The boys of the immediate neighborhood would foregather by arrangement at one of their homes and spend the time in completely unsupervised (and whole-

some) play, including such games as "marbles," townhall, rolyhole, "cat," prisoner's base, and hopscotch. A nearby millpond offered opportunities for both swimming and fishing. On Sundays the group took dinner as a matter of course at the home of their host. Peter, his brothers, and nephew could play the simpler games by themselves, and often preferred to spend Saturday afternoons at home in these pursuits. Peter does not remember what girls of the same age-group did with their play time.

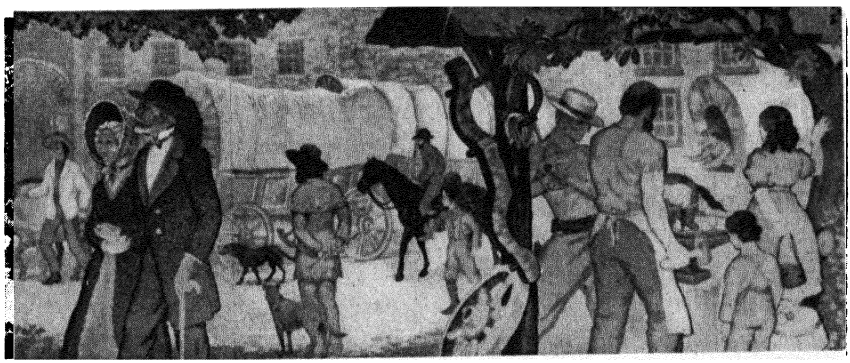
Adolescent youth went in for dancing, parties, buggy riding, and similar pastimes. The churches at their regular services provided many opportunities for visiting on the part of the young folks. Fewer occasions were offered by the schools.

In 1837 the settlement of Westport (now included in Kansas City) was lively with Indian trading and wagon trains camping on the nearby prairies; by 1849 it was a bustling border town, headquarters for traders, hunters, and west-

The great "socializing" power of such games and pastimes is obvious. Sportsmanship and cooperativeness were among the enduring values. These values and the satisfactions derived from the activities themselves were enhanced by the participants making their own recreation: there were no professional leaders. Even the little tots made their own play houses—often with the aid of older children—and harnessed the cat or dog to enjoy its antics. The children likewise made their own playthings, the only exceptions being marbles and later—when baseball came in—balls and bats and gloves. The situation thus made for creative activity of high quality.

We may interrupt our narrative to point out that Peter's developing personality was not something apart from his social and natural environments. Aside from the fact that between any hu-

man organism and its nonhuman environment there is an unceasing stream of interactions and interchanges and that the organism is constituted in part of these give-and-take processes, Peter's ideas, attitudes, and feelings reflected the world about him and could not have developed or existed without it. His interest in games, for instance, originated in and had no existence apart from his relationships with other players together with the necessary playthings and playfields. His developing moral code reflected the precepts and examples of his family and of the community at large; moreover, this code was itself composed of relations between Peter and



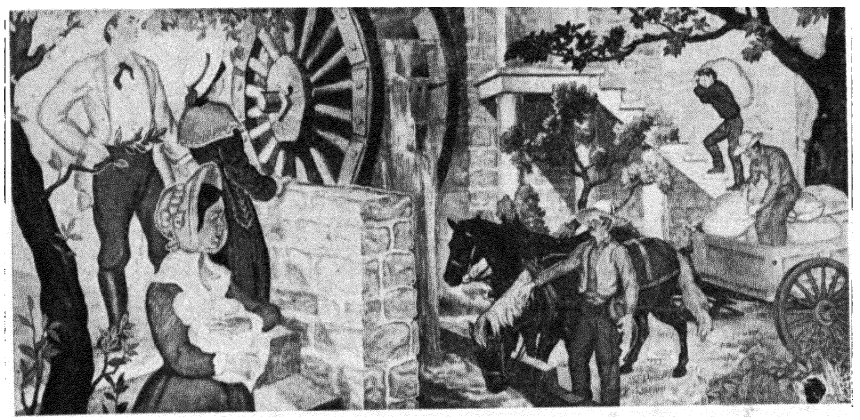
bound seekers for gold. The Harris House Hotel shown here was famous for its hospitality, and was a rendezvous for traders and adventurers.

other persons. To add some further illustrations, his attitudes toward Negroes, toward political parties, and toward religious matters were likewise derived from his home and community, which in turn were governed by regional and national cultures.

Peter's experiences together with the slowly accruing ideas and interests reflected in detail the surrounding geographic conditions, including indigenous and domesticated forms of plant and animal life. Peter lived in close and often painful contact with these conditions for the first nineteen years of his life (following which he attended college in an urban setting).

Mules, cattle, hogs, sheep, chickens, and geese all figured in the farm economy. Crops included (in order of importance) corn, cotton, cowpeas, sweet potatoes, and, in some years, wheat, oats, tobacco, and sor-

ghum, while the home garden provided in addition peas, cabbage, collards, turnips, mustard, Irish (white) potatoes, okra, and beets. Fruits grown on the farm were apples, pears, peaches, plums, grapes, persimmons, and mulberries. The indigenous flora of the farm and neighborhood included long- and short-leaf pine, several varieties of oak, hickory, holly, dogwood, blackgum, sweetgum, chinquapin, blackberry, huckleberry, and other less common species. Shade trees around the farmhouse consisted of elm, pecan, and one species whose name Peter has forgotten. Indigenous fauna included squirrels, rabbits, opossums, and a full complement of birds such as bluebirds, redbirds, quail, woodpeckers, "snowbirds" (a species of sparrow), martins, hawks, owls, and wood thrushes. The



Along the trail from the Missouri River to the town of Westport were several spring-fed streams, where mills were built for grinding wheat and corn.

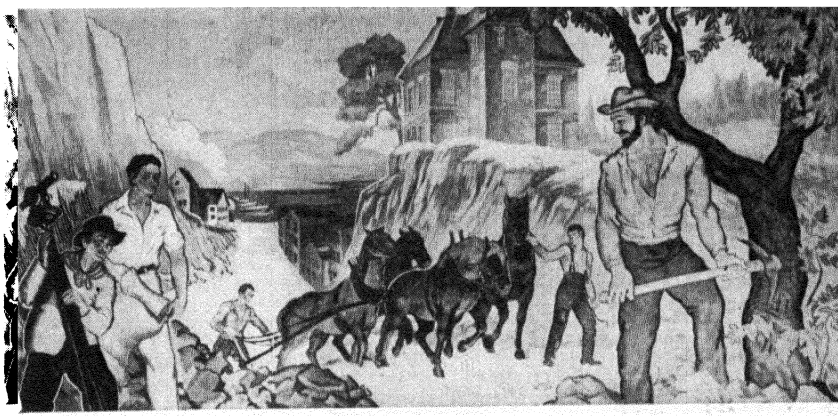
household pets were cats; dogs had been banned following a parental quarrel long before Peter's birth.

Living with these forms of life day after day and *working* with the domesticated varieties year in and year out gave Peter a rich fund of ideas and attitudes about them that could have been developed in no other way. He acquired no technical knowledge of biology, but no amount of biological training could have given him the kind of knowledge and skill he did acquire. In effect, he had a broad and intensive course of "nature study." To add an item, weather phenomena were included in this course.

On evaluating in later years all this boyhood experience, Peter concluded that no other type of study and observation could give so basic a grounding in natural phenomena. Moreover, his ex-

perience in farm work gave him, as he believed, an understanding of farming and farmers that contributed to his vocational equipment in quite another field.

At any rate, Peter's nonhuman surroundings, and particularly his close contacts with plant and animal life, bulked large in his world of experience—a world with which his own personality was closely identified. Naturally, he observed and manipulated the objects of that nonhuman environment in terms of the culture patterns—particularly the technology, the common-sense knowledge, the folklore—current at that time and place.



Leading up from the crowded river-front, in the early 1850's, Kansas City streets were narrow gorges hewn through rocky hills and thick timber.

As Peter learned to think for himself he became somewhat critical of the methods practiced on the farm and of conditions about the house and yard. His criticisms of farming operations took the form of constructive suggestions to his father, who listened with interest but made few changes. His objections to the farm house and especially the farmyard were mainly based on aesthetic grounds, though Peter could not have formulated them that way. Peter had a solution for this problem, too, but he got exactly nowhere in promoting it.

This frustration led to a certain fantasy (daydream) which illustrates the nature and functions of this type of experience. Since Peter could not have a satisfying farm and farm home he constructed one in imagination. His imaginary design was developed to the finest details; and, given a suitable tract of land, he could have directed the activities in-

volved in making this dream come true. The fantasy gave him a satisfaction reality could not provide; and such fantasies are often the elaboration of ideals their authors are able in some measure to carry out. Thus, if Peter had followed farming as a vocation he might well have put into effect some mature version of that early dream. Much daydreaming has of course no such constructive value.

Peter had no anatomical or physiological peculiarities, unless we count the fact that he was a somewhat "puny" child and was always small for his age. The "puniness" disappeared as he grew to manhood but he remained substantially below normal stature and weight. His features were not specially attractive except for "expressive" eyes.

In 1857 more than 5,000 people lived in Westport (now in Kansas City), then at the zenith of its prosperity. The Harris home was one of many where neighbors gathered for social events or discussions of the coming war.

These characteristics did not lead to any "inferiority complex" or need for "compensation" during boyhood, probably because Peter was exceptionally bright and precocious and thus won plenty of attention. His small size seemed, if anything, to enhance the appreciation of his intellectual gifts. But these gifts were by no means an unmixed blessing. He became a good deal of a "show-off," an attitude his parents might have checked had they realized the seriousness of it. As a result, Peter was more than a little conceited during his adolescence and early manhood, which certainly did not make him "popular"; and, though he outgrew this trait in its crude form, it doubtless had an enduring influence on his personality makeup.

Peter had the usual complement of reflexes, drives, and sensory ca-

pacities, with no marked deviation from the normal in any of them. The drives and sensory capacities functioned of course in conjunction with human and nonhuman environments. They were gradually "conditioned," educated, or transformed into specific traits through this process, and integrated into a complex, changing system of relations with environmental factors. Hunger and temperature adjustment, both of them involving drives and sensations, offer illustrations. Hunger was appeased by foods included in dietaries of the area. Important items were milk, butter, pork, bacon, corn bread, hot biscuits, syrup, as well as the garden vegetables mentioned in an earlier paragraph. Chicken and eggs were delicacies, as they were mostly sold for cash or bartered for merchandise. Usually in winter a "beef" was killed and shared with the neighbors, there being no cold storage of any kind. Preserves were made from the fruit and were highly prized by all the children. Candy was seldom purchased, owing to the cost, and oranges were considered a rare treat only to be enjoyed at Christmas time. Hunger thus came to be more or less specialized into food tastes and preferences. Such learned specializations of one or more primary drives are technically known as *acquired* or *secondary* drives.

The acquired temperature adjustments were no different in principle. Clothing was adapted to seasonal temperatures; summer being quite hot, a long rest was taken following the midday meal; housing of fairly light construction with open fireplaces burning wood was adequate for winter's cold. In these matters, too, adjustments, tastes, and preferences were learned through experience.

We turn now to a phase of Peter's development that was to be decisive for his life career. At the age of five he entered school. This was an ungraded school supported partly by taxation, partly by tuition fees. This school was exceptionally good for its time and the type of community. The teachers were men, all of whom were forceful personalities and had a "stimulating" effect on Peter as well as on other pupils. Enrollment was small and could be handled by one or—in some sessions—two teachers. Since pupils were in various stages of advancement they spent most of their time preparing assignments for recitation. This necessarily put the emphasis on pupil initiative, which served as a challenge to Peter along with many other pupils. As has been indicated, Peter was a "brilliant" student and this together with his small size and his docility made him something of a teacher's pet. He soon came to like school work, so much so that on a rainy day at home he would often turn to the working of mathematics problems as a pastime.

At the age of fifteen Peter, with his brother John, attended for some

months a boarding school at a considerable distance from home; following this he spent three years on the farm without additional schooling; when he was nineteen he entered the state university to prepare for the engineering profession. He had kept up his studies during the three previous years and was admitted to the sophomore class at the university.

In going to boarding school and university Peter was following in the footsteps of his oldest brother Henry. It was virtually unheard of in that region for farm lads to go away to school of any kind, much less to college. What caused Henry to break away from the general rule is not known; but in all probability Peter would not have gone beyond the local ungraded school had it not been for Henry's example. We have here

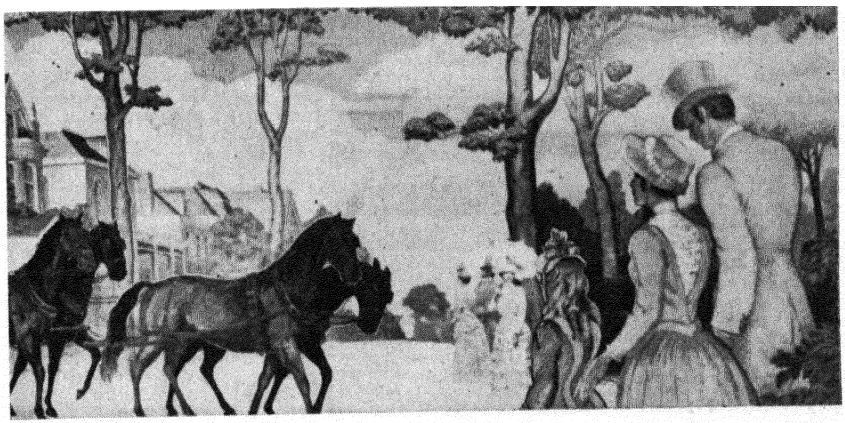
With success in business came dreams of luxury and gracious living which flowered into reality on Quality Hill, where mansions with colonial fireplaces

an illustration both of the role played by chance and by the influence of another personality in shaping an individual's life career. Henry encouraged Peter all through his years at the university and lent tangible assistance when needed. Peter followed Henry's example also in training for engineering, although he chose a different branch of the subject. As events were to show, Peter's choice was not a happy one. He had no real basis for choosing electrical engineering as a profession other than his proficiency in mathematics; he knew little about vocational activities in that field and could have had little real interest in them.

Obviously, school was making available to Peter the greatest of the mass-communication agencies—the press in its inclusive sense—and to it were added later the offerings of the movies and radio. The printed matter on which a growing mind feeds may be of the utmost importance

in shaping personality. This is particularly true of those who develop a serious interest in scholarship, public affairs, or other field accessible through the printed page. But it is only less true of those confining their attention to popular literature, even to the daily newspaper with its comic strips, sports news, and kindred features. With comparatively few exceptions, individuals are limited to printed material in their native tongue; those reading English or German, say, are exposed to substantially different influences from those of the readers of Italian or Russian. A similar statement applies to radio and the movies.

This range of influences was to become very powerful in Peter's life, for in his professional career he devoted a large share of his time to the



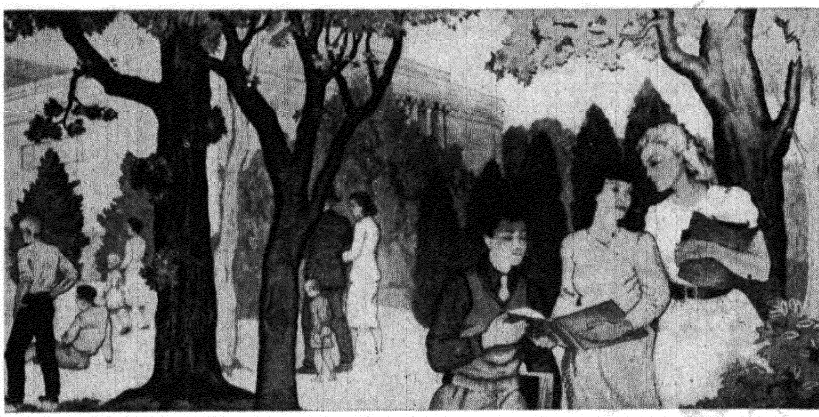
and French woodwork were constructed.

study of mass communications—specifically, books and journals—and himself contributed to the content of such communications, as we shall see later.

After Peter's graduation he engaged in electrical engineering for just six months and quit. He held three short-time jobs in that period, and the last two all but bored him to extinction. He could not reconcile himself to such uninteresting work, and began exploring other possibilities. He had gone to Chicago soon after graduation and it was there he made his search for a new vocation. He tried teaching, as an assistant, in public schools of that city, but very soon concluded that was not his line either. He was considering a return to his parental home when it occurred to him there might be a possibility of working his way through the University of Chicago, and preparing for another vocation,

though he did not know which one. He inquired of the employment secretary at the University regarding part-time jobs, and was encouraged to enroll with the assurance that methods would be found of financing his way through the University. Here is another illustration, at a particularly critical point of Peter's career, of the decisive influence of pure chance: nobody could have predicted or so much as guessed at the events that were to shape Peter's development beyond that point.

The immediate educational program was work leading to the A.B. degree, which was duly awarded two years after matriculation. During this time, off-campus influences proved more decisive than college studies in arousing a vocational interest. Among Peter's various part-



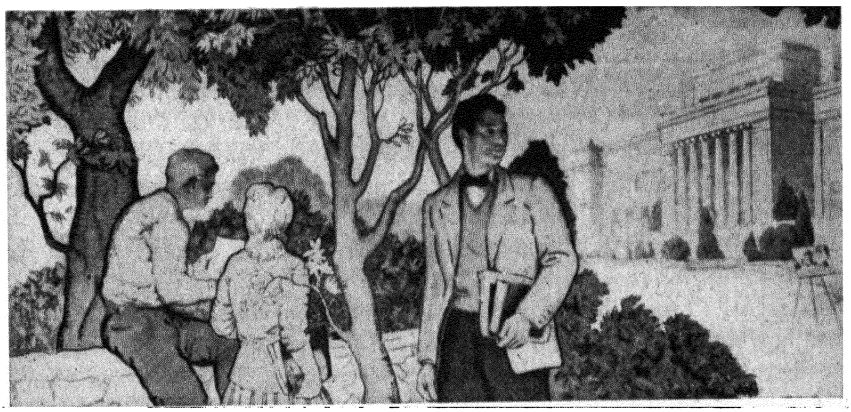
Fine architecture, beautiful parks, boulevards and landscaping show the progress in Kansas City's civic plans for expansion. Schools and colleges offer wide cultural opportunities. Barely twelve decades passed from the tur

time jobs was one with a social work agency lasting a little less than three years. The work involved study of a great variety of social-work agencies in the same city and compilation of data on their services. This gave Peter a pretty thorough grounding in the types and methods of social work at that time, and led to a desire to continue in this field following graduation from the University.

Greatly reinforcing this interest was the—to Peter—powerfully stimulating influence of a liberal minister of the city, who was also a professor of philosophy at the University. Peter attended his first sermon by this minister more or less as a matter of chance—to be specific, on the casual invitation of an acquaintance. Regular attendance after that, together with attendance at one of the minister's university lecture courses, greatly intensified Peter's interest in social and ethical questions.

It literally gave him a cause to which he could devote himself, and contributed much to the crystallization of his vocational interests. Peter was "stirred to the depths" by this most stimulating leader, and undoubtedly became a substantially different personality from what he would have been otherwise.

During this period of his life Peter "changed worlds"—worlds of major interests and experiences. The great metropolis had an inexhaustible fascination for him and he never tired of exploring its endlessly variegated modes of life. Residence at a social settlement for three years and in an attractive suburb for four years broadened his experiences. The cumulative result of all these influences was the centering of Peter's interests



trading stage to the development of a great metropolis. (Use of this and the several preceding reproductions of murals is by the courtesy of Sears Roebuck and Company, and with the permission of the artist, Daniel MacMorris)

almost exclusively in the metropolis and its activities. Interest in his old home neighborhood and even in members of the family, including a surviving parent, declined in proportion, much to Peter's distress. His personality traits, though largely a result of early influences, now functioned in a radically different environment and were materially changed in the process. Many traits were not erased by the new environment but assumed different forms and were synthesized in a different pattern. Here again is an illustration of the cardinal fact that a personality is identified with its human and nonhuman environments, cannot be abstracted from such environments, and literally has its existence in its interactions with these environments.

Peter was to "change worlds" once more. He engaged in social and civic work for about six or seven years, but it gradually became less satis-

fying than he had expected. He tended to lose interest in a position when its intellectual problems had been explored and ceased to challenge his attention. Two serious illnesses—one about the middle of his social-work period, the other toward the end of it—together with affairs of the heart mentioned later, had roused some new and (as he thought) deeper problems which he was eager to study. These circumstances, together with the proffer of a loan by a well-to-do friend, decided him to undertake graduate study leading to the doctor's degree. His major field of concentration was psychology, but considerable work was taken in philosophy and the social sciences. During his last year of residence he served as assistant in psychology, and at the end of the year—through the good offices of a friend—was appointed to an instructorship in economics (not psychology) at an Eastern university. After one year there he accepted an assistant professorship at a Southern college, where he stayed two years, and then transferred to a Northwestern university as an associate professor. He was to remain at this institution for the rest of his professional career. His doctoral dissertation was completed shortly after this last change, and the Ph.D. degree duly awarded. In a few years he was advanced to a full professorship.

To obviate complications in the narrative Peter's "love life" and its influence on his personality development has been reserved for separate treatment. From his middle teens on he was susceptible to the charms of the fair sex, like other males of that age group. At the same time his aesthetic sensibilities made him quite "choosy" in bestowing his attentions on a member of the opposite sex. But the girls Peter preferred were "choosy" in turn. Evidently Peter's "sex appeal" was not great, owing in part, no doubt, to his small size, his overseriousness, and a certain lukewarmness in personal contacts. Peter experienced one case of unrequited love after another, until half a dozen girls of his choice had rejected him. This was a tremendous blow to Peter's self-esteem, of which he had plenty—a blow that was scarcely lightened by the preference of a few girls for Peter. If his failures had continued he might have become badly "maladjusted." Later, a charming young woman of Peter's acquaintance was attracted to him—it began as a feeling of pity, for he was then having a siege of illness—and it was easy for Peter to reciprocate. They married just at the beginning of Peter's academic career.

Parenthetically, it dawned on Peter long afterward that there is no necessary relationship between sex attractiveness and other personality assets, and that many young persons must go through experiences like

his before finding a mate. Such experiences are very disquieting to most young people, and knowledge (which could be easily documented) that others are in the same case would be a partial prophylactic.[3]

Peter and his wife Anna adjusted themselves to married life together with a good deal of success. Anna's background was very different from Peter's and many differences in attitudes and standards manifested themselves, but these were accommodated by concessions on both sides. Anna did not share Peter's intellectual interests, although she was in the teaching profession some years before their marriage. But she was much interested in community undertakings, as was Peter, and this served as a bond of union. So, naturally, did their two children—a boy and a girl—who appeared in due course. Peter was exceptionally studious and not overly sociable; but Anna complemented Peter on this weak side for she was much interested in people and endeared herself to many. This served to safeguard Peter against an unwholesome seclusiveness that he might not have escaped otherwise. Moreover, Anna's strong, unshakable devotion to Peter—manifested in countless ways, including the protection of his privacy against too much interruption—helped to create a psychological atmosphere conducive to the best work on Peter's part.

Peter was devoted to his work, more particularly certain scholarly activities for which he had developed a powerful drive. His affection for Anna took the form of a keen sense of responsibility for her welfare as well as that of the children. A significant expression of this motive was the resolute, continuous effort of Peter to provide a larger measure of economic security for the family—an effort rewarded with considerable success.

As already indicated, we have in such marital and familial interests powerful personality-shaping influences. Perhaps one's conjugal family group is no less influential than one's parental family in shaping one's experiences, attitudes, and interests. Certainly both Peter and Anna became different personalities from what they would have been had they not married each other. It is worth mentioning that ten years were required, following Peter's preparation for the engineering pro-

[3] A significant contribution to the subject has been made by Ruth S. Cavan, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *The Adolescent in the Family*, D. Appleton–Century Company, Inc., New York, 1934, p. 198, a study of one hundred married men and the same number of married women, revealing that the men had a combined total of 681 love affairs before marriage and the women a combined total of 677. These figures would suggest that Peter's experience was not out of the ordinary.

fession, to work out his vocational and marital adjustments. This fact may point a "moral" of some sort. Perhaps it indicates a need for professional counseling on a more scientific and systematic basis.

After Peter had held his last position some years, he and Anna decided to throw in their lot with the University for good. In this decision the attractiveness of the community was an important factor. Previously they rented their homes, but now Peter purchased a home that was to have a far-reaching influence on the family life. This home was one of great beauty and distinction, located in an attractive suburb of the city, and commanding beautiful views on all sides, including a distant mountain range to the northwest. All members of the family shared the enjoyment of the beautiful house and scenery and pride in its possession. Ample, well-designed grounds gave Peter and Anna plenty of opportunity for outdoor life in caring for shrubbery, flowers, orchard, and vegetable garden. Peter's study overlooked the distant mountain range, which he found a constant source of inspiration and delight.

These details are given because this home, its care, and enjoyment became a dominant interest in the lives of the Blackman family. Their several personalities were intertwined with it. Residence in this new setting completed Peter's second change of worlds—this time from the huge, overgrown metropolis of Peter's social work days to the educational center in the northwest.

Five years later Peter visited his old home neighborhood. He stayed at his nephew's home as both parents were now deceased and a surviving brother and sister lived at a distance. Old scenes and neighbors aroused nostalgic feelings, but Peter perceived that apart from dead memories and a certain interest in natural phenomena he had little in common with these people. He could, as it were, resurrect an understanding of their world, but they scarcely had so much as an inkling of what his world was like, as there was no counterpart of Peter's life in that community.

PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES

The reader need not be reminded that the life careers of any two individuals are both similar and dissimilar. Sex, age, race, geographic, family, school, community, and other differences are involved in personality development besides the *individuality* of every human being. The sequence and the meaning of experiences are never the same in different individuals, a fact of great significance. If different kinds of personalities are developed in a single country such as ours, consider how much greater are personality differences

in radically unlike countries—for example, China, Soviet Russia, or even England—as compared with the United States. These and other differentiating factors will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the main sources of personality according to the text? Give illustrations of each source from the life career of a relative or acquaintance.
2. Describe the social class and caste systems in Peter Blackman's community, and compare them with those of your community.
3. What were the principal features of Peter's world of experience as a boy, and how did they affect the development of his traits and interests?
4. How would you evaluate (*a*) the type of parent-child relationship prescribed by the folkways in Peter's neighborhood, and (*b*) the influence of the common enterprise in which Peter and members of his family were engaged?
5. What was Peter's first "change of worlds" following graduation from college, and how did it affect his personality traits? Compare that change and its influences with Peter's second "change of worlds."
6. So far as text material permits, compare Peter's parental and conjugal families and their probable influences on growing children in the two groups.
7. What persons had a far-reaching influence on Peter's life, and how did each affect his career? Give a comparable example from your own development.
8. What "chance" factors had a decisive effect on Peter's life career? Give similar examples from your own observation or experience.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Work out brief biographical sketches of two close relatives or acquaintances showing both the resemblances and dissimilarities of the influences (or "raw materials") in their personality development.
2. Show with the aid of illustrations how subcultures associated with sex, occupation, region, and type of local community affect personality development.

SELECTED READINGS

WOODWORTH, ROBERT S., *Psychology*, 3rd ed., Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1934.

The chapters "Personality," "Heredity and Environment," and "How Activity is Aroused: The Stimulus and the Motive" are valuable supplements to the treatment in the present chapter.

YOUNG, KIMBALL, *Sociology*, American Book Company, New York, 1942.

The chapter "Personality" describes in some detail the components of personality make-up.

Chapter 31

PERSONALITY GROWTH

The ways of personality growth have much to do with the resulting personality make-up. This general subject may be considered under five heads: (1) possible personality types as controls—or as results—of the growth process; (2) the life cycle of the human organism, including maturation and decline, as a basic control of development; (3) social learning and kindred aspects of the growth process; (4) special types of social interaction arising in the course of development; (5) feelings and emotions as components of the process.

PERSONALITY TYPES

Philosophers have speculated for ages about possible personality types. Assumed temperamental differences have been the most common basis of classification. Thus, ancient Greek writers evolved a fourfold classification of personality, expressed as choleric, melancholic, phlegmatic, and sanguine temperaments. These were thought to be correlated with different "humors" or fluids of the body. This classification is more or less in use today, though the assumed physiological counterparts of the different temperaments have long been rejected.

The most popular typology at present divides persons into *introverts* and *extroverts*. An introvert is oriented toward his own inner experience and finds his chief satisfactions in this subjective realm. The extrovert, in contrast, is oriented toward the external world—the world of people and things. The introvert tends to prefer his own company to that of others; the extrovert, the company of others. The author of this typology, C. G. Jung, divided each of his basic types into four subtypes emphasizing, respectively, feel-

ing, sensation, thinking, and intuition. Critics have pointed out that introversion and extroversion are contrasting extremes between which a great majority of people—conveniently labeled *ambiverts*—are distributed. Jung himself recognized that his two basic types as well as the subtypes are matters of emphasis, not mutually exclusive groups.[1]

Among other dichotomous typologies are the masculine-feminine (not necessarily identified with sex in the biological sense), sensory-motor, subjective-objective, sthenic-asthenic (referring to body build), and Philistine-Bohemian.[2] Another example is William James's famous distinction between "tough-minded" and "tender-minded" people.

Quite different is a typology formulated by a German school of psychologists. According to E. Spranger's version,[3] there are six types of men: the theoretical type, interested in truth; the economic type, interested in utility; the aesthetic type, interesed in form and harmony; the social type, interested in people; the political type, interested in power; the religious type, interested in unity. These are postulated as *ideal* types, but they may be approximated in practice. Each denotes a dominant but not exclusive type of interest. They are, therefore, results of personality growth, though the types may serve as models and hence as controls.

Different still are typologies attempting to correlate temperament with body build. The most celebrated of these is E. Kretschmer's pyknic-leptosome hypothesis, while the most scientific, perhaps, is William H. Sheldon's. The latter's typology is based on a laborious study using as data the photographs of 4,000 college students. Sheldon found that, although either physical or temperamental traits of a large number of individuals formed a continuum, they could be reduced to types, and the physical and temperamental types correlated. He concluded that there are three general morphological types and three groups or clusters of temperamental traits correlated with them.

[1] The discussion here is based on Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment*, F. S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1940, pp. 302 ff.

[2] G. W. Allport, *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1937, p. 296.

[3] E. Spranger, *Types of Men* (trans. 1928); cited by G. W. Allport, *op. cit.*, pp. 227–30.

Sheldon's first type (endomorphy), in which the "digestive viscera are massive and highly developed," is characterized in its extreme manifestation by "love of comfort, sociability, conviviality, gluttony for food, for people, and for affection. . . . The personality seems to center around the viscera." The second type (mesomorphy) is characterized by vigor, push, muscular activity, and finds in action and power the primary purposes of life. The third type (ectomorphy) "means fragility, linearity, flatness of the chest, and delicacy throughout the body"; the corresponding temperamental traits include restraint in posture, overly fast reactions, love of privacy, inhibited social address, emotional restraint.[4]

Another variety of typology is the social or sociological. Spranger's six types belong here. So do the three types predicated by Thomas and Znaniecki in their monumental study of the Polish peasant: [5] (1) the Philistine or practical man; (2) the Bohemian, governed by his hedonistic impulses; (3) the creative man, with goal-centered constructive interests in some field of endeavor. These are not temperamental but developmental types according to the authors.

Another social typology is based on occupation.[6] One could add as possible bases for social typologies the differences between conservatives, liberals, and radicals; between Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jew; between persons of high and low social status; and (one that has been widely used) between farm, village, and city folk.

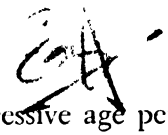
Scientific students disagree as to the value of the typological approach. Some typologies have led to extensive investigations of actual human traits by way of verification or elaboration and have thus added materially to our knowledge of man's behavior. This in turn contributes new ways of understanding and describing actual human beings. But this type of approach has limitations.

[4] W. H. Sheldon, "Constitutional Factors in Personality," in J. McV. Hunt (ed.), *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1944. Chap. 17.

[5] W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 5 vols., Richard G. Badger, New York, 1918–1922.

[6] See, for example, E. C. Hughes, "Personality Types and the Division of Labor," *Am. Jour. Soc.*, vol. 33 (1928), pp. 754–768. He brings out the far-reaching influence of occupations in shaping attitudes and outlooks, drawing his illustrations largely from the several occupations making up the real estate business.

It tends to oversimplify the structure of personality, which is an exceedingly complex, multidimensional affair as the story of Peter Blackman illustrates. Moreover, in its more popular usage, a typology may encourage an unrealistic pigeon-holing of persons as "introverts," "Philistines," "radicals," and the like. It takes many, many nouns, adjectives, and sentences to approximate an adequate description of any human being.



THE LIFE CYCLE

The successive age periods of an individual are reflected in his personality traits and, to some extent, control them. The life cycle has been treated largely under the head of maturation, with comparatively little attention given to the period of decline. Allport defines maturation as the "ripening of innate behavioral tendencies in the absence of training and experience," and adds, "the ripening may involve a native process of *differentiation*, of *integration*, or of both."

He distinguishes three sorts of ripening. First, intelligence increases in power up to the age of adolescence and probably beyond. Second, certain specific capacities—for music, art, mathematics, and the like—are inborn and undergo a process of maturation. Third, there is the "unlearned ripening of motor coordinations and capacities such as creeping, walking, climbing, swimming, laughter, vocalization." [7]

In another passage, after discussing the adjustments of childhood and adolescence, Allport says that "as maturity advances there are other adjustments to be made, to one's occupation, to one's partner in marriage, and to one's newly founded family. When this period is passed the personality is virtually finished." He qualifies the last statement by saying that "some personalities seem to change markedly after the age of thirty." [8]

In criticism it may be readily shown that the personality changes as the organism increases in age, though in the nature of the case there is no one-to-one correspondence between the two. Actually the organism may begin a slow decline at an early age—even in the

[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 147–148.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

early twenties if the preference of military authorities for upper teen-age boys as soldiers is an indication. By middle age the energy level of the organism is definitely lower, as a rule, than in the earlier years; and from that point on, exceptions apart, physical endurance steadily declines, chronic ailments of one sort or another appear and increase in number; when old age is reached the organism is definitely slowed down, and invalidism and disability, partial or complete, are the rule. Attention comes to be centered more and more on bodily conditions simply because they occasion so much discomfort. With all this the very *quality* of experience changes. In consequence an aged person lives in a different sort of world from that of younger people—to the degree, indeed, that an old person can scarcely be understood by the young, his own close relatives included.

Outwardly interests do not appear to change so radically; but in reality they mean (and therefore are) something different from their earlier forms. A distinguished psychologist gives some striking illustrations. "It is perhaps regrettable," he says, "but it is a fact that as we grow older we become less and less capable of affection. The self-sacrifice which old persons often make lies rather in sacrificing interests which are growing less interesting. It does not ordinarily lead to expending energy in others' behalf. Interests are gradually restricted to food and comfort and to the maintenance of old ways and habits." [9]

Little scientific study has been devoted to change of interests and abilities with increasing age. E. S. Thorndike conducted an investigation of the ability to learn in relation to age. Ability is of course the development of inborn capacity through training and experience. Even so, Thorndike's findings throw considerable light on the age factor in personality make-up and, incidentally, discredits some traditional notions on the subject. He reported that the peak ability to learn is "probably located at some point between 20 and 25"; furthermore, "ages 25 to 42 are superior to childhood, and equal or superior to early adolescence (14 to 18), in general ability to learn." But at about 55 "the net result of changes in

[9] E. R. Guthrie, *The Psychology of Human Conflict*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1938, p. 224.

general energy, interest in one's work, and ability to improve is a regression in achievement." [10]

Age differences in men's interests have been investigated by E. K. Strong, Jr.[11] He recorded and analyzed the "likes" and "dislikes" as well as indifferences of various age groups concerning a large number of "items." Some significant illustrations may be taken from the percentages of men aged 25 and 55, respectively, who "liked" various items falling in the categories of "amusements," "activities," and "peculiarities of people."

Table X. Percentages of Males Aged 25 and 55 Liking Specified Items

Item	*Age 25: per cent liking*	*Age 55: per cent liking*
Driving an automobile	88	72
Bridge	63	31
Observing birds (nature study)	39	56
Art galleries	61	78
Sporting pages	66	34
Symphony concerts	67	66
Cabinet making	22	31
Handling horses	42	51
Raising flowers and vegetables	33	51
Organizing a play	31	17
Entertaining others	44	36
Raising money for a charity	20	31
Emotional people	28	22
Talkative people	16	13
Religious people	35	47
Cautious people	22	43
Negroes	17	23

These data do not tell us too much about the age factor in interests, but they do show that it is an important one. Dr. Strong

[10] E. L. Thorndike *et al.*, *Adult Learning*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928, pp. 131, 147.

[11] E. K. Strong, Jr., *Change of Interests With Age*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1931, esp. pp. 182 ff.

in this study did not investigate the intensity of interests nor their specific qualities. There is reason to believe that if these were studied the change of interests with age would prove more radical and extensive.

Associated with age differences in traits and interests are differences in culture. These, like all phases of personality, have cultural components. Interests in sport, literature, and other forms of art offer obvious examples. So marked are cultural differences between widely separated age groups that we are justified in speaking of age subcultures. The ideas, feelings, and activities of early childhood, adolescence, full maturity, and old age are radically different, though they are continuous with one another and have many elements in common. These subcultures are in a measure autonomous. The cultures are applied by the several groups largely on their own initiative and are transmitted from member to member through informal processes of education and imitation. Thus it is with the games of childhood, the techniques of "dating" on the part of adolescents, and so with other age groups.

With the growing number of aged persons in our society, their problems of adjustment are assuming great importance. The urbanization and mobility of the population complicate these problems. When a rural economy predominated, aging members of a family group were provided for on the family farm without too much difficulty for the younger members. But this is not true of the typical urban milieu, when living quarters are often cramped and the problem of interesting the aged person is quite difficult. This situation calls for more extensive studies of the upper age groups, their attitudes, interests, and needs.

PROCESSES OF PERSONALITY GROWTH

Personality development is bound up with the complex and ever-changing situations that affect everyone. The individual's own characters and capacities are at the center of the growth processes, but no less essential are the human and nonhuman components of his changing environments. Before proceeding to our main problems it may be well to show with the aid of illustrations how these factors figure in personality growth.

Primary Factors

Under this head are geographic (or "natural") environments; hereditary structures, functions, and capacities of the organism; culture traits and patterns. Previous discussions have indicated how the individual's life in a particular geographic environment and the nature of his interactions with that environment are fundamental in building up his world of experience, together with the associated skills, ideas, attitudes, and interests. The story of Peter Blackman offers specific illustrations.

The hereditary basis of personality growth is recognized by all scientific students, but some phases of heredity figure little in their discussions, particularly the various classes of sense perception and the functions of the imagination. Obviously, the major forms of sensation—sight, hearing, touch, taste, temperature, sex, pain, and so on—bulk very large in the growth process, as they do in our everyday experience. This fact is highlighted by the predicament of the blind and the deaf. Their worlds of experience are different in kind from those of other people. Again, many persons find their vocations (with all their import for personality development) in specialized activity in some field of sensory experience—for example, painters, sculptors, and musicians. Special innate capacities are of course essential to the more successful careers in such fields.

The role of imagination is perhaps equally crucial. While it derives largely from sense perceptions and the accruing memories, the imagination also feeds on communication with others—both person-to-person and mass-communication contacts. The content of all such communication must be registered in the imagination to be understood. In this broad sense imagination is as basic in social life as action itself. The greater part of our problems are "worked out in our heads," although the validity of our solutions—except for purely abstract problems—must be tested in action. But important as problem-solving is, it is only one function of the imagination. Conscious experience is composed of memory images and reveries as well as the more logical processes of reflective thought.

Mass Communications

Since the invention of the printing press, communications to large groups of people have played an increasingly important role.

The printed page, the radio, and the motion picture are now the principal media of mass communication. They are so basic in a civilization such as ours, their influence on everybody so pervasive, that it is scarcely possible to overestimate their effects on personality development.

The nature and depth of these influences vary enormously from one individual to another. At one extreme are those whose development is affected more by books than by living persons; at the other extreme are many who read so poorly that they cannot understand an ordinary newspaper. The celebrated novelist, Edith Wharton, is an example of the first extreme. Her father's library by her own account had the leading share in her growth. ". . . the dead," she writes, "were my most living companions. I was a healthy little girl who loved riding, swimming and romping; yet no children of my own age, and none even among the nearest of my grown-ups, were as close to me as the great voices that spoke to me from books. Whenever I try to recall my childhood it is in my father's library that it comes to life." [12]

We have in this case major processes of personality development. How typical it may be we do not know; but to all appearances books, journals, and newspapers play a comparable though not so dominant a role in the lives of a majority of the population. Parallel statements, duly qualified, apply to radio and motion pictures.

Groups, Communities, Publics

The *personnel* of the social situations in and through which an individual grows is a cardinal factor in his development. This fact, as applied to primary groups, was made abundantly clear by the late Charles Horton Cooley. Among the more important of these are the family group, play, school, and occupational groups, also religious groups, in addition to one's group of friends and acquaintances. The secondary groups—mediated by long-distance communications, including printed publications, radio programs, and postal services—have assumed ever-increasing importance with the development of modern civilization. So have the intermediate groups—federations of primary groups—as exemplified in the scout-

[12] Edith Wharton, *A Backward Glance*, D. Appleton–Century Company, Inc., New York, 1934, pp. 64, 69. Courtesy of Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York.

ing organizations and the women's clubs, to give only two examples. Related to the secondary groups are special publics of great variety and extent, made up of people having a common interest such as a hobby, sport, or radio program. Finally, there are the different communities—local, regional, national, and even international—of which the individual is a member.

In and through these multitudinous personnel structures the processes of personality development are channeled. The result for a particular individual depends on his contributions to and participation in these various groupings, and also on the corresponding contributions and participations of fellow members. The standards, purposes, and types of interaction within a group measure the quality of its influence. The individualities of these human groupings, and of their individual members, are among the greatest and subtlest of influences on personality development.

Group influences and differentials in the growth of personality are considered in the chapter immediately following; here it will suffice to point out that these various personnel relations are closely identified with the processes of the individual's development. We turn now to the central growth processes themselves.

Learning and Personality

Apart from the maturation and decline identified with the life cycle, personality development assumes the form of *learning*—learning defined as the acquisition of skills, attitudes, ideas, and interests. The processes involved are extremely complex, so that the discussion here must be confined to fundamentals.

Types of learning distinguished by contemporary psychology include: (1) *Trial-and-error learning*, or the more or less random manipulation of a problem situation—such as a mechanical puzzle—until the correct solution is hit upon. (2) Learning known as the *conditioned response*, in which the original stimulus to act is associated with a different stimulus, which then serves as a cue to the given act. Pavlov in a classic experiment conditioned dogs to salivate on the ringing of a bell even when there was no food present. · In man's case a vast number of words and other symbols (flag, cross, and the like) have become so associated with persons, objects, situations, acts, or ideas that they serve as cues to thought

or action in the absence of the original stimuli. (3) *Configurational learning* (advanced by the Gestalt school), or the direct perception of the pattern and component relations of a complex whole. Closely related to this is learning through insight, illustrated on the lower animal level by a chimpanzee's fitting together two sticks to reach food otherwise unobtainable (observed by Kohler). (4) *Symbolic learning*, that is, learning through the manipulation of symbols, as in the solution of a mathematical problem. Where overt action is involved, learning of this type is tested and completed through action itself.

But the learning process is more complex than a bare statement of types would indicate. It is a kind of action, and to attain its goal it must be motivated, directed, and rewarded. In technical terms, there must be stimulus, cue, response, and reward. Successful acts tend to be repeated and give rise to appropriate habits and attitudes. Unsuccessful acts—those terminating in punishment or no reward—tend not to be repeated and therefore not to generate habits or positive attitudes.[13]

Stimuli to action are identified with primary and secondary drives. Tastes for particular foods are rated as secondary drives, in contrast to the primary drive of hunger. Miller and Dollard apparently recognize no acquired drives higher than the second degree, but drives of money-making, scholarship, and enhancement of social status are of a higher degree of complexity than the secondary drives.

Cues are simply indications pointing to an appropriate response or some further stage of a response already in progress. They are the signs proved by experience to be reliable indicators of action. Random illustrations are a bell marking the end of a class period; a poor grade on a quiz indicating some sort of compensatory response; an actor in a play taking his cue from the lines of the preceding actor. Ordinary speech is replete with cues for action, leading to overt behavior or a verbal response on the part of the listener.

Rewards (and punishments) increase in complexity along with

[13] The discussion at this point is based on C. L. Hull, *Principles of Behavior*, D. Appleton–Century Company, New York, 1943; also Neal E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941.

stimuli, cues, and responses themselves. Success in money-making, recognition of a scholarly work, advancement in one's job, and attainment of a higher social status are significant examples in our society.

To summarize, the learner "must want something, notice something, do something and get something" (Miller and Dollard). Cumulative learnings in such a complex culture as ours continually modify and complicate the wants, the noticings, the doings, and the gettings.

Imitation

While maintaining a certain independence and individuality, the average person adopts as his own the ways, the ideas, the attitudes, and the values of his society. Social philosophers have speculated for generations about the nature and origin of the seemingly irresistible force termed imitation. It is now generally agreed that we are not impelled by hereditary make-up to imitate our fellows, but that imitative behavior arises in the course of development itself, beginning in early childhood. It is also recognized that there are various types and origins of imitative behavior.

Miller and Dollard distinguish two general forms of imitation: (1) Matched-dependent behavior, and (2) copying. "In matched-dependent behavior, the leader is able to read the relevant environmental cues, but the follower is not; the latter must depend upon the leader for the signal as to what act is to be performed and where and when. . . . The copier must slowly bring his response to approximate that of a model and must know, when he has done so, that his act is an acceptable reproduction of the model act." [14]

In the first type parents, teachers, or others with prestige or authority serve as the leaders. In effect, they say to their followers, "do as I say, not as I do"; but they also serve many of their followers as models for copying behavior.

In our society at least four classes of persons are imitated by others as followers or as copiers: "(1) Superiors in an age-grade hierarchy, (2) superiors in a hierarchy of social status, (3) superiors in an intelligence ranking system, (4) superior technicians in any field." [15]

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 11. Courtesy of Yale University Press.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

These hierarchical systems of subordinates and superordinates are not mutually exclusive but are intertwined in many ways.

The pressure to conform and to imitate is so great and continuous that an acquired drive of imitativeness is developed. "Individuals are likely to be punished for deviating too far from the behavior of the rest of the group, and to be rewarded for conforming . . . being different tends to elicit anxiety and being the same, to bring relief; an acquired motivation to conform, or copy, is established." [16]

Suggestion and *suggestibility* are closely related to imitation and imitativeness. As defined by Kimball Young, suggestion is "the 'implanting' of an idea in the mind of another so that the latter accepts this idea as 'true' "; and suggestibility is "the disposition to follow suggestions," which "rests on effects of past learning and the nature of the stimuli." These are basic processes in advertising, propaganda, and much of what passes for education. They are therefore powerful influences in the formation of wants, attitudes, and ideals.

Sympathy is feeling with, or imitating the feelings of, others. It depends on power of the imagination, on one's background of knowledge and understanding, on the conditions of the given situation. "Broad sympathies" duly disciplined, and especially the capacity to understand the feelings of others, are to be reckoned as personality assets.

Role-taking

The late George H. Mead demonstrated the central functions of role-taking in development of the self.[17] This somewhat technical term could be freely translated as the imaginative production of parts, or roles, attributed to other persons. It is a "natural," spontaneous process of self-education on the part of the child. After some facility in speech has been attained the child engages vigorously in role-taking, or make-believe, in which roles of persons he has observed are enacted, including the roles of parents and others toward himself. He thus becomes aware of himself as a person distinct from others, and senses the attitudes and feelings of those about him. Thus he not only explores his social environment but comes to accept the standards and attitudes of those closest to him,

[16] Miller and Dollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–63.

[17] George H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1934, and other works.

notably parents and older siblings. He is an assiduous *copier* of their conduct.

This process of role-taking may be illustrated from Edith Wharton's account of her childhood. "I cannot remember the time," she says, "when I did not want to 'make up' stories. . . . The call came regularly and imperiously." Whatever the circumstances, she had to "obey the furious Muse." After acquiring a formula for "making up," as she called it, the process was intensified. Learning to read fed this passion until it became a frenzy. "When the grown-ups were out," she writes, "and Doyley safe with her sewing, I had the field to myself; and I still feel the rapture (greater than any I have ever known in writing) of pouring forth undisturbed the tireless torrent of my stories." Her tales, she recalls, were about what she regarded as "real people," grown-ups "resembling in appearance and habits my family and their friends, and caught in the same daily coil of 'things that might have happened.' " [18]

This instance is doubtless not very typical, yet it may be accepted as one example at least of the role-taking, or make-believe, so characteristic of children. Similar processes are very common in later years. This is quite obvious in the case of games. The basketball or football player enacts in imagination the moves likely to be made by both teammates and opponents, thus preparing himself for his own moves. We see something similar in speculation on the stock market, in the strategy of warfare, in the conduct of diplomacy, in any intricate interplay between two or more persons having certain goals in view.

Exploration and Experimentation

Role-taking is a special kind of experimentation. The child, generally speaking, is an assiduous explorer of his environment and is continually experimenting with environmental conditions. What he learns in this way is supplemented through his personal inquiries of parents and others about him. These are his ways of building up a world of experience identified with his growing personality. Instruction and imitation enter into the process, but the growing child's own actions, under the impulsion of exploratory, activity, and other drives, is the more fundamental. This activity

[18] Edith Wharton, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–35, 42–43.

has in it a significant creative element. During this stage of growth what the child is able to make of his environment, together with the skills acquired and ideas developed, is of vital importance.

For this reason the child needs a rich, stimulating, challenging environment—one that supplies abundant opportunities for interesting activities. Peter Blackman's home farm and neighborhood was such an environment, despite its shortcomings. To cite a quite different example, the purchase of a piano by an urban family offered an unsuspected opportunity for creative self-expression to the young son who had been vainly trying to cultivate an interest in the clarinet. Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely.

SPECIAL PROCESSES

The forms of social interaction described in Part Five are obviously involved in personality development. Competition is especially pronounced in American life. Competition for wealth, vocational advancement, and social status is seen on all sides. On college campuses competition is very evident in dating, in extracurricular activities, and in the quest for grades.

Conflict likewise is quite common, beginning with the family circle and embracing larger groups until we reach its most far-reaching forms in industrial, political, and international conflicts. Accommodation, both the coordinate and the subordinate-superordinate forms, represents the adjustment and in many instances the elimination of conflict.

Cooperation and assimilation are quite as conspicuous in the development of personality. There is of necessity cooperation in the family circle in bringing up a child; and the child, willy nilly, must fit into the structure and routine of family life. Fundamentally the process is one of cooperation, but it largely assumes the form of imitation.

Assimilation, in turn, is both a process and a result of development. Coming to share the attitudes, interests, and values of one's social groups and of society at large is the essence of assimilation. It is identified with learning in the comprehensive sense.

Processes more specialized, yet related to the major forms of

social interaction, include, among others, identification, rationalization, projection, compensation, and social expectancy.

Identification

Identifying oneself in one's actions and sentiments with a close relative, a leader, or some ideal image of the self is a universal process of personality development. The earliest identifications are usually with one's parents or older siblings. Later identifications may be with a gang or club leader, a teacher, a minister, a labor, business, farm, or political leader. These identifications are the basis of much imitation of both the matched-dependent and the copying varieties. Counterparts in the "inner life" are cherished loyalties, convictions, and working ideals. Identification is also a prominent feature of role-taking, discussed in a previous section.

Rationalization

Galsworthy said that a person cannot live without a secret sense of his importance in the scheme of things. However that may be, one must think pretty well of oneself or life becomes intolerable. Rationalization is one of the processes by which this is done. It consists, someone has remarked, of giving "good" reasons instead of the real reasons for one's more questionable acts. A student may go to the movie instead of doing his homework and justify his act on the ground that he is fatigued and needs relaxation and that class assignments are not too important anyway. Almost any dubious practice in business or politics may similarly be justified on the ground that others engage in it, too, that one "must do his getting while the getting is good," and so on.

Much rationalization is said to be subconscious, or unconscious, which is doubtless true; but much of it, especially its verbalization, is recognized by the rationalizer for what it is. Either way, a great deal of rationalization is inevitable and not a little of it essential. Dangers lie in gross deception of oneself or others, where the situation demands that facts be faced and conduct governed accordingly.

Projection

At least three varieties of this process may be distinguished. One variety might be regarded as a special type of rationalization. In this type the projector blames his failures or misdeeds on somebody else,

or on fate or circumstance, as when a mother may blame her inability to discipline her child on the child's paternal inheritance or on lack of cooperation by the father. This variety of projection is very common, for it serves the psychological function of confining self-blame to tolerable limits; it carries the same dangers, however, as the kindred form of rationalization.

A second variety attributes to others the attitudes, sentiments, and values held by oneself. We inevitably tend to judge other persons by ourselves; we find it difficult to believe, for example, that they are motivated by finer standards and ideals than our own. (It is not so difficult to believe them less worthy than ourselves.) This gives rise to countless misunderstandings, but the psychological difficulties of minimizing its influence are very great.

A third variety is an attempt to impose on others one's own thwarted ambitions, thus deriving a vicarious satisfaction from their achievements. This is most commonly found in the family circle. A father frustrated in his early ambition to become a physician may insist that his son go in for a medical career; or a parent, denied a college education, requires his children to go to college even though they may be unsuited to this type of education. Projection of this variety is often harmful in its consequences.

Compensation

One's ambitions for achievement and recognition are often doomed to defeat because the necessary capacity or opportunity is wanting. Compensation in such cases is a substitutional response. A college youth may be unable because of his physique to realize athletic ambitions, and turn to other forms of extracurricular activity or to scholarship as a means of winning recognition. Similarly, a man or woman lacking the personal charm to win the popularity he or she craves may cultivate an art or other hobby as a source of compensatory satisfactions.

In a broad sense, this is one of the commoner processes of personal adjustment. No one can have his first choices in all things and few can have them in most things. Learning to accept second or even less desirable choices is one of life's most essential lessons.

Like other processes of adjustment, this one can be carried to an extreme, known technically as overcompensation. "Thus the

'little man' with the loud voice," writes Kimball Young, "who speaks up on every occasion, who is strong for 'rights,' and who struts and preens himself in the public eye, who is fearsome lest he not be accorded the 'proper' social prestige—this sort of person is likely enough a case of overcompensation." [19]

Social Expectancy

Young has emphasized the role of social expectation in shaping personality development. Social expectancy by itself is a kind of pressure; the pressure and the response to it constitute a form of social interaction. Established social groups and society at large set up standards of conduct to which their members are expected to conform. The individual himself comes to accept these standards as his own and, with due allowance for exceptions, attempts to live up to them. Violations are punished in various ways, while conformity is rewarded by social approval.

Examples are perhaps superfluous. A married man is expected to support his family, a mother to care for her children. A physician is expected by fellow physicians and the public to conform to the code of his profession. All are expected to abide by the *mores*, although violations are very common. Expectancy is particularly influential in the family circle. Children tend to do what their parents expect them to.

Like the others, this process has its drawbacks. Parents may set too high a standard for a child—in the matter of school "marks," for instance—or one too low for the child's own capacities. Similarly with society at large. It expects too much of most persons in certain directions—the acquisition of wealth, for instance—and too little in other directions, as in the practice of citizenship. The connection between social expectancy and imitative behavior should be obvious.

EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT

Feelings and emotions are involved in all phases of personality development. Drives, both primary and acquired, have affective components. Any culture embraces innumerable emotions and

[19] Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment*, F. S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1940, p. 119.

sentiments which are learned along with other aspects of culture. Among those of our own society are romantic love, patriotic sentiment, fear of economic insecurity, and indignation at cruelty to animals. Indeed, virtually all the common emotions and sentiments of a society are an integral part of its culture patterns. Partial exceptions are found in some of the primary drives—sex, hunger, thirst, for example—whose emotional components are modifiable only to a limited degree.

Attitudes, interests, and schemes of life include feelings and emotions as basic elements along with ideas and activities. In the nurture of attitudes and interests, therefore, the educational process is to be focused on the feeling side equally with the thought and action sides. Cultivation of feelings and emotions is no less vital than the acquisition of bodily and mental skills.

The emotional development of the child is of critical importance. There is an immense literature on the subject, and many problems are being investigated. But there is agreement as to certain essentials.

For one thing, affection and appreciation are as necessary as food and hygiene in the normal development of the child. The unloved, unwanted child is not only a pitiable object in itself, but is almost certain to be badly maladjusted as an adult. Because of this the community through its social and educational agencies is giving increasing attention to the "rejected" child, attempting in various ways to meet his great need, even placing him, where necessary, with foster parents who can give him affectionate care.

It is agreed that the infant and younger child require affectionate handling, though just how much can hardly be made a matter of rule. Some years ago a foundling hospital in an Eastern city was concerned over a very high death rate among its charges. Improvements in diet and hygiene were of little avail: the babies kept dying. Then the expedient was tried of having the little ones liberally cuddled by the nurses, with a marked reduction in the death rate as a result.

But like most good things this too can be overdone. Anticipating and hastening to meet all the child's wants, oversolicitude as to his well-being, and overprotection—these make him overly

dependent, stifle his initiative, and obstruct the development of orderly, responsible behavior. The end result may be an inadequate, emotionally immature personality.

Domination of the child by a parent or parent substitute is unwholesome for a different reason. At best, the child must gradually be fitted into the structure of his family life. He must therefore do a lot of imitating, a lot of conforming, much of it running counter to his impulse of the moment. But this needs offsetting by leaving the child a wide range of uninhibited activity, so that his exploring and experimenting tendencies may have adequate outlets. In urban homes particularly a suitable environment has to be planned; and home environments are increasingly supplemented by community agencies, especially by schools and play centers.

Again, parental example is of the first importance in the inculcation of desirable traits and attitudes. Truthfulness, cooperativeness, courtesy, tolerance, and like traits (or their opposites) are "caught" from parents much more than they can be taught by them. The nature and scope of fear responses on the child's part are similarly learned, as was dramatically illustrated in the bombing of London homes during the recent war; the children tended strongly to react—with fear or calmness—as did their parents. A problem-solving ability and attitude in what would otherwise be fearsome situations can be built up in the child through both precept and example (Shaffer).

The feeling and emotional sides of experience change and develop throughout life, as is pretty obvious. During adolescence there is a process of psychological weaning from home and parents; a spirit of independence (sometimes of revolt) emerges; interest in a life career grows, the opposite sex assumes an undreamed-of significance.

Fears, resentments, and affections change through all later phases of the life cycle, owing both to changing circumstances and to processes of maturation and decline. Every individual needs the secure affection of at least one person, not excepting old people whose own capacity for affection may be small. For everyone the richness of his emotional life will reflect the breadth and variety of the interests he has nurtured and the human relations he has cultivated. Not only understanding friends but also wise professional

counselors can assist the mature or aging personality in coping with problems of the emotional life and working out such adjustments as may be possible.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Explain the classifications of personality types presented in the text, and indicate which ones you have used in characterizing friends and acquaintances.

2. What is meant by maturation? Give illustrations from your own development.

3. How is the life cycle of the human organism related to personality development? By way of illustration compare the attitudes and interests of a more or less "typical" old person of your acquaintance and of a young but mature person of the same sex.

4. How are hereditary, cultural, and geographic factors reflected in personality growth? Illustrate from your own observations.

5. Show how mass communications affect development of the individual, illustrating from your personal experiences.

6. How do groups, communities, and publics of various kinds affect the development of one's attitudes and interests? Illustrate from your own observations.

7. How is learning related to personality development? Give an illustration for each type of learning mentioned in the text.

8. Outline Miller and Dollard's theory of learning and its relation to imitation. Illustrate from your own experience the two general forms of imitation distinguished by these authors; and also the four classes of persons that, in different situations, are imitated by others.

9. Indicate with the aid of illustrations the meaning and social significance of (*a*) suggestion, (*b*) suggestibility, (*c*) sympathy, and (*d*) role-taking.

10. Discuss the role of exploration and experimentation in the child's development and the importance of providing suitable opportunities for these activities.

11. Show with the aid of illustrations how competition, conflict, cooperation, accommodation, and assimilation are involved in personality growth, especially in this country.

12. Define and give significant illustrations of (*a*) identification, (*b*) rationalization, (*c*) projection (three varieties), (*d*) compensation, and (*e*) social expectancy.

13. Using appropriate illustrations, discuss the emotional aspects of development, bringing out particularly the relation of culture to feelings and emotions, the emotional influence of parents on their children, and the change of feelings and emotions with age.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Work out a brief life history of a person whom you know very well, showing how the various processes of personality growth are exemplified in his development.

2. Show in some detail how the life cycle of the human organism has been reflected in the changing attitudes and interests of an elderly person with whom you are closely acquainted.

SELECTED READINGS

SHERMAN, MANDEL, *Basic Problems of Behavior*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1941.

Discusses on the basis of clinical and experimental material many of the processes considered in this chapter.

SUTHERLAND, R. L., and J. L. WOODWARD, *Introductory Sociology*, 2nd ed., J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1940.

The discussion of personality development offers many supplements to and illustrations of ideas presented in this chapter.

Chapter 32

GROUP INFLUENCES AND DIFFERENTIALS

E. W. BURGESS has defined the family as a "group of interacting personalities," and this definition applies equally well to other social groups. They are all composed of persons in interaction with one another. This is more obvious in primary groups like the family, club, or play group than in secondary groups such as a nationwide civic organization without local branches; or in intermediate groups like a labor union with "locals" that meet more or less regularly.

Where interaction is effected through long-distance communications directed by some sort of work staff, the interactions of rank-and-file members are largely channeled through that agency. The process is more diffuse and has less of the intensive, give-and-take variety than primary-group interactions.

Just as a group is composed of individual personalities, so one might almost say that a personality is composed of group participations. We cannot quite equate the two because a group is more than the sum of its members, and an individual is not completely absorbed in his group relationships. But given his hereditary makeup and the natural environment, the individual develops his personality largely through his group contacts.

The *kinds* of groups in our society are so numerous that the exposition must necessarily be limited to the more significant ones. A good introduction is provided by studies of four individuals designed particularly to identify influential primary groups in their lives. These were all young persons, three of them girls attending college, the other a young man without benefit of college education. With one exception all are autobiographical sketches. All the "subjects" lived in a comparatively small part of the country and are, therefore, not altogether typical of young people living elsewhere.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE I

A girl with a rural background gives a concise exposition of the primary groups in her development.

During my childhood my family, my country-school chums, and my school teacher and I were the chief primary groups which influenced my ways of thinking. Such mores as monogamy, honesty, respect for one's parents, and reverence toward God were a part of my family's cultural basis. Common folkways were abided by; for illustration, we ate three meals a day, my mother kept house, my father worked for money outside of the home, and we children went to school.

Sharing a choice dessert, a new bicycle, or the playroom with my two brothers taught me that one should not be selfish. By having certain responsibilities given to me, such as keeping my room clean and helping with the dishes, I realized that work as well as play was a part of life. Thus, my ideals of fair play and respect for others were largely influenced by my family life.

My attitude toward people was primarily a result of my being a member of the country-school gang. This primary group was composed of farmers' children, oil-field workers' children, roustabouts' children, and others. Since there were so few of us we all played together and no cliques were formed; consequently, I never learned what snobbery was during my childhood. Thus were developed my democratic attitudes.

My country school teacher and I formed another important primary group during my childhood. Naturally, she influenced my formation of beliefs and attitudes by the lessons which she taught me. But she influenced my occupational ambitions even more. She was the ideal young lady with the ideal job to my childish way of thinking, and I longed to be a country school teacher 'when I got big.'

During my high-school period, my classes and my debate coach and I were the primary groups which influenced me most. In general, these study classes increased my knowledge and enabled me to acquire more broad-minded attitudes. For example, debate taught me that there are two sides to a question and a civics class made me realize that there is much room for improvement in our government.

In high school my entire class played a major part in the development of my attitudes toward people. When I entered the high school in town I was shy and backward. Soon I regarded myself as socially inferior to my classmates. It was then that I acquired an industrious attitude toward my school work. As a result I gained recognition scholastically,

and my ambition changed over to being a high school teacher. Before long my classmates accepted me as one of them and elected me to several important offices. As a consequence I gained confidence in myself; no longer was I bashful and backward. My attitude toward people had changed.

My debate coach and I formed another primary group very important in my development. Through his guidance I learned to be a fairly good debater. He had much confidence in my ability not only as a debater but also as an individual and a student. Consequently my ambitions rose even higher. I wanted to be a lawyer or a Congressman. My attitude toward education changed. I wanted all that I could obtain. My attitude toward people was one of equality. I no longer felt inferior as I once had. Thus, this student-teacher friendship was very influential in shaping my personality.

In my college career thus far bull sessions and my professors and I (as primary groups) have played a major part in the shaping of my working ideals, attitudes, and ambitions. But only time can tell which college groups will prove most influential in my continued development.

This account calls for little comment. Groups of *two* are recognized as influential in personality development, which is sometimes overlooked in discussions of primary groups. A group of two may be called a *couple*, of which there are many kinds—friends, lovers, marriage partners, parent and child, to name only a few.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE II

Our second autobiographer is also a girl with a rural background, but her sketch differs materially from the first one—an illustration of the fact that, despite similar circumstances, no two persons will have identical life careers.

The four primary groups which have contributed most to the formation of my working ideals, ambitions and attitudes are my family, the grade school which I attended, an office staff of which I was a member, and a 4-H Club to which I belonged.

As is true of most young people of my age, my family has probably been the most important factor in my development. The traditional American family is run on a cooperative plan with the father assuming the responsibility of providing the necessary funds, the mother assuming the role of homemaker, and the children helping both parents as soon

as they are old enough to do small tasks. The standard of living of our family was set by a not yet modernized farm community. The reason I rate my family so high as an influence in my development is that my parents' teaching gave me my lifelong concepts of right and wrong in the basic things of life. They taught me ideals of fair play and honesty. From my parents I acquired knowledge of the fundamentals of cooperation and learned how to put them into practice in relationships with my brother and sister. I learned to accept responsibility and to do things for myself without depending on others to help me.

The second most important primary group in my life was the teacher and pupils of the one-room country school which I attended for eight years. Having been born on a farm with no close neighbors, these students composed my first age and play group. The curriculum of the grade school is designed to teach the child the essentials of reading and writing that are required in our society and other subjects which are necessary before one is able to acquire a higher education. . . . I place my school companions second in importance on the list of primary groups which have affected my life because there I enlarged upon the ideas which had been taught by my parents and in association with children of my own age put those principles into practice, some for the first time. I learned to appreciate the rights of others. My attitude toward people of other countries and races was acquired from my teacher.

For more than two years I was a member of a primary group which consisted of about fifty office workers. This particular primary group was the personnel of one office in the Navy Department headquarters at Washington. These people have been one of the most important primary groups in my life because it was through associations with them that I acquired my ambition to go to college. Seeing people now in middle or old age who had started out early in life doing stenographic work as I was doing at the time, I realized that I was destined for a lifetime of routine work unless I acquired more education. It was evident that, with few exceptions, the college graduate was the one holding the worthwhile positions. More important, daily contacts with both people who had a college education and those who had not made it easy to see how much greater enjoyment the person with higher education was receiving from life than the one without such education.

The fourth influential primary group in my life was a 4-H Club. The Club work is carried on through periodical meetings of the group where they receive instructions. These instructions are followed in doing some project such as raising livestock, learning to cook or to plant

and tend a garden. This is one of the primary groups that have materially influenced my life because through many annual competitive events I acquired a desire to do my work better than any of the others. I learned to follow directions without direct supervision and to accept and overcome inevitable reverses, as when a drouth caused my garden to dry up. I also learned to take an interest in community projects; for instance, one our Club undertook was the printing of names on the farmers' mail boxes.

It may be noted that two of the primary groups considered most influential in this case have no counterparts in the groups stressed in the first narrative. The decisive role of the work group in shaping outlooks and ambitions is a significant feature of this second case. It illustrates the importance of actual work experiences in the process of choosing a vocation and with it a general pattern of living.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE III

Our third autobiographer proceeds at once to an exposition of primary-group influences in her life with scarcely a hint as to her early background. Like the others, she puts her family first.

In addition to the actual transference of ideas from my immediate family to me, the family influence has gone much further and provided the foundation for almost all the things that I believe and am. More important than the superficial, changing ideas I learned, I was taught by deeds as well as words fundamentals that enabled me to form opinions of my own, often different from those of my family. It seems impossible for me to even sketch these fundamentals because they are so deeply embedded in my mental makeup that I am never aware of them and even when making a conscious attempt I cannot isolate and name them. Working from this foundation that my family gave me other primary groups have influenced me greatly.

At this stage of my development I hold high, as a working ideal, some of the Socratic ethics—belief in the unity of the virtues, belief that all wrongdoing is involuntary, and belief that it is better to suffer an injustice than to do one. As I have previously indicated, the foundation for these ideas came from my family although until study and discussion of them in a primary group—a college class—I did not put them in these words. My first course in philosophy taught me these ethical concepts and made them real to me. These working ideals and others (such as

appreciation of music and literature) and consciousness of my own lack of knowledge are products of the primary groups that make up the school—from elementary grades through the college years—one primary group after another, all a part of the over-all secondary group constituting the state educational system. I rate these primary groups so important because they helped me express the things I began to learn in the family; they brought me into contact with other primary groups, both organized and unorganized, that also influenced my life; and lastly they opened the doors of worlds I would never have found for myself because I did not know of their existence.

I have an ambition that is, I think, perfectly normal, to be married and have a family of my own. This ambition, oddly enough, did not come directly from my own family influence. It grew from the influence of a primary group that was and is my immediate circle of friends—all in general and of course one boy in particular. I recognize this primary group of friends as being important because of the change in my attitude and ambition that it made. My previous idea of pursuing a career of my own, the success of which was to be found in material gain, gave way to the one held by the friends of this primary group. This is only one example of the important influence exerted by this group; for the opinions and beliefs held by your friends reach every phase of your life.

My attitude toward Negroes offers a further example. At present there is no doubt in my mind that this group of people has been discriminated against, persecuted, and harried with malice and prejudice on every hand. I have not always had this attitude, but both my old and my new attitude were shaped by primary groups. My disdain and ignorance of what I now think to be the actual situation I learned from the primary groups that were my family, my local school, and my old circle of friends. The new attitude, the basis for which I maintain was taught by my family, I learned here at the University. The first group to bring the real situation to my attention was a group of people I met in the University Y.W.C.A. Their intelligent observation and concern soon changed my point of view. This Y.W. group has been quite influential in my development because by finding sincere people who are actually putting Christianity into practice I acquired a new respect for the Christian ethics, which has brought about changes in my attitudes and working ideals.

Note, again, the dissimilarities as well as similarities of the primary-group influences in the life of this young woman and those

in the two preceding cases. Her account brings out particularly well the succession and interrelatedness of primary groups themselves as dominant forces in personality development. In the case of the schools we have an ordered, progressive series of groups. The sketch also brings out the importance of groups of friends—sometimes called cliques or congeniality groups—in the formation of attitudes and interests. In this case the plan for the whole life career was changed through such an influence.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Our fourth and final sketch was prepared not by the subject himself but by a close acquaintance.[1] The locale is a *farming village* in a Western state, a comparative rarity in this country.

Aloysius [as his biographer calls him] is an emotionally well-balanced personality characterized by such traits as affability, cooperativeness, generosity, and humor. He is a healthy young human of average intelligence who often finds the complexities of modern American society more amusing than distressing.

Aloysius was christened in St. Joseph's Church at H—— in the spring of 1923. His parents were second-generation wheat farmers of German-Russian lineage, whose culture patterns were a mixture of traits from eighteenth-century German, nineteenth-century Russian, and twentieth-century American civilizations. This background is of exceptional importance in Aloysius' development and a brief sketch of it may be given.

Aloysius' grandfather had emigrated to the United States in the 1880's, along with several thousand others of his European community, when the Czar in his infinite wisdom issued a decree making military service compulsory for his German-speaking subjects. They settled in western Kansas in small agricultural villages, and promptly began to recreate the pattern of life they had known in Russia. Being peasants they were loath to modify their culture patterns, and their adjustment to life in the new situation is an excellent example of the way in which a people can modify the physical environment to suit their notions of good living and how the environment in turn can modify their ideas. An illustration will suggest the great difference between the cultural heritage of the personality I am analyzing and the General Electric, General

[1] Mr. Robert R. Witt, instructor at the University of Kansas.

Motors, and General Foods background of most Americans. In Russia most of these people had lived on estates of the feudal nobility in small villages, going out each day to work in the fields. They had practiced strip farming. In western Kansas there was no nobility and the physical environment made large farms absolutely necessary, and consequently some of the culture traits associated with strip farming disappeared, but the custom of living in villages and not on the farms has tended to persist. I think it can be said that the family into which Aloysius was born still had more in common with the European peasant than with the typical American farmer.

Aloysius was the fifth in a family of thirteen children and it was within this culture-bearing group that he learned many of the socially acceptable ways in which to solve the problems of living. In infancy the child received care from his mother, father, and other members of the family that differed little from the care generally given to infants in our society. Perhaps there was a more obvious show of affection on the part of the family members and of course he was not bottle-fed, but otherwise there was little difference in the treatment he received. The baby was welcomed and loved and not in any sense regarded as just another factor lowering his parents' standard of living. Babies in this community seemed more important than Hart, Schaffner and Marx clothes, Sunbeam Mixmasters, and Hoover vacuum cleaners.

In Aloysius' early training in the family group the mother played an important role, but by no means so important a role as does the mother in a small, modern American family. She could not, for by the time one baby had been weaned a new baby was scheduled to arrive and therefore this hard-working mother had little time to create problem children. All members of the family operated as a unit to educate one another. The older children with the father and mother taught and cared for the younger members of the family.

Much of Aloysius' cooperativeness and ease in getting along with people may be traced to this early family conditioning. Each member of the family contributed in many ways to the totality of the family life. Each had a job to do and felt important in doing it. By way of illustration I might describe the family activities on a typical Saturday of the winter season. Aloysius was eleven years old. He, his father, and brothers would do the farm chores such as repairing machinery, shoeing a horse, and cleaning the barn. His mother and sisters would care for the younger children, bake bread, and prepare special German-Russian foods, besides churning milk, making wax to polish the floors, and similar tasks. This type of family life, although it would be con-

sidered primitive by most modern Americans, did give Aloysius and the other children a feeling that they were making a genuine contribution to the successful functioning of the group. The prevailing spirit was one of cooperation and security.

As Aloysius entered adolescence, sex of course became important, but the so-called facts of life were no secret to him. His father, mother, and older brothers taught him the sex norms of the German-Russian community. He was taught that sex relations outside wedlock were sinful, but (in effect) one of the most easily forgiven of sins. His general relations with girls were of the easy, familiar variety, and he did not go through the awkward emotional period when most boys are trying to find a way of getting along with girls. His attitudes were definitely the result of his early childhood conditioning; for example, when his parents went to a German dance the whole family went along and the children old enough to walk danced, too.

Another important primary group in Aloysius' life was the school. It was here that he learned to speak, read, and write English. (German was spoken in his home.) He attended a Roman Catholic parochial school and his teachers were all nuns. Later, during the first years of his adolescence, Aloysius attended a small Catholic military academy whose teachers were all priests. It was in these schools that he learned the three R's and the Catholic catechism—the latter being most emphasized. He learned also the Catholic views on social problems. However, the most important part of his education was not in the classroom but on the playground. Through play in the school yard his home conditioning that had led to his good social adjustment was strengthened. The school would have contributed more to Aloysius' development had it not been for the poor quality of the instruction. The school did, nonetheless, succeed in establishing in him an unshakable faith in the validity of the Roman Catholic religion.

Church and school worked together in creating this implicit faith in the Catholic Church. The Church demanded, and Aloysius has always given, outward obedience to the Church's teachings. Frankly, he did not understand, and made no attempt to understand, what the Catholic religion really meant. The Catholic Church was a great convenience, however, for whenever he committed some act he felt to be morally wrong the priest was at hand to promise God's forgiveness. Aloysius was essentially amoral in many social acts that would have caused emotional tensions in his Protestant counterpart; and the Church exercised the function of granting him forgiveness whenever he de-

parted from the straight and narrow path, thus enabling him to resolve his emotional tensions.

Aloysius' development differs radically from the respective developments of the three college girls, owing largely to dissimilarities of the cultural patterns and of the dominant primary groups. All agree in the primacy of the family in development, and after that the school. Though not figuring in some of the sketches, it is certain that play groups and informal circles of friends were quite influential in all cases. We are less certain about couples and religious groups as dominant influences, but we know that they are very important in many if not most people's lives.

These sketches are all of young people in their late teens or early twenties. Primary groups in adult life therefore scarcely entered the picture, although a work group in one case and religious groups in two cases point in that direction. The central groups for adults are their own conjugal families, their occupational groups, their friends or neighbors, and often one or more specialized-interest groups such as a social club or a civic organization.

The sketches may have given somewhat idealized pictures of their subjects' life careers, though no serious distortion is apparent on the surface. They are not altogether representative of this age group, however, for no badly frustrated or emotionally insecure person is included, nor any member of a repressed minority group—and these are important categories in our society.

The sketches indicate reasonably well the influences and differentials in personality development, of couples, congeniality groups, and family, educational, and religious groups. The diversities in any of these categories are of course greater than the life-history materials would suggest and so, accordingly, are the group participations shaping individual careers.

We turn now to groups of persons identified with occupation, social status, sex, race, and nation. In the modern world these are among the most powerful factors in personality development and the most potent of differentiating influences.

OCCUPATIONS

Occupation for the adult corresponds roughly to school for the young. It has been said that a person becomes what he does, and a major share of adult doing is identified with occupation. We know comparatively little about the influences on personality development of the thousands of specialized occupations in our economy.[2] But some things we do know.

One is that relatively the numbers of both skilled and unskilled workers are decreasing and the number of the semiskilled or slightly skilled is increasing. This is because mass production is extended to one field after another and the great bulk of workers in mass-production industries are engaged in routine, repetitive operations. This large and growing class of slightly skilled workers require no special vocational preparation except a few days' or weeks' training on the job.

As a rule, the acquisition and application of high-grade skills is a satisfying experience; it obviously represents a cultivation of the personality such as the unskilled or slightly skilled worker cannot claim. Repetitive, routine work, however, may be well suited to persons of comparatively low intelligence. It has been reported that work so routinized as to require little close attention permits a fantasy type of experience that serves as a kind of compensation, though we do not know whether this is a desirable type of experience. Semiskilled work requiring close attention is said to be more frustrating because it does not permit this sort of "escape." [3]

Just what an occupation means to the individual, however, depends on the whole situation of which it is part. The researches of Mayo and others have demonstrated the crucial importance of social relationships in a plant—both those among the operatives and between the operatives and their supervisors. Mayo shows that

[2] C. L. Lastrucci, "The Status and Significance of Occupational Research," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 11, 1946, pp. 78–84, shows that with one exception—the professional dance musician—no definitive studies of occupations in relation to patterns of living have been made.

[3] The writer is here indebted to Fred Henderson, *The Economic Consequences of Power Production*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. 13–50; Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933, *passim*; and Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment*, F. S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1940, pp. 601–610.

a worker is not satisfied unless he understands the goal of his work—the purpose it is to serve—and that he wishes to serve an economic function deemed valuable to his group. Workers also desire freedom from detailed supervision; they want to be trusted and given a measure of responsibility. The kind of fellowship permitted by plant relationships is also of much significance.

Those in highly skilled occupations, including the professions, usually find their greatest satisfactions in the exercise and perfection of their skills. Where skills are not of a high order greater importance may be attached to earnings and working conditions. Income is important in any occupation, for the scale of living depends on it; in this country an expensive standard of living rates very high in our hierarchy of values.

The member of a vocation not only acquires specific skills and ideas involved in its operations, but more or less appropriate sentiments and attitudes. Thus C. C. North writes, "Everyone expects the business man to be 'hard headed'; the man of affairs, practical; the scholar, idealistic; the clergyman, pious; the administrator, conservative." [4] Such general characterizations are subject to qualifications and exceptions; but casual observation indicates that success in many vocations depends no less on attitudes and sentiments than on knowledge and skill.

Not only the interpersonal contacts on the job itself, but the larger organizations of persons in the same fields are significant features of occupational groupings. Under this heading come the many farm, labor, professional, and business organizations, with the opportunities for social contacts provided by their locals, as well as the economic and educational functions served by the organizations.

In conclusion, mention should be made of occupations that are not gainful in the ordinary sense—first of all, the homemakers, a very large vocational group serving, as everyone knows, most vital functions. There is no limit to the knowledge and skill that may be applied in this vocation, save only the capacities and circumstances of the individual member.

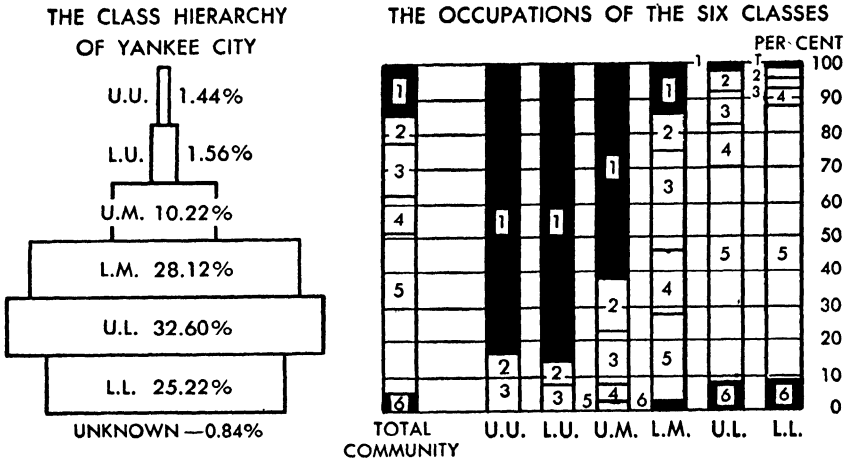
Avocations pursued in leisure hours are a means of personality enrichment for many people. They include work as volunteers in

[4] C. C. North, *Social Differentiation*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1926, p. 239.

community agencies, amateur activity in arts and crafts, scholarly pursuits of various kinds, and a wide range of hobbies.

SOCIAL CLASS

"Difference of rank," says C. C. North,[5] "has much greater power than difference of function to isolate the life of one part of society from another. It forms subgroups which live in physical proximity



Class structure of an American community and its relation to occupational groups. Note that six classes are distinguished, the traditional upper, middle, and lower classes each being divided into upper and lower segments. (Warner and Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, 1941, pp. 88, 262; by permission of the publisher, Yale University Press, New Haven)

to one another, but who inhabit worlds as different as though separated by thousands of miles. Human society presents no stranger phenomenon than this, that persons in daily contact, breathing the same air, frequently sheltered by the same roof, consuming much the same sort of goods, should regard themselves as separated by eternal barriers which even prevent the operation of the ordinary human obligations toward one another."

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 31. Courtesy of the University of North Carolina Press.

While this characterization applies best to earlier periods of society with rigid class systems, gradations of social status in our own country illustrate it. A southern plantation owner and his sharecropper tenants, a wealthy family and its staff of servants, a corporation manager and the men in his employ are examples.

Social class is a term of ill-defined content, often meaning different things to different persons, and in different countries and periods of history. The most commonly assumed class divisions in our country are upper, middle, and lower. Owing to the difficulty of giving these terms definite meanings, more refined classifications have been proposed. Thus, Warner and Lunt in their study of social gradations in a New England city concluded that a six-class system best fitted the data. They really used a modified form of the traditional threefold classification, merely dividing each of the three classes into upper and lower subgroups.[6] Similarly, the Lynds in their second study of Middletown analyzed social gradations in terms of a six-class system, but of a different order. Classes ranged from "a very small top group of the 'old' middle class" that is becoming an upper class, to the sixth and lowest class consisting of irregularly employed, unskilled workers.[7]

In the simpler communities, particularly rural ones, a two-class division is often found. The cleavage between farm owners and farm tenants is very common. It will be recalled that in Peter Blackman's community [8] the owner-tenant cleavage was quite pronounced and that, in addition, Negroes formed a distinct caste.

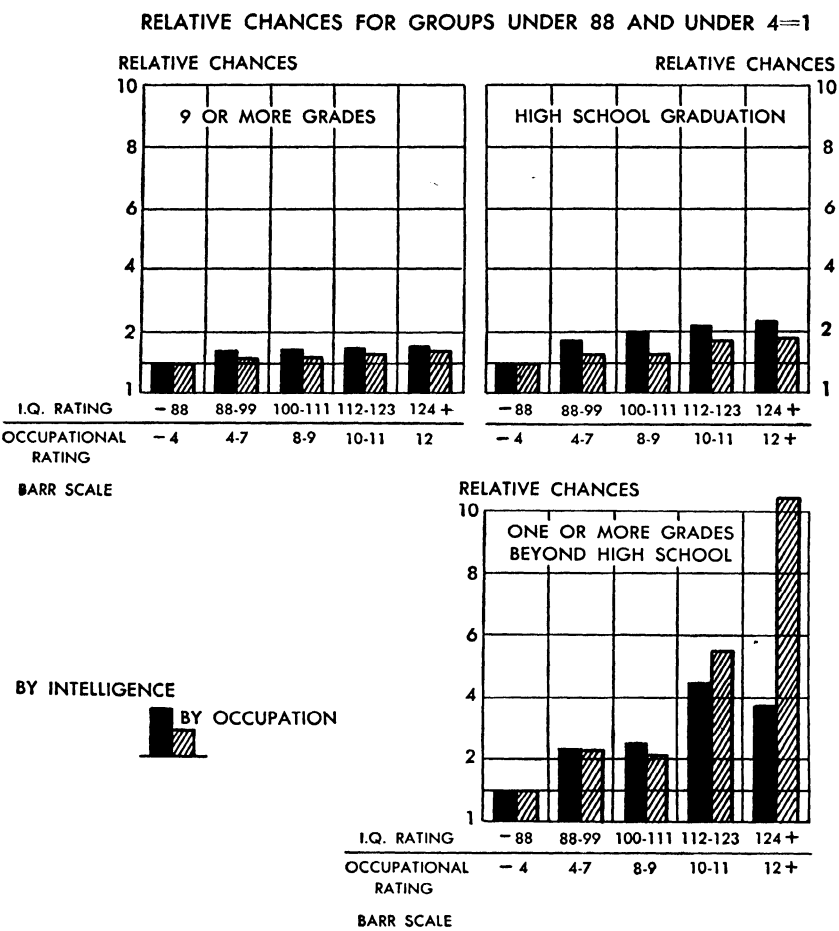
However defined, social classes are only rough groupings of a population and each contains many gradations of status. Social statuses in fact assume the form of a continuum ranging from the highest to the lowest social position. For this reason some scientists would substitute for the idea of social classes the concept of social status hierarchies.[9]

[6] W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941, esp. Chap. 5.

[7] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1937, pp. 458–460.

[8] See Chap. 30.

[9] Emile Benoit-Smullgan, "Status, Status Types and Status Interrelations," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 9, 1944, pp. 151–161. This author would recognize political, economic, and prestige statuses as three distinguishable but interrelated varieties of social status.



Relative influences of boy's intelligence and father's occupational rating on boy's chances of completing specified grades of school. Data based on 5,677 boys entering the sixth grade in Pennsylvania schools in 1926. (Elbridge Sibley, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 7, 1942, p. 329. By permission.)

The factors in social status vary from one community to another but occupation, income, education, and scale of living are virtually universal determinants in this country. Family background, property ownership, and place of residence, however, are important factors in many parts of the country.

What does all this mean in terms of personality-shaping influences and differentials? For one thing, superiority of social status is commonly associated with superior advantages in shaping one's life in accordance with one's choices. "To seek higher social status," write Miller and Dollard, "and the symbols evaluated as 'superior' in the society is . . . no idle quest for mere prestige." Superiority gives superior control of such things as "softer beds, better food, better drinks, more desirable sex objects, less laborious work, better medical service and therefore less pain. . . . People learn that to be superordinated in rank brings a richer and more secure life." [10] What they say applies in reverse to those of inferior status.

Opportunities for education, travel, and other personality-enriching activities also go with superior social status. On the other hand, children of low-status families have limited educational and vocational opportunities and commonly occupy much the same status as their parents. The deference shown by low- to high-status persons is one of the latter's keenest satisfactions, whatever it may feel like to the low-status person. If, as North says, people of different ranks (statuses) live in different worlds, they tend to become different kinds of personalities.

A RACIAL GROUP

In American society, membership in a racial or race-conscious group [11] governs in considerable measure the various influences shaping and differentiating personality patterns. Attention here will be limited to Negroes, our most important racial minority.

Negroes form a distinct caste, which by definition is a social-status grouping into which one is born and from which there is no escape. By the same definition white persons also constitute a caste. American society is thus divided into two castes; certain areas

[10] N. E. Miller and J. S. Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941, p. 188.

[11] A race-conscious group as distinguished from a racial group is regarded by others (and sometimes by its own members) as a true racial group, but biologically it is an amalgamation of many racial strains and is not, therefore, a racial group. The Jews are an oft-cited example. They are a *cultural* group.

have one or more minor castes in addition (*e.g.*, persons of Japanese or Mexican ancestry).

The larger part of the Negro minority lives in the South, but sizable portions are domiciled in Northern cities. In certain Southern states large segments of the population are Negroes, and in one state they almost equal the whites. The potential threat to "white supremacy" is a matter of grave concern in those states, which devote no small share of their political effort to "keeping the Negro in his place."

This caste system and the Negro's place in it are primarily a cultural phenomenon. Its historical origins lie in the slave-labor system prior to the Civil War. The slave-master relationship was an accommodation of the subordinate-superordinate variety, and despite nominal constitutional guarantees of freedom and equality this relationship inevitably carried over into the postwar period. Scientists now generally agree that the alleged biological inferiority of Negroes to whites has not been proved. Proof either way in such matters is extremely difficult and perhaps impossible. It is the superficial physical characteristics of Negroes—and Negro-white hybrids—that, with the cultural factors, set them apart as a distinct caste.

The "democratic feeling" of the people as a whole (to borrow a phrase from G. K. Chesterton) has operated as a sort of ferment in this two-caste situation and motivated attempts to elevate the status of the lower caste. Often the effect has been to raze caste barriers altogether. Such attempts are bearing fruit and the whole caste system is being changed.

How is personality make-up affected by membership in this racial group? The Negro is of course denied many of the opportunities enjoyed by the upper caste. Where segregation prevails they have inferior schools, inferior dwellings, inferior play and recreational facilities, inferior neighborhoods. As a rule they have inferior jobs. These are potent factors in personality development.

The attitudes of Negroes toward whites range from unquestioning acceptance of the dominant white belief in their inferiority to aggression or revolt against the upper caste when the occasion permits. In between are many that, ignoring as best they may their

caste position, look to the Negro community itself for emotional security and opportunities for self-expression.[12]

Of the group influences differentiating personality patterns of Negroes family and social class are of special significance. The racial attitudes of adult Negroes, according to J. S. Dollard, are derived from character-forming processes in the Negro family. The lower-class Negro family seems disorganized compared with the middle-class white family; the mother is more independent, as a rule, being engaged in gainful employment, and there are fewer restrictive controls of children. The middle-class Negro family more nearly approximates the patriarchal form.[13]

Color prejudices are as rife among Negroes as among whites. Through generations of social conditioning they have accepted in the main the color evaluations of the white group and based their own social-status heirarchy on them, though there are qualifying factors. A possible exception to the general rule is the comparatively low status of the very light mulatto, attributed to his too great resemblance to the hated white group.[14]

Dollard has shown through an abundance of life-history material that the values and standards of lower- and middle-class Negroes differ greatly. Members of the middle class "compete for the dominant white values, mastery through skill, prestige, high personal standards." Lower-class Negroes, on the other hand, are motivated rather by "impulse gratification" not only in sex but in a wide gamut of social relationships. Obviously these class differences have a far-reaching influence in the development of personality patterns.

SEX GROUPS

Only in a loose sense can we call one of the sexes a group, although there are innumerable sex-limited groups. In all societies sex has

[12] Dr. S. M. Strong, "Negro-White Relations as Reflected in Social Types," *Am. Jour. Soc.*, Vol. 52, 1946, pp. 23–30, reports several recognized "social types" among Negroes in Chicago with respect to attitudes toward whites. Illustrations are the "white man's nigger," the "mammy," "the smart nigger," and the "race leader."

[13] J. S. Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937, pp. 412–413, 489.

[14] Henrietta Cox, unpublished master's dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

been a differentiating factor in personality development, and not alone because of different reproductive functions. Social roles, ethical norms, and cultural expectancies generally differ in greater or less degree.

Recent researches have shown that comparatively few of the social differences are biologically determined. The average intelligence of the two sexes is about the same; but males are more variable than females intellectually, one study of school children, for example, showing twice as many boys as girls with IQ's above 160 and below 40.[15] Nor have any substantial differences in special aptitudes apart from training been demonstrated. Moreover, studies by Margaret Mead and others have shown that so-called temperamental differences are largely due to cultural factors. A comparative study of three New Guinea societies showed that in one of them both men and women develop what we would regard as feminine temperaments; in another, both sexes develop masculine temperaments; and in the third society men have feminine, and the women masculine, temperaments.[16] Admittedly, however, the child-bearing and nursing functions of women virtually predetermine the vocations of a great majority, although women now enjoy more freedom of vocational choice than formerly.

The cultural expectancy in our society is that boys will eventually become the economic heads and supporters of families, girls the family homemakers. Accordingly, boys are trained for gainful occupations, girls for homemaking; though a growing proportion of girls also prepare themselves for self-support, in case of necessity, or for a "career" of their choice which they may or may not expect to combine with homemaking.

In line with traditional notions, boys in our society are generally taught to be aggressive, girls to be submissive; boys are encouraged to seek social contacts for themselves, while girls are given considerable supervision in this matter. Negatively, our mores frown on the "tomboy" and her parents, and equally on the "sissy" and his parents. These things are taught not by precept alone but by the example of parents and older siblings.

[15] Q. McNemar and S. M. Terman, "Sex Differences in Variational Tendency," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, Vol. 18, 1936, No. 1.

[16] Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1935.

There is reason to believe, however, that male dominance in the family circle, considered as the norm, is disappearing. Dr. Paul Popenoe obtained information on 2,596 families living in all parts of the country, showing that in 35 per cent the husband was the dominant head, while in 28 per cent the wife dominated, and in 37 per cent a partnership arrangement prevailed with joint control by husband and wife. An analysis by W. G. Mather, Jr., of family histories written by 200 college students revealed four types of control: (1) father dominance in 37.8 per cent of the families; (2) mother dominance in 20.2 per cent; (3) joint control in 28.4 per cent; (4) family council control (with children sharing in the decisions) in 13.6 per cent.[17]

In addition to homemaking, women predominate in such occupations as public-school teaching, social work, nursing, telephone switchboard operation, stenographic and secretarial work, and are well represented in other fields. There is also considerable differentiation of the two sexes with respect to party politics, community activities, sports, games, and other leisure-time pursuits. Among the latter is attendance at art exhibits, music concerts, lecture courses, and similar programs, which derive their principal patronage from women. The bearing of all this on sex differentials in personality development should be clear.

Specific differences in personality traits have been reported by various investigators. Females are slightly more pacifistic than males in all classifications by age, socioeconomic status, and religious affiliation. They are more favorably inclined toward organized religion, though this difference varies with occupational level.[18] G. W. Allport reports that in a group of college students relatively more women than men suffered from feelings of inferiority and showed less reduction in conflicts with growing maturity, reflecting, Allport suggests, the disadvantage felt in a "man's world." Women are slightly superior to men in their judgments of people, owing, he thinks, to "the signal importance of personal relationships in women's lives," and related factors. This may also be integrated with "the aesthetic value which is known on the average to stand

[17] Studies cited in Ruth S. Cavan, *The Family*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1942, pp. 180–181, 230.

[18] Gardner Murphy, Lois B. Murphy, and T. M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, rev. ed., Harper and Brothers, New York, 1937, pp. 914–916.

higher in women than in men, and which as we have shown is indispensable to accurate judgment of personality." [19] Allport alludes to women's much keener and more accurate observation of others' clothes than men make. This is in line with the fact, strangely neglected in scientific studies, that clothes mean much more to a woman than to a man, and are indeed one of her major interests.

Other specific differences have been pointed out by C. C. North.[20] He cites a statement by C. H. Cooley "that women are as a rule more dependent upon immediate personal support and corroboration than are men. The thought of woman needs to fix itself upon some person in whose mind she can find a stable and compelling image of herself by which to live." This dependent attitude in woman, says North, "is matched by pride in self-support and self-direction in the man and a still greater pride in serving as a pillar of strength to the dependent woman."

In other passages North suggests that there is a double standard not only in sex morals but in other social relationships. "Honesty, truthfulness, above-board dealing, courage, justice are traits of the man-as-he-should-be," but we expect less conformity with these standards by woman, because they constitute the code of a world foreign to her. On the other hand, "modesty, faithfulness, sympathy, loyalty, tactfulness, patience, meekness" are traits expected of a "true woman." Moreover, there is cultivated in the woman as a means of entertaining and captivating the male the qualities of "gayness, vivacity, loquacity"; while men are encouraged for a similar reason to be more grave and serious.

These broad comparisons are obviously matters of emphasis and, even so, subject to endless exceptions and qualifications. Definitive studies of such trait-differences are greatly to be desired. Differences of this order are to be understood largely in terms of the sex subcultures in our society. They are therefore bound to change with the evolution of men's and women's statuses, but at present they are powerful factors in personality patterns.

[19] G. W. Allport, *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1937, pp. 174–176, 516–517.

[20] C. C. North, *Social Differentiation*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1926, pp. 107 ff.

THE NATION

According to our nomenclature, a nation is a community, not a specific group. It belongs to a *genus* of which local communities and, in this country, the individual states and some regions are *species*. As everybody knows, nations are extremely important in the modern world, and nationalism one of the most powerful "social forces." In one sense nationalism is the supreme religion of modern times. In our conceptions of ourselves membership in the nation ranks higher than any group connection with the possible exception of family and vocation.

Nations have but few common attributes. Each thinks of itself as one people with a common past and a common body of traditions. Excepting national minorities each occupies a specified territory and each enjoys—or aspires to—political independence. Most but not all have a common language and a fairly homogeneous racial composition. Many share much the same body of science, technology and, in less degree, music, literature, and other arts.

Differences are no less pronounced. Some have democratic, others, authoritarian political institutions. Some have private ownership of capital as the predominant form; others, collective ownership. In some the status of women is relatively high, as in the United States; in others it is quite low, as in Japan. In some nations (notably France and Russia) racial minorities are treated tolerantly; in others, including the United States, intolerance and discrimination are common. Nations also differ in religion and morals, in cultivation and appreciation of the arts, in educational facilities and opportunities. Countries differ greatly, too, owing to differences of language and institutions, in the literatures accessible to their peoples, in the printed materials of newspaper and periodical, in radio and motion picture communications.

National differences in wealth, in standards of living, in political power and prestige are of course very pronounced. Peoples of all nations are highly ethnocentric; but identifying oneself in one's sentiments and attitudes with a wealthy, powerful nation is hardly the same as identification with a poor, weak nation.

These differences and similarities are powerful factors in personality patterns. So vital are the differences that they are serious

barriers to understanding between nations, and therefore one of the chief obstacles to enduring peace and cooperation in international relationships.

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing discussion has been concerned with group influences and differentials in personality patterns, particularly those identified with couples, families, play groups, schools, churches, occupations, social classes, racial minorities, sexes, and nations. Omitted from any except incidental consideration are youth organizations, political parties, local and regional communities, special and general publics, civic and welfare agencies, and a variety of recreational groups. Clearly these have far-reaching effects in the formation and differentiation of personality patterns.

Still another variety of group relationship is basic in personality development. This is the relationship between in-groups (or we-groups, as they are sometimes called) and out-groups (or others' groups). The members of an in-group identify themselves with it emotionally; an out-group has the same characteristics, but simply has a different membership from one's own group. In-group–out-group relationships are of special significance in areas of competition, conflict, and accommodation, which also are areas of limited cooperation and assimilation. Such relationships are conspicuous in the interactions of different races, parties, economic classes, nations, and often in the rivalries of different communities and even of different schools.

The individualities and the partial uniquenesses of groups have been featured in earlier discussions. No two groups of the same category have more than a limited resemblance. The members of any group have marked individualities to begin with; the constellations of members forming two groups are no less different. The numerous groups, communities, and populational categories (such as race and sex) affecting the personality development of each individual, taken in conjunction with the differences in those groupings for different individuals, raise to a high degree the individuality of the human personality.

Yet a large measure of mutual understanding and cooperation is

possible. The "psychic unity of mankind"—possession of like capacities and drives by all members of the race—provides one foundation for this mutuality. Adjustment to natural environments having many elements in common serves as another. Common culture patterns—language, mores, institutions, technologies, arts, commodities, services—constitute a third foundation. Thus we have unity as well as diversity in personality patterns, sufficient at least to permit cooperation in the business of living.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is meant by group differentials in personality development? Illustrate from two of your acquaintances of the same age and sex.
2. What primary groups were considered most influential in each of the three "personal narratives," and why in each case?
3. What factors besides sex made the development of Aloysius' personality quite different from that of the girls in the three personal narratives?
4. Define and illustrate from your own experience the importance of couples (as a primary group) in one's life career.
5. With the aid of illustrations from your own observations and experiences indicate the nature and importance of personality differentials associated with (*a*) occupation, (*b*) social class or status, (*c*) race, (*d*) sex, and (*e*) nation.
6. Of the groups receiving little or no attention in this chapter, name those that have played an important role in your life, and indicate for each the nature of its influence.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Compare two relatives or close acquaintances of yours with regard to the group influences in their respective developments, and point out probable differentiations in attitudes and interests due to these influences.
2. Compare two persons known to you who belong to different vocations, classes, races, sexes, or nationalities, and attempt to identify the causally related differences in interests and patterns of living.

SELECTED READINGS

COOLEY, CHARLES HORTON, *Social Organization*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1909.

The parts on Primary Aspects of Organization, Social Classes, and Institutions cover in detail much of the subject matter of the present chapter.

DAVIS, JEROME, HARRY ELMER BARNES and Others, *An Introduction to Sociology*, rev. ed., D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1931.

Book III, Social Organization, discusses a great variety of groups and associations and their influence on personality development.

Chapter 33

PERSONALITY AND CIVILIZATION

No civilization known to history has been developed with a view to the enrichment of human personality. Enlightened individuals may set up such a goal and direct their efforts to its attainment. Many have measurably succeeded in the quest, but such persons have always been in the minority.

Contemporary civilization in the United States is no exception. The attainment of a well-balanced, responsible personality hardly ranks as a social goal, though many individuals favored by endowment and opportunity develop such personalities. How this has come about is the theme of the present chapter. Trends and movements toward a personality-centered culture are explored in Chapter 34.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Somerset Maugham has said somewhere that the phenomenal growth of the United States in power and influence is one of the great social movements of human history. Among the traits at the center of the movement are individual initiative, resourcefulness, inventiveness, competitiveness, venturesomeness, organizing ability, and (it must be admitted) no small measure of aggressiveness and ruthlessness.

These traits were accentuated if not evoked in the process of settling the country. Their most conspicuous expressions at present are technological advancement, scientific progress, and large-scale production. Yet there is little opportunity for their expression in the large and growing body of slightly skilled labor that is characteristic of mass production.

Other traits were evolved during the long period of settlement. Agriculture was the predominant occupation. The vast expanse

of free land to the west made economic independence as a farm owner possible to all who wished it. Settlement in the open country on more or less isolated homesteads became the rule. A rough approximation of social equality prevailed and over the generations profoundly modified people's attitudes. The Southland and the cities were partial exceptions, but in the main processes of settlement arose the democratic sentiment which has so vitally affected our political institutions, our educational facilities, our family controls, and is now operating to democratize other areas of social life. Democratic feeling is not so powerful as it might be, nor is it shared by everybody; but it is a dominating personality trait of the American people and our most precious cultural heritage.

The early settlers practiced a self-sufficing type of farming which made them largely independent of the community and the state. The type of individualism thus engendered has persisted in modified forms as a national trait. It is accompanied by a tendency to oppose communal and governmental controls demanded by changed social and economic conditions, with only a minor interest shown in citizenship and public affairs.

During this entire period—roughly, the whole of the nineteenth century—life revolved around the home, the occupation, and, in less degree, the neighborhood and the church. Family and occupation are still the dominant interests of the people. The national state in times of crisis can command a superior loyalty, but in ordinary times few people actually function as members of the state. While formal education is now a popular institution, its main functions have been to implement family and vocational interests, together with related ambitions for status and prestige.

Private ownership of land and other forms of capital prevailed during this period. Few restrictions on their use were imposed by government; with natural resources of unparalleled richness available for exploitation the more ambitious and acquisitive turned their attention to the single-hearted pursuit of wealth with its accompanying power and prestige.

As the industrialization of the country proceeded an increasing part of the population was drawn to the cities. Inequalities of wealth and income became more pronounced. The private inheritance of wealth contributed to the growth of inequality. Eventu-

ally a small number of wealthy families, of which the Vanderbilts, Rockefellers, and Harrimans are examples, came to dominate American industry and finance, besides owning a substantial share of leading newspapers and periodicals and exercising no small influence on party politics and political action through financial contributions.[1] The power of this small oligarchy was somewhat curbed in the 1930's, but was re-established during the war and the years immediately following.

The political, economic, and other cultural changes tending to modify the traits and attitudes of the American people may be elaborated a little further.

(1) A condition of marked economic inequality has succeeded a rough approximation of economic equality. We cannot correlate inequalities of income with differences in personality traits, but it is obvious that larger incomes provide a higher measure of security, opportunity, and independence, while seriously inadequate incomes not only mean less of all these things but also cause much downright want and frustration.

Comparisons of consumer expenditures on lower and upper income levels offer more specific hints. In 1944 families with incomes under $500 spent on the average $62 for medical care, $3 for recreation, $14 for reading, and $1 for formal education, while families with incomes of $5,000 or more expended on these same items $265, $137, $43, and $50 respectively.[2] Expenditures on other income levels ranged between these extremes. It is hardly speculative to say that such great disparities of expenditure are associated with differences in attitudes and interests, though exact data on this relationship are wanting.

Oddly enough, however, democratic sentiment has not been weakened during the time economic inequalities have been growing, but, if anything, strengthened. This sentiment has sanctioned a greater democratization of economic relationships themselves, as in the growth of cooperatives and implementation of labor's right to organize.

(2) Party politics became a special type of business intent on

[1] Ferdinand Lundberg, *America's 60 Families*, Vanguard Press, New York, 1937, esp. Chaps. 5, 7, 8, 12.

[2] Estimates based on sample families in cities of 2,500 and over; source, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, January, 1946.

wealth and power during this same period. With the great number of elective offices to be filled, elaborate party organizations proved necessary; experience showed that party leaders and workers could make good livelihoods if not fortunes for themselves through the capture of political power and with it the control of elective offices, appointive positions, and other forms of patronage. Powerful economic interests have much to gain or lose from political action and have accordingly been the largest contributors to party coffers. This oligarchical control of partisan politics has tended among other things to diminish the interest of citizens in politics and public affairs.

(3) Large-scale production requires a large volume of sales. A growing share of our economic effort has been devoted to increasing the extent of markets for products. The development of transportation facilities made possible a national market with large potential patronage. The advancement of technology created specialized industries and new jobs. Eventually the bulk of the working population produced for the market—for a money income—instead of for their own consumption. With the growth of specialization a highly interdependent economy emerged, so that now each major industry depends on other industries for raw materials, supplies, and services, and on the buying public for the sale of its products. All classes depend on the market and the market is beyond the control of the individual wage earner, farmer, or businessman. Economic independence in its former sense has disappeared.

(4) The national economy is a single economy. Its prosperity depends on the coordination of all its parts. If any sector of the economy suffers, other sectors are adversely affected. Some of the necessary coordination is effected through the processes of supply and demand, but much of it must be undertaken by the national government, which is the only instrumentality with the powers and the resources to act for the country as a whole. Thus the total national income in 1932, with government intervention at a minimum, was only a third of the national income ten years later with a high degree of government coordination in effect.[3] Government

[3] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1943, Table 423.

on national, state, and local levels now ranks next to family and occupation as a factor in our lives.

(5) Governmental action takes the form of legal regulation in large part, but it also assumes the form of direct public services, as in education, sanitation, and municipal water supply. Generally speaking, private enterprise has the right of way in producing needed goods or services, but limited possibilities of profit have made public provisions necessary in many fields, and the scope of such services has been gradually expanding. The responsibilities of citizens have grown with the growth of government functions. Governments can be representative and efficient only if the citizens for whom they exist take the trouble to make them so.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN LIFE

The prevailing philosophy of life in the United States sets up an expensive standard of living as the supreme good. This philosophy holds, in effect, that the central goal of life consists in somehow getting as much money as possible and using it in obtaining the values and satisfactions money will command. Many people reject this conception and perhaps few accept it in unqualified form, but it is largely in accord with the getting-and-spending behavior of the American people. While money income is now essential to life on any level, and larger incomes than many people receive are essential to decent living, our prevailing schemes of life place an exaggerated emphasis on money and the values money will assure.

The previous historical sketch indicated some of the reasons for our pecuniary conceptions of welfare. Our rich natural resources have made high material standards possible. Moreover, during the settlement of the country the bulk of the population had to concentrate its efforts on procuring food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities. This has always been the chief task of mankind, only the privileged few being exempt from it. Finally, tangible things, external objects, or material commodities are more readily understood by the average man than are resources of the mind or potentials of personality.

The attitudes and interests thus determined have continued to

our own generation, though our productive capacity now permits greater attention to the enrichment of living itself. But our business system has operated to strengthen those same attitudes and interests. Private ownership of economic enterprises and the exigencies of competition virtually compel business to devote a large part of its effort to selling goods.[4] Sales promotion, especially advertising, is a form of propaganda. Its objective is the intensification and multiplication of commodity wants such as the given enterprise is ready to supply. The process has now become part of the social medium in which we live and the greatest educational force in contemporary life, particularly in the formation of working ideals and interests. This is underlined by the fact that the press and radio now derive practically all of their earnings from advertising, and thus are in a sense special sales departments of private business.

The commodities sold most readily, in addition to food, clothing, and other necessities, are those offering easy and pleasant ways of spending free time. Among these are automobiles, newspapers, magazines, and radios, and the entertainment offered by movie houses, "juke joints," and night clubs. In all these commodities, customer skills are of low grade and creative interests all but negligible. More and more the leisure hours of the masses are being pre-empted by the commercialized forms of recreation. Avocations and pastimes of a less passive, more creative nature are, as a rule, fostered by noncommercial agencies. In former generations—before the commercialization of leisure got under way—people made their own recreation and derived from the process satisfactions of a kind not offered by passive, purchasable amusements.

A peculiar philosophy of leisure has evolved along with the commercialization of leisure. This philosophy holds that a "good time" is the proper object of free time, qualified only by prudential considerations such as avoidance of overly risky infractions of the laws and the mores.

These trends in the use of free time take on a new meaning when considered in relation to work time. Except for a small minority

[4] According to data assembled by *Fortune* (February, 1940) more than six million persons in 1930 were engaged in selling or promoting the sale of goods; the Twentieth Century Fund (*Does Distribution Cost Too Much?* 1939, p. 226) estimates the total cost of advertising in 1937 at two billion dollars.

of technicians, executives, and professional specialists, workers increasingly derive their incomes from repetitive, slightly skilled production processes that are poor in work satisfactions; in their leisure hours they use as much of this income as possible in enjoying the commodities sold them as means of having a good time. Thus there is an impoverishment of life during both working and leisure hours. Mental effort is minimized, as is truly skilled activity of any description.

The finer values tend to elude this getting-and-spending scheme of life. So do the growth of insight and understanding, the participation in political and communal responsibilities, the appreciation of beauty in nature and in art, the finer kind of family life, and the joy of creative effort itself. These values are not purchasable, however necessary money may be in their attainment. They must be worked for on their own terms if one is to possess them. Much of the necessary effort must come in one's leisure hours. Political democracy, for example, is largely a leisure-time activity, for the organized civic study and action which is its essence falls outside working hours.

The commodity conception of welfare interferes with fine personality development in other ways. It places the accent heavily on vendible goods and services, that is, commodities salable to the family group or single individual with the required purchasing power. By the same token it militates against the development of needed services that do not lend themselves to profit-making and must therefore be sponsored by the community.

The most conspicuous instance at present is public education As is well known, the compensation of teachers in elementary and secondary schools is so inadequate that building up a teaching personnel of the right caliber is virtually impossible. Yet in view of their potential influence the schools, along with a few other leadership institutions, are entitled to the pick of the country's men and women. The wealthier, more influential taxpayers are opposed to the necessary tax increases, and the general public is not too interested, being more concerned probably with cars, radios, and the movies.

Another instance is medical care. Evidence shows that a great

majority of the population cannot afford good medical care under the present system, yet private practitioners have resolutely opposed—presumably because of their own financial interests—any health-insurance program guaranteeing such care. The public health services, largely concerned in preventive medicine, have been consistently starved on niggardly appropriations, owing to the opposition of taxpayers, and all too often of private physicians.

The story is much the same with public provision of play and recreational facilities which, incidentally, are devoted to the more active, creative forms of free-time activity. Opposition of taxpayers and indifference of the general public are found here as in the other cases.

These instances exemplify another factor in the retarded growth of the social services. Profit-making enterprises can spend huge amounts of money propagandizing potential buyers of their wares, since the costs are passed on to the buyers themselves in the prices charged them; no such resources are available to the social services for "selling" their claims to the public.

SUCCESS AND COMPETITION

American history has accentuated competitive processes in the formation of our working ideals and the appraisal of personal attainments. Wealth and income defined in terms of vendible goods has become the dominant goal of endeavor. With everybody free, within broad limits, to seek the largest possible share of those goods, intense competition in the quest became inevitable. There is competition for patronage among industrial and commercial concerns, and competition for jobs and promotions among wage and salaried workers. Intertwined with and motivating these various forms is competition for power, for social status, and—particularly among professional men—for recognition.

Competition for goods or values of limited supply is a ubiquitous process in social life and one cannot well quarrel with its prominence in American society. It has its own intrinsic values, including the zest it lends to interpersonal and intergroup relations, and in some fields at least the approximate apportionment of awards according

to merit. From the standpoint of balanced personality development, however, competition in the United States is defective in three major aspects.

First, goals are largely defined in competitive terms, that is, as success in outdistancing other competitors. This is true of the quest for wealth, power, social status, and even the cruder forms of popularity. In this game the victors are few, the vanquished many. Untold frustrations and discouragements are among the consequences.

More serious is the depreciation of noncompetitive values as goals of endeavor. Keeping up with significant events, participating in public affairs, deepening one's aesthetic appreciations, broadening one's sympathies and interests, constructive discipline of the feelings and emotions—these are among the noncompetitive and also the most precious values of human life. The more they are shared, the more sharable they become.

Second, little provision is made in our culture for those who are unable to meet the test of competition—the physically disabled, the mentally maladjusted, and people in the older age groups. Large segments of these classes are unemployable under competitive conditions. Yet self-support is a cultural imperative in our society. The impact of unemployability on one's morale, therefore, is devastating. Yet provision of useful, self-respecting employment for all except the completely disabled is entirely feasible.[5]

Many cannot successfully compete for fellowship and social esteem, for the favor of the opposite sex, for partners in marriage. Disabilities in these important matters cause incalculable frustrations and miseries, yet such disabilities can often be corrected or alleviated. But no society, whether competitive or noncompetitive, has grappled with this group of problems.

Third, competition is unequal to start with. Many competitors

[5] "Millions of Americans are helpless invalids living on public or private charity when they might, with proper training, learn to earn their own livings, says Dr. Howard L. Rusk of the Baruch Committee on Physical Medicine. . . . Dr. Rusk insists that the whole man must be treated, his attitudes, aptitudes, ambitions and social relations as well as the specific difficulties attributable to his disability. . . . If training centers were universally available . . . 97 per cent of seriously handicapped people could be rehabilitated to the point where employment [is possible]. Most of these can do full-time work . . ."—Lawrence (Kans.) *Daily Journal-World*, February 26, 1947.

labor under serious handicaps while others enjoy special advantages apart from any considerations of merit. Children of the poor have little opportunity for the education that would equip them for vocations on the higher levels. In contrast, children of the well-to-do almost have such education thrust upon them, even when they are ill-suited to it. This is seen in the fact that almost half of the number of superior high-school students fail to continue their education after graduating. Competition here is not between students as such but between parental pocketbooks. Nevertheless a number of poor but talented youths manage to surmount their financial handicaps and attend college.

Gifted young people denied adequate educational opportunities are by that fact denied opportunities for the realization of their potentialities. Even more serious, if possible, is the loss to society of undeveloped talent and genius.[6]

LAISSEZ-FAIRE POLICY TOWARD THE INDIVIDUAL

The prodigal waste of talent and genius is a consequence of the country's laissez-faire policy toward the individual. By this is meant that the individual in the main is left to fend for himself, although in contemporary society his well-being largely depends on conditions beyond his control. But the policy is not unqualified and indeed is gradually being supplanted by one better adapted to the situation.

Much has been done to control conditions which the individual by himself cannot cope with. Attempts are made to rescue the helpless victims of gross parental neglect and cruelty. A modicum of schooling is provided for all. Some assistance is given those out of work in finding jobs. Unemployment and old-age insurance protects many against demoralizing changes in living standards. The destitute and physically handicapped are given sufficient assistance at least to prevent outright starvation. In many communities, disorganized families, juvenile delinquents, discharged prisoners, and "problem children" receive professional assistance with their problems. Churches and youth organizations supple-

[6] Bruce Bliven, *The Men Who Make the Future*, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1942, Chap. 3.

ment the home and the school in training the young. Public play and recreational facilities are available to a great many. Much wise counseling is offered by teachers, ministers, psychiatrists, and social workers. Expert vocational guidance is provided by advanced educational systems. Personnel work in many industrial and commercial concerns has the worker's as well as the owner's interests in view.

These are all significant contributions to the liquidation of our laissez-faire policies toward the individual. They fall short, however, in two ways. First, the coverage of all these provisions is far from complete, not to mention the poor quality of much that is done. Youth organizations, for instance, reach only a small fraction of possible members, and they enroll comparatively few "underprivileged" youth, the class that needs them most.

Second, certain problems are all but neglected, some scarcely recognized as problems. Among these are the problems of the overprotected, repressed, or rejected child. Community agencies can intervene only where serious abuse or neglect has been reported. The better schools—especially nursery schools and kindergartens—can do something. But most of these problems are untouched and we have little notion of how they might be brought under control.

It is much the same with frustrated or otherwise maladjusted individuals of older age-groups. Many need professional assistance, but comparatively few receive it. Some are not aware of the need; others hesitate to seek assistance because of the stigma often attached to it; still others cannot afford competent professional care.

A positive, dynamic approach to the problem of building personality has scarcely been envisioned. Most of the work now done is trouble shooting—helping "problem" individuals—or group activity. There is little thought, and certainly no policy, of helping the individual appraise his potentialities both as a useful member of society and as a fine, happy personality in his own right, then seeing to it that opportunities for the realization of those potentialities are provided. True, the idea of vocational guidance and training has won general acceptance—somewhat ironically, be it noted, at a time when large-scale production is rapidly curtailing genuine vocational opportunities. But the need transcends vocational considerations. It embraces the noncompetitive as well as competitive values of

human life and leisure-time interests equally with work interests. Clearly, contemporary society is not organized to help its members make the best of themselves and contribute their best to society itself.

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

Civilization is rooted in local areas. Communities and neighborhoods in the United States, like other phases of our national life, have grown up with relatively little social control. Persons questioning the soundness of this or that aspect of community growth had little influence before the turn of the century, and popular inertia and special interests together have since stood in the way of the thoroughgoing changes essential to the finer patterns of living.

The physical structure of the modern city is a product of the industrial revolution. That revolution itself was identified with the use of steam power, which served to concentrate on small areas both the producing plants and the operatives. Overcrowding of land areas and congestion of populations were the result.

Overcrowding made decent home life difficult and often impossible for urban people, except for a minority of well-to-do families that could escape to the outlying districts. Reliance on private building and real-estate interests made good housing for the low-income groups impossible. "Two fifths of our nonfarm homes were known to be below civilized standards before the war . . . no private houses have been built for low-income families for decades; none will be." [7] Such families must live in the cast-off houses of the higher-income groups.

In the typical urban home, rich or poor, there is little useful work for children to do, such as develops a feeling of responsibility and a sense of achievement. The lack is made good only in part through play and recreational activities outside the home. At the same time, raising children in crowded city neighborhoods becomes a most exacting task for the homemaker. Cities are scarcely designed to foster fine, stable family life, and least of all to provide children with a suitable environment.

[7] Charles Abrams, "Homeless America," *The Nation*, Vol. 163, 1946, p. 724.

The modern city evolved along with the getting-and-spending philosophy of life; high standards of living have competed all too successfully with the satisfactions of bringing up sizable families. The reproductive rate of urban folk is much below that of farm folk; in the cities the rate among the poor and unschooled is higher than among the comfortable and well-schooled.[8] The net reproduction rate of urban populations during the period 1935–1940 was only 72.6 per cent of that required for population replacement. Thirty per cent of urban white women are childless; another 20 per cent have only one child. Commenting on these facts, Thompson says that "it is the women with no children or with one child who, in general, set the mode-of-living considered most desirable by the urban community. They are creating a pattern of living which certainly cannot be considered good if we are thinking farther ahead than our own immediate personal interests. No pattern of living which does not include reproduction can be other than ephemeral. A preoccupation with personal ambitions, luxury, and ease of living so great that children have no place in life does not augur well for the future of our civilization." [9]

SELF-DISCIPLINE

Contemporary society subordinates cultivation of feelings and emotions to other purposes; there is in fact little explicit education of the individual in this side of life. The schools emphasize the acquisition of intellectual and manual skills, although growing interest in the arts indicates some shift of emphasis. Emotions are mobilized in promoting patriotism and supporting the mores and folkways, but there is little thought of a systematic culture with a view to realizing the finer personality potentials.

Business enterprise in stimulating commodity demands cultivates a variety of emotions and attitudes but this is primarily in the interest of the enterprisers themselves, not of the customers. It is, however, our most potent form of emotional education. New fears and desires are created and economic wants intensified, often out of all proportion to the means of satisfying them.

[8] W. S. Thompson in E. T. Peterson (ed.), *Cities Are Abnormal*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1946, p. 66.

[9] *Op cit.*, p. 74. Courtesy of University of Oklahoma Press.

With the development of this process and of the secular outlook that accompanied it, the older religions declined, and with them their intensive cultivation of emotions and attitudes. Equivalents of those older disciplines more congenial to modern perspectives have not been evolved, although they are psychologically possible. The problem is not a matter of education alone but also, and more basically, one of building up a science and technology of emotional management and self-discipline.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What personality traits were accentuated in the process of settling this country? Which of these have continued in modified form as components of our "national character"?

2. What were the dominant interests of the people during the period of settlement? What was the prevailing attitude toward political and other forms of social control?

3. On what basis was party politics eventually organized, and why?

4. How has the division of income changed since the early period of our national history? What effect has this had on the democratic sentiment of the people that originated during the same period?

5. How are materially different income levels reflected in personality traits and interests? Illustrate, if possible, from a low-income and a high-income family known to you.

6. What part does government play in the stabilization of our national economy, and why?

7. Describe the "philosophy of American life" and explain the principal factors in its development. What values are emphasized, and what values depreciated, in this philosophy?

8. Discuss the part played by competition in our ideas of success. What are its major defects from the standpoint of balanced personality development? Give significant illustrations from your local community.

9. What is meant by our laissez faire policy toward the individual? Indicate some of its obvious consequences in your community.

10. How would you rate conditions in the modern city as influences on personality development? How do typical housing conditions complicate the care of children? What is the connection between "high" standards of living and population replacement, and what is its significance?

11. In what ways is the feeling and emotional side of life exploited in our civilization? How might systematic culture of the emotions contribute to the enrichment of personality? Indicate by means of specific illustrations the possibilities of such a culture.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Show how the traits, attitudes, and interests of a close acquaintance have been influenced by the personality-shaping influences discussed in this chapter.

2. Prepare a report on social, educational, and religious programs in your community that are designed to enhance opportunities for the development of well-balanced, competent personalities, especially for "underprivileged" or handicapped groups.

SELECTED READINGS

LYND, ROBERT S., and HELEN M. LYND, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

A critical exposition of American civilization in a typical urban community, and the diverse schemes of life it prescribes.

———, *Middletown in Transition*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1937.

Covers much the same ground as the earlier study, but is concerned especially with the important changes subsequent to that study and their significance for Middletown residents.

Chapter 34

A PERSONALITY-CENTERED CULTURE

IN this chapter we shall attempt to arrive at answers to such questions as the following: What trends toward a personality-centered culture may be discerned in American society? How far have these trends progressed? What are organized movements contributing? Which problems are now relatively neglected? What exactly do we mean by a personality-centered culture?

MEANING OF A PERSONALITY-CENTERED CULTURE

By this term is meant, first of all, the culture patterns, such as social institutions, folkways, mores, working ideals, that are concerned with the development of stable, socially responsible, reasonably contented human beings, to which supreme goal all lesser purposes are subordinated. The statement applies to all members of society, including unborn generations whose way of life will be determined in part by people now living.

More specifically, this means a process (largely one of self-discovery) of appraising the potentialities of each individual for a useful, satisfying career; determining the social needs to which the individual may best contribute; and providing the educational opportunities and the various special services involved in the fulfillment of this promise. The major responsibility will rest with organized society—that is, with the members of society organized to provide themselves with the many services essential to this purpose.

The policy is one of seeing the individual through the many situations that are beyond his control in our complex society. Such a program will often include the individual's family and also other groups with which he may be identified. It calls for an extensive program of group and community organization designed to make

possible the development of well-integrated personalities. This does not mean paternalism or regimentation, giving the individual help he does not need or want, or relieving him of responsibilities that are rightfully his. On the contrary, responsibilities matching his capacities will be placed before him and he will be expected to meet them.

PERSONNEL STRUCTURE OF A WELL-ORDERED SOCIETY

An individual is identified with his society and its constituent groups, whatever the dominant values may be. But a certain pattern of social organization is prescribed by a personality-centered culture. As pointed out elsewhere,[1] our most vital interests—those we really care about and devote ourselves to—have a primary-group basis. The most common examples are families, work associates, and play groups. The converse of this proposition is also true. A potentially vital interest must be given a primary-group organization if its possibilities are to be realized. The most conspicuous example in contemporary society is citizenship, which lacks a primary-group basis and is in consequence far less enlightened and efficient than it might be.

Vital interests affecting a considerable number of people require implementation not only by primary groups but by the organization of primary groups themselves on a community, state, or nationwide basis. Only thus can citizens, for example, deal with public questions on various governmental levels. According to our terminology, a complex organization of this nature is an intermediate group. Familiar examples are the League of Women Voters, the Red Cross, and various youth organizations.

This emphasis on the primary and intermediate group basis of vital interests does not depreciate the functions of communities, special publics, and secondary groups. The mass-communication agencies—press, radio, television, the movies—by which these latter groupings are implemented obviously play a big part in our lives, as do the groupings themselves. Much of our free time is preempted by these agencies. But, exceptions apart, this use of leisure

[1] Seba Eldridge, *New Social Horizons*, D. Appleton–Century Company, New York, 1941, pp. 89–91.

hours is relatively passive in nature. The primary and intermediate groups operating the agencies are the active personnel and derive most from them in the way of personality enrichment.

One other facet of personnel structure is important: the relation of the specialist to the layman or, more comprehensively, of producer to consumer. As production for the market gradually displaced production for home consumption, ready-made goods and services played an ever-increasing role in people's lives and correspondingly limited their initiative and activity. Ready-made entertainments—including newspapers, periodicals, radio, television, and movie programs—are significant illustrations.

A personality-centered culture, in contrast, calls for enlightened, active laymanship geared to our system of specialization. The most fruitful use of even the ready-made goods and services depends on that type of activity. The family budget, for instance, represents not only the outlays for purchasable goods and services but the family's scheme of life and therefore its activities and interests. And provision of adequate information regarding vendible goods and services depends on the pressure of consumer interests.

The lay-specialist relationship is more crucial in the case of values that each must create for himself in cooperation with his fellows. Specialists may assist in the quest for these values, but active collaboration by the layman is essential. Political leaders cannot give a people democracy; teachers cannot give them knowledge; ministers cannot give them ethical ideals, and physicians cannot give them health. These values are part of living itself and can no more be given to us by others than others can do our living for us.

What groups and communities may mean to their members obviously depends on the members themselves. The contributions of individual members vary as much as the individuals do; yet while they cannot be predicted in advance, much may be done to enhance their usefulness. Scientific techniques of choosing leaders and selecting the memberships of specific groups are being evolved.[2]

[2] Cf. H. H. Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1943; also J. L. Moreno's pioneer study, *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph No. 58, Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, Washington, D.C., 1934.

Experience in a great variety of personal-social situations has also demonstrated the value of the experienced counselor in aiding individuals to appraise their capacities and limitations and to formulate their activity programs accordingly. Indeed, so complex is contemporary civilization and so intricate is the individual's personality that skilled counseling promises to become a virtually universal technique in aiding individuals to make the most of themselves and contribute their best to society.[3] Lay as well as professional leadership also has an important place in primary, secondary, and intermediate groups furthering the interests of their members.[4]

We shall now consider trends, movements, and problems in major areas of social life, bearing on the development of a personality-centered civilization. Among those areas are marriage and family life, juvenile and adult education, occupations and industries, politics and citizenship, and cultivation of attitudes and emotions.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

The vocational personnel of families is the heterogeneous group called homemakers, most of them housewives. A considerable percentage are also gainfully employed outside the home, the majority because of necessity. Mothers and housewives are not a highly selected class in the sense that members of a recognized profession are; their intellectual capacities range from the highest to the lowest, and personality traits tending to qualify or disqualify them for their vocational functions are no less varied.

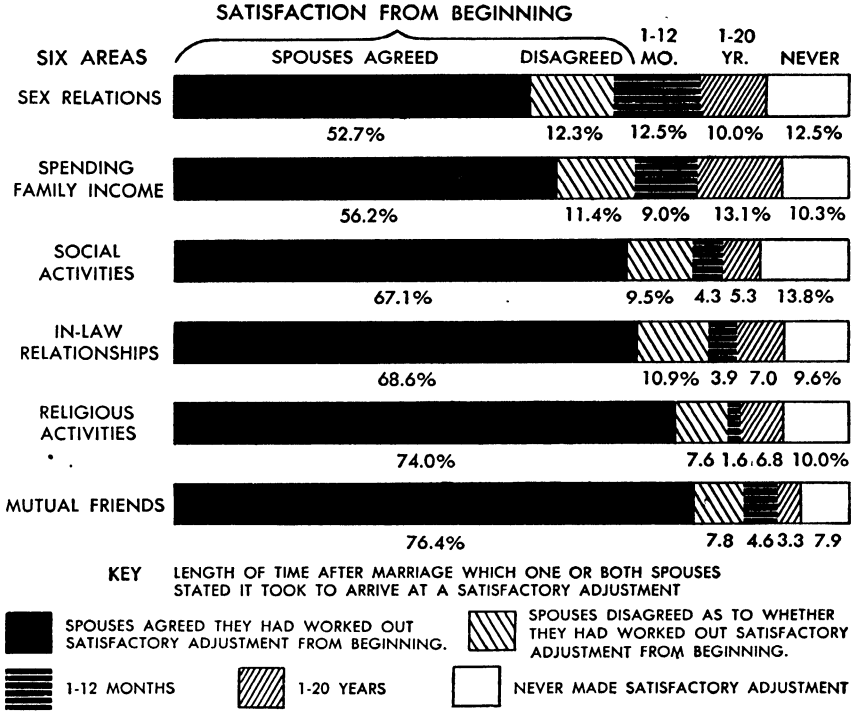
Yet homemaking, particularly the care of young children, is hardly second in importance to any other occupation. With comparatively few exceptions one's mother is the most powerful influence in one's life. How does this influence come to be as strong as it is? How can its quality be improved? And how does it need supplementing?

Recent studies have shown that the best preparation for marriage

[3] H. S. and G. L. Elliot, *Solving Personal Problems*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1936, a counseling manual, describes many applications of this technique.

[4] A variety of examples will be found in the current issue of *Social Work Year Book*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, particularly in the articles on adult education, community organization, youth programs, social group work, and in the section listing voluntary national agencies.

and parenthood is early upbringing in a reasonably happy, well-adjusted family group. Life in one's parental family, good or indifferent, prepares one for much the same kind of life in one's conjugal family so far as basic attitudes are concerned. The evi-



Percentages of 409 couples reporting various periods of time after marriage required to achieve adjustments in six areas. (J. T. Landis, "Length Required to Achieve Adjustments in Marriage," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 11, 1946, p. 668. By permission.)

dence shows that many boys and girls reach adulthood emotionally unprepared for the problems of marriage and family life, owing to faulty parental influences in childhood.

Successful marriage and parenthood also depend on knowledge and skills that may be learned to a considerable extent in school. In recognition of this fact increasing emphasis is being given in school and college curricula to premarital and preparental educa-

tion. Considering the vast and growing scientific knowledge of psychology and personality development as well as the conventional home-economics subjects, this phase of education can proceed as far as individual taste and capacity permit. Homemaking can now be of genuine professional caliber, given the aptitude for it. While only a negligible number of men are homemakers in the vocational sense, they need education for the important roles they actually play in family life. This need is not as yet commonly recognized and figures little in school and parent education programs.

Marital and family difficulties are often too great for those involved to cope with them successfully, just as the individual not infrequently has health problems he is unable to solve by himself. Family-welfare and child-helping agencies pioneered in dealing with such problems by developing counseling services for their clients, many of them in financial want or otherwise dependent on outside assistance. This indicated the possibilities of family-counseling agencies operating on a fee or cost-of-service basis and providing similar professional services for self-supporting clienteles. Beginning with the Los Angeles Institute of Family Relations in 1930, scores of consultation centers have been established under the sponsorship of religious, educational, social-work, and other noncommercial agencies. In the more adequate centers, family-relations counselors, clinical psychologists, and physicians cooperate in advising clients on problems of sex adjustment, child care, family budgeting, and home management.[5] Moderate fees are charged and much free work is done by these agencies. More limited services are offered by child-guidance clinics, juvenile and domestic relations courts, public-health nurses, home-demonstration agents, children's day-care centers (which often provide informal counseling services for parents), and visiting teachers (who render a like service to the parents of unadjusted school children). The coverage of all these efforts is quite limited in relation to the need for them.

The counseling interview is perhaps the most effective method of family and parent education. Many other media are utilized, including the press, radio, lecture, the study and discussion group. The latter is a comparatively new variety of primary group composed

[5] Seba Eldridge, *New Social Horizons*, D. Appleton–Century Company, New York, 1941, p. 319.

of parents (mostly mothers) from a considerable number of families. Many of these groups have unpaid local leaders chosen by the groups themselves. Parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, farm bureaus, school boards, and branches of the American Association of University Women are active in this work. Many groups assemble to hear and discuss broadcasts by national or state agencies. Several national agencies, both official and unofficial, provide literature and otherwise further the activities of local groups. Although interest has been growing, these groups enroll only a small percentage of parents who could profit from them.[6]

Despite all the training women may receive through their homes, schools, and parent-education programs, many of them will be irked by child-rearing and homemaking as a full-time job. At the present time surveys indicate that many married couples prefer to have only one child or no children at all. Comparative freedom and a high standard of living appeal to them more than the cares and satisfactions of parenthood. Probably a good many women and men, too, are disqualified by hereditary make-up or early upbringing for the responsibilities of parenthood. This is certainly true of those seriously deficient in intelligence, and many are disqualified by emotional immaturity or want of essential aptitudes and interests. Under present conditions many women not otherwise disqualified prefer a career to marriage or at least to children. The feminist movement in its zeal to emancipate women has exalted vocational freedom at the expense of reproductive functions so that, for example, it is not unusual for full-time mothers and homemakers, particularly those with a college education, to be somewhat apologetic about their choice of a vocation.

A many-sided attack on these problems is indicated. First of all, the reproductive responsibilities of both sexes need emphasizing in the family circle, through the schools, and by the mass-communication agencies. This will be no easy undertaking and its successful accomplishment is far from certain, for it goes counter to the reigning ideal of a high living standard.

Second, women who prefer to combine marriage and motherhood with outside careers can be enabled to do so, without assuming a too heavy burden of responsibility. Many women would be

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 326–327.

happier and better wives and mothers under this plan than through the practice of homemaking as a full-time job. An increasing percentage of married women hold full-time jobs outside the home, but this entails too heavy a burden for the great majority. Two things are needed: first, greatly expanded facilities for the day care of young children, such as are provided by professionally staffed nursery schools; second, extensive provision of part-time jobs for married women enabling them to combine homemaking and outside employment.[7]

Third, such arrangements will involve a new type of housing and a new type of neighborhood, especially in cities. There has been significant pioneering in this direction by a considerable number of housing enterprises, notably the publicly owned housing projects for low-income families sponsored in the late 1930's by the United States Housing Authority and cooperating local authorities. Many of those projects were planned as complete neighborhoods with play and related facilities built in as integral features. Housing authorities now agree that provision of good homes for all the people will involve enlightened community planning and much public ownership of residential properties.

Fourth, it would seem desirable to eliminate the economic disadvantages suffered by couples bringing up sizable families. Children may be an economic asset in rural communities but they are the very opposite in the urban community. This is one of the chief factors in the low and declining birth rates of cities. If we are to perpetuate our civilization and to maintain a population of the optimum size and quality, the task of rearing children must be relieved of the economic penalties now entailed. Other countries have experimented with family wage systems, grants-in-aid for child care, and other measures for coping with this problem. Except for aid to dependent children virtually nothing of the kind has been done in this country.

With the adoption of these measures the welfare of children can be materially advanced. Neighborhood and community agencies would aid in improving family life and child care, including supplementation of parental care where needed. Such a system will

[7] H. S. and G. L. Elliott, *Solving Personal Problems*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1936, p. 190.

facilitate the discovery of children receiving gravely deficient care in their own homes and the planning of corrective measures. Moreover, it will make freedom of vocational choice for women more of a reality than it now is and tend to minimize the child-rearing and homemaking activities of those poorly qualified for them, to the advantage of their families as well as themselves.

Naturally, many problems will attend the development of such a system. What is to be done about the unwanted or rejected child? Or about parents of either sex who are so wanting in emotional stability, so lacking in insight, as to be a serious menace to the mental health of their children? Can professional personnel in the field provide the necessary substitutes and supplements? Only experience can provide the answer to questions of this order; specific problems must of course be worked out for each individual case.

EDUCATION FOR LIVING

At a certain stage of social evolution it became necessary to supplement the educational functions of the family by establishing institutions specializing in these services. The need increased with the advancement of knowledge, the development of technology, and the growth of specialization. All major human interests now rest on knowledge, techniques, and attitudes that can be acquired only through prolonged educational effort. This has just been emphasized in the case of the family; it is no different with occupations and industries, with politics and public affairs, with cultivation of feelings and emotions.

To meet such needs a vast educational system ranging from the kindergarten to the university has been evolved; to make reasonably certain that minimum needs will be met, compulsory school attendance for the lower age groups is provided. That the schools fail to meet all the requirements is due to a variety of circumstances, most of them beyond the control of the schools themselves. But the purpose here is to show with the aid of illustrations the possibilities of educating the young for living in our kind of society.

The school child needs what the preschool child needs: opportunity for the exploration of his natural and social environments and, under the tutelage of his elders, development of his under-

standing, activity, and interest in these environments. Through programs having this objective the individual pupil tests out his capacities and aptitudes and gradually acquires tastes and interests of his own.

THE WILSON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

So basic are these processes of personality growth that they may be illustrated from a fairly progressive school system in a western college town, designated here as Wilson.

Development of skills and interests proceeds from the time a child enters the Wilson public schools. In kindergarten the child begins to use his hands in building, modeling, drawing. He learns how to make simple and useful gifts. The children found great satisfaction this year in making a sachet for Mother's Christmas present. Simple as this may sound, the child finds in such work a high level of achievement and a stimulus to further advancement. Music appreciation is fostered in kindergarten orchestras where the children learn to beat out rhythms on sticks, triangles, and drums.

In the first grade the children attempt more difficult tasks. Grade-school students are introduced to drama and play production. The children are encouraged to express themselves in public through school programs and assemblies. The C school offers a good example. The lower three grades form one group, the upper three grades a second group. Children of the first group are encouraged in presenting dramas of a few sentences, in giving oral readings, and playing musical numbers. The programs of the second group are given by room volunteers. More advanced plays are presented, some of which are written by the children, and others taken from books. The children are their own play directors and stage managers. They are encouraged and advised by the teachers in these activities and parents are invited to attend the assemblies. The highlight of the year is the Christmas pageant in which talent from all grades is used.

An active interest in music is encouraged by the elementary schools. Free use of school instruments is provided as well as group instruction. All six of the Wilson grade schools maintain orchestras and ensembles which are used in school entertainment and other programs. Vocal instruction is also provided. On Music Sunday and other occasions the children present group numbers, some of the programs being given for large audiences in H Auditorium.

In the spring the first graders plant and care for small gardens on the school grounds. They raise lettuce, radishes, and a few other vegetables. Near the end of the school year the children enjoy the fruits of their labor at a school party.

The recreation program consists of supervised games and a few gymnastic exercises such as tumbling. All the schools maintain summer playgrounds supervised by the teachers. Attendance at the summer art classes held at the junior high school is encouraged. Here pupils receive instruction in artcrafts such as drawing and sketching, painting, clay modeling, pottery, weaving, and leather work.

The grade-school children carry out many special projects. At the last city election, in which a municipal recreation program was submitted to the voters, the children decorated a downtown store window with papier-mâché dolls, each representing some type of recreation such as dancing or playing tennis. All the grades throughout the year make posters, P.T.A. folders, invitations, holiday cards, and the like.

Perhaps the most valuable project activity is the making of gifts. In one of the schools this year the first grade made hot pads for the dinner table out of beaver board. The second grade made clay candleholders and ash trays. The girls of the third and fourth grades made handkerchiefs and purses while the boys were encouraged in design. The fifth grade was able to make papier-mâché candy dishes and the sixth grade made cardboard wastebaskets and luncheon cloths. It will be noted that with the progression of grades the level of achievement gets higher.

The best designs and other products go on display in the individual rooms; exceptional material sometimes goes to the main office for display and special honors. A strong incentive is provided by such recognition.

Scouting has its influence in the development of the school child. Children become interested in grammar school and usually their interest continues through junior high school. When the pupil joins the Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts, creative opportunities are offered in various fields such as community life, health and safety, out-of-doors activity, nature study, literature and dramatics, arts and crafts, sports and games, homemaking, international friendship, music, and dancing. The student participates in at least one activity in each field. An example of one student's program, given in order of the several fields listed, might be: learning about the American flag, making safe toys, building campfires, studying leaves, taking part in a play, making a luncheon set, drawing maps, and learning folk dances. A feeling of achievement and progress comes through the badges earned and the various ranks attained and there is a sense of pride in worthwhile accomplishments.

Junior High School offers more advanced opportunities for continued development of the students' interests. Cooking and sewing are required subjects for the girls. Fundamentals of cooking are taught first and then actual dishes are prepared. The first thing taught in sewing is how to use the sewing machine. Then the student learns how to make an apron, which she finds satisfaction in wearing during the cookery lesson. Then she may attempt a simple dress. Again there is a chance for satisfaction in a finished product.

The regular curriculum for boys includes shopwork. They learn metal work and even elementary cabinet and furniture making. Some made bookcases this year nice enough for their rooms at home. Both boys and girls are enrolled in the art classes. They are encouraged in design, lettering, and a bit of metal work such as making bracelets. Boys and girls also are enrolled in general music classes. In gym classes they participate in various sports such as deck tennis, volley ball, and soft ball.

In addition to the regular curriculum, a choice of electives is encouraged. Among the possibilities are band, orchestra, glee club, basketball, and the junior journalism staff. This staff prepares the school annual and also writes the "Wilson School News" which appears in the local paper on Monday evenings. The basketball team is a member of a junior high school conference league and there is considerable enthusiasm and support among the student body. There is no special class in drama, but the ninth grade gives an annual play as its farewell to the school.

The senior high school is notably more advanced and specialized than the junior high school. There is a greater variety of interests and choice of electives. It is expected that every high-school graduate will have completed at least one year of home economics or one year of mechanics and shop.

The cooking classes prepare actual meals which the girls enjoy at the noon hour. Students in the sewing classes tackle practically any garment they need to complete their wardrobes. In many instances the girls have every reason to be proud of their creations. The boys in their mechanics and shop classes virtually decide their fields of activity. Automobile mechanics has interested many boys as an avocational sideline. In shop, many boys have completed very nice beaten metal trays, some of them quite artistically designed. Clay, soap, and wood sculpture and model-airplane building are among the other accomplishments. These are only a few of the many fields open to high-school students interested in this kind of activity.

The high school is the only part of the school system having classes in agriculture and sponsoring (through the Future Farmers of America) activity along this line. Active participants in F.F.A. are mostly boys who come to high school in town after graduating from the rural schools. They study various methods of crop production as well as farm implements and their use. Sufficient interest and ability are developed by some to enter prize-winning crop products or farm animals in the county and state fairs. A few have won prizes in fairs as far away as Chicago.

Courses in journalism are also offered. The high school has a printing department where the high-school weekly newspaper and school annual are printed.

A very large number of students are interested in music. The band and orchestra are approximately two-thirds as large as the college band and orchestra. Section practices are held weekly in addition to regular practice sessions. Many ensembles are formed. Every year musical festivals and contests are held in various towns of the state where individual as well as group numbers are featured. High-school students are also well represented in the glee club.

The art classes have reached a high level of accomplishment. Very good advertising posters for school elections were made this year, and also excellent designs, some of which were purchased by clothing manufacturers. An art exhibit is held in the community building every year, featuring work by high-school as well as grammar and junior-high students.

Only in high school are regular courses in speech and drama offered. The best members of the speech classes form a debate team which participates in debate contests in nearby cities. Each of the three high-school classes presents a drama during the year which is widely attended.

Religious interests in high school are represented by the Hi-Y and Girl Reserves (recently renamed Y-Teens). The finest ideals of conduct are fostered in these organizations. Some training in politics and leadership is offered in the competition for membership on the student council and for offices of the several classes.

The basketball and football teams are among the best in the state. They belong to state competitive leagues and the home football games in particular draw large crowds.

The opportunities for continued development of interests after high-school graduation are somewhat limited. Since Wilson is a college town it is naturally hoped that the student will continue his education on a higher level. Other opportunities are mostly community-sponsored, al-

though the high school offers its support wherever possible. Some politically minded graduates have run for offices in the local government and others have been active in baseball leagues sponsored by the city. It is significant, however, that for all the interest in drama and music fostered by the schools there is no community band, no orchestra, no play-producing group such as former students might constitute. On the other hand, much of the school training is applied and further developed in vocational activities, notably in homemaking and agriculture.[8]

This sketch does not of course cover the common academic subjects such as science, mathematics, language, history, and the social studies; rather, it features the development of interests and skills, particularly those serving as a preparation for avocational activities later on. Many communities, however, make little provision for such activities. This situation is gradually being changed through the movement for adult education, a somewhat academic term for the cultivation of just such interests as are fostered in the Wilson schools. Community-sponsored recreational activities are increasingly identified with creative interests of this nature.

We do not know how extensive is the coverage of activity programs like those of the Wilson school system, but it is certain that a large percentage of children do not have access to such opportunities. Clearly, diversified, stimulating activities of this nature are essential to the best development of the child's aptitudes and interests.

COLLEGE EDUCATION

Activity programs of the kind described above are less in evidence on the college level. No one knows just why, but it is a fact that colleges are more backward than the lower schools in experimenting with new methods of learning and adjusting their programs to student needs. The "progressive education" principles exemplified in the Wilson school activities are not commonly applied on college campuses.

Without going into the causes of this situation attention may be directed to the possibilities of college education in the advancement of civilization and enrichment of personality. For one thing, the

[8] The foregoing sketch of the Wilson schools is based on a study by Mary Holtzclaw, a former student at the University of Kansas.

average caliber of young people going to college is not as high as it might be. More rigorous standards of admission and multiplication of scholarships (through government grants-in-aid so far as necessary) for talented young people needing such assistance will be essential to the correction of this condition.

Second, college curricular and extracurricular programs can be made more realistic, more functional in the life careers of students. This will not rule out the study of great books so much emphasized by certain colleges and educational leaders. Nor does it disallow a study of music, architecture, literature, and other fine arts, for a knowledge of these is essential to an understanding of contemporary civilization. Because homes and other structures are such prominent features of the landscape, understanding architecture contributes much to the significance and appreciation of one's surroundings.

Parallel observations apply to work in the nonsocial sciences. Approached through realistic activity programs they can enhance greatly one's appreciation and enjoyment of one's environment. This is especially true of the study of plants, animals, and minerals.

More urgent is preparation for the responsibilities, opportunities, and problems that soon or late will confront the ex-college student. These fall into certain well-defined areas.

(1) However much may be done on lower educational levels, continued preparation for marriage and family responsibilities deserves a place in all college curricula. Activity programs covering a wide range of relevant problems are entirely feasible, but much, of course, must be learned after marriage itself. College preparation is of particular importance because it can lay the groundwork for homemaking of professional quality and also for leadership in parent education and family counseling programs.

(2) With negligible exceptions all college graduates must follow some vocation, including homemaking for most of the women. Continued experimentation with student aptitudes and interests, together with special tests, is essential to an intelligent vocational choice. This is one of the principal justifications for a student's taking courses in a variety of fields, provided the work has some resemblance to vocational activities. Vocations preferred by college students usually require a good deal of preparation, though educational leaders hold that this should not be narrowly technical in

nature. Some colleges eschew vocational training altogether, but most institutions now perceive their responsibilities in this direction. Expert vocational guidance is provided on a growing number of college campuses.

(3) However widely college students use books, many of them read few books after graduation. Along with the rest of the literate population, college graduates do read newspapers and periodicals and listen to radio programs. There is reason to believe, however, that their reading and listening habits could be better. The comic strip, sports page, and society column are apparently more popular than news and discussions of truly significant events. In any case, since the newspaper, periodical, and radio *are* the principal mass-communication agencies patronized by graduates, it would seem reasonable to give college students a thorough grounding in the use of these media. Cultivating an interest in current events through methodical use of the press and radio, and building up a background of information for interpretative purposes are of particular importance.

(4) Colleges now give relatively little attention to the preparation of students for the practice of citizenship and community membership. Learning how to read newspapers and listen to radio programs contribute much to this preparation, but the necessary skills and interests also depend on other forms of activity. College students all are or will soon be voters and full-fledged members of the community. Their own and the public interests require a practical grounding in their responsibilities in those capacities. Off-campus opportunities are often limited but students can themselves organize as citizens' groups to consider public issues and participate in appropriate forms of action. With the cooperation of administrators and teachers they can likewise deal with the problems of their own local community, the college campus itself.

(5) It has been said that the most valuable kind of learning is learning how to learn, so that the individual may continue learning "on his own" after school days are over. This truth is no less applicable to feelings and emotions than to ideas and activities. Learning how to deal with our attitudes and emotions is a crucially important branch of learning. Unfortunately there has been comparatively little scientific observation and experiment in this field.

But enough is known now for the colleges to make a start at least in this most important matter. Work with the individual student will be no less essential than suitable group activity.[9]

A functional college program so broad and diversified in character will prepare students for satisfying avocations as well as for vocations. The latter rarely offer sufficient outlets for all the aptitudes and talents that, duly cultivated, would enrich the lives of their possessors. It is known, for instance, that the number of persons with exceptional aptitudes for music greatly exceeds the number of paid positions in this field. But there is no such limitation on avocational activities. Volunteer work in one or another of the nonvocational fields can become a satisfying avocation for a great many. Lay leadership has an important place in all these fields and the colleges can do much to prepare students with the necessary talents for this kind of activity.

OCCUPATIONS AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

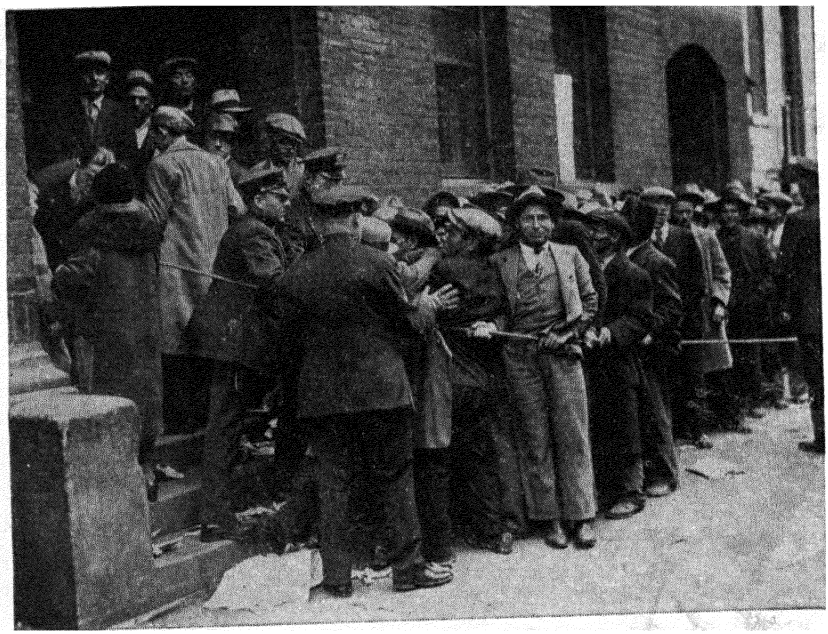
Gainful occupations and the underlying institutional controls are so diverse in our society that converting them into instrumentalities of a personality-centered culture will be a most complex undertaking. Moreover, the influences of the many specialized occupations on workers and their families are so little known that we can do little more than speculate about desirable changes. But a few things are fairly certain.

It is trite to say that a livelihood is the prime objective of a gainful occupation. Closely related is the standard of living which occupational earnings may sustain. As we know, this now rates very high in the American scale of values. With rare exceptions people want security of both livelihood and standard of living. They do not object to a rise in living standards, but a serious drop is likely to be demoralizing, often devastatingly so.

The stability of income essential to these objectives cannot be assured by the individual himself but is necessarily a function of the

[9] Applicable techniques are suggested in such volumes as Bertrand Russell, *The Conquest of Happiness*, Horace Liveright, Inc., New York, 1930; H. S. and G. L. Elliott, *Solving Personal Problems*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, and John Macmurray, *Reason and Emotion*, D. Appleton–Century Company, Inc., New York, 1938.

whole national economy. Substantial beginnings have been made in the Social Security Act but much remains to be done in extending its coverage of individual workers and their dependents and extending it, too, to all the contingencies that jeopardize incomes and living standards. Sickness and disability are still to be provided for. Moreover, full protection involves increase of cash benefits



Serious impairment of the economic system may produce a crisis in the lives of millions of people. This picture shows unemployed men waiting to register at the emergency unemployment relief office in New York during the depression of the 1930's. Similar scenes occurred in cities throughout the country. (Acme photo)

to something like the normal rate of earnings and continuation of benefits as long as necessary in the individual case. A disabled factory operative and his family need as much income as when he was working, and so do the unemployed and their families. The sick or disabled worker's family needs *more* income unless medical care is provided in addition to cash benefits. There is no good reason why complete economic security of the individual should not be a

basic objective of our economy. The country's productive capacity makes it entirely feasible, and the stabilization of consumer purchasing power thus effected would contribute to the stability of production itself. This would mean freedom from want and the chronic fear of want that poisons so many lives.

Most gainfully employed persons want job security not for financial reasons alone. One's work is a large part of one's world and job instability, therefore, means instability in one's scheme of life. In certain occupations—the Roman Catholic priesthood, the Methodist Episcopal ministry, and teaching positions with "tenure," for instance—there is a high degree of job security. That is not the case with a majority of workers, even the business and professional men. The rapidity of technological change and the hazards of competition may make job security for all impossible for a long time to come. Yet the current interest in an annual wage for industrial workers [10] and extension of the merit system to state and municipal employees point in this direction. More will be possible as the economy becomes increasingly responsive to the needs of the work personnel.

How may day-by-day occupational activities contribute more to the worker's contentment and way of life? Evidence is lacking for a definite answer to this question. We know little about the effects of existing occupations on the living patterns of their members. Dr. James S. Plant has pointed out that we are almost completely in the dark concerning the specific effects of industrial employment—including slightly skilled labor—on the lives of factory workers.[11] And according to C. S. Lastrucci [12] so little is known about the interrelations of vocations and patterns of living that the basis of vocational guidance is quite deficient.

The problem in this field, then, is primarily one of inquiry. Only through scientific observation and experiment can a factual basis for evaluating occupations as personality-forming influences be

[10] Some plans are already in operation, and a wartime advisory board of the federal government has advocated the extension of such plans. (Associated Press dispatch from Washington, D.C., February 25, 1947)

[11] James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern*, The Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1937, Chap. 17.

[12] *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 11, 1946, pp. 78–84.

built up. In large measure this research must be specific for each occupation and even for each plant. But some general conclusions have emerged from certain pioneer studies.

These studies have scarcely called in question the techniques of large-scale production and the growing proportion of slightly skilled labor thereby entailed. Management and labor themselves have seldom raised any such question. Under pressure of job insecurity and the ever-increasing demand for ready-made goods and services, quantity of output has become the chief criterion of efficient production, often qualified, however, by restrictions of output in the interest of jobs or of profits. Virtually no weight has been given to the values, actual and potential, of the work process itself. Yet industry produces lives as well as goods. If through research we can discover enough about these by-products of industries and occupations the basis will be laid for making work experience as well as output a criterion for evaluating production processes. Realization of this possibility doubtless lies in a somewhat distant future.

Scientific studies so far have been focused on social relations in industry. The leading pioneer in these studies, Elton Mayo, makes the flat statement that, with the ascendancy of large-scale production, the interest of management has centered in the application of technology to production and in the systematic ordering of operations but scarcely at all in the promotion of cooperation in the plant.[13]

Various studies have demonstrated two things in particular. First, the worker must be treated and respected as an individual personality if he is to be contented and efficient in his work. One of the methods followed in the famous Western Electric Company experiments at Hawthorne was confidential interviewing of workers by trained interviewers—trained, however, to listen sympathetically to the worker's story, not to offer advice. This provided "emotional release," revelation of the worker's personal problems, and invaluable knowledge about conditions in the plant.[14] Through a combination with group-work methods the worker's morale was strengthened, a sense of "belonging" developed, and both productivity and work

[13] Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1945, pp. 69–70.

[14] *Ibid.*, Chap. 4.

New 1949 Ford cars rolling off the River Rouge plant's 1,000-foot assembly line. When in full production this line will provide 500 cars every eight-hour shift. An illustration of mass production and of slightly skilled labor, which have both advantages and disadvantages. (Courtesy Ford News Bureau, Dearborn, Michigan)

satisfactions increased. In a discussion of these problems J. S. Plant suggests that, if industry is best to serve its workers, the employer needs to know as much about the worker's family situation as does the teacher about her pupil's, because "all the personality goes to work just as all the personality goes to school." [15] Ministering to the needs of the industrial worker as a human being finds its counterpart in other areas of production, notably in agriculture where pro-

Employees' cars parked at the Western Electric plant, Newark, New Jersey. This vast fleet typifies the "high" standard of living as well as the mass production found in this country. (Courtesy Standard Oil Company (N.J.); photo by Vachon)

fessional specialists of state and federal extension services collaborate with individual farmers and their families in working out domestic as well as production problems.

Second, skillful promotion of teamwork and esprit de corps in industrial establishments has great possibilities, both in increased productivity and in greater contentment of the worker. This illustrates once more the significance of primary-group relations in human affairs, for the method is applicable mainly to small contingents

[15] James S. Plant, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

of workers engaged in a common task. But it works only if a group of operatives is given a large share of responsibility in organizing their work—for example, planning the details, assigning tasks, spacing rest periods, and breaking in new workers—with supervision reduced to the indispensable minimum. Experiment after experiment has shown that workers respond to confidence reposed in them by managers and supervisors.

Yet this runs counter to the conflict and distrust between employers and employees that have arisen with modern industrialism. The deliberate building up of cooperation as the prevailing pattern of industrial relationships will require generations of effort. The hierarchical structure of industrial enterprises—from the chief executive at the top to the lowest-grade workers at the bottom—hardly facilitates the process. In the traditional structure orders proceed from the top downwards through "channels," with little reverse movement of suggestions and ideas from the bottom upwards. But specific production problems are understood by the workers directly involved as they cannot be understood by management. And George B. de Huszar has shown that problem-solving groups of workers can be integrated with the hierarchical set-up of industry to the immense advantage of the entire personnel.[16]

While the "humanization" of wealth production in these and other ways is going on, persons with occupations poor in work satisfactions will need psychological complements in the form of satisfying avocations, hobbies, or other leisure-time pursuits. These have been discussed in other contexts. It may be suggested, however, that promotion of creative free-time activities, with community provision of the necessary facilities, will prove the most effective attack on the commercialization of leisure with its provision of ready-made amusements and the attendant good-times philosophy of leisure.

POLITICS AND CITIZENSHIP

We have noted in various sections the increasingly important role of government and community organization in our lives. The various fields of production are so interdependent, their operation

[16] George B. de Huszar, *Practical Applications of Democracy*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1945, Chap. 9.

as a single, articulated productive system so easily thrown off balance, that agencies acting for the entire country must coordinate and stabilize them. What government does or fails to do in this sphere may make a difference of fifty or even seventy-five per cent in the

Personality studies by the Child Research Council of Denver, Colorado. (Courtesy Rockefeller Foundation, *President's Review for 1948*)

size of the pay envelopes or salary checks or capital returns of those sharing the fruits of production.

Many services must be provided by the public itself because they cannot be supplied on an ordinary commercial basis. These will include services not now provided because of popular inertia or opposition of group interests. Among these are public provision of

decent homes and neighborhoods for low-income families, increased provision of play and recreational facilities, and assurance of medical care to all regardless of income. Moreover, the gradual liquidation of the laissez-faire policy toward the individual, and development of a complete system of collaborating with him in realizing his finer potentialities, must be sponsored in the main by government and community agencies.

What this nation may do to bring about lasting peace and cooperation in the world—what it may do, therefore, in saving from destruction civilization itself—is at bottom a matter of politics and citizenship and government.

All these things depend, roughly, on two groups of people: (1) those whose occupations lie in the field of politics and government; (2) private citizens and the general public, which the first group is presumed to serve, along with its own members.

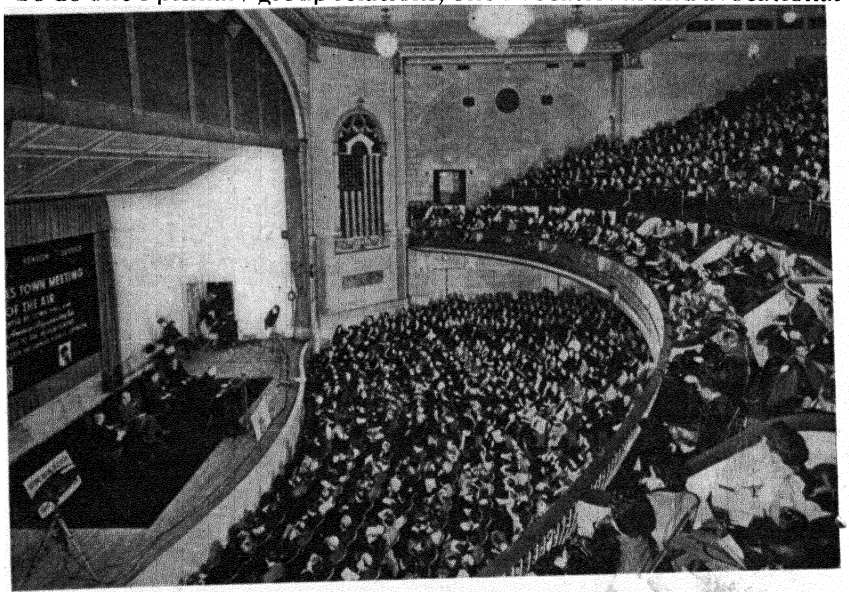
This is not the place to tell how these two groups may collaborate in such undertakings. But the role of the citizen demands special attention. What governments do depends largely on what citizens insist on their doing. In our kind of world citizens cannot discharge this responsibility without making it a major interest of their lives. Keeping reasonably well informed on public issues requires much time and so does the organized activity essential to effective citizenship. But these are "musts" for those capable of developing such an interest if a civilization adapted to the people's needs is to be wrought.

CONSTRUCTIVE SELF-DISCIPLINE

Improvement of disposition, amendment of traits and attitudes, cultivation of feelings and emotions are essential to all the finer kinds of living. Unfortunately modern psychology has not followed the lead of William James [17] in exploring the deeper powers of men and techniques of bringing these powers into play. There is, for example, no adequate psychosocial analysis of religion showing how it contributes to the emotional discipline of the believer.

[17] William James, *The Energies of Men*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1907; *The Will to Believe and Other Essays*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1897; *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1902, and other works.

Any realistic approach to this subject assumes that emotions and attitudes are shaped by virtually all the factors in human life itself, and that deliberate effort can, at most, reorient these factors and thereby modify their consequences. The state of the organism, its level of health and energy, and its defects and ailments inevitably affect one's disposition, one's moods, one's emotions and attitudes. So do one's primary-group relations, one's vocational and avocational



Town Meeting of the Air in one of its weekly sessions. This radio program represents a major contribution to the development of a more enlightened citizenry. (Courtesy Town Hall, New York)

activities, the dominant values and beliefs of one's community. The enduring but not necessarily decisive effects of early upbringing are recognized by all students of the subject. So are the cumulative effects of the experience and activity of other age groups. Again, the sexes have different subcultures and their attitudinal and emotional problems may also differ. Economic security or insecurity has a powerful influence on emotions and attitudes.

We can now focus a little more closely on the problems of self-discipline in our own era, taking up in order the kinds of understanding and activity and emotional effort that are essential, but

bearing in mind that needs vary with the individual and his circumstances.

Some kinds of knowledge liberate a person from troublesome attitudes. A fair understanding of culture helps to rid one of crippling ethnocentrisms—the irrational convictions that one's nation, race, sex, religion, party, social class, and other groups are necessarily better than corresponding out-groups. Perceiving the relativity of the mores, and therefore the non-existence of any divinely ordained moral code, should minimize feelings of guilt attending violation of the mores. It is helpful, too, to understand that an individual is the end product of the forces that have shaped his development and could not at the moment be something different. Understanding this, we will not too readily pass moral judgments on other persons—or on ourselves. More particular illustrations of information helpful in controlling one's attitudes are (1) the knowledge that unrequited love, even repeated instances of it, is not a good reason for misgivings about one's personality traits, or even one's attraction for the opposite sex: such disappointments are the normal thing during adolescence;[18] (2) the fact now being rediscovered that motherhood is not necessarily the harrowing, agonizing experience it is supposed in our culture to be.[19]

The overt activity side of self-discipline is fully as important. Choosing one's activities in accordance with one's interests and responsibilities—such as are involved in creating a personality-centered culture—is fundamental. The wider the range of interests, other things being equal, the less the chances of life losing its savor, of one's being stranded through the disappearance, for whatever reason, of any single interest. At the same time it is essential to limit one's activities in accordance with one's natural tempo and one's capacities; it is folly to let others through their pressures govern one's scheme of activity. Everyone can profit from periods of relaxation, meditation, self-communion; the rush, hurry, and feverish activity so characteristic of American life are not conducive to balanced, self-possessed personalities. Again, it is desirable to build up in imagination the kind of personality—with the constituent

[18] See above, pp. 606–607.

[19] See Lawrence Galton, "Motherhood Without Misery," *Collier's Magazine*, November 26, 1946, for an account of experiments by an English and an American physician.

traits and attitudes—one would become; set it up as a model of expectancy for oneself; and resolutely, consistently as may be, act in accordance with it. Such action tends to evoke the appropriate feelings and emotions.

But the affective side of life is not a product of thought and action alone. It is in a measure autonomous, with its own "principles," its own peculiar techniques of cultivation and control. How may one learn to exorcise the fear, worry, resentment, bitterness, discouragement, that so bedevil human life? How may one come by the emotional stability, the poise, and serenity that keep one from being overwhelmed by the death of a loved one, defeat of a cherished ambition, or some other crisis in one's personal life?

All experience shows that human beings are endowed with creative powers applicable to a wide range of problems. In a sense one creates from within the self the ideas and skills one comes to possess, and this is likewise true of culturally conditioned attitudes and sentiments.

These creative powers of the self can be methodically applied in the gradual substitution of desirable for undesirable traits and attitudes. One essential condition is a faith—a will to believe—that this can be done. Another is readiness to undertake the unremitting "inner work" it involves. Among the specific techniques is concentration of attention on the changes to be wrought, ever renewed consecration of oneself to the work, a continuing affirmation that one is equal to the task.

Psychologically, discipline of this order has much in common with prayer and worship in the institutional religions. People of the present age scarcely realize what a powerful force in people's lives prayer was in an earlier day. Some writers [20] maintain that prayer has not been outmoded by the discoveries of modern science and that the need for it is as great as ever. These writers commonly postulate belief in a God as an essential basis of prayer. But different conceptions of deity may serve this purpose. God may be thought of as a supernatural being; or as the power making for good in man and his universe; or as the "divine" in each personality—

[20] Notably William Adams Brown, *The Life of Prayer in a World of Science*, Association Press, New York, 1927.

or in human terms, as one's potential, creative self which may come to fruition in the good life.

On any of these conceptions one may identify oneself with the Divine, invoke its help toward a better life, nurture a faith that such aid will be vouchsafed, and thus sustain one's confidence in the future and what it may bring.

An auxiliary technique is talking out one's problems with a confidante, which serves both as a catharsis for troublesome emotions and as a process of solving one's problems. The Catholic confessional, pastoral counseling, the sympathetic listening of a devoted friend or helpmate, all serve these functions.

Congenial primary-group associations contribute in still other ways to emotional health and self-discipline. They serve to give one a vacation from oneself, so to speak, and to stimulate a wholesome interest in others. When this problem of emotional culture commands the attention it merits, work on it may well be implemented by primary-group organization as are the older forms of religious discipline.

To end on a familiar note, a personality-centered society will devote extensive study and experimentation to problems of this order, through which must come the reasonably definitive solutions adapted to the needs of individual personalities.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is meant by a personality-centered culture? Compare it with contemporary American culture, using specific illustrations to bring out the difference.

2. Name, describe, and illustrate the functions of the various elements in the *personnel* structure of a "good society."

3. What changes in marriage and family life in this country should contribute to the development of more adequate personalities? In particular, what contributions might be expected of preparental and parent education, lay and professional counseling, greater provision of day-care for children, and increased opportunities for part-time employment of mothers not suited to homemaking as a full-time job? Discuss possible dangers in such developments, using any illustrations that may have come to your attention.

4. Sketch the programs of the Wilson schools designed to develop attitudes and interests of the pupils, and compare with your activities on the corresponding school levels. According to your observations what kinds of school activities are continued as hobbies or avocations in adult life?

5. What sorts of preparation for adult responsibilities and opportunities fall within the proper scope of college education? To what extent does your college offer assistance of this character?

6. How in detail could occupations and economic institutions contribute to the development of fine, adequate personalities, and in what ways do they now commonly fail to do so? What fundamental changes are essential to such a goal?

7. What bearing has responsible, competent citizenship on the growth of a personality-centered culture? Give illustrations of the connections between the two.

8. Show how emotions and attitudes are shaped by all the major factors in human life.

9. Describe and illustrate the different methods of disciplining this phase of behavior and experience. Compare methods you have applied or observed with those presented in the text.

WORK PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Make a special study and report on a recent development toward a personality-centered culture; also on a development in the opposite direction.

2. Assemble and present material on trends and agencies in your community designed better to adapt culture and social organization to the needs of individual personalities.

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