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SOCIOLOGY

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SOCIOLOGY

by

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FOURTH EDITION

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Dedicated to
the memory of my Father and Mother
Henry B. and Eliza M. Bogardus

Preface to First Edition

In preparing this new book liberal use has been made of the material in the five editions appearing under the title of *Introduction to Sociology* which have preceded the publication of this work. The first edition appeared in 1913 and the basic theme has been carried over into the present volume.

The volume centers attention on sociology as a study of social groups and particularly of the groups of which students themselves are members. In this way the reader will find sociology to be not an arm-chair philosophy or a subject far above his head but a science for daily application. He learns why and how persons act differently under similar circumstances and why and how they act alike under dissimilar conditions. In the pages of this book he catches a glimpse of the predictive nature of sociology.

The volume begins with the daily experiences of students and moves logically to a consideration of the basic processes of group behavior. It brings the findings of latest scientific research in sociology into language designed to be inviting to the beginning student. It runs the gamut from the concrete and actual experiences of everyday life to the latest and most fundamental concepts concerning human relations.

E. S. B.

Los Angeles, California
March, 1934

Preface to Second Edition

The changes that appear in the present revised edition are partly those involved in bringing each chapter up to date. New facts are added or substituted for those now outdated; new points of view are introduced; references are made to important sociological literature that has been published within the past six years; and of course the reading lists have all been revised in keeping with new and current publications.

The social group as the center of human interaction, as the matrix of social processes and social change, and as the realm within which personalities originate, develop, and mature, continues as the main theme of this edition. The social group is considered to be the main laboratory of sociology. Although there are many texts in sociology today, this one maintains the social group interpretation more consistently than do others.

Ecological, cultural, and psycho-social factors and forces are given prominence throughout this treatment. The changing personality under the multitudinous influences that play upon it through group processes is considered to be the central dynamic core of sociology.

E. S. B.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
February, 1941

Preface to Third Edition

Again an attempt has been made to bring this book up to date: (1) in terms of concepts and their current meanings to sociologists; (2) in reorganization of materials; and (3) in reading references. The social group interpretation has proved its usefulness since it was developed in the first edition. Personality in its doubly significant role has received increased emphasis: first, as a result of social interaction in groups; and second, as a dynamic force in making over social groups as represented by group opinion on one hand and group mores on the other hand. An increased stress is placed on controlled experiments in sociology not only as a means of research but as a means of studying sociology and as one of the main sources of new sociological data.

In reorganizing the book the same number of chapters has been retained as in the preceding edition, sixteen, which furnishes a convenient unit for study during a college semester or half year. The aim has been maintained of keeping the treatment of materials adjusted to students on the sophomore and junior levels in college.

The reorganization of the book involves the integration of much of the material on the ecological approach with the treatment of the community in the fourth chapter. The data on the psycho-social approach have been placed in part in the first chapter on the relation of personality to groups, and in part in a new chapter on group processes. In this way the introductory topics have been reduced, and the student enters upon the study of sociology proper with a minimum of delay.

The subject of world community has been taken out of the chapter on community and made the theme of a new chapter on world groups. The relation of college students to world affairs has become vital in the past few years and hence a chapter growing out of the concept of one world is fitting. The new chapter on social processes makes prominent the heart of sociology as found in its processual aspects.

Attention is given in the various chapters not only to the way that groups make personalities but also to the ways in which personalities remake groups. This aspect of interaction within the framework of social groups is vital and sometimes overlooked. It is both the person who has achieved leadership and also the follower by refusing to follow who helps to remake customs and traditions and also to create new ways of doing and thinking.

E. S. B.

Los Angeles, California

March, 1947

Preface to Fourth Edition

In this edition the first chapter has been rewritten and new developments in sociological thinking introduced. Throughout the book, paragraphs here and there and at the close of each chapter have been revised in order to bring the various chapters up to date and in line with new developments in events and in sociological research. Complete revisions have been made of the group of readings at the end of each of the sixteen chapters.

An important addition is a new chapter at the close of the book entitled "Principles of Sociology." This chapter will serve first as a review of some of the most significant ideas in the book. At the same time it will suggest the progress that sociology is making in the formulation of principles. It must be kept in mind that these principles may be treated as hypotheses to be tested by new and further research studies. They are to be viewed as tentative in statement and not as final generalizations in any sense. They are designed to stimulate further thought in the field of sociological research and theory.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

1954

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PART ONE

The Group Approach to Sociology

Chapter

1

Sociology and Social Groups

THE student of sociology is invited first of all to examine social groups, such as the family group, the small social group, the school group, the church group, and so on. He is also invited to consider larger groups, such as the community group, the city group, the rural group, the ethnic group, the national group, the international group.

The laboratory of the sociology student is all about him. He is an active part of it all the time. In fact he is both a participant and an onlooker, a participant in certain groups and an onlooker in others. Moreover, he changes his participation from group to group in the course of a day. His laboratory is both exciting and stimulating. He exerts an influence in it, and it in turn influences him in a variety of ways.

Although these social groups are not new to the student, he has taken them for granted. He has rarely analyzed how they influence their members and how the members may make over their groups' aims and values. He has rarely asked himself, what role am I playing in each of my groups? or what roles am I expected to play? or how far do I measure up to these expected roles?

The student has rarely looked for the uniform ways in which each group tends to feel, think, and act. The deeper he examines these uniformities, or social processes as they are sometimes called, the more clearly he sees how his own personality is in part a result of them and how he may play at least a slight role in their functioning.

The student's daily life is made up largely of participating in small groups. The members of these groups constitute his immediate field of social forces, that is, of forces which bombard him with stimuli to which he reacts in a great variety of ways. In turn he may be a social force bombarding others with stimuli. His immediate field of social forces is composed of the members of his family, his close friends, those to whom he telephones and who telephone to him, those who call him by his given name, and those whom he likewise addresses in familiar ways.

He also has a larger field of social forces of which he is a part. It is composed of those who belong to larger groups like his own, such as the city, the church, the nation. But it is his immediate field of social forces which influence him most, especially in his younger years.

Nearly every person begins every day as a participating member of a family group. Although the members scatter each day, they return for a common meal or evening hour together. Each is a somewhat different person because of the new and particular experiences that he has had in several groups outside his home during the day. At the evening meal or hour together each member of the family group may relate some part of his new experiences that day. The members of the group laugh, grow angry, feel sad together, or enter into an interesting discussion. Not only does an exchange of experiences occur, but each individual undergoes some change in personality, perhaps very slight and even unnoticed by himself, because of having had a new experience, of telling it to others, and of listening to the accounts of the experiences of others.

The almost countless social experiences which compose every day, whether dull, mildly interesting, or exciting, spring from group connections and play important roles in developing or repressing personality characteristics. The study of social experiences throws light on the nature both of group influences and of personal reactions to them. For both reasons each experience is an important sociological datum.

Sociology may be defined as the study of the ways in which social experiences function in developing, maturing, and repressing human

beings through interpersonal stimulation. Since these ways of making and remaking the members of social groups tend to appear in a given order they have been called social processes, and sociology has been called the study of social processes.

Because each social group is in itself a field of social forces within which persons interact, develop, become disorganized, poorly organized, or well organized, its roles in making, unmaking, or remaking personality are worth considering. But first, what is a group? and what is a social group?

In the elementary sense *a group* is a number of units of anything in close proximity to one another. A group is a number of trees in a forest, of houses on a street, of derricks in an oil field, of airplanes in an airport. The group becomes a social group where there is interaction, even in a simple stimulus-response-stimulus way as in the case of a flock of birds, a herd of cattle, a school of fish. In the human field a social group takes on its full meaning, for here it involves more than action, reaction, and more action. It involves planning, anticipating, persuading, propagandizing, educating.

A *social group* may be thought of as a number of persons, two or more, who have some common objects of attention, who are stimulating to each other, who have a common loyalty, and participate in similar activities. It ranges from a pair, a couple, or a dyad, a triad, a tetrad, to a national group of millions of people. A common classification is by kinds of activities or functions, such as family groups, community groups, occupational groups, play groups, educational groups, religious groups, ethnic groups, national groups, and a world group, real or potential.

A social group is not static, but dynamic, changing in activity and in form. It may seem to stand still, it may change rapidly, or it may change so gradually that its members are unaware of change. In developing, a group may add to its organizational structure in order to perform new functions. It may give up one function after another, until it finally disbands. It may settle down to a stand-pat routine and limit its dynamic nature to a mere holding of its established beliefs. It may build its organization out of all relation to its simple beginning, or it may succumb to disorganization.

A very interesting aspect of every social group is the way it controls its members. Some of these controls may be expansive in their influence, some repressive, but all tend to channel the activities of their members in given directions and hence develop certain characteristics or dimensions of personality, such as reactionary, conservative, liberal, radical ways of doing. These controls may be expressed through institutions: the family, the school, the church, the state. A fairly tangible agent of social control is represented by laws. A less tangible but a powerful control agency is group opinion or public opinion. Art forms as represented by painting, sculpture, music, set up new patterns of conduct or tear apart old forms.

Behind all the control agencies are what have been called the *mores* of a group, or the ways of doing and thinking in a group which that group believes are essential to its continued existence. The *folkways* of a group include the mores and all the other ways of behaving that are considered interesting but not essential to the welfare of the group.

TYPES OF GROUPS

Most groups begin in informal ways. People recognize a common need that they cannot meet as individuals and decide to join together. An interesting illustration is that of ten men who in working separately are each able to make a chair a day, or a total of ten chairs a day. The earnings are not enough to live on. Hence, to meet a need they decide to specialize in working together, each performing one function in making a chair; as a result they are able to make fifty or perhaps a hundred chairs a day. Not only can they greatly increase the output by specialized cooperation, but by this process they can make much better chairs than when working individually.

The origins of groups are usually found in human needs that cannot be met by individuals struggling alone. These origins are often informal and come into being without elaborate planning. At first informal groups are governed without a written constitution and without a set of officers. They are generally composed of per-

sons who have come to understand each other's likes and dislikes, and who have a common unsatisfied need.

An *informal group* is a number of persons having one or more values in common that they want to preserve and perhaps develop. Such a group does not function very long before the plans of the members begin to conflict and before it is found that some rules are necessary. A leader is chosen to see that orderly action obtains. Certain forms of procedure are set up in order that the members will not work at cross purposes and so that every member may make his best contribution to the good of the whole group. An informal group functions with a minimum of rules and a maximum of freedom to think and act on the part of all its members.

A *formal group* is a number of persons working together toward a given goal according to set rules under the direction of a set of officers. A certain orderly progress toward a goal is achieved at the expense of a greater or lesser loss of individual liberty. The most formal type of group is authoritarian in organization. A democratic group dispenses with formalities as far as consistent with efficient action.

The formal group has a definite structure which gives the group stability, sometimes too much stability, preventing needed changes in functions. The formal group may impinge upon some of the desires of the members, inhibit personality growth in some directions, and be characterized by a lack of needed free and open thinking.

A *bureaucratic group* is a formal group that has gone to seed. Its control has become concentrated in a few persons who keep the authority rigidly to themselves. They pass authority on by fiat to their own kind.

There are other classifications of social groups. A threefold classification of social groups by structure, as suggested by Dwight Sanderson,[1] involves involuntary, voluntary, and delegate groups. An *involuntary group* is one which is based on kinship or on race. One is born into a kinship group and into a race. He has no choice in deciding to what family or to what racial group he will belong.

[1] "A Preliminary Group Classification Based on Structure," *Social Forces*, XVII:196–201, December, 1938.

A *voluntary group* is one which a person joins. He chooses to accept membership in it, or to reject an invitation to join. It may be only slightly organized or it may have a definite organization, but in all cases the individual is free to withdraw as well as to join.

The *delegate group* is one to which a person is elected or appointed as a representative of a number of people. He represents a certain constituency. A convention or a congress is a delegate group. It is a form of representative democracy, with specific authority being assigned to the delegates.

Social groups may be genetic or congregate.[2] The *genetic group* is an involuntary group into which one is born, such as a family and a racial group. A person may repudiate both of these groups but he is still a blood-relationship member of both.

The *congregate group* is a voluntary group into which he moves, as a city, or which he joins, as a political party. It may have a loose organization with members joining and withdrawing continually. It has a maximum of freedom and of movement of peoples.

Another classification, inclusive of all groups, is twofold: primary and secondary. A *primary group* is a small group in which the members maintain what Charles H. Cooley called face-to-face relationship.[3] The members live in the presence and thought of one another. A primary group exerts a firsthand, basic influence on the formation of an individual's ideals, his standards of behavior, his ideas of right and wrong. It plays a large and lasting role in forming the basic trends of one's personality.

The face-to-face characteristic which is a major aspect of a primary group needs to be explained, for as Ellsworth Faris has indicated, the primary group does not in every case exert a compelling influence over its members.[4] Persons living in the same household, for example, do not necessarily cast a magic spell over each other. They may grow apart and cease to influence each other, except

[2] F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1896), pp. 89 ff.

[3] *Social Organization* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1909), Ch. II, "Primary Groups."

[4] "The Primary Group: Essence and Accident," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII:42.

perhaps in negative ways. Moreover, some of the fundamental influences that affect a person do not come from face-to-face relationships, but from unseen sources, from "down through the ages" by reading and meditation.

A primary group may deserve its name because it exerts an influence in the early years of a person's life, that is, before he is old enough to be influenced by other groups. One begins life as a rule in a family group and as a small child one becomes a member of one or more play groups. Hence, in this sense the family group and the play group exert primary influences before other groups do.

A major aspect of a primary group is the fact that it generates in a person what has been called a "we-feeling." [5] It is this we-feeling with all its emotional and pulling force which puts a person in an "in-group" and separates him from "out-groups." [6]

If a person shares a we-feeling with a number of persons, he is very responsive to their attitudes and sentiments. If he does not share such a feeling with other persons, he is likely to criticize them on slight provocation and even to believe false reports about them. It is startlingly true that "human nature may be said to be created in primary group relations." [7] At least it would be developed very little were it not for the kindness and love of parents, siblings, and close friends.

Closely related to we-feelings is *a sense of belonging* which means that a person identifies his interests and to a degree himself with others or with his group. Without a sense of belonging to some group or other, an individual can hardly develop into a person. If he loses the sense of belonging, he becomes personally disorganized and socially irresponsible.

A *secondary group* is one which is indirect in exerting an influence on individuals, for example, a city, nation, political party, a national association in any occupation, a public such as an Abraham Lincoln public. A member knows personally only a very few of the other

[5] See E. A. Ross' discussion of the "we-feeling" in his *New-Age Sociology* (D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1940), p. 66.

[6] To use terms given extensive emphasis by William G. Sumner in his *Folkways* (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1907).

[7] Ellsworth Faris, *ibid.*, p. 46.

members. He functions in the secondary group but only as one among almost countless numbers. He is aware of the others and responds to them chiefly in times of a special occasion that the secondary group may experience. Public opinion is largely the expression of secondary groups. To the extent that a person responds to public opinion or helps to make or change it, he is functioning as a member of a secondary group.

It has been pointed out by H. C. Harmsworth [8] that the belief is not true that large cities have given way to secondary groups entirely. He insists that primary groups are functioning units in cities, along with the public and other large secondary groups. He suggests that social problems arise out of attitudes and that attitudes even in cities "are shaped largely in informal association," that is, in informal primary groups.

Social groups may be disjunctive or overlapping. A *disjunctive group* is one which allows a person to belong to no other group of that type at the same time. A college fraternity is an example, and a nation is as a rule another illustration, although dual citizenship is still allowed in some countries. An *overlapping group* is one whose members also belong to other groups of the same type, such as a family welfare society, the National Education Association, the American Sociological Society. In other words, the latter have open, voluntary memberships while the former as a rule insist on a closed membership, that is, by invitation only.

In its relation to other groups, a "social group" may be unsocial, pseudosocial, antisocial, or prosocial.[9] A *social group* is one in which the members interact in any way with reference to any idea, procedure, or cause. The members are associated in serving a stated purpose or in striving toward a defined goal. It is basic to the other four types that will now be described.

An *unsocial group* is a group that refuses to participate in the larger society of which it is a part. It lives largely to itself and for

[8] "Primary Group Relationships in Modern Society," *Sociology and Social Research*, 31:291–96, March–April, 1947.

[9] Based on a classification first suggested by Georg Hansen, *Die drei Bevölkerungsstufen* (Munich, 1889), and by Franklin H. Giddings, *op cit.*, pp.

itself, such as an isolated village or perhaps an exclusive bridge club. It is unsocial in its relation to other groups.

A *pseudosocial group* is one that takes part in the larger social life, but chiefly for its own gain, and not primarily for the larger good. Some so-called "patriotic" groups use the label of patriotism for their own advantage.

An *antisocial group* is one that acts against the welfare of the larger social unit of which it is a member. A "gang" of boys that destroys neighborhood property is antisocial. A "marihuana ring" that preys upon the youth in its locality is antisocial. A subversive group that plans to overthrow a democratic government is antisocial. A monopoly or cartel that crushes small competitors is antisocial. A labor union that calls a nation-wide strike when a nation is fighting for its life is antisocial. A nation that by subtle propaganda and infiltration takes over and absorbs a nation of democratic people is antisocial.

A *prosocial group* is one that is actively engaged in building up the welfare and increasing the freedom of all the people in the larger society of which it is a part. It is humanly constructive for all concerned. It creates human values. There are degrees of prosocial activity. Some groups are prosocial in some of their activities and antisocial in others. The former they "play up" and the latter they "play down." Many groups are prosocial in some of their activities, but antisocial in other connections.

The *socialized group* is the group that is prosocial in all its activities. Its control may be wholly democratic, that is, in the hands of all of its individual members. It is misleading for popular usage to use "socialized" in the sense of statism in any of its forms. Sociologically, it refers to motivation in terms of the best interests of all people concerned in any way.

In the course of a day a college student makes social contacts in several different groups. In fact, he spends his day in part in going from one group to another, with short stops in informal "talk" groups between participation in the more permanent groups, such as the home group, the class group, the committee group, the social club group. In the course of a semester he limits himself largely to con-

tacts in certain types of these more permanent groups, and as a result receives about the same kinds of stimuli from week to week, and responds in about the same reaction patterns. To the extent that certain groups afford new stimuli or that he seeks contacts in different groups that are creative, he finds life interesting and his personality develops new dimensions of breadth and depth and height.

A good starting point for the beginning student of sociology is to think (1) of the various human groups of which he is a member, (2) of how he became a member of each, (3) of the nature of personal contacts that he (a) enjoys or (b) dislikes in each, (4) of the major attitudes toward life that his associates in each group hold, (5) of the differences in the organization and operation of each of these groups, and (6) of some of the main problems that each group is facing. He may also think (7) of the various ways that each of his groups is influencing the dimensions of his personality.

A student may engage in an illuminating exercise if he prepares a chart of the different groups in which he participates in the course of each day of a sample week. For each day he may keep a record in terms of minutes or hours that he spends in each group. He may divide each day into time for (1) sleep and rest, (2) dressing, eating, bathing, (3) individual activity (reading, study, driving a car), and (4) group participation; and then record the time given to group participation in (1) family group, (2) class groups (recitation and lecture), (3) social groups (informal "talk groups," formal social-club groups), (4) athletic, recreational, amusement groups, (5) work groups (if the student is paying his own way in part or wholly), (6) literary and general lecture groups, (7) religious groups, and (8) other groups. By dividing the time spent in a week in a given group by the total amount that he spends in all groups in the given week he will discover what percentage of time he gives to each of his groups.[10] These percentages may be thought of in terms of personal-group quotients. In this way it is possible to compare one's group quotients for the major groups to which he belongs, and also

[10] Cf. P. A. Sorokin and C. I. Berger, *Time-Budgets of Human Behavior* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1939).

then the total number in one gigantic group reached 750,000 birds. Another large breeding group of cormorants was estimated to contain 1,800,000 birds. What kind of "mass communication" enabled such a large group to function together? Was it entirely mechanistic stimulus and response?

A kind of leadership is in evidence in these subhuman groups. At times it seems related to superior physical fighting ability. At times it is spontaneous and apparently unplanned expression of special initiative. While the leader is usually the individual that "goes ahead," yet in the swarms of sandpipers flying swiftly, the writer has seen a member dart out from the side of the flying group and the whole group wheel and follow this apparently ordinary member with a special urge.

Most of the "social activities" of subhuman groups are unlearned or instinctive, while most social activities of human groups have learned or acquired elements—a result of interpersonal stimuli operating within a framework of group organization. If the group organization among animals breaks down, the individuals are helpless, while in human groups at least a few individuals will rise to the occasion and gather together the fragments of social life into a new social organization.

GROUP PRIORITY

As suggested by the term, *group priority* means that groups exist and function prior to the individual.[19] It also means that groups are well organized centers of social energy, with customs, traditions, purposes, while the individual when he first becomes a member of many groups is a novice and of some, such as his family, a relatively helpless individual. When an individual is born into a family group, a racial group, a national group, he is an inchoate mass of impulses, reflexes, and is a helpless being. Without aid from his closest groups he could not survive more than a few days. Not being able to creep, to walk, to talk, to feed, or to care for himself, he is a classic illustration of dependence on the group. As an individual organism he

[19] This sociological principle was first expressed by the writer as "The Principle of Group Priority," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VII:84–87, November, 1922.

is several months old at birth, and when considered as a prenatal being his helplessness reaches still lower levels.

On the other hand, what about the group environment into which a child comes at birth? For example, there is his parental group with its established language, its developed beliefs and standards of behavior, its mores, its religious traditions. These strong parental-heritage forces are made up out of community, national, racial, and cultural systems of thought and action which have roots that are millennia old. They are permeated by deep-seated beliefs and interpretations of life that have been passed on from generation to generation and that possess the force of the ages. Compare the tremendous power of these groups with the weak naïveté of the newborn babe. Such is the principle of group priority.

Group priority involves both group survival and group transmission. *Group survival* means that parents, grandparents, great-grandparents generation after generation have been reared in groups, have lived only as members of groups, and have been steadily subject to the laws of group control and group survival. An infant would have no practical equipment for trying to live, if there had not been group priority for one or more generations before he was born.

Group transmission means that one generation passes on to the next a complete system of customs and traditions. Take away *group transmission* and the infant of today would have to begin life without any of the equipment represented by civilization—without a language, without literature, without any of the inventions of the past thousands of years. He would have to meet life in a far simpler, cruder way than preliterate peoples began. Without priority expressed in group transmission of civilization, the modern infant would be defenseless against the engulfing primitive conditions that would obtain.

Assuming that an infant could by some means succeed in living outside of groups, how far would he develop mentally, socially, and personally, under nongroup conditions? Suppose that from birth he could live as it is alleged Caspar Hauser lived, namely, by himself, with food being left for him "by someone whom he never saw

and with whom he did not communicate in any way." [20] What would this individual, growing up remote from social group life, resemble at the age of forty years? What language would he speak? Would he have learned to cook food? What style of a house would he build? If he had associated only with four-footed animals, would he also have to run about on all fours? What kind of thoughts would he think? About what, for instance?

Sorokin supports the principle of group priority by saying that "from the cradle to the grave we breathe the atmosphere of organized groups, and the incessant impact of actions and reactions shapes our body, mind, personality and conduct." [21] More significantly, the kind of group stimuli that individuals receive affects the dimensions of their personalities. Sorokin indicates that if the complex of social groups into which we are born "is saturated with the poisons of egoism, we tend to become egoistic; if it is permeated with invigorating altruism, we are molded along altruistic lines." [22] From an anthropological approach, Margaret Mead points out how individuals who grow up in preliterate groups which stress competition become competitive-minded and how those who are reared in societies which emphasize cooperation develop the cooperative spirit.[23]

Animals which respond to group stimuli have marked advantages over those who roam alone. Even competition could not take place between the grown members of an animal group if the group or subgroups did not first protect the young during the latter's months and years of infancy and immaturity. If out of group life human beings have originated and developed into manhood and womanhood, the principle of group priority has strong support.

Man is overwhelmingly attuned to catch group stimuli. He quickly develops gregariousness, parental responsibilities, loyalty,

[20] M. H. Small, "On Some Psychical Relations of Society and Solitude," *Pedagogical Seminary*, VII:32 ff. (April, 1900). Also see J. A. L. Singh and R. M. Zingg, *Wolf-Children and Feral Man* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1942).

[21] Pitirim A. Sorokin, *The Reconstruction of Humanity* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1948), p. 129.

[22] *Loc. cit.*

[23] Margaret Mead, *Competition and Cooperation among Primitive Peoples* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1937), pp. 458 ff.

patriotism. Only as a participant in group life does he grow up as a person. Without group life neither self-consciousness nor social consciousness would develop.

The person who proclaims himself "self-made" is naïve. He is neglecting the way in which groups have influenced his development. He does not perceive that he is more *group-made* than self-made. He does not realize the extent to which he is parental-group made, play-group made, school-group made, culture-group made—far more than self-made. After all, he is overwhelmingly indebted to a ready-made language, countless inventions, a literature. He may be a mere pigmy snatching at perhaps a few material trifles on the vast billowing waves of civilization. This realization may well spur him on to become "more of an integer," "more of an imitator and less of a parrot," "more of a voice and less of an echo," more of a group benefactor and less of an individual self-seeker.

A person cannot be understood, and he cannot understand himself unless his group life be fathomed and interpreted. All the groups of which he is or has been a member are bombarding him with a variety of stimuli, sometimes in quiet, indirect, and unsuspected ways, and then again in brazen fashion; sometimes they operate peacefully, and again with relentless fury.

Sometimes group life is nothing but a dull stagnation; group stimulation is at the zero mark. At another time group life may be throbbing with stimuli. Under the latter condition a student will be stimulated to lead in athletics, in debating, in scholarship, in social life. In a business group he will be stimulated to take great financial risks. In an Alpine club, he will be constrained to undertake difficult mountain-climbing feats. In an athletic club he may be aroused to become a golf champion. In a church group he may be moved to give his life in service to mankind. At every step he is being made, unmade, or remade by the stimuli that come from his groups.

Upon analysis, group life is found to be composed of one social situation after another. A *social situation* is the interplay of a number of persons meeting or attempting to meet a want or a need. As soon as the want or need is met, the temporary coming together of individuals is dissolved and the individuals will presently regroup

themselves in other social situations. A social situation usually arises to meet a real or potential conflict. When the conflict has been met in one way or another, the social situation comes to an end.

The term, *defining the situation*, refers to the way in which a person interprets the activities of his fellows and reacts to them. It leads to the role that each member plays under the circumstances, and to the interplay of roles. Various members may define the situation in contradictory ways and grossly misunderstand one another, thus delaying if not defeating a solution of the problem under consideration. Sociology is the study of social situations.

Social situations produce "situation selves." [24] A situation self is the way in which personality expresses itself in a given set of social contacts. It is the role that a person plays whenever he participates in a given type of social interaction. One may display a hilarious self in a play group, a serious self in a worshipping group, a scheming self in a competitive group, a "sock 'em" self in a football game. Any person will exhibit a variety of situation selves according to the types of groups in which he is an interacting member.

Group priority needs to be considered in connection with the biological inheritance of every person. A strong or weak biological strain will make a difference in the functioning of group priority. It may furnish some individuals with drives which enable them to overcome some of the tendencies of group priority. It may provide others with submissive temperaments. A high-strung nervous temperament may become entirely frustrated by the impingements of the group. A well-balanced temperament may enable one to meet the demands of the group with poise and ultimately to make over some of the group influences.

GROUPS AND PERSONALITY

Group priority is accompanied by personality emergence, personality dominance, and personality leadership. *Personality emergence* is the development of human beings as definite entities with social standing under the influence of the interstimulation characteristic

[24] A term used by E. E. Eubank, *Concepts in Sociology* (D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1932), pp. 106–10.

of group and social life. The ways in which personality develops will depend on the interplay between biological urges and group stimuli.

Personality dominance is the exercise of sheer energy and skill by some individuals as members of a group and hence the exercise of a high degree of influence. Some persons are enabled by heredity to assert strong personal forces and to exercise control in the social situations by which groups are characterized.

Personality leadership is the way one person influences others. The dominant person is sometimes considered a leader of the authoritarian type as distinguished from the democratic leader who indirectly stimulates others to take the initiative in solving group problems. Leadership, which will be discussed in a later chapter, is generally a function of group activity.

Status is the rating given a person by members of each of his groups. When an individual is recognized as a somebody in his groups he acquires standing or status and becomes a person.[25] His status may be high in one group and low in another at the same time. He may be rated as "a pillar in his church" but as an inefficient member of a business men's group. A woman may be elected president of a parent-teacher association but have no standing in a bridge club. A student may be sought after as a member of a scholarship society but be given no bid to a social fraternity.

A person's status is likely to shift up or down in each group of which he is a member, depending on how well or poorly he performs in each group and how the group's standards may change from time to time. If one does not have status anywhere he feels that he is a social outcast and that life is hardly worth living. One will work hard to maintain or to increase his status in one or more groups, and hence he is especially responsive to group stimuli. A basic need is a sense of belonging.

Individuality is that aspect of personality by which one acts differently from other members of his groups. It refers to the ways in which a person stands out from his associates. A person cannot respond to

[25] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (The University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 55.

all group and social stimuli; there are too many. If he attempts so to respond to all he will "blow up" or "break down." He must discriminate. He has to refuse to respond to some stimuli and to accept others—thus developing an individuality in the responses that he makes.

A person is not a mere blank sheet for receiving impressions. He has self-centered, individualistic, even anarchistic ways of behaving. Although he responds to many group stimuli, he objects to some demands made upon him, especially to those which seem to run counter to ego-centered tendencies.

Sociality is that aspect of personality by which one responds favorably to stimuli from members of his group. As a result he is known as "a good fellow," "a good mixer," and achieves popularity. One's sociality identifies one with his groups and enables him to receive countless stimuli and to enrich the development of his personality.

A *basic urge* is an inherited tendency of a person to act in line with the deep-seated needs of personality growth. It is no longer believed that a person inherits instincts, that is, ready-made patterns of behavior for meeting the needs of life. Birds inherit a nest-building instinct, but each human being has to learn how to build a house or else employ others to achieve this goal for him. A basic urge is a general tendency to seek satisfaction not in a specific way, as in the case of a bird who can build only one kind of a nest, but in one of a great variety of ways in a given field, such as the urge for new experience which can be satisfied in a limitless number of directions.

"Desires" was the term used by Lester F. Ward, sometimes called the dean of American sociology, to refer to the basic driving aspects of personality.[26] He likened the desires to the engines of a ship, and the intellect to the directing rudder. Without the rudder the ship flounders along with the current; without the engines the ship moves in circles. When the rudder (intellect) points steadily toward a specific goal, the engines (desires) drive the ship across the waves and tides as well as through gales and storms.

"Wishes" was a term used by another sociologist, William I.

[26] *Pure Sociology* (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1903), p. 103.

Thomas, to indicate the basic inherited tendencies which are stimulated in and through group life.[27] The concept has been criticized because it is sometimes confused with "the Freudian wish," which has a different meaning. Since Thomas' classification has elements of fundamental worth, it may be kept but considered under the title of "basic urges." To his "four wishes," others may be added to the list.

(1) The urge for *new experience* is the craving for adventure, the search for the different. Everyone, "if he be young enough, possesses the urge for new experience." Experiences often repeated grow dull and uninteresting, and hence the urge for new experiences. New experience is stimulating, "the spice of life," and may be expansive and enriching in its effects on personality.

(2) The urge for *security* is the craving to be safe and to conserve. It is opposite to the urge for new experience. It holds the latter in check and prevents a person from doing foolhardy things. It is accompanied by peaceful satisfaction, sometimes by fear, and results in avoidance.

(3) The urge for *response* is the craving to be with others and to be noticed by them. It stimulates a person to seek company and association. Nearly everyone seeks response from other persons daily. To be cut off entirely from all other human beings is the most disorganizing of experiences.

(4) The urge for *recognition* is the desire to be somebody, to obtain social standing, to acquire status. However, personal problems arise because status is unscientifically awarded. It is often given to the foolhardy, to the aggressive, to the glamorous. The urge for recognition often creates a problem for a person: he wants to develop a well-rounded personality and yet his urge for recognition may pull him off balance and distort the development of his personality.

Other basic urges may also be postulated. As the human individual does not reach his full physical growth for eighteen or more years, so the emergence of some of his basic urges may be delayed for years in their full development.

[27] *The Unadjusted Girl* (Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1923), Ch. I.

(5) The urge to *aid* other living individuals who are in need appears to be generic.[28] It appears spontaneously. It functions sometimes in the face of the ego-building urges that have been described. It may lead to sacrificing one's life for a friend or even a stranger. It endures great hardships without thought of personal praise or gain. In its most developed expression it is found in that person who works for the development of others without expecting or seeking the appreciation of other persons. Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* contains many illustrations of assistance given naturally by one living being to another, wholly for the advantage of the other individual.[29]

This urge is illustrated in the case of a child who was playing on the railroad tracks when a train came along. A newsboy by the now well known name of Thomas A. Edison saw the danger and dragged the surprised child to safety. He then continued to call out his wares as though nothing extraordinary had happened. A parent lays down his life with the glad remark: "Now I can die in peace, for I have reared my children and taught them to take care of themselves. I need no reward from them or from anyone, for I have the satisfaction of knowing that they are independent and can make their own way." Charles H. Cooley illustrated the urge to aid when he wrote that "one is never more human, and as a rule never happier, than when he is sacrificing his narrow and private interest to the higher call of the congenial group." [30]

If the greatest joy, as Charles Lamb said, comes from doing good to others by stealth and of letting it become known by stealth, the explanation may lie in a deep-seated urge to aid. How often does a person who has performed some friendly deed say that he could not have done otherwise, meaning that such an act was basic in his personality? To have done less would have been unnatural. Thus, the urge to aid may be viewed as deep-seated and universal.

(6) The urge for *fair treatment* appears to be universal and unlearned. A small child resents having toys taken away from him without explanation of the reasons. The preliterate man quarrels with his

[28] E. S. Bogardus, "The Fifth Wish," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVI:75–77, September–October, 1931.

[29] Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid* (Penguin Books, Ltd., England, 1939).

[30] *Social Organization* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1909), p. 38.

fellow tribesmen when one of his wives is won from him while he is away on an expedition defending his tribe. In the mountains of eastern Kentucky a feud develops and continues for decades because one mountaineer of Scottish descent outbargained another of similar descent.

So sensitive is the urge for fair treatment that a person may imagine that he is treated unfairly by another person when the latter intended no discrimination. Sometimes a sense of injustice arises out of pure carelessness on the part of a friend or loved one. It is easy to feel slighted in a world where one's friends have crowded each day so full of many activities that they do not always take time to be polite.

(7) The urge for *freedom*,[31] common to all life, is the drive for room in which to move one's body, to express one's ideas and feelings, to be one's self and not have to kow-tow to others, to express and develop one's personality. A calf whose legs are tied together will kick until he gets loose or becomes exhausted. A wild and free bird if caught in a cage will beat its wings to pieces against the bars to get out. A child is deeply impressed by being shut in a closet. A slave becomes reconciled only when in his slavery he has a little freedom. In his discussion of primitive peoples, Edgar L. Hewett, the archeologist, has said after wide study in several lands that "the one unquenchable objective of the human race has been the attainment of freedom." [32] Nomadic peoples particularly seek and prize freedom. The less freedom a person has in his day's work, the more he longs for quitting time. Governments that oppress people can maintain peace only so long as they can keep the attention of their subjects turned away from their subjection.

(8) The urge *to be creative* originates in the drive to use one's hands and one's mind in new ways. It is expressed in the reactions against working routinely. It is doubtless related to the urge for freedom. A child enjoys piling up blocks in new and different ways. The artist lives most gloriously in his most creative moments. An

[31] See Louis Petroff, *Solitaries and Solitariness* (University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, 1936), p. 12.

[32] *Ancient Andean Life* (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1939), p. 26.

explorer receives his greatest thrills from making a new discovery and an inventor from creating new relationships. The ordinary man or woman grows excited with pleasure when he or she experiences a flash of insight even in performing normal activities.

An *attitude,* another aspect of personality that develops under social and group stimuli, is an acquired and established tendency to act with reference to some person or environment, object, or matter. It is not inherited but acquired in a learning process, usually informal. A boy develops a favorable attitude toward baseball because he develops a degree of appreciated skill as a player.

Since attitudes are acquired or learned, they can be "unlearned." A person can be so conditioned or can so condition himself through persistence as to change an attitude or to give it up. An attitude as an established reaction to some aspect of life is to be distinguished from an impulse or impulsive action. Because it is well established, it gives stability to personality and reliability to one's character. Since it is a tendency to act, it is to be distinguished from an act itself. In fact, action illustrates its subjective nature. A person may not know what his attitude is on some aspect of life until he acts. An attitude is not necessarily revealed by a single act but more definitely by a repetition of the same act over a period of time. A person can fake an attitude a few times, but not many times without being changed by the faking process. Sooner or later the deception will be disclosed.

Behavior is the test of one's attitudes. Since the latter are subjective, it is one's behavior over a period of time that affords a real test of them. The study of behavior, therefore, is an important approach to the understanding of human attitudes.

An attitude centers in a neuro-muscular mechanism that is expressed in either favorable or unfavorable ways toward its object. It may be very specific, such as an attitude toward a garment that one wears, a particular issue of postage stamps, mountain climbing, a given religious dogma. It may be general, for example, a philosophy of life. Such an attitude means that one has a large number of specific attitudes toward many aspects of life and that they have been more or less integrated into a general viewpoint.

A *social attitude* in one sense is an attitude of a number of persons toward anything or anybody. It is a set of reactions described as accurately as possible of a number of associates. A social attitude in another sense is an attitude of friendliness of a person toward other persons. A *group attitude* is an acquired, established tendency to act on the part of any particular group of persons toward anything or anybody.

A *value* is the object of an *attitude*. One has a favorable attitude toward that which is judged to be of help to him in any way, and an unfavorable attitude toward that which is deemed to be harmful to him in any way. A value of which one approves or affirms becomes an affirmative value, and a value of which one disapproves is a negative value. Affirmative values to some persons are negative values to others, and *vice versa*. Favorable and unfavorable attitudes have their parallel counterparts in affirmative and negative values.

Social values function wherever persons are engaged in interaction. Illustrations are legion. They vary from a "bid" to a party or even a nod from a friend to the welfare of loved ones. For the sake of loved ones a person will face all manner of risks and dangers; he will give up his choicest treasures, even his life. For the sake of loved ones the day laborer struggles on day after day in earning money for the bare necessities of life; and the man of wealth furnishes his loved ones with the finest comforts of life, all the advantages of travel, the ablest physicians in case of illness.

The social group itself is another illustration of a fundamental social value. Under the flags of the various national groups, millions marched to their deaths in the World Wars of 1914–1918 and 1939–1945. Self was placed on the altar of the national group. National group approval and disapproval are all-powerful.

Attitudes and values are subject to change, even those which seem the most stable. In times of group crises, such as war, attitudes and values undergo modification. When the United States entered the World War in 1917 there was no widespread tendency to send millions of soldiers to Europe to fight. In fact, only a few months before, Woodrow Wilson had been re-elected President partly on the basis of the slogan: "He kept us out of war." Pulpits, newspapers, motion pic-

tures, government representatives, four-minute speakers joined in whirlwind campaigns throughout the country, starting far-flung currents of feeling and opinion "to make the world safe for democracy" and "to fight to end war." The results were almost miraculous. Millions of men left their accustomed pursuits, their homes, and loved ones; they entered upon training to use guns, bombs, poison gas, and bayonets; they embarked on ships sailing without lights over submarine-infested seas. They gave up the values of peace for those of war. Their favorable attitudes shifted from earning money, following personal desires, and enjoying the comforts of home, to killing the enemy.

Attitudes and values arise out of personal experiences. A *personal experience* is what happens to one in any situation plus one's reaction to what happens. Its essence is the meaning that it has for one. Does one react favorably, unfavorably, or not at all? What development in personality characteristics does the given reaction produce?

A *direct experience* is one of a specific personal nature. It is a reaction to an event that happens to a person himself or to someone else in his presence. A person has knowledge through one or more of his senses of something that has happened. If the event has meant great exhilaration or great suffering it is likely to have a deep and lasting effect upon his attitudes and values.

A *derivative experience* is one that a person has heard about through some other person. Since the actual event is at least one step removed from the person hearing about it, he is not likely to feel as deeply about it as he does about a direct experience of the same type. While direct experiences usually affect one more deeply than derivative or indirect experiences, yet the latter may have great influence because of their greater number and because of their force when they happen to a close relative, friend, or loved one. Derivative experiences may be greatly "blown up" by melodramatic performances, or by "rabble rousers," or via pictures and sounds in motion pictures, and over the radio or television.

Those experiences which are accompanied by emotional reactions are likely to be the most impressive and enduring. An attitude that springs from a social situation where emotion surges high is difficult

to change. A child who is terribly frightened by an encounter with a kidnapper on a dark night is never quite able to throw off the resultant attitudes. An Armenian immigrant who recalls seeing his parents brutally killed by Turkish persecutors can never wholly wipe out unfavorable attitudes toward Turks.

Defining one's experiences refers to the ways in which a person interprets one experience after another. Defining an experience means interpreting it in terms of one's estimate of its relation to his welfare. It is giving a meaning to an experience. One person may define some slighting action of a friend as a mere oversight and forget about it. Another person may define the same kind of a slighting action of a friend as a gross insult, resolve never to speak to the friend again, and harbor ill-will, with all its distorting effects upon personality, for years.

Attitudes have counterparts in opinions. An *opinion* is an expression of judgment, but such judgments are commonly made on the basis of inadequate data. One often expresses an opinion with little knowledge of what he is talking about. A person who is an authority on a given subject is often urged to express his opinion on a score of subjects that he knows little about.

An opinion may simply signify that one is not sure. Many opinions are fluctuating while attitudes are more stable. A person may reserve his right to change his opinion, but he may apologize and explain at length if he changes an attitude. Some people like to "air their opinions," meaning thereby to attract attention to themselves, to provoke a discussion, to challenge other persons' opinions.

A single experience may be generalized upon and a stereotype produced. A *stereotype* is a rigid type that a person has put together in his mind from considering a few experiences. Such a development of a stereotype is hence unscientific and unreliable. There is no guarantee that the limited number of experiences or observations are at all representative of their field. A common field of life in which stereotypes are manufactured relates to minority groups, racial, religious, or economic. A stereotype is often an emotional product and it easily becomes deeply imbedded in sentiment.

A stereotype is usually a product of *particularistic thinking*, which

is the process of generalizing on a particular case or a few cases. No one can avoid particularistic thinking in fields in which his knowledge is limited. But he can be aware of this tendency and not be governed by it.

A stereotype is generally related to the *groupistic error*, that is, the tendency to apply the impressions that one has of a group to every member of that group.[33] But some groups have received a bad name, while many of their members may be fine folks and do not deserve to have the bad label of their group applied to them.

A *sociotype* is a scientific development of a type out of representative samples. It is reliable. Since it is formed on an intellectual plan it is subject to change as the facts change. It is not as rigid as a stereotype, but changes as the type actually changes. A stereotype will denounce a whole minority group as bad, intolerant, tricky, obtrusive, whereas a sociotype will portray a minority group as composed of both good and bad, tolerant and intolerant, reliable and unreliable, obtrusive and quiet members.[34]

A *prototype* is the picture that a person has of what he would like to become in one or more particulars.[35] A prototype includes ideals, which tend to draw out a personality in given directions. Often prototypes are secret goals that have real power. They may well exceed one's reach—at least at any particular time.

Youth tends to live in their prototypes; their anticipations govern their behavior. A person grows old when his prototypes cease to function and he spends his time reliving his past life. The happy-go-lucky person lacks prototypes and floats along from day to day.

Personality is a dynamic expression of attitudes and values. It is the outgoing of energies having an inherited basis and being stimulated in specific directions by social contacts. A person is not wholly a machine; he is much more. He selects certain stimuli to which to respond and refuses to respond to other stimuli. He is a stimuli-

[33] E. S. Bogardus, "The Groupistic Error," *Sociology and Social Research*, 33:218–24, January–February, 1949.

[34] E. S. Bogardus, "Sociotypes," *Sociology and Social Research*, 37:37–41, September–October, 1952.

[35] Alfred Adler, *The Science of Living* (Garden City Publishing Co., New York, 1929), pp. 67 ff.

selecting organism. The selection that is made at any particular time depends both on his inherited urges to action and on the way that these and his other tendencies have been stimulated by previous social contacts. The selection of stimuli at any moment depends on the configuration or organization of an individual's personality at that moment, on what urges, what standards, what ideals, what prototypes are uppermost in his field of action at the time.

Personality configuration is the integration to a greater or lesser degree of all a person's attitudes and values. It is the psychosocial shape of one's personality. Personality is rarely equally well developed in all its dimensions. It reaches out farther in some directions than in others.

A person's margin of choice of a stimulus to which to respond fluctuates. It varies in different situations. It may dwindle when his health becomes impaired, when poverty impinges, when vicious attitudes are given the reins. It is more difficult for a person who has been reared in extreme want, vice, and crime to live a socially constructive life than it is for one who has responded to love, good will, and group welfare.

Personality is a freedom-seeking phenomenon. Every person needs what Lewin has called "a space of free movement." [36] Everyone wants some social space, some friendly atmosphere, in which to act freely, in which to escape being told to do this and to do that, in which he is not impinged upon all the time, in which to be able to speak his thoughts with freedom, in which he can say what he actually thinks and not forever wear a mask. Everyone needs some free social space in order to escape damaging frustrations from within his personality and obnoxious social pressures from without.

GROUPS AND SOCIOLOGY

In studying groups the sociologist discovers certain social processes at work. These processes cannot be stopped. They function far beneath the surface of daily activities. While an occasional person

[36] Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948).

is sometimes instrumental in modifying the operation of these processes, yet most persons are blindly molded by them.

A *process* is a series of events that always follow one another in the same sequence. A *social process* is a series of human actions that always follow one another in the same order. A social process is a characteristic mode or manner in which related social events occur.

Interaction, the basic social process, is the give-and-take of stimuli; and *social interaction* is the give-and-take of stimuli between human beings. The process is *spiral* in form, that is, a stimulus leads to a response which in turn becomes a new stimulus that produces another response on a new level of action, and so on, between persons. Thus, the process continues, not in a circle but on resultant levels of interchange and possible development. Without social interaction there can be no social life and no human beings.

Communication is interaction in terms of a stimulus, a gesture, a look, a word by one person which produces a response in the form of another stimulus, gesture, look, word by another person that indicates that the latter has given a meaning to the stimulus from the first person. Communication uses stimuli as symbols of what may be very complicated meanings. If two people have acquired the same symbols and the same meanings for the given symbols they can communicate with each other; but if not, they will misunderstand each other, or even fail to communicate.

Cooperation is interaction in terms of a common understanding of human needs. Cooperation is working together for commonly accepted ends. Cooperation means unity but not uniformity among specializations. It means a working together of related forces.

Competition is a form of interaction in which two or more persons, two or more groups, strive to obtain the same goods, services, or recognitions at the same time. Competition means that the available supply of social values is less than the demand for them. Competition may be direct and even ruthless. It may be dignified and carried on according to generally accepted rules. It may be indirect, subtle, and even underhanded.

Conflict is interaction that is a sharply drawn struggle between

rivals for the same goods, services, or recognitions. It is competition, brought to a definite and sharply defined focus; the rules of combat may be violated and treachery be practiced. Often the side with the greatest physical force or with the most scheming propaganda wins a conflict.

Accommodation is interaction involving a mild degree of adjustment. It may start with *tolerance*, which means that people who disagree will try to get along with each other even if they do not agree or perhaps even respect each other—for the sake of some larger gain that each has in view.

Acculturation is interaction first in the sense of adopting by one group some or most of the culture patterns of another group. In a second sense acculturation is a process of the uniting or the integrating of the patterns of life of two different culture groups on a somewhat equal basis.

Assimilation is interaction first in the sense of adopting by one group some or many of the ideas of another group. Ultimately the first group will have given up most of its own ideology for the ideology of the second group. In the second sense, assimilation is the uniting of the ideas of two groups. It is the developing of one ideology, or system of ideas, out of two or more different ideologies.

Since culture patterns are chiefly objective in nature and ideas are chiefly subjective, acculturation and assimilation may become parallel processes, taking place at the same time, and involving the same groups. In fact, acculturation and assimilation may be viewed as different aspects of the phase of interaction.

Socialization is the degree that a person acts according to the needs, freedom, enrichment of the personalities of the larger social units of which the given person is a member. Every person achieves more socialization in some actions than in others.

The study of sociology takes a person into the very heart of group life. It lays bare the nature, development, and problems of personality. It furnishes keys for understanding social problems. It points toward the prediction of group behavior and to a certain extent of personal behavior.

PROBLEMS

1 What was your idea about the nature of sociology before you read this chapter?
2 In what ways has your idea changed since reading it?
3 What is the purpose of problems for discussion such as these?
4 Why do some students "sit clam-like" in class? Under what conditions are quiet students talkative?
5 In how many social groups are you an active participant now?
6 In how many did you become a member by personal choice?
7 What is there about each of these groups that you like most?
8 What do you dislike about any to which you belong?
9 Do you belong to any from which you would like to withdraw?
10 What choices do you make that are more important than choosing persons with whom to associate?
11 In what ways are you group-made?
12 In what ways are you self-made?
13 Can you mention any idea or object that you have originated?
14 What different meanings does the term, social, have?
15 In what way are "social insects" not social?
16 Is a member of a gang social?
17 What does "pro-social" mean?
18 How do you define personality?
19 What is meant by "configuration of personality"?
20 What is a basic urge?
21 How is a basic urge different from an instinct?
22 How many of the eight basic urges described in this chapter have you experienced?
23 What is status?
24 Why is status so important to a person?
25 Illustrate a stereotype.
26 How is a sociotype different from a prototype?
27 What is a sociotype?
28 Illustrate an attitude.
29 Name any attitude of yours and indicate how it originated.
30 Mention a change of attitude and indicate how it came about.
31 Explain the relationship of an attitude to a value.
32 Illustrate the difference between an attitude and an opinion.
33 What is the best test of a person's attitudes?
34 What is a process?
35 What is a social process?

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Chapter

2

Culture and Social Groups

EVERY social group is characterized by a culture partly similar to that of other groups and partly distinctive. *Culture* is all the ways of doing and thinking of a group. It is the setting into which every child is born and which begins at once to condition him to certain ways of doing and thinking. When he grows old enough to criticize any part of the culture of his social groups he is handicapped unless he can get outside the social environment which has colored deeply his thinking and unless he is willing to criticize his own ways of doing and thinking. In fact his early absorption of his culture into his personality habits means that his family group gives him viewpoints from which he begins his critical examinaton of culture.

The culture patterns are static in themselves but as aspects of personality they are subject to change. Changes in culture pattern may be effected by catastrophic events such as wars, by new inventions that call for new ways of doing, and by personal refusals to abide by those patterns which have become outmoded. In other words the members of a social group can by the use of their intelligence and volition make over the culture of the given group so that the next generation in its early years will be subject to stimuli markedly different from those of their predecessors.

Culture is composed of the integrated customs, traditions, and current behavior patterns of a human group. Culture is the "stock in trade" of a group. It is an antecedent complex of values into which

every individual is born. It is a medium within which individuals develop and mature.

Social groups are distinguished from each other by differences in their stocks of culture patterns and values. It is also true that all social groups have basic similarities in their culture systems. By virtue of their culture differences groups may stimulate each other or they may misunderstand each other. Culture differences all too often lead to destructive conflicts. By virtue of similarities in culture patterns groups may cooperate, although these similarities sometimes throw groups into bitter competition.

CULTURE PATTERNS

A *culture pattern* is an objective expression of a way of doing or believing that is common to a number of people. It ranges from the very simple to the very complex. In central Bolivia, for example, the women who are members of a particular tribe wear white top straw hats. These are distinguishing marks whether they are at home or on a visit to La Paz, the capital. The Englishman's use and pronunciation of "ghastly" is another example. Driving an automobile, of course, is a culture pattern, and weaving in and out of traffic is a special culture pattern that is characteristic of some drivers of automobiles. Eating three meals a day, wearing clothes, living in houses, whether bungalows or mansions, are procedures that illustrate the universality of culture patterns. If you will make a list of the patterns of doing and thinking that are characteristic of just one small group to which you belong, you will be impressed by the importance of this concept. Then classify these patterns and you will obtain a surprisingly accurate picture of your group.

Culture patterns become the behavior traits of children, youth, and adults. Read Bain refers to culture as "all behavior mediated by social symbols," [1] and Ralph Linton defines culture as "the organized repetitive responses of a society's members." [2] Linton finds culture patterns expressed in the "stereotyped forms of behavior" of persons. Culture

[1] Read Bain, "A Definition of Culture," *Sociology and Social Research*, 27:87, November-December, 1942.

[2] Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1945), pp. 5, 23, 24, 32.

patterns become "established as patterns of habitual response" of persons. Linton gives them two special characteristics: they are "shared" and they are "transmitted" from one member of a group to another and from one generation to another. Culture provides the members of social groups with "an indispensable guide in all the affairs of life." [3] On the other hand it is "the dominant factor in establishing the basic personality types" in our group life.[4]

A *culture complex* is any combination of culture patterns which belong logically together, such as manufacturing a pair of shoes with all of its constituent phases from tanning hides to putting the finished product in boxes. This is a logical, evolutionary culture complex, for each pattern leads naturally to the next until a whole process of manufacturing is completed. Then there is the logical, co-ordinated culture complex, as in the case of the functioning of a large store or a school system. In these complexes, many of the patterns are of equal and co-ordinate rank.

A *culture adhesion* is a combination of unnaturally attached culture patterns, such as the swagger stick carried by a democratically minded person. The churchman who pays "starvation wages," or the social welfare agency that requires long hours of its employees are additional cases in point.

A *culture area* is the region wherein a specific culture pattern or culture complex may be found. It is the regional base of a way of acting or believing. For example, when you travel across Switzerland you may pass through three different language areas—French, German, and Italian. Most areas have centers from which a specific trait has emanated or where it is followed more faithfully than in other parts of the area. A *culture center* is the emanating point of a culture pattern. Paris has been the culture center of new styles in woman's dress for the world. New York City is the culture center of new plays for the United States. More particularly, Broadway is the specific center.

Special verification of the role that culture areas play in human behavior may be observed in the interesting studies of delinquency by

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Clifford R. Shaw. For example, he found that delinquent behavior in Chicago varied with the different areas of the city, that it varied in proportion to the distance from the center of the city, and that in certain areas delinquency patterns arise, become socially acceptable, and shape personality patterns of behavior.[5] Moreover, it appears that delinquency patterns "are transmitted socially just as any other cultural and social pattern is transmitted." [6]

All cultural patterns fit into a *universal culture pattern*, that is, a basic pattern common to all peoples everywhere. Clark Wissler was the first to develop the concept of a universal pattern.[7] The idea is based on the fact, for example, that the family functions everywhere.

The universal culture pattern, common to all the world, as described by Wissler, may be expressed in terms of the following subpatterns. (1) All peoples have a family system. (2) All have communication systems, or languages. (3) All have physical-living systems relating to food, clothing, shelter, and occupational systems. (4) Every tribe and nation has some kind of government and social control patterns. (5) Property systems are found in all lands. (6) People in all groups worship a Higher Power. (7) All groups have art patterns in one or more fields. (8) Informal educational patterns function among all mankind. Wissler also includes the universality of war methods. Still other universal patterns could be suggested.

This universal culture pattern has a psychological counterpart, for the members of all human groups are characterized by a similar "inhibition of impulses, power of attention, power of original thought." Franz Boas generalizes: "The organization of mind is practically identical among all races of men." [8]

All the culture traits or patterns of a people have been called *folkways*.[9] These are all "the ways" of "a folk," and include both *customs* and *traditions*. The former are the ways of *doing* of a folk

[5] Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas* (The University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 198, 202.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 206.
[7] *Man and Culture* (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1923), Ch. V.
[8] *The Mind of Primitive Man* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1911), p. 105.
[9] William G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1907).

and the latter, the ways of *believing*. Of course customs and traditions are closely intertwined.

Those folkways which are judged by the members of a group to be necessary to the welfare of that group are called *mores*. These phases of the folkways have the sanction of public opinion and of law behind them. The driving of an automobile on the right-hand side of the road in the United States, or on the left in England, is a part of the mores, but whether one shall drive an automobile or not is outside the mores. To wear clothes is a phase of the mores in civilized countries, but usually the particular color that is worn is not regulated by the mores.

Some of the major characteristics of the mores have been well summarized by Constantine Panunzio.[10] (1) They "regulate all activity which directly or indirectly involves the giving, maintaining, or taking of life." Evidently this is a large and important role. (2) They determine what is "right" and what is "wrong" for the members of a social group. (3) They possess the authority which comes from religion, from nationalism, from many pressures involving group loyalty. (4) They are persistent, they change very slowly; they keep the same forms from generation to generation. (5) They "are no respecters of persons." They reach all classes, ages, all degrees of rank. "Once a violator, always a 'sinner'."

The mores are closely related to *morals*.[11] A person often gets his ideas about what is moral or not moral from the mores. Mores are a part of the social environment, while morals are a part of the behavior of persons. Mores are based on social experience, while morals often include ideals and goals to be attained. The mores are generally not thought out; morals may not be thought out either, but often they do include reflection and careful reasoning even to the fine points of conscientious discriminations.

CULTURE HERITAGE

Culture heritage is the sum total of the culture patterns that a person receives from the various social groups of which he is a mem-

[10] Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1939).

[11] Charles A. Ellwood, "Social Development of Morality," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII : 24–25, September-October, 1927.

ber. Remove the culture heritage from the life of Thomas A. Edison and which one of his more than one thousand inventions could he have made? Remove the knowledge of the culture patterns of many peoples from the equipment of Shakespeare and which of his magnificent dramas could he have written? Every one of us is indebted to preceding generations in so many culture ways that we can scarcely realize how deep is our indebtedness.[12]

Social groups vary greatly in the extent and quality of their culture heritage. One group may have an extensive heritage of primitive culture patterns. Another group may have a replete heritage of complex and carefully thought-out culture patterns, and be striving to improve the scope and quality of these patterns. Still another group may have an unusually wide variety of culture patterns but has become so self-satisfied with its glorious culture that it offers no encouragement to any of its members to develop new patterns. In fact a group may penalize anyone who criticizes the group's traditions or customs. An autocratic class, satisfied with its own influence and affluence, may crush out any attempt to incubate new ideas.

Since culture patterns are largely an accumulation from the past, a careful view may be taken of the cultural past of mankind. Could we picture all human culture past and present we would have a cornucopia, narrow at the bottom but wide at the top, beginning with earliest man and extending to the earth-wide spread of humanity today. Irrespective of what our understanding may be of the origin of man, we are interested sociologically in the fact that human groups began life in a very humble way on earth, without much in the way of traditions and customs, and that from a simple start they have expanded and developed until now they envelop the earth with complicated and overlapping systems of culture.

The utmost simplicity with which human groups began their career on earth developed with increasing complexity to the present vastness of numbers and intricate array of social activities and institutions. Today the human group, composed of over 2,000,000,000 persons of all ages, can hardly be visualized. If all these human beings were able-

[12] One of the first writers to develop this idea extensively was Graham Wallas in his *Social Heritage* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1921).

bodied adults and could pass by a reviewing stand, the procession would be practically endless. If they came in single file, one every six feet, passing by at the rapid rate of one a second, sixty a minute, 3600 an hour, day and night, the procession would continue for more than half a century. Moreover, what a load of culture traits each would carry, even the primitive persons, while the modern civilized persons would almost be buried from sight beneath their bundles of culture traits.

Personality is deeply influenced, even molded, by culture patterns. If these give life supernatural settings and other-worldly rituals, personality develops a mystical, religious nature. If religious practices and patterns are taboo and unknown, children grow up with atheistic beliefs. If martial music is common, if the marching of soldiers to and fro is daily honored, and if warlike patterns are constantly held up and glorified, then personality as a rule develops correlative traits.

When a person moves from one culture area to another that is sharply different, he suffers personal conflicts. For the first time he becomes aware of the ways in which culture has shaped his personality. He discovers how difficult it is to cast off certain culture-ingrained habits, and how long it takes to acquire new activity patterns.

Human culture began long before the dawn of history. The artifacts and the remains of primitive man have been found in a region extending from Java through India to England. From this central strip of territory, early human groups seem to have migrated far and wide. They wandered northeast into Mongolia [13] and adjoining areas, and they migrated southwest into Africa. It appears that some of their number drifted from Asia across the Pacific, or traveled by land to America in prehistoric times when America was connected by land with Asia on the west, and with Europe on the east.

Earliest culture evidences are tools, or implements, made out of flint and other imperishable materials. Closely related to these implements are early monuments, mounds, elementary art designs crudely etched or drawn on the inside of stone caves or elsewhere in places where weathering could not efface them. The drawings upon ancient walls speak interestingly concerning the nature of primitive culture.

[13] Some authorities consider Mongolia the cradle of the human race.

Along with the artifacts and other culture elements are the remains of human skeletons. Moreover, the comparative age of primitive culture patterns is often revealed by the nature of the geological strata in which they are located and by the types of associated fauna.

The earliest period of the culture history of groups begins with man, not with animals. It has been contended by Clarence M. Case that animals do not have a culture.[14] Culture is composed of tools and symbols that are accumulative. Animals transmit ways of doing from parent to offspring, but these are behavior patterns. There is no "external storage" that accumulates and that is transmitted. Culture "consists essentially in the external storage, interchange, and transmission of an accumulating fund of personal and social experience by means of tools and symbols."[15] Animals do not follow this procedure. Beavers do not build better "houses" from generation to generation; birds do not improve in nest-building. Culture is the possession distinctly of human groups, and gives a highly important medium for group continuity and for group and personal advancement.[16]

Animal groups thus are social groups, if not culture groups. The pack of wolves, the herd of cattle, the swarm of bees,[17] the covey or flock of birds, the school of fish—these terms indicate the group life and nature of animal life. However, the arbitrary and autocratic activities of physically and psychically powerful leaders are paralleled by a blind obedience, and sometimes by a stifling degree of overorganization. The individuals are largely automatons, operating on a simple stimulus-response basis.

[14] "Culture as a Distinctive Human Trait," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII : 906–20, May, 1927. [15] *Ibid.*, p. 920.

[16] Hart and Pantzer, "Have Subhuman Animals Culture?" *American Journal of Sociology*, XXX : 703–9, take a point of view different from that of Dr. Case, claiming that culture consists in behavior patterns transmitted by imitation or tuition, and that hence there is no sharp culture break between man and the lower animals. This interpretation is supported by Read Bain, "Culture of Canines," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIII : 545–56, July-August, 1929.

[17] W. M. Wheeler's *Social Life Among the Insects* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1923) deals intensively with the social traits of the bees, ants, beetles, and wasps, and reveals the mechanical nature of much of this type of so-called social life.

CULTURE HISTORY

The earliest culture period in the history of human groups is sometimes called the Paleolithic or Old Stone Age. At that time metal implements were unknown. While stone was utilized mainly, other materials such as bone, horn, shell, and wood served well in the manufacture of tools and weapons. The implements of the Paleolithic Age were all of the crudest type; they were neither ground nor polished; they were simply roughly chipped. In the Paleolithic period, no animals seem to have been domesticated, and fire was probably unknown. Food consisted chiefly of uncooked vegetables and the raw flesh of fish and animals.

An interesting picture of prehistoric days is given by R. R. Marett, who helped to make an important discovery while excavating in Jersey, one of the islands in the English Channel.[18] A prehistoric hearth was uncovered. There were the big stones that had propped up the fire. There were the ashes. There were the pieces of decayed bone, which proved to be the remains of a woolly rhinoceros, of reindeer, of a strange-appearing horse, in other words, of species of animals which have not lived in that given region for thousands of years, and which indeed have been long extinct.

In the next place the food heap yielded thirteen human teeth—a discovery which prompted the question: Did the beasts eat the man or did the man eat the beasts? This prehistoric sketch is completed by the statement that there were many coarse flint instruments lying about. It takes but little imagination to reconstruct the culture patterns which existed at that time, and to depict in part the life of animals and of man in that ancient day.

After the Paleolithic came the Neolithic, or New Stone, Age. Neolithic implements are distinctly superior to Paleolithic, and represent skill of a higher order. They were made of many kinds of stone besides flint, and were often ground to an edge that was sometimes polished.

Another important distinction between Paleolithic and Neolithic culture is the fact that the latter includes crude pottery and the devel-

[18] *Anthropology* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1912), pp. 13ff.

opment of agriculture. In Neolithic culture fire was used for human purposes; the method of kindling it artificially had been discovered. Cooked food supplemented raw food. The domestication of the horse, the sheep, the ox, the goat, the pig, and the dog had taken place, and helped to make civilization possible. Cattle were used to some extent as a measure of value. Monuments indicating the nature of religious rites of primitive groups have revealed the culture of Neolithic groups. Fortifications and burial mounds, especially the latter, are numerous; in Ohio, for instance, there are many of these reminders of Neolithic culture. Around Stonehenge, England, there is a large number of these burial mounds. Stonehenge itself is a remarkable prehistoric monument with its thirty upright stone slabs, some of which are standing about twenty-two feet above the ground. Some are tied together at the top by capstones or lintels.[19] You can walk within the magic circle at Stonehenge and turn your imagination loose regarding the life and customs of the people who lived there in the Neolithic Age, perhaps 4000 years ago. It is a fascinating spot to visit because of its eloquent testimony of Neolithic culture.

Then came the so-called Bronze Age of human culture. The discovery and use of metals mark a definite step in human advance. It seems that copper in its native condition generally preceded its use in a form mixed with tin or zinc. The compound, bronze, was much harder and tougher, and hence more useful. As a measure of value cattle were supplanted by copper; and copper bars, used as coins, were stamped with the image of the animals which were once standards of value, namely, the cow, the sheep, or the dog.

It is believed that iron was first used about 1000 B.C., at which time the so-called Iron Age may be said to have begun. Implements were now made out of a hard and valuable metal, iron. The Iron Age, however, did not enter upon its main era until the latter part of the eighteenth century A.D. in England, when the use of steam power gave to the world the factory system, made iron and steel of paramount importance, and created an industrial age.

The Iron Age merged into the Steel and Oil Ages with the Car-

[19] Frank Stevens, *Stonehenge Today and Yesterday* (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1929), pp. 59–90.

negies and the Rockefellers coming into industrial prominence. Perhaps the present might be called the Electric Age, or it may be that this is the Technological Age, that is, the age when technique and its god, the machine, make ordinary labor, or hand labor, on a large scale unnecessary. However, the world is already moving into an Atomic Age. The explosion of an atomic bomb over Hiroshima in 1945 ushered in with dreadful devastation of lives what now appears to be a portentous age.

During the centuries preceding historic times, the development of toolmaking was the outstanding cultural feature. Migration and hence the spread or diffusion of culture was common. Human groups were at first loosely related to the soil, and thus were on the move a great deal of the time. Cooperative behavior was common. Persons worked together in house building, canoe-building, fishing, hunting.

It has been said by O. T. Mason that whatever one's belief concerning the manner, the place, and the time of man's advent upon the earth, a study of prehistoric culture shows that man was at first a houseless, unclothed being, without experience or skill, and that through association in groups he has achieved his present civilized level.[20] It is partly the possession of a culture that grows more and more complex which distinguishes human beings from the rest of the animal kingdom. It is in the origins of culture, a culture that is ever changing and developing new forms, that sociology has one of its important starting points.

Within historic days, the chief emphasis in human society has been shifting. In addition to the invention of material objects of culture, increasing attention has been given to psychical and social phenomena. Social attitudes and values are now central data. The development of constructively-minded and wholesome personalities in and through group life has become a theme of far-reaching significance.

Outstanding in the history of human groups is cultural growth and advancement. For example, compare the loose family life of the best peoples among primitive tribes with the developed forms of love and affection that now characterize family life at its best. Put the magic of medicine men or the practices of witchcraft alongside the achieve-

[20] *Origins of Invention* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1910), p. 20.

ments of Pasteur, of Koch, or of the Mayo brothers. Consider cattle and bars of iron in comparison with highly organized credit systems. Think of the advance from government in the hands of a despot to government in the hands of disinterested statesmen. Compare ethical conduct dictated by a thousand years of custom to ethical conduct based on rational processes of socialized thinking. Picture the esthetic effect of a Bushman playing on one string stretched across a gourd, in comparison with a modern rendition of Handel's Messiah including the Hallelujah Chorus. Parallel primitive methods of preserving information through laborious remembering exertions with the twentieth-century and lightninglike printing process. Think of the animistic superstitions of early man in connection with the highly rational and broadly social interpretations of the finest current religious life. The simple associational activities of a Fuegian are kindergarten in size and quality when the national and international activities of a President of the United States are considered. These illustrations of cultural change and progress reveal something of the tremendous role of culture in group life.

CULTURE DIFFUSION

Culture diffusion is the spreading of a culture pattern from one group of people to another and from one culture area to another. Culture patterns spread in two ways, either *incidentally* or by *direction*. A culture pattern is in itself lifeless and must be "carried" by persons. Whenever a person migrates from one culture area to another, he carries culture patterns with him. If these appeal by their utility or their uniqueness irrespective of utility to many people, culture diffusion is likely to occur.

When missionaries are sent from one country to a "heathen" country, culture diffusion may take place by direction. When a country undertakes to colonize a new area, and imposes its own culture patterns upon the colonized region, then again culture diffusion by direction has occurred.

A pure culture diffusion theory implies that each culture pattern has had but one origin and that from this single origin it has spread to its present stage of distribution. It denies the theory of *independent ori-*

gins, which holds that many objects of culture have been invented or discovered in two or more parts of the world and that they have spread from these several culture centers. This theory is accompanied by another, that of *culture parallels.* Here the idea is that a given culture pattern has arisen in two or more widely separated areas and has spread in parallel fashion in these different areas. Another related theory is that of *cultural convergence,* which holds that two or more different culture patterns originating in different areas may grow to be alike without contact of people, because of similar life conditions in the two areas. Thus, culture pattern similarities in different areas without culture diffusion may occur.

Whatever may have been the situation among preliterate peoples, it appears that today the independent origins theory has less support than formerly. By virtue of current methods of rapid communication, an invention in one part of the earth is quickly heralded among civilized peoples everywhere. Culture diffusion appears to be at present the main process, and independent origins to be supported with but few illustrations in a civilized world.

The culture of a people is a large unwieldy mosaic. The culture of a dynamic people is continually changing. At least, parts of it are changing faster than other parts, which lag. *Cultural lag* means that some patterns of a people's culture do not change as fast as do other traits.[21] As a result, conflicts do not change as fast as do other traits.[22] Lag means that one or more phases of culture have moved ahead, and that all the other phases therefore are lagging behind. Lag is a term which suggests progress at some point or other.

Moreover, lag depends on standards. A given movement, such as the rise of a dictatorship, will represent a lag if you believe in democratic principles. On the other hand it will represent progress, and democracy a lag, if you are a believer in totalitarian government.

An advance in any phase of culture not only produces lags in the phases of culture which do not adjust quickly, but also results in conflicts and problems. Physical inventions have preceded inventions for

[21] See W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (Huebsch and Company, New York, 1922), pp. 200ff.

[22] *Ibid.*; see also W. D. Wallis, "The Concept of Lag," *Sociology and Social Research,* XIX : 403–6, May-June, 1935.

social control; destructive instruments of war have advanced ahead of peace machinery and the peace spirit. Moreover, culture patterns often outlive their usefulness. Culture patterns may persist until they are no longer adapted to new social conditions and needs. By its nature culture cannot easily keep apace of new social conditions; neither can it in all of its phases keep up to date evenly. Some parts of it are bound to lag. An analysis of these culture lags at any given time helps to explain conflicts and problems.[23]

Unfortunately there is a strong tendency for ways of doing and believing to operate long after their original meaning, or any real meaning, has been lost, and long after their utility has ended. Note the American veneration oftentimes for a common law which is at variance with current industrial needs. A deference is shown on occasion for certain traditional aspects of the law which exhibit too great concern for powerful interests and too little respect for individuals of the weaker groups. In religion also beliefs often outlive their serviceability.

The undue prolongation of customs and traditions is supported by ecological, psychical, and social barriers. These shut out new stimuli; they prohibit contacts with the advanced ideas and methods of the day. In the isolated areas of civilized countries there survive clannishness, patriarchal authority, narrow religious dogmatism. In immigrant areas in modern cities, traditions and customs rule. In the secluded sections of one's own home many useless objects are preserved, and in the protected side of one's own thinking cobwebs gather on antiquated beliefs.

An old Chinese saying reads: "I approach my elder brother with respect, my father and mother with veneration, my grandfather with awe." To ancestor worship, with its emphasis on the past, the phenomenal stability of China is partly due. All human groups, in fact, rely upon culture patterns for stability. If it were not for tradition and custom no human group would possess permanence, and yet, where tradition and custom rule, there is danger of overconservatism and

[23] The lag in family culture is clearly presented in an article by F. Stuart Chapin, "The Lag of Family Mores in Social Culture," in the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX : 241–48, March-April, 1925.

group stagnation. Where culture diffusion is blocked, progress is stopped.

On the other hand, the culture patterns of a group at any particular time are an invitation to make new inventions. They constitute a dependable starting point from which to make new sallies into undiscovered realms of knowledge and technique. They are the groundwork of all social stability and the springboard of all progress.

Differences in culture produce the *marginal man.*[24] A person who is living in two cultures is likely to be occupying not the center of either but the margins of both. The marginal man is the person who belongs to two or more cultures but is not fully accepted in any. An immigrant who has moved into a decidedly different culture area from the one in which he grew to manhood is likely to be a marginal man. A second-generation person, if his parents possess a culture that is strange in the land into which they have migrated, is not entirely at home in the cultural life of his parents and may not be socially accepted in the country in which he was born. His problems as a marginal person are usually lifelong. Still another type of marginal man is the person of mixed blood. Perhaps he is the most distinctive type of all, for he is often biologically marked as belonging to a race which is not accepted culturally in the particular region where the mixed blood lives. The problems of the marginal man are many, such as overcoming a deep-seated inferiority complex and a dual personality.

There are various aspects of marginal living. Four different types of marginal persons have been noted by J. S. Slotkin.[25] (1) Where there is no special discrimination shown by one group toward another even though some lines of demarcation operate, the children of intermixtures may live in either group. Usually this type of reaction is found crimination by a "superior" group. (2) Sometimes the children of mixed marriages find that they are not welcome in either parental among noncompetitive minority groups which are the subjects of disgroup. If they be numerous enough they may be able to form and live

[24] This concept was originated by Robert E. Park; it has been developed by E. V. Stonequist in his book, *The Marginal Man* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1937).

[25] "The Status of the Marginal Man," *Sociology and Social Research* XXVII: 47ff., September-October, 1943.

in a mixed group of their own. (3) Sometimes the children of mixed parentage are accepted by the parental group with the lower status but decline to affiliate, and form a group with a status above that of one parental group and below that of the other. Types two and three are somewhat similar in status but develop as a result of different factors. (4) When the children of mixed parentage are accepted in the group with the lower status and are satisfied with living with this group they swell the ranks of and become an integral part of such a group.

The marginal person may be marginal either racially or culturally or both.[26] A marginal person racially together with others in a similar situation may develop a marginal culture, which to all intents and functioning becomes a home culture, especially for the children of mixed parents. Of course the *marginal group*, or many people living in a mixed culture of their own, have a culture that overlaps with both parental cultures and yet is not accepted by either parental culture. Discrimination either directly or indirectly is suffered even to the third and fourth generation. It is a problem not only to itself but to the culture group to which it aspires to belong, as well as to the people from which it is trying to escape. For example, the Eurasian or Anglo-Indian desires to be accepted among the European whites and seeks to get away from his darker Indian parentage, but is at least partially stranded. The mulatto in the United States cannot obtain full white acceptance and yet is not happy among full-blooded Negroes. The Cape Colored of South Africa occupies a fluctuating and uncertain status between its original European and Hottentot lineages. Where any type of widespread and long-lived prejudice exists, marginal groups will be found. They will represent two or more cultures but will lack full status in any of them.

Culture patterns are vital in the study of sociology for they are the overt and unseen factors of human groups. They are tangible. They reveal change. They denote progress or retrogression. They can be classified, measured, and interpreted with precision. They constitute an excellent approach to an understanding of the psychical and psychosociological aspects of human groups.

[26] M. M. Goldberg, "A Qualification of the Marginal Man Theory," *American Sociological Review*, 6:52ff., February, 1941.

The different ways in which culture is involved in group life are shown by its varied definitions.[27] (a) Descriptive: culture includes customs, beliefs, morals, art, knowledge. (b) Historical: culture is the sum total of social heritages. (c) Normative: culture is composed of the traditions, attitudes, ideas that control human behavior. (d) Psychological: culture is the means by which people try to obtain their goals. (e) Structural: culture is an organization of conventional understandings and of learned behavior. (f) Genetic: culture arises from and includes all the products of social interaction.

Early in the life of a child, and unawares to him, culture patterns become expressed in his behavior patterns. Often a person's mental conflicts are due to differences between current social stimuli and the culture patterns acquired in his childhood and deeply imbedded in his sentiments. Culture patterns are continually in process of being remade by persons. A person loses some of his culture patterns because of disuse of them. He gradually outgrows other patterns. He deliberately defies some of the prevalent culture patterns of social groups. He may by intention deliberately create new culture patterns. Thus culture and personality within the framework of human groups become inseparable.

Perhaps the chief value of the study of culture for sociology is the light that it casts upon the nature and development of personality. The growth of personality in social groups represents reactions of each human being to the culture patterns that have become the essence of the given group's traditions and customs. Sometimes the individual accepts his group's culture patterns even without being aware of doing so; sometimes he accepts after reflections; and sometimes he reacts against certain patterns. Regardless of the nature of the reaction, personality dimensions are expressions in part of culture.

PROBLEMS

1 What is culture?
2 What is meant by "a cultured person" as this term is used popularly?
3 In what sense is every person highly cultured?

[27] A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture* (Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952).

4 What is the relation of folkways and culture patterns?
5 Give two illustrations of folkways with one representing the mores and the other not doing so.
6 Cite an item that belongs to your traditions and one to your customs.
7 Distinguish by illustration between the mores and the morals of any group of which you are a member.
8 Do animals have culture? In what sense, yes, and in what sense, no?
9 What does the study of culture show regarding the unity of mankind?
10 What is meant by the "universal culture pattern"? What is its sociological significance?
11 Although two persons may have the same general cultural heritage, why does the actual heritage that each adopts vary?
12 Compare the Paleolithic culture by illustration with Neolithic culture.
13 In what ways can you say that there has been an advance in culture since Neolithic days?
14 Mention a predominating element in the culture of Western Europe that is not found in the culture of the United States.
15 Mention a predominating element in the culture of China not found in the culture of Western Europe.
16 What is the difference between a culture pattern and a culture trait?
17 Select any culture pattern and indicate its culture area.
18 Illustrate the difference between a culture pattern and a culture complex.
19 Distinguish by illustration between culture adhesion and culture complex.
20 Describe how some particular culture pattern has traveled from one part of the earth to another.
21 Illustrate concretely culture diffusion by direction.
22 How are independent origins of culture related to culture diffusion?
23 When is culture diffusion a positive social value and when a negative one?
24 Illustrate culture parallels.
25 What tends to produce culture convergence?
26 Give a new illustration of culture lag.
27 Illustrate the relation of culture lag to social conflict.
28 What is relation of culture patterns and personality traits?
29 Name three ways in which the development of personality is affected by culture patterns.
30 Illustrate a marginal culture.
31 What is the connection between marginal culture and a marginal person?
32 Have you observed any changes in the culture patterns of any group to which you belong?

33 Illustrate any difference in the culture patterns in the family groups to which your grandparents belonged and the one in which you were reared.

34 Choose any culture pattern once in existence in some group, such as family or nation, and no longer so, and trace its history: origins, development, decline.

35 By what processes do persons make over the culture patterns of their groups?

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PART TWO

Social Groups

Chapter

3

The Family Group

THE *family* is a small social group, normally composed of a father, a mother, and one or more children, in which affection and responsibility are equitably shared and in which the children are reared to become self-controlled and socially-motivated persons. Disagreements occur, councils and discussions take place, and adjustments are made. The basic psycho-social element in the family is the *fellowship* which comes from the sharing of problems by a father and mother and children in mutual respect and love.

The family may be called the basic social institution. In many ways it is undergoing change, for example, Burgess and Locke take the position that during historical times the family has been "in transition from an institution with family behavior controlled by the mores, public opinion, and law to a companionship with family behavior arising from the mutual affection and consensus of its members." [1]

According to this interpretation, the family is emerging from a hard and fast social structure or institution and becoming a flexible human relationship. Of course it is conceivable that this new human relationship that is emphasized may sooner or later develop a mores of its own.

Of all human groups the family is in many ways the most important. From its initial units, the father and mother, the child receives his physical inheritance, that is, a strong or weak mental and physical organism. "To be well-born is to possess the greatest of all gifts. To

[1] Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey W. Locke, *The Family* (American Book Company, 1945), pp. 26–27.

the ill-born there is nothing which this world can afford that will be adequate compensation for the lack of a good heredity." [2]

In their definition of a family, Burgess and Locke give a number of details which they summarize in a succinct way by stating that a family is "a group of persons united by the ties of marriage, blood, or adoption; constituting a single household, interacting and intercommunicating with each other in their respective social roles of husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister; creating a common culture." [3] This statement has many facets, but its most important aspect perhaps is the interacting of individuals who are playing different social roles in an informal primary group relationship. Not the least fascinating aspect of the family is the distinctive culture complex which every new family creates. Nimkoff defines a family "as a more or less durable association of husband and wife, with or without children, or of a man or a woman alone, with children." [4]

In the family the child learns the meaning of social responsibility, the importance of sportsmanship, and the necessity for cooperation. The family is the outstanding primary group, for in it a child develops his basic attitudes, patterns, ideals, and style or configuration of life.

When a child grows to adulthood he leaves one family group in order to establish another. After the experiences of courtship and romantic love he marries, having chosen thoughtfully or thoughtlessly a potential mother for his children that may be born into the new family group. A young woman, possessing a mental and physical inheritance and having received a social heritage and training from her parental family, likewise marries, having chosen thoughtfully or thoughtlessly a young man to be the father of the children she may bear.

The general public does not appreciate the full significance of marriage as a status-achieving device. James H. S. Bossard has pointed out a number of ways in which marriage raises status.[5] For example: (1)

[2] S. J. Holmes, *The Eugenic Predicament* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1933), p. x. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[4] Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Marriage and the Family* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1947), p. 6.

[5] "Marriage as a Status-Achieving Device," *Sociology and Social Research*, **29**: pp. 6ff., September-October, 1944.

Marriage gives one greater status in his parental family, (2) it increases his status in his job or profession, (3) it gives him increased status in the community, (4) it confers status "within the circle of one's friends"; and (5) it gives him "a new status in regard to the problems of life."

The two young people, the product of two different family groups, establish through the social institution of marriage their own family group. Their attitudes change, for instead of being an irresponsible son and an irresponsible daughter who sometimes have remonstrated against parental direction, they now play the role of responsible father and mother, training, disciplining, and worrying about their children. Thus family groups break up, new ones are established, and the process of personal growth and group change goes on.

The *family cycle*, which has been discussed by Glick[6] and others, may be described roughly as threefold. First comes the period between marriage and the birth of the first child. This is a basic adjustment period in which each spouse is much in love with the other and when doing things together is extensive. The second stage is the childbearing and child-raising one when the mother is tied to her home duties and the husband experiences an increasing financial responsibility. The love of husband and wife for each other changes into the love of father and mother for each other, and the love of each parent for the children develops, although something of the earlier husband-wife affection continues. The third stage comes after the children grow up, become married, leave home. Husband and wife have more time for each other, and more time to do things as just two persons. Affection has matured and ripened. The foregoing analysis of course assumes a well-adjusted type of marriage.

A law of *family interaction* has been proposed by Bossard[7] who states that with the addition of each person to a family "the number of persons increases in simple arithmetical progression while the number of personal interrelationships increases in the order of triangular numbers." In other words, every increase in the number of members

[6] Paul C. Glick, "The Family Cycle," *American Sociological Review*, 12: 164–74, April, 1947.

[7] James H. S. Bossard, "The Law of Family Interaction," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 292–94, January, 1945.

in a family "results in more than a corresponding increase in the number of personal interrelationships." To be more specific when there are two members there is one set of personal relationships; when there are three members there are three sets of personal relationships; four members means six sets of personal relationships; five means ten sets, and so on. The sociological significance of this law has never been fathomed, but there are many implications, such as a marked increase in the interactive process with the addition of members, and in reverse order a rapid decline in the interactive process with the removal of one member after another from the family group.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE FAMILY

One may gain an understanding of the significance of the family group by considering its early history and development. Elemental forms of the family go back to the higher types of animal life. The mother and her brood or flock are everywhere evident from the domestic barnyard in America to the wilds of Africa. Here and there the father stands guard. Occasionally father and mother have effected a division of labor. Here and there the same mating lasts season after season, "till death do us part." This development among higher animals has been called the *protohuman family.*

If the family has existed a million years, dating back to the early history of higher animals, it must be a highly significant type of social group. If it sprang up in response to need without being foisted upon any individual, it must be well founded. If nature prior to the advent of man instituted the family we may well treat it seriously. If it has continued in one form or other in an unbroken history since its first advent, we may ask: What is this marvellous institution?

Among some primitive peoples, the mother and child are the stable units of the family group. In this type of situation the father roamed far and wide, coming home irregularly, and staying away for periods of time. The helplessness of the infant compelled the mother to lead a home life. The irregularity of the father's habits made it necessary for the mother to gather fruit, to plant seeds, to develop hoe-culture. Engaged in the hunt and chase, the father led a more exciting life,

made more social contacts, and enjoyed a wider variety of new experiences.[8]

In some early human families the mother rather than the father was the leader a great deal of the time. She stayed "on the job." Hence, this special type has been called the *metronymic family*, which means literally, "named after the mother." The child took the mother's name —the father was not always known. Property was sometimes transferred through the mother, since she was the stable member of the parental group. The metronymic family was developed to a degree, for example, among some North American Indian tribes. The Iroquois Indians have been pronounced a metronymic people, for the government of the clans was to some extent in the hands of matrons as women councillors, elected by the males of the given clans.[9]

Where the pastoral form of life existed and where flocks and herds flourished, the father was the chief factor in the family group. Since the grazing of flocks and herds required considerable territory, the people moved about in small groups widely separated from each other. The wife and mother was removed from the influence and authority of her kindred. The husband's power over her by virtue of her isolation was supreme.

Under pastoral conditions, men owned and controlled the flocks. The owner of the family property literally owned the family too. The children took the father's name and inherited property through him. The eldest living son usually succeeded to the rulership of the family group.

Warfare gave men increased influence over women. The women captured in war were held as slaves and wives by their captors. The form of the family with the father at the head, possessing authority over if not ownership of the wife and children, is known as the *patro-*

[8] There are two monumental works on the history of the family which represent a high type of scholarly research, namely, Edward A. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1902), and George Elliott Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions* (The University of Chicago Press, 1904).

[9] A convenient volume containing helpful chapters on the history of the family is Willystine Goodsell's *A History of Marriage and the Family* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934).

nymic (named after the father). It is the best-known type.

The family named after the mother (metronymic) was generally *matriarchal,* that is, one in which the mother exercised control. The family named after the father (patronymic) was usually *patriarchal,* that is, one in which father exercised control, although in many patriarchal families the mother has exercised considerable control within the household circle.

The patriarchal family of the early Hebrews has become world famous. The Old Testament affords many descriptions of patriarchal families, such as those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The ancient Hebrew family is noted for the attention and care given the children. "Honor thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." [10] Here is a fundamental principle which the Hebrew family bequeathed to the world, and which when observed but not overdone has given the family group a high degree of unity. Where children have not learned to respect their parents, the lasting qualities of the larger society have been rudely shaken. As a result of the unity and fidelity of the Hebrew family, the Hebrews have maintained a remarkable longevity as a people. It has been claimed that because of the unity of the Hebrew family the Hebrews, although national orphans, have survived through the centuries. Without a homeland of their own and forced to maintain themselves within other nations, often surrounded by hostile races, their family organization and their religious loyalty have been their salvation. Let their family life break down and their religion be discarded and they as a people will probably disappear.

Out of the early emphasis upon the family group came two universal principles of the Jewish and Christian religions. The role of the patriarchal father seems to have suggested the concept of the Fatherhood of God. The social responsibility developed within the Hebrew family is the apparent antecedent of the ideal of brotherhood of man.

An overemphasis upon parental control leads to ancestor worship. According to this pattern the welfare of the living depends upon the good will of the departed. In order to insure his happiness, a man's first duty is to rear a family that will continue the ancestral line un-

[10] Exodus 20 : 12.

broken. It has often been said that China's emphasis upon family stability and ancestor worship explains in part her long life as a people.

When we turn to the early Roman family of the seventh century B.C., we find that it was patriarchal. It maintained itself partly on the religious basis of ancestor worship. The family group was built around the ancestral gods, and the habitation in which the family group lived was virtually a temple, with the patriarchal head possessing the power of a god over the women and children. The house father had almost absolute power over all the members of the family. However, he could not always act arbitrarily, for he was controlled by what he believed was the will of the ancestors.

Property was held by the eldest living male member of the family; it was held in trust for the good of the entire family. In early Roman times, this eldest living male member or house father could not make a will. At his death the property passed automatically to the oldest living son.

At that time marriage was practically indissoluble and divorce unknown. It is said that for five centuries after the founding of Rome, the town had no divorces. This Roman family group possessed great stability. Although the family life was patriarchal and women and children were subjects of the patriarchal head, the family reached a higher order than that of other ancient peoples save the Hebrews. It fell considerably below Hebrew family life, however, when the latter is considered at its best.

In the course of time the pendulum swung to the other extreme, and the family group began to decay. When this disintegration reached an extreme, Rome herself disintegrated. It would be an interesting problem to find out how far the breakdown of family life was responsible for the downfall of Rome. To turn the problem around: If a high level of family life had been maintained, would Rome have fallen?

The disintegration of the family group was accompanied by several interesting phenomena. (1) The family began to lose its religious significance. When marriage was viewed merely as a civil contract, the family was viewed lightly. (2) The authority of the father was broken. The right to make a will was established. The father was given first the right to divide his property among his children, and then to be

queath it to whom he pleased. When the family property was thus broken up in units, and scattered, the family as an institution lost prestige. (3) Women were given the right to hold property, and in the second century B.C. the right to divorce their husbands. The women of the higher social classes achieved "emancipation," and were at liberty to do as they saw fit. (4) The personal liberty of many men and women became personal license. Personal liberty overthrew personal control of sexual impulses. Marriages were made and broken freely; temporary marriages were common; sexual relations were loose; and sexual immorality flaunted itself. Companionate marriages were experimented with widely. (5) The changes in economic conditions, such as the expansion of commerce and manufacture and the growth of cities, tended to destroy the social situations in which the family had been the fundamental unit.[11] The decay of religious sanctions of the family, the growth of individual liberty, and the habits of vice, particularly sexual vice, which were common among Roman young men and winked at by young women, combined to change the family from a strong primary social group into a loose agreement of two individuals temporarily combined for sensual pleasures. In swinging from extreme to extreme the pendulum bore first the fruits of suppression and rigidity and then of inefficiency and decay. In moving away from domination and slavery the momentum attained allowed the family group to stop at no position of balanced integration. Neither domination nor license was satisfactory. Balanced integration was rare.

Christianity was the next influence that vitally affected the nature of the family group. Upon its Western invasion it promptly began to reconstruct family life in Europe. It arrived when the Roman family was at a low ebb, with vice rampant. It immediately attempted to reform the Roman family, and it succeeded in building an improved family life in Europe, somewhat like the old Hebrew patriarchal type, with the following emphases:

(1) Christianity brought the support of religion to the family again. It recognized marriage as a sacrament and opposed the idea that marriage is simply a civil contract. It ascribed to marriage a religious nature and thus gave it stability once more.

[11] Goodsell, *op. cit.*

(2) Christianity exalted the position of women and children. Women were treated in part as the equals of men. The welfare of children began to receive attention. It was not a strict patriarchalism but a semipatriarchal form of family group that spread under the banners of Christianity. The husband and father was still supreme but not wholly so.

(3) Christianity opposed divorce. When the church came into power in Western Europe, it discredited divorce as a legal institution. In the place of divorce legal separation was recognized. The church took a strict attitude against divorce and built up a type of stable, inflexible family life.

The early Christian family, strict and stable, persisted in Western civilization until the latter part of the nineteenth century. In reconstructing the family in the early centuries of the Christian Era, even on semipatriarchal lines, Christianity appears to have performed an inestimable social service.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE FAMILY

The stable, rigid family of Christianity, like the family of the Hebrews and of the early Romans, ultimately found itself under attack. As a result of its formal rigidity it was bound sooner or later to be shaken up. A reorganization, and a partial disintegration, of the Christian family began with the Renaissance. Many factors developed during the following centuries to create confusion in family life, with certain forces working for the improvement of the family and with others bringing about its destruction.

(1) With the Renaissance came the separation of church and state and the consequent *weakening of the authority of the church.* Hence the family again began to lose its significance as a religious institution. When marriage once more came to be regarded by many persons solely as a civil contract, the way was open for divorces, which immediately mounted upward.

Where religious sentiments, beliefs, and attitudes have become disassociated from the family, many persons have gone to the other extreme of regarding marriage as a matter of personal convenience. If the religious control of the family has been too rigid, then without

religion the family has often been wrecked on the rocks of personal pleasure.

(2) By the beginning of the nineteenth century the development known as *individualism* had reached a remarkable growth, especially in those countries in which pioneer conditions obtained. The rise of individualism was accompanied by the decline of authority in social life. The patriarchal family was called "old-fashioned," and the idea gradually spread that either party to the marriage vows could break these vows according to his or her individual desires.

An exaggerated spirit of individualism leads a person to find the guide to his actions in his own wishes, whims, or caprices. It gives him an attitude of carelessness toward the family as a social institution. This spirit, so often expressed in irresponsibility, has tended to make all social institutions unstable, and especially the family, for the family thrives only on attitudes of personal responsibility.

(3) *Economic changes* at the beginning of the nineteenth century seriously affected the status of the family. Under the domestic system of industry which reached its height in the eighteenth century, the family was the industrial as well as the social unit. All manufacture was carried on in the home, and all members of the family group as well as the employed help worked together on the same footing and ate at the same table.

The discovery of steam power, the invention of steam-driven machinery, and the development of the factory system all tended, however, to break up the economic unity of the family. Members of the family left the home for the factory as the place of work. With the breakdown of the economic unity of the family, there came also the social disintegration of countless families.

From primitive days until about a century ago the home was the center of manufacture. The use of steam-driven machinery was too expensive a procedure to be furthered in the family circle. The workers thus were called out of the home to labor in places where machinery had been set up, that is, in factories. The modern family manufactures scarcely anything at all. Even the immediate preparation of foods is likely to disappear and the kitchen to shrink into its primitive state of a few shelves and a cupboard.

(4) The *emancipation of women* and opening of a large number of new industrial occupations to women brought a marked change in the *position of women*, making them to a degree economically independent of family relationships. Further, this movement has taken many married women out of the home, to its neglect. Many homes have become simply dormitories. To tie woman up in the home is to make home a prison; to remove her entirely is the opposite extreme and makes the home a mere pretense.

The employment in factories and shops of married women with small children has brought about the isolation and neglect of children, who have roamed the streets, acquired questionable habits, and fallen into delinquency. Married women with small children are unable to be real mothers if they must labor long hours in industry. When the mother goes out day after day, whether to work or to play bridge, the home may go to pieces and children may go astray.

Through the development of opportunities to work in factories and stores, many young married women have failed to learn the domestic arts and to receive training in home-making. In fact, they may get the idea that they are above such things. Therefore, when they come to the position of wife and mother they are unprepared and uninterested. Through lack of knowledge of and interest in home-making, they make home life unstable and miserable.

(5) Another influence affecting the family in Western civilization during the past century was the enormous *growth of wealth*. The possession of wealth and the acquisition of the resultant social power has emancipated many people from fear and stimulated them to defy many social rules. In other words, the growth of wealth has favored a loosening of moral standards and of family bonds.

(6) The growth of *science*, of knowledge, of a belief in a mechanistic universe, of the theory of behaviorism, has favored a view of the family as "merely another institution" and as "a device to be repudiated freely." Scientific data pertaining to sex and to birth prevention have made far-reaching inroads upon the belief in "the sanctity of marriage."

(7) The nineteenth century was also one of increasing *social unrest.*

The family felt the effects of this unrest seriously, and found itself at the dawn of the twentieth century in the midst of change and confusion. People ranged in their attitudes all the way from those who accepted the family as "a divine institution made in Heaven" to those who felt that it was a device to be accepted or put aside according to personal desires.

(8) The proportion of American families that are giving up their homes for "the cheerless existence in a *boarding house* or *hotel*" is disturbing. What does it mean, that a rapidly increasing part of the population finds the boarding house preferable to the home? Is the burden of housekeeping becoming too irksome to compensate for the maintenance of a home? It is asked frequently: What is to compensate for the giving up of home life by that increasing host of young married people who are living a superficial boarding house or hotel existence?

(9) The *growth of tenement districts*, high rents, and even depression at times, have operated against sound family life. It has been frequently declared that a normal home can scarcely exist in many of the crowded areas of the large cities. When a family group of three or four members, with perhaps a male lodger, are crowded into one room, normal family life is impossible.

(10) At the other extreme is the fact that *the high social standards of living* required in certain sections of the large cities are a cause of family instability. Many persons exhibit luxurious standards of living in order to maintain social status, but this is often done at the expense of family happiness. They are so wearied by going to bridge parties, teas, dinners, and "keeping up with the Joneses," that the family group disintegrates. To try to maintain standards that are out of all proportion to income is a cause of family breakdown.

(11) A *late age of marriage* is sometimes another disturbing factor. In the professions nowadays it is hardly wise for a young man to marry much earlier than the early thirties. At any rate, an independent income in the professions is not often possible before that age. A person who marries after thirty sometimes finds difficulty in becoming adjusted to the habits of his (or her) mate; the maladjustments may lead to unstable family life. The high economic standard of living which a young woman of wealthy parents may require of a young man

who is getting started in a profession often means that he must either postpone marriage or face marital unhappiness.

(12) The *declining size of the family* is a matter of concern to students of population and to national patriots alike. The large families of a century or more ago are rare today, and in many localities, especially in sections of large cities, the birth rate is so low that the population does not keep up its numbers. One-child families and childless marriages are a worry especially to nationalistic leaders. The Fascists made marriage loans which were canceled when the fourth child was born. The Nazis made similar marriage loans and subsidies were given to large families with five or more children. Soviet Russia has given allowances for each child and instituted "motherhood medals." A motherhood medal, second class, for a mother of five children, and first class for a mother of six children have been awarded. The Order of Glory of Motherhood Medal, third class, second class, and first class have been given to mothers of seven, eight, and nine children, respectively and a "Mother Heroine" is a title conferred upon a mother of ten children. Despite these stimuli the birthrate has not been maintained in most of the regions where they have been promoted.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Courtship is the interesting pathway to the family. An exciting volume could be written on the history of courtship. Higher animal life is replete with courtship antics in the mating season. Primitive people recognized courtship and built its maneuvers into song and dance which sometimes degenerated into sexual orgies and at other times reached levels of chivalric human relationships.

Sometimes the family has had its origins in virtual *force*. A young man would take to himself a wife, one of a group of maidens captured in war. Considerable race mixture has occurred in this way.

The family also has had origins in *purchase*. The purchase price was demanded by the parents on the theory that the rearing of the girl had been an expense to her parents and that since she had not yet had time to repay her parents the young man should recompense them for taking her away thus prematurely. In Old Testament times

Jacob paid for Rachel by working for her parents seven years, and then for seven years more.

The origins of the family reach the level of courtship with the method of *securing parental* consent. Some parents have insisted that they themselves should evaluate the merits of all who came courting their daughters. The suitor thus found it wise to concentrate on courting the parents rather than the young woman. The latter's wishes were often ignored, denying to her the suitor of her choice and forcing upon her one whom she may have despised but whose status and wealth were such that the marriage would add greatly to the status of the parents and the family. The parents and elders had experience to guide them but were often moved by their own caprices and personal desires for prestige in "marrying off their daughters well."

Courtship reached a climax in the procedure of *securing personal consent*. Here the young man directs all kinds of artifices toward the inexperienced subject of his desires. She in turn grows coy or bold as events and her desires seem to require. While his courting is more or less open and widely recognized, hers is subtle and often the deciding factor. He courts her directly; she courts him indirectly.

Courtship is still evolving. The next stage may be that in which the advantages of securing the help and counsel of elders and of science are combined with the advantages of mutual thought and consent. Eugenic knowledge plus a mutually thoughtful decision by all the parties concerned is a goal beneficial to the race but not easily obtained.

Stable family life involves education of children regarding its purposes. When these purposes are given a permanent setting, as for example in the teachings of the Latter Day Saints, they achieve special importance. Instead of performing marriages in terms of "until death do us part," the Latter Day Saints emphasize that marriage is for eternity, for the future life as well as for the present.

The *engagement* period before marriage is a trial-and-error institution. With engagement a couple passes from formal to informal courtship. They are much in each other's presence, and more intimately. Each makes a larger if not an all-inclusive claim upon the other's time and attention. A short engagement period of a few days is valueless; a long one of several years is abnormal. A year, perhaps, gives the

engagement institution a real opportunity to demonstrate the worth or the weakness of the proposed marriage.

Extreme attitudes are found toward engagements. Some persons have regarded an engagement as binding as marriage. Others have treated it flippantly, believing that several engagements are desirable and not hesitating to obligate themselves to more than one person of the opposite sex at a time. Very few young people have fully appreciated the personal values to be found in engagements and the ways in which engagements are defenses against the evils of hasty marriages.

A person furnishes half of the heredity of his offspring and chooses the other half. It is of vast importance whom a person chooses as his mate, for in so doing he may be selecting strong or weak hereditary traits for his children. In the choice that he makes of his mate and that she makes of him, the two together are selecting not one-half but the whole of the heredity for their children.

Unfortunately a great deal of this choosing of mates, that is, of parents for future children, is done blindly. The usual procedure is that of "falling in love," which as a rule does not give consideration to sound principles of eugenics. Moreover, if two persons who fall in love marry almost immediately, with no engagement period, they ordinarily put themselves at a tremendous disadvantage. By lack of method, foresight, and common sense nearly everything is left to chance. Love often is a tumultuous god who takes delight in freak matings.

In a study of courtship among college students in Minnesota data were furnished by 258 women and 141 men. The women reported 412 broken "love affairs" and the men 227 broken love affairs; the percentage was about the same.[12] Courtship thus is a matter of making and breaking of love affairs. The study indicates that the breakup of many love affairs does not result in heartbreaks although some feelings of bitterness and of being "hurt" are not uncommon. Indifference to the experience and even a sense of relief are mentioned many times. Having love affairs seems to be a training exercise for many persons in choosing a mate.

While *elopement* is not as important a subject as newspaper reports

[12] Clifford Kirkpatrick and Theodore Caplow, "Courtship in a Group of Minnesota Students," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51: 114–25, September, 1945.

and gossip would have people believe, yet it is socially significant. Popenoe has reported on the reasons for elopement.[13] His analysis of 738 elopements reveals four major sets of complex causes.

(1) Parental objections vary greatly. Sometimes the parents object to a suitor, sometimes one or the other parent wishes to keep a daughter unmarried, sometimes they want the daughter to wait until she has finished school, sometimes they want the daughter to have a "career."

(2) Avoidance of publicity accounts for many elopements. Some school teachers would lose their positions if it were known that they were married. Students in some schools would be expelled if their marriage were publicized. Some persons who are recently divorced do not want publicity regarding a new marriage. On the other hand, Popenoe points out that a few persons, publicity seekers, elope in order to get into the headlines on the front page. They elope and then advertise the elopement, or rather themselves.

(3) Economy may lead to elopement, which is a means of avoiding expensive weddings. Elopement is more convenient than the big wedding which some parents wish to give their daughters—in order to gain publicity for themselves. Elopement avoids the fuss and flutter attendant upon a wedding. Some persons elope in order to escape "the more or less infantile and asinine customs that so often surround weddings." These economy elopements, "with sixty-three per cent successful, make the best showing of all." [14]

(4) One other cause of elopement stands out from among a long list of causal factors. Some elopements are due to the necessity of forced marriages because of pregnancy. "Secrecy has the advantage of allowing the date [of the marriage] to be misrepresented later." Elopements of this type are the least successful in terms of happy marriage.

Other elopements occur on the basis of "the impulse of the moment" or under the influence of liquor. The desire to "spite someone" is a cause. In all such cases a federal law requiring that three to five or more days must intervene between obtaining a license and getting married will fulfill a genuine need. It is unfortunate that certain states have such a law and that others do not; a federal law applicable to

[13] Paul Popenoe, "A Study of 738 Elopements," *American Sociological Review*, III : 47–53, February, 1938. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

all is a minimum need. The sociology of elopement calls for extensive research.

Courtship may be preceded by *dating,* which may have merely a socially good time as its aim.[15] It does not necessarily involve courting. Dating may not reach the courtship stage until a young man and a woman begin to "go steady."

An important aspect of the courting process is the number of "love affairs" that are involved. According to a study made some years ago 200 persons reported that they had had 1358 love affairs. These were about equally divided between men and women. They included those which were experienced in childhood and they extended to those experienced after marriage. Each one at first seemed to the participants to be "the real thing."[16] Thus Nimkoff concludes that only about one love affair in six or seven eventuates in marriage, but that each results in some kind of learning.[17]

The result of dating, courting, being engaged may be *assortative mating,* or the marriage of persons of personalities that are alike in many important characteristics. There may be some characteristics that are of opposite natures, but if these are many or deep-seated the differences will likely lead to conflict and failure of the marriage.

At this point the question of "producing marriageable personalities" may be raised. Most persons rarely think of being trained for marriage, or if they do, they rarely consider what is involved in such a process. Such training is just as reasonable as training for good citizenship or good membership in society. No analysis has as yet been completed of all the factors and forces involved in become a marriageable personality. Certainly marriage involves far more than falling in love, getting a license to wed, and making certain promises.

A great many of the "discords in marriage" are doubtless due to a lack of training on the part of one or both parties in developing marriageable personalities. If such training has been experienced and the

[15] W. Waller, *The Family, A Dynamic Interpretation* (The Cordon Company, New York, 1938), p. 235.

[16] G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage* (A. and C. Boni, New York, 1929).

[17] Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Marriage and the Family* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1947), p. 393.

essential steps in courtship and love have been taken, there need be no serious discords in marriage.

Many young people are inclined to think that they can skip one or more of the stages in courtship, engagement, and love, and become happily married. Perhaps some can do so. The chances are that if one or more of the stages are bypassed difficulties will spring up athwart the marriage pathway. Adequate preparation for marriage includes not only a knowledge of how to meet adjustment problems but also a full knowledge of the peculiar likes and dislikes and idiosyncrasies of one's proposed mate. Only on such a basis can one know what adjustments to plan for before discords in marriage become insurmountable.

Assortative mating is sometimes referred to as *homogamy*, which means that like characteristics are the prevailing factors in mating. Similar tastes mean easier adjustments in marriage. However, in courtship each party may "play up" to the other and act as though he (or she) has likes and dislikes similar to the other party. Each may try to deceive the other at this point, only to find out later that this deception is a basis of an unhappy marriage.

In a study of 373 engaged or recently married persons by Anselm Strauss a noticeable resemblance was found between the personality traits of the ideal mate they had in mind when selecting a mate and the traits of the mate actually chosen. The physical traits as distinguished from the personality traits of the ideal mate were not so closely followed when the actual mate was selected, while "traits of race, faith, and social-economic-educational status in the ideal may serve to eliminate prospective mates." [18]

Courses on marriage and the family have been suggested for the junior or senior year in high school. It is at this time that courtship ideals for many boys and girls are being formed. W. G. Mather, Jr., of Cornell University, has attempted to secure answers to the question: "What sort of girl does a boy like to go with, and what sort of boy does a girl like to go with?" He obtained unsigned data from 869 high school students, about evenly divided between boys and girls, and about evenly distributed between tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade

[18] Anselm Strauss, "The Ideal and the Chosen Mate," *American Journal of Sociology*, **52**: 204–208, November, 1946.

levels. The 443 girls rated the most desirable traits in a boy in the following order: (1) real brains, (2) cleanliness, (3) good health, (4) dependability, (5) cheerfulness, (6) sex purity, (7) considerateness, (8) liked by one's parents, (9) hard worker, and (10) good conversationalist. Taken as a whole this is a splendid showing. The 426 boys rated the most desirable traits in a girl in the following order: (1) real brains, (2) good health, (3) good looks, (4) cleanliness, (5) cheerfulness, (6) dependability, (7) sex purity, (8) hard worker, (9) goes to church, and (10) liked by one's parents. Notice the slight differences of ratings in these two lists.[19]

Other factors that were put lower than tenth in either list were: prominent in sports, good dancer, stylish clothes, and clever "line," while spending money freely, smoking, and drinking were usually placed at or near the bottom of a total of twenty-five traits.

The process of selecting standards for a mate has never been carefully studied. Probably the process develops without conscious thought about it. Youths develop many of their standards for a mate from indirect suggestions that come from their peers and from elders. Intelligent group discussions of such standards for marriage would doubtless aid them in making wiser marriages than many would do otherwise.

Marriage is an institution admitting men and women to family life, that is, to living in the intimate personal relationships of husband and wife for the primary purpose of begetting and rearing children. This institution has social approbation and religious sanction. It has had an interesting and varied history.

In certain parts of the earth *polyandry* has long existed. Polyandry is a form of marriage in which one woman has more than one husband at a given time. It is found, for example, in sections of Tibet, where the conditions of social life are harsh and where presumably the efforts of two or more men are needed in order that a family may be supported. It is a relatively rare type of marriage and exists only under peculiar and extreme conditions.

Another form of marriage is *polygyny*, in which one man has two or more wives at a time. It should be noted here that *polygamy* is a

[19] W. G. Mather, Jr., "Courtship Ideals of High School Youth," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIX : 166–72, November-December, 1934.

general term that includes both polyandry and polygyny. It is more exact to use either one or both of the specific terms than the general term. Polygyny is closely related to the institution of slavery. Women captured in warfare became the wives and concubines and slaves of their captor. A concubine is a kind of second-rate slave-wife. Under polygyny purchase is also common. For example, a chieftain may purchase a dozen women for wives, in the same manner that he would buy more personal property. The number of wives of one man occasionally reached a high figure, in some cases several hundred.

Polygyny did not develop much until human groups had accumulated some degree of wealth—at least an economic surplus to enable one man to support several families. Hence, even in countries where polygyny has been legal, only a small proportion of the people, namely, the wealthier, practice it.

Polygyny is based in part on the lower impulses of the male sex, partly on the desire to leave many descendants, and partly on the desire for that status which has been attached to the practice. It exists as a sacrifice to the development of the highest affections. Under it, a woman may early lose the affections of her husband when younger and more attractive wives are added to the household. Moreover, children and aged parents often suffer neglect.

Monogamy, the marriage of one man to one woman at a time, has been and is the leading type of marriage. In Western civilization, the advantages of monogamy are now well recognized; they have been stated by many writers and scientific observers.

(1) Monogamy secures the superior care of children. Under it, both father and mother unite their efforts in behalf of their children. A greater and better degree of attention can be given to the training of children by both parents under monogamy than under any other expression of marriage relationship.

(2) The monogamic family alone produces the highest type of affection, of altruistic love, of tolerant devotion. Under polygyny, the father cannot devote himself fully to his children individually, or to each of his several wives, because there are too many of them. He is in reality the head of several households, and fatherhood in a real personal sense does not exist. Much jealousy exists between wives, and

sets of children are isolated from each other. Under monogamy, on the other hand, both father and mother commonly sacrifice much in the mutual care of children.

(3) Monogamy creates more definite and stronger family ties than any other form of marriage. Affection between parents, between parents and children, and between children themselves is more wholesome. Legal relationships and blood relationships are simpler, less entangled, and less frequently the cause of permanent and annoying frictions. The cohesive power of the family is greater. As a result, it is probable that monogamic families tend to increase the unity and cohesiveness of society itself.

(4) Monogamy favors not only the preservation of the lives of the children but of the parents. It is only under monogamy that aged parents are cared for to any great extent by their children. Under polygyny the wife who has grown old is discarded for a younger woman, and hence she usually "ends her days in bitterness." The father is rarely cared for by his children, because the polygynous household does not give much opportunity for the growth of close affection between the father and his numerous offspring. Under monogamy aged parents are likely to receive the favoring care of children; under polygyny they are commonly compelled to face a friendless old age.

The advantages of monogamy are thus many and far-reaching. Monogamy at its best presents superior opportunities for social interaction, and seems better fitted than any other type of marriage to produce the highest qualities of love and to lay the foundations for the finest forms of societary life.

Companionate marriage is the marriage of two persons on the understanding that as long as there are no children the marriage may be dissolved simply by mutual consent. Judge Ben B. Lindsey, whose name has been connected frequently with the companionate marriage plan, held that this system is much better than free love or trial marriage as such, for it starts off with an official marriage and assumes that marriage is to be based on mutual responsibility.[20] The knowledge that divorce may be obtained freely in case there are no children, he

[20] R. E. Baber, *Marriage and the Family* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1939), pp. 549ff.

claimed, will make for more wholesome attitudes toward marriage. If there are children, then marriages are to be as binding as now. The opponents of companionate marriage hold that the plan makes it easy for persons to marry on the basis of sex alone, and to remarry from time to time on the same urge. They believe that the scheme has an unfortunate quick-married and quick-divorced trend that is in keeping with a speeded-up civilization; that it fosters hasty marriages; and that it irreparably cheapens marriage.

In a large city there are several different family-type areas. In some communities of a city the majority of families are of one type, but in other parts of the same city another type of family life is common. These family-type areas have been classified by Mowrer into five varieties.[21]

(1) The nonfamily areas may be placed first. These are called one-sex areas. The male sex predominates in these areas, which are found in the downtown business and adjoining districts.

(2) The emancipated family areas are largely "the rooming-house areas, the residential-hotel areas." Children are missing. Both husband and wife work, and to a large degree they "eat out." No neighborhood relations are maintained.

(3) Paternal family areas are represented by the districts where immigrant families and proletarian families live. There are many children and the wives remain close at home.

(4) The equalitarian family areas are found where the middle and professional classes live. Families are small; wives come and go.

(5) The maternal family areas are those chiefly of the bourgeoisie who live in suburbs. The men commute and are gone most of the daytime. The wives run the home and may take some interest in the affairs of the neighborhood.

Of course, this fivefold classification is not to be taken too literally. However, the general pattern holds true, with the one-sex areas found at the center of the large city, then the wide circles of emancipated, paternal, equalitarian, and finally maternal family areas. Wide variations occur within each area.

[21] Ernest R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (The University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 110ff.

But why is a city divided in this way? Many factors doubtless operate. Specialization in industry is a partial explanation. Opportunities for transportation, or lack of them, are partially responsible. A certain pattern gets started, and then it acquires momentum.

Another question is: What do these different kinds of family areas do to family life? The one-sex areas and the emancipated-family areas vary or stray farthest from normal family life. Paternal family areas have the most desertion. Maternal family areas are abnormal but fairly well organized. Equalitarian families represent considerable freedom, a reasonable degree of successful adjustment, and the main lines of hope for the family as a social institution. The family life process cannot be understood unless the type of area and its influence are taken into consideration.

UNSTABLE MARRIAGE

Monogamic marriage has fallen far below its possibilities in many households and lands. Not all the evils attendant upon monogamic marriage today can necessarily be charged to the type of marriage itself. Many are doubtless the result of the misuse and abuse of a worthy system by incompetent and untrained persons who thoughtlessly rush headlong and blindly into marriage.

The institution of the family, particularly in the United States today, is unstable. Never were so many marriages being legally dissolved by divorce as now; never were there so many desertions. When maladjustments develop among the wealthy, divorce is resorted to; among the poor, desertion is more common. Divorce is often a sign that a third party has entered into and wrecked a marriage. Desertion frequently means that the father has found many children a burden and economic support unfeasible, and so he disappears, leaving the wife and mother to carry on as best she may, and satisfying his conscience by asserting that public or private charity "will not let the kids starve."

For many decades the United States has held the unenviable position of leading European and American countries in the number of divorces granted. In 1906 it was found that there were 20,000 more marriages legally dissolved annually in the United States than in all the rest of the civilized world combined. At that time in France one

marriage was legally dissolved to every 30 ceremonies performed; in Germany, only one marriage was legally dissolved to every 44 marriages; in England, only one marriage was legally dissolved to every 400 marriage ceremonies performed; but in the United States the proportion was one to twelve, and in some cities the proportion was one to six or five.

In 1916 another survey was made, which showed that there were six counties in five states of the United States in which in a given year divorces actually exceeded marriages.[22] The entire state of Nevada showed one divorce to 1.54 marriages; while Indiana, the tenth state from the top of the list of high divorce rates, listed one divorce to every 5.94 marriages.

The statistics, however, need to be further interpreted. People migrate temporarily to a city such as Reno, Nevada, within a few weeks secure a divorce, and then return "home." In this way a community may acquire an enormous divorce rate that is entirely misrepresentative of the local situation.

In 1921 estimates indicated that the increase in the divorce rate had not slowed down. In the United States as a whole, one divorce was being granted to about every nine marriages. The divorce rate in the United States had passed that of Japan, putting the United States in the position of leading the world. In the United States as a whole in 1930 there was one divorce to each 5.9 marriages. While the depression cut down both the marriage and divorce rates, marriages decreased more than have divorces and hence the proportionate divorce rate was boosted still higher. Then came World War II which saw an increase not only in both the marriage rate and the divorce rate, but in the birth rate too. It was reported for 1946 that the divorce rate for the United States was slightly more than one divorce for every four marriages.[23]

To compare the total number of divorces with the total number of marriages in a given year in a given country, such as the United States,

[22] In Pawnee County, Oklahoma, the ratio was one divorce to every .77th of a marriage. Washoe County, Nevada, Trinity County, California, Rutherford County, Tennessee, Union and Clackamas Counties, Oregon, were the other communities with somewhat similar records.

[23] National Office of Vital Statistics, Washington, D.C., October 24, 1947.

may also be misleading. By contrast, suppose we think of comparing the number of divorces in a given year in a given country with the total number of marriages intact at the end of that year. The number of divorces granted in a given year should be compared with the total number of marriages in effect and not merely with the number of marriages that were performed in the particular year.

> We do not reckon bank failures as some people do marriage failures—by contrasting the number of marriages with the number of divorces in a given year. If we were to compare the number of bank failures in a single year with the number of banks organized during the same year, I suspect that we should find that there were ten or perhaps twenty-five times as many bank failures as there were banks organized during that year. . . . Divorces occur from *all* previous marriages, not from the number of marriages that take place in the same year only. The figures of the federal marriage and divorce reports show that one marriage in 125 is dissolved by divorce annually.[24]

Not only does the United States lead the world in the number of legally dissolved marriages annually, but these dissolutions are increasing faster than the population. If this tendency is maintained, it will not be many decades before the family as a permanent union between husband and wife will no longer be common. If the United States should reach the place where one-half of all marriages are dissolved in the courts, the situation in that regard will be similar to conditions when Rome started on her decadent days.

As a reaction against the tradition that "marriages are made in Heaven," an increasing number of people have gone to the opposite extreme and say that "marriages are for personal convenience." This self-centered view means that marriages may be short-lived, even though there are children.

The rate at which marriages are legally dissolved is higher as a rule in cities and industrial centers than in rural districts. Life is more personal, simpler, less keyed up, less sophisticated in the country, and in consequence young persons are better acquainted at the time of marriage and have less disconcerting factors to contend with after

[24] James P. Lichtenberger, "The Changing Family in a Changing World," *Mental Hygiene*, XVII : 572, October, 1933.

marriage. As the country becomes urbanized, the difference in divorce rates doubtless will tend to disappear.

The divorce rate is from two to four times as high among childless couples as among those who have children, which is to be expected. Parental duties and privileges help to prevent a break in the marriage relation.

The divorce rate varies according to religion. In Western civilization it is lowest among Catholics, next lowest among Jews, next among Protestants, and highest among persons of no religious faith. Religious controls have been powerful in preventing a severance of the marriage ties, even though the parties to a given marriage have grown widely apart and become mutually antagonistic. Again we have two extremes. One regards a marriage as an iron-clad bond, no matter how one party or the other may have been victimized or subjected to a living death. The other extreme is to divorce marriage from religion completely and to regard it in no way as sacred.

Approximately two-thirds of the marriages dissolved in the United States in recent decades have been broken at the request of the wife. This fact is not to be interpreted as it sounds. In many cases agreements are reached by the two parties before application is made for divorce. The fact that the application is made by the wife may be a formality based on common agreement and may not indicate that one party is more responsible than the other for the divorce.

In the system that is operative in some Oriental countries in which "go-betweens" select a wife or a husband, as the case may be, the aim is to give youth the advantage of the experience of maturity and to protect youth from its own inexperience. Careful attention is given to securing a "suitable" mate in the sense of family worth and background. These gains, however, are offset by the fact that love is supposed to begin with marriage, not earlier.

The grounds that are given in the courts for dissolving marriages are often misleading or insufficient. Desertion is frequently cited, but the question at once arises: What brought about the desertion? Incompatibility is more specific, but even then, one would like to know what led to the incompatibility. Neglect or mental cruelty likewise

raises the question who is the more responsible. Sexual immorality, another common cause, usually brings in "other women" with a train of complicating circumstances.

To an appreciable extent the legal breaking up of families is a symptom of more serious evils. Marriage itself is being viewed with decreasing seriousness, being treated as an ordinary promise. In certain classes of society, namely, the wealthiest and the poorest, there is a noticeable decay of the social values upon which the family rests. Family life requires sacrificial living, personal chastity, and the assumption of social responsibility.

An increasing knowledge of the laws regarding divorce and an increasing laxity of these laws have furthered family instability. A few centuries ago the law was resorted to only by the wealthy or the socially powerful. Many people would not have thought of divorce three or four decades ago, but similar people today know the laws concerning divorce and marry with the expectation of resorting freely to these laws if occasion arises.

The laws concerning the legal dissolution of marriage are freer in the United States than in almost any other so-called Christian nation. The administration of these laws is also freer, being made a joke at times. Certain "divorce" judges seem to take pride in the number of divorces that they grant, although here and there is one who specializes in reuniting separated couples instead of divorcing them as painlessly as possible.

Although the divorce rate is increasing in the United States, the marriage rate is also increasing. As E. A. Ross has suggested, the people of the United States are more married than ever before. Barring the recent depression years, the number of persons who are married per 1000 of the population has shown a somewhat steady increase over several decades. People are both marrying and divorcing more than formerly. Family instability is probably no greater than the instability in other phases of current social life. An optimistic note may be found in the following observation.

> In fact, I suspect that if we consider the matter broadly, we shall find that the family is really rather less disturbed than any of the others [phases of social life]. Certainly there is at present less stability in the

domain of economics, of politics, of religion, or morals, and of education, than in the American family. Our industrial situation is much more perturbed than is our family life. To take it concretely the proportion of failures in business during this interval of depression is far larger than the proportion of failures in marriage.[25]

Hotel family life is now receiving serious attention. The hotel or, earlier, the tavern or inn, was merely a stopping place overnight. Now, not only individuals but thousands of families live in hotels of one type or other. Today a hotel guest who stays a month or more is regarded as a "permanent." [26] The residential hotel is becoming more and more common in the large cities.

Many children who are brought up in hotels tend to grow up urbane and sophisticated. Their play life is greatly distorted. It is a life which involves "all but sleeping in public."

Hotel families gain freedom and release from boresome work; they obtain detachment from many home duties; but they pay a considerable price in loneliness and in lack of organized life. But, as Dr. Hayner suggests, perhaps hotel life is an indication of the direction that urban life in general is taking.

Trailer family life developed in the United States during the depression in the early Thirties. In the vicinity of defense and war plants during World War II trailers as habitations received an impetus. After the war ended the housing shortage remained a social problem of serious proportions and trailers were the only housing means available to many families. A married couple without children find trailer life difficult, but when the question of raising children is faced by trailer occupants the situation easily gets out of control. Trailer camps are often crowded and living conditions may be very cramped. There is literally no room for children, and no adequate parental control of them.

Special social problems and questions have arisen as a part of the house trailer movement. (1) The trailer camp has often been an unsightly affair where living standards are far below par. Recently, "motels" and modern cabin camps have introduced a new and con-

[25] Lichtenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 573.

[26] Norman S. Hayner, *Hotel Life* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 28.

structive note into the picture. (2) Where the house trailer becomes a home for people employed as transients in crop harvesting areas, the children are cared for very unsatisfactorily. Education and school are neglected and questionable moral conditions tend to arise. (3) Will the house-trailer increase nomadism? Will many people again return to the wandering days of primitives? (4) What kind of social controls will regulate the life of house-trailer people? What groups will these people participate in and will group life change? How will family life and standards be modified? (5) What will be the effects on personality? If people live in order to get away from home on week-ends, as well as on longer vacations or even for whole periods of time, how will personality be affected? [27]

The *mobile family* is generally at a disadvantage. Perhaps the Gypsies have developed the most stability of family life in mobility although they have by no means solved all the problems arising from moving about. Circus people have developed a small measure of adjustment in moving from place to place. Railroad construction camps likewise show a minimum degree of family adjustment. The families of migratory farm workers suffer greatly as a result of being on the move. Mobile families tend to become "rootless families."

Many *wartime marriages* are seriously handicapped from the start. Often they are arranged hastily and without any consideration of the problems of future adjustment. A soldier will marry a girl before leaving for the training camp so as to be sure that he will not lose her while he is away, and a girl will marry a soldier who is about to leave, because of sympathy for him based on the dangers he is about to undergo. At the beginning of a war it seems as though "everybody is marrying," and the spirit of getting married is in the air. Parents give their consent more readily under the stress of wartime crises.

Annulments are marriages that are declared illegal and hence made null and void by the courts. In a study made in Douglas County, Nebraska, in which Omaha is located, Sullenger and Fischer found that annulments are about one-third as numerous as divorces, that over 61 per cent were brought before the courts by the wife and her relatives or

[27] C. D. Clark and C. E. Wilcox, "The House Trailer Movement," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXII : 507ff., July-August, 1938.

friends, and that 38 per cent plus were brought by the husband and his relatives or friends. About 70 per cent of the annulment petitions were granted. Over 40 per cent of the petitions granted were approved by the courts on the grounds of bigamy. That is to say, one party or the other had another husband or wife living and undivorced at the time. Nonage was the leading factor in the annulments in 35 per cent of the cases granted.[28]

The period of time that elapses before an annulment suit is instituted varies greatly. In nonage suits the proceedings are usually begun immediately. In cases of bigamy a longer time elapses. In the shortest period found by Sullenger and Fischer both parties "were intoxicated at the time of the ceremony."

Sound family life depends on a single or the same standard of morals for both men and women. The double standard, or one standard for women and another for men, breaks down at the points of personal happiness and social value. Sexual chastity is essential to a true democracy of husband and wife. Unfortunately the discussion of sex values has been much avoided. It has been neglected by parents, treated inadequately by schools, and shunned by many churches.

Illegal or immoral relations between the sexes have existed in all ages. The difficulties in the way of socially controlling the sex impulses have been and are almost insurmountable. When uncontrolled the sex impulses produce vice, vulgar thinking, sterility, and obnoxious diseases, preventing a normal family life. They have taken thousands of girls and women in the larger countries of the world as an annual sacrifice. The virtues and bodies of girls and women have been commercialized, annually returning millions of dollars to evil-minded procurers and managers in every large country of the world, with the small countries not immune. The segregation of sexually depraved girls and women in special districts has been and is an alarming blotch upon civilization, testifying that men and women have sunk lower in the control of sex passions than animals. In those countries where the so-called "red-light districts" have been done away with by law, the evil has

[28] T. Earl Sullenger and Howard Fischer, "Marriage Annulments," *Sociology and Social Research*, XX : 432–39, May-June, 1936.

persisted in a limited way, being diffused, with certain hotels and rooming houses serving under cover as centers of vice.

Sexual immorality leads to serious venereal diseases, so subtle in their nature that years after cures have been announced they may again break forth, contaminating virtuous wives and helpless babies, and destroying happy home life. "The busiest specialty of medicine" is said to be that connected with venereal diseases. Disabilities, untold suffering, surgical operations, premature deaths follow in their wake. They "populate asylums and hospitals with human wrecks." Perhaps the most revolting phase of these deep-seated infections is the way in which many men, having sown "wild oats" in premarriage days, are guilty of transmitting a dangerous venereal disease to helpless wives and of foisting misery upon innocent children.[29]

In a nine-year investigation of the sexual behavior of 5,300 persons, three Indiana University scientists report that nearly 85 per cent of the males studied have had premarital sexual relations by the time they are twenty years of age.[30] In this study and the related one on sexual behavior of females (published September, 1953, W. B. Saunders Company), the sampling methods are not representative of the United States as a whole, but of only those males, or females, who volunteered to tell in detail about their private sex life. To give one example only of skewed samples: Of each 66 married women per 100 women in the United States, only 29 are represented.

Unchastity may be defined as maintaining sexual relations outside of marriage, particularly by a married party with a person or persons other than his married partner. Ten causes of unchastity, an enemy of sound family life, have been noted.[31] (1) Love for another person outside the marriage relationship is often an important factor. (2) Uncontrolled sex desires ranks as a close second cause. (3) The practice of some girls and women of excusing their brothers or sons or sweethearts in being

[29] *Damaged Goods* by Eugene Brieux (1901) carries the idea of using mechanical means to prevent the transmission of venereal disease. Such a technique makes promiscuous sexual relations "safe," and hinders chastity, unless coupled with adequate personal control of sex impulses.

[30] A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy, and C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (W. B. Sanders Company, Philadelphia, 1948).

[31] These factors have been recognized by a number of students of the problem. The ten reasons that are given represent a composite picture.

"a little wild" is another leading factor. To condone in such cases may be popular, but destructive of later human happiness. (4) The countenancing of a double standard of sex morals operates disastrously against the family. A woman who succumbs once to her sex nature becomes a social outcast, but in that same community a man who violates sex, and whose repeated illegitimate sexual practices are known, may remain a "social lion" and be received with open arms by women in "polite society." (5) The feminine weakness for male adulation and flattery, and for the luxuries that some men offer to delude women, is a significant element. The desire to "rate" may lead to the destruction of vital social values. (6) Closely packed populations in congested urban districts furnish breeding centers for sexual immorality. (7) Some men and many women owe their initial sex debauch to the influence of alcoholic liquor and to the ill-regulated dance hall. (8) A double standard of medical regulations is also a factor. At present in certain countries, cases of smallpox must be reported to the health department but venereal diseases, which may be as virulent as smallpox, need not be reported, for the reason that such reporting might incriminate men of standing in the community. Furthermore, public measures are not developed to prevent the spread of these diseases to the innocent. (9) Poverty leads many a girl to her sex downfall. She is enticed by the lure of expensive clothes and a so-called "easy life" which ordinary work and wages do not provide, and she gives in to a quick but demoralizing means of securing the lure. In times of economic depression many women succumb to sex in order to keep from starving. (10) A lack of adequate personality organization, of moral stamina, and religious idealism exists to a greater or less degree in nearly all cases of sex depravity.

From an extended study of 526 married couples living in Illinois—homogeneous, white, middle-class, married not less than one year nor more than six—Burgess and Cottrell in an initial report tentatively concluded that "the higher the educational level at the time of marriage, the greater the chances are that the marriage adjustment score will be high." [32] About half of the people studied had one or more years

[32] E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, "Prediction of Adjustment in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, I : 747, October, 1936.

of college education. They also stated cautiously "that persons with proclivities for joining organized social groups are better risks for marriage adjustment than those who lack such tendencies." [33] These authors go one step further and offer a definition of a well-adjusted marriage. Their studies lead them to say that such a marriage is one "in which the attitudes and actions of each of the partners produce an environment which is highly favorable to the proper functioning of the personality structures of each partner, particularly in the sphere of primary relationships." [34] In other words, the creation of a pleasant atmosphere is a responsibility of both. In such an atmosphere most needed adjustments can be made. As soon as one or the other partner destroys this pleasant atmosphere, adjustments grow difficult.

"What are the essentials of a successful home?" was asked of 344 individuals, regarded as competent to answer, by Chase G. Woodhouse. She received 2208 "essentials" in the replies. Over one-half related to "the attitudes, personal traits and relationships between the members of a family." The next important set of items is related to the economic situation and includes sufficient income, household management, and financial system. The third group of items includes the general ideals in the home, such as ethical and religious ideals. Fourth come elements such as community contacts and planned recreation.[35]

In reply to the query, "What valuable training and experience helped you most in these home adjustments?" the replies ran as follows: (1) experience in other fields such as would give breadth of view, (2) training in one's childhood home, (3) education in psychology, psychiatry, and child nature, (4) trial and error, (5) experiences of others, and (6) reading. The study shows that much more attention is given to the training of girls for motherhood than to the training of girls for wifehood or of boys to be husbands. The factors that hinder success in the family are: (1) financial, (2) wife's mother, (3) lack of help in the care of the house and the children, (4) husband's family, and (5) sickness in family.[36]

The question asked of husbands, "What is an ideal wife?" brought

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 748. [34] *Ibid.*, p. 739.
[35] Chase Going Woodhouse, "A Study of 250 Successful Families," *Social Forces*, VIII : 511–32, June, 1930. [36] *Loc. cit.*

the answer: an affectionate, companionable person. A "good mind" ranks high and a "sterling character" is also vital. In discussing the ideal husband, the wives put emphasis on companionability. Other requirements are fondness for children, good mind, broad-minded, socially-minded, strong personality, happy disposition, and sterling character.[37]

THE EUGENIC FAMILY

The family is the usual means through which hereditary traits are passed along from one generation to the next. It is also the usual means through which the new-born members of the human race receive care and training for the first eighteen or twenty years of their lives. If the heredity of each parent is sound, family training has good materials to be developed, but if the heredity of the parents is deficient then no amount of family training can compensate for hereditary deficiencies.

With the increasing knowledge of the laws of heredity, variation, and evolution, certain persons have acquired a highly developed knowledge of plant and animal heredity.[38] In recent years a movement has gained momentum to apply the laws of inheritance within the human realm and to improve the human race. This new movement is known as *eugenics*, a science which was inaugurated in England during the closing years of the nineteenth century by Francis Galton.[39] As the term "eugenics" implies, the science aims to work out a program whereby

[37] *Loc. cit.*

[38] An important biological consideration is the gene theory. In the germ cell there are carriers of heredity known as chromosomes, 24 pairs of them. One of each pair is inherited from the father; the other from the mother. It is now believed that in each chromosome are little particles called genes, arranged in two series of chains, one chain for each parent. If one parent has a gene for a defective trait, the corresponding gene from the other parent may come to the rescue with a normal trait. If both parents have corresponding genes for a defective trait, then the offspring may suffer defectiveness in that regard. Hence, when two persons marry who are related, the likelihood of an offspring's inheriting two genes for some defective trait is high.

Moreover, the heredity of any given trait depends on the relationship existing between the genes in the germ cell. The geneticist speaks of the "environment" of the genes, and states that the development of any gene depends on what other genes are present in the chromosome, on the medium or fluid in which the genes function in the chromosome, on the media of the chromosomes in the germ cell, on the nutrition and other factors affecting the prenatal growth of the germ cell. Thus, to be "born well" involves many subtle but vital conditions.

[39] See his *Hereditary Genius* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1914).

every child may be well born. It concentrates on applying the principles of heredity and variation to human life, chiefly through the family.

One eugenic method is to discourage by education and legal means the marriage of persons who are unfit physically or mentally. The aim is to prevent unworthy parenthood. It is planned to segregate feeble-minded men and women by sexes in public institutions and thus to prevent them from reproducing their kind. It is also planned to forbid the marriage of those persons whose health is constitutionally or organically below a certain standard. In line with this idea a movement has been inaugurated whereby only those persons who produce health certificates from a reputable physician shall be allowed to marry. It may be added that it is within the power of the government to raise by degrees the standards of health demanded of those who desire a license to marry. Thus the eugenist hopes to encourage the growth of a more healthy race of men and women.

The eugenist has to contend, however, with the problem of illegitimate parentage. To pass laws forbidding certain types of persons to marry does not hinder the birth of children outside of wedlock. In fact, to make marriage laws more strict than public opinion will support is indirectly to increase the number of children born out of wedlock. Hence the eugenist cannot wisely act too far in advance of public opinion.

A second and more constructive eugenic method is to establish a public opinion favorable to new and higher personal standards regarding *mating*. At present, attractions such as wealth or title or social position frequently determine who may marry. If a marriageable person is wealthy he is considered highly desirable—irrespective of a possible unfit condition or absence of sex standards. The eugenist urges that a sound physique and heredity be ranked ahead of wealth or status, in fact, of all else. He holds that wealth without health, or rank without a sound heredity are false marriage guides. He subscribes to the old idea that "blood will tell."

Thus a strong hereditary stock, high vitality, and excellent health are emphasized as more fundamental marriage attractions than titles or gold. The eugenist asks that young people shall be trained from childhood to regard high vitality and dependable health as first essentials in

an ideal man or woman. If this belief were to become accepted in a large social group it would influence personal fancy and "falling in love." However, the aim of eugenics is not to eliminate falling in love but to put it upon a superior level of vitality, heredity, and health. Thus would the eugenist strengthen every social group and help to build a superior human race.

Preventive eugenics refers to measures to protect parenthood from "racial poisons." [40] Alcohol has been called a poison which seems to affect the generative organs and even the germ cells. In preventing alcoholism a whole group may protect itself against a racial poison. Narcotics is another racial poison. Tubercle bacilli, by undermining the human organism, are weakening in their effects upon germ cell strength. Venereal diseases directly attack the generative organs of women, causing both sterility and untold suffering, and hence may be regarded as racially disastrous.

Disharmonic types are deplored by eugenists. When a pair of parents are widely different in traits, their children may show disharmonic traits. Disharmonic physical types are more easily observed than any other. A large heavy-set person may inherit a small heart, or *vice versa.* Thus, a person may have strong urges in opposite directions and must continually shift back and forth between his own lively tendencies. Disharmony in psychical traits may be produced in the offspring of two parents widely divergent in psychical natures. The result is an undue proportion of deep-seated mental conflicts; a person who might achieve is forever torn asunder by contending forces within him.

Disharmonic characteristics may be related to *ambivalence.* This is a mental situation in which a person is both drawn toward and driven away from some object, person, or action at the same time. As a result he may act inconsistently on different occasions. Such contradictory behavior may cause him a great deal of suffering.

Inbreeding is an opposite tendency. The mating of persons who are closely related or who are too much alike may result in deficient or weak offspring. The eugenist contends against such practices, whether found among the illiterate backwoodsmen or royalty. Blue blood dies

[40] C. W. Saleeby, *The Eugenic Prospect* (Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1921).

out. The eugenist favors racial admixture but sets limits against inbreeding and outbreeding. The former increases deficiency and the latter disharmony.

Dysgenics refers to the factors which hinder or prevent the birth of physically and mentally perfect individuals. Factors which cut down the birth rate unduly or which undermine physical parenthood are also dysgenic. Poverty or alcoholism are generally considered to be dysgenic.

Eugenics objects to such a characteristic as mental defectiveness because of its relation to many social ills. While poverty and delinquency are not inherited, mental defectiveness, which is inherited, leads to poverty, pauperism, delinquency, and crime. The inheritance of feeble-mindedness and a phlegmatic temperament may lead to poverty, while the inheritance of feeble-mindedness and an energetic temperament is likely to result in delinquency or crime. In the case of longevity, or long life, traits such as high vital resistance and sound organic reactions have inherited bases.

Of those persons who are ordinarily considered well born, a large percentage possess some inherited defects which sooner or later are manifested in low vital resistance, weak lungs, weak kidneys, a weak digestive system, a weak heart. Under the stress of modern speed, these defects grow into serious problems. Hence, to the extent that eugenic measures can safeguard individuals against inheriting such defects, it is rendering a valuable social service.

A weakness that is sometimes charged against eugenics is its apparent belief that a sound body and mind are sufficient to guarantee a sound citizen. By its nature it does not deal with human character, spiritual values, social responsibility, social or anti-social attitudes. Moreover it often overlooks the importance of environment. However, in its field of heredity it lifts a voice worthy of being heeded.

Birth control advocates have placed considerable emphasis on *planned parenthood*. The Planned Parenthood Federation of America, with headquarters in New York, has four major purposes, namely, "to foster planned parenthood by making birth control information available under medical auspices to those who desire and need it, to help

childless couples obtain treatment for infertility, to provide education for marriage and parenthood, and to promote research in the physiology of human fertility." The program stresses the importance of *child spacing*, or planning for the birth of children at intervals consistent with the mother's health and the economic circumstances of the parents. Nearly all persons, irrespective of religious beliefs, agree that parenthood should be voluntary and not subject to blind sex impulse. To this end important factors to be kept in mind are the health of the mother or of the mother to be, the economic circumstances and ability of parents to give children the basic needs, serious diseases on the part of both parents such as tuberculosis and syphilis, and feebleminded inheritance. In other words, planned parenthood will strengthen the population of a region.

Eugenics has its best friend in education, for through education persons may learn what they can do in order to develop themselves toward high vitality, and at the same time guarantee a splendid physical start in life to the next generation. By education, a necessary improvement in environmental conditions may be made so that a eugenic racial stock may be built up, safeguarded, stimulated, and enabled to reach its full fruition. Through eugenics individuals and social groups alike may grow in stature and in mental and social worth.

HOUSING THE FAMILY

Of the many problems that have always accompanied the family, not the least has been housing. Ever since the family and the race began, the problem of housing has been baffling to the majority of people. It was pointed out by John Ruskin that after 6000 years of human history we still find that a majority of mankind is inadequately housed. The genius of man has made tremendous progress in many material directions, but in one essential particular, namely, of housing the human family properly, the major problems are still unsolved for millions of people not only in uncivilized countries but in civilized as well.

A family poorly housed is seriously handicapped. Where there is little or no privacy, where overcrowding exists, where children have no play space, the family cannot function well as a social group. However, good housing will not necessarily guarantee happiness or well-trained

children, and yet "houses should be planned for frictionless home life," [41] even though the ideal in family living is not easy to attain.

The housing of the family is becoming more and more a social problem. Wage-earners desire to live near their work and yet cannot afford to pay rents which mount upward as cities increase in size. The wealthy overhouse themselves. The poor are underhoused. The middle class shifts back and forth between renting and buying, trying in the latter case to escape the evil of high rents, and in the former, the evil of high taxes and special assessments.

In times of prosperity, prices of land and rents rise and keep many families from improving their housing conditions. In times of depression wages and other income fall, and prevent families from paying off their mortgages or from buying. In times of war, families are disrupted, economic conditions are in a state of flux, and few improvements in housing conditions occur. During World War II there was little building of houses for a period of years and when the War was over the normal housing needs of a pent-up population and of the millions of returning soldiers vastly exceeded the supply. Rent controls were necessary, materials with which to build houses were scarce and high-priced, and the housing of families became a national problem.

The earliest family groups were very crudely housed. Cave houses and tree houses prevailed. The invention of the hall house, rectangular in shape, containing one room with the fireplace in the center, with no windows and perhaps no chimney for the fireplace, but accommodating several families, was a distinct achievement.[42] From these simple beginnings houses have developed until today they are limitless in variety, including many that are indescribably elegant. Despite this development, millions are forced to live in houses of the worst sort, in shacks and inhuman tenements, not much better than the houses of preliterate man. Moreover, millions of laboring persons desirous of modest homes find the ownership of these impossible because of forbidding prices.

The housing problem develops when more than one family try to

41 S. Riemer, "Sociological Theory of Home Adjustment," *American Sociological Review*, 8: 272ff., June, 1943.

42 R. E. Thompson, *The History of the Dwelling House and Its Future* (J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1914).

live in a dwelling scarcely large enough for a single family. Each city in the United States, for example, has its housing problem, namely, how shall it house its people from a healthy and human welfare viewpoint? [43] Although New York City alone in the United States has a tenement house problem, all other large cities are tending toward tenement house conditions.

While overcrowding does not exist in country districts, yet poor sanitation and lack of hygienic conditions spell bad housing for whole regions. Ignorance and carelessness create bad housing in the country as well as in the city. Thus, housing the family is a problem with many aspects everywhere.

(1) We may begin with *overcrowding*. Overcrowding is of two types, land overcrowding and room overcrowding.[44] The first is an overcrowding of limited areas of land with an undue population, in such a way that a fair level of living standards cannot be maintained. Under specific conditions a thousand people might be housed satisfactorily in a single well-built and well-equipped apartment house, whereas one-tenth that number living in shacks scattered over a considerable area "down by the river" might be ill-housed.

Room overcrowding means that too many persons are occupying a given number of rooms, especially sleeping rooms. In many cities there has been a standard of at least 400 or 500 cubic feet of air per adult per room. More important, however, than air space is the amount and kind of ventilation. Also important is the amount of light, particularly sunlight, that reaches in the daytime into sleeping rooms.

(2) Closely related to overcrowding is the *lack of health facilities*. In addition to ventilation, light, and sunshine, health facilities include adequate plumbing, regular and frequent collection of garbage, and cleanliness.

It is surprising how anyone who continually breathes the foul air of the tenement can keep healthy. In the dark, damp rooms of the poor, the germs of disease live and multiply; sunshine and fresh air are

[43] See Carol Aronovici, *Housing the Masses* (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1939).

[44] L. Veiller, *Housing Reform* (Charities Publication Committee, N. Y., 1910), Ch. I.

not present to destroy them. Typhoid sweeps away its thousands because of impure water and lack of drainage, while tuberculosis takes a larger toll because of bad air and infected rooms.

(3) The *rent* problem is caused in part by a competitive economic system bent on obtaining as large profits as possible. As a result, people huddle together in close and mean quarters. With every increase in population or migration in times of prosperity rents and land values go up. In the months and years of depression, unemployment hinders or prevents the payment of high rents. Overcrowding and the breakdown of family morale follow.

Land speculation forces land prices up unduly high and makes housing conditions harsher for the poor. Housing speculation also results disastrously for the family, for many dwellings are built to sell, not to house. Prices in large cities have reached levels where it is impossible for a majority of the people to own their own homes, no matter how thrifty and industrious they may be.

With land near certain traffic centers in large cities priced at a thousand dollars a front foot and with tenements rearing their sooty heads half a hundred feet high, with a housing problem so chronic that whole sections of a population live and die under the shabbiest of living conditions, it is high time that housing the family should be considered a question of national and world importance. Is it not strange that with all of our boasted scientific development, technological efficiency, and business acumen, a third of the nation's families are not decently housed? Civilized and uncivilized country, Christian country or not, housing is yet, after several thousand years of human history, a major social problem.

When 60 per cent of the people of a country such as the United States, with its three million square miles of land and its vast resources and "high-priced brains," are unable to own their own homes, and live all their days on other people's land, a social situation has arisen that demands earnest attention. Moreover, when thousands on thousands who began adulthood expecting to own a home are giving up all such hope and resigning themselves to disillusionment and "a bare boarding-house existence," national welfare is at stake. Then, what about those families who live in transient camps?

With more than 95 per cent of the people of New York city living in "hired habitations," and with other millions of the industrial classes being "homeless" in the sense of being renters and tenants, the family group is defeated almost at its start in developing a real home, and in creating the social values which sound homes require. If individualism and capitalism were wise, they would modify the present economic system so that home ownership would be possible to all who desired it.

The own-your-own apartment plan has made some progress, but has not yet been adjusted to meet the wage-earner's needs. Farm land in the United States does not yield sufficient returns to enable a young man with slight means and with a family to pay for a home. An increasing degree of renting is a main factor in the social restlessness of the times.

(4) The taking in of *lodgers* is usually found along with overcrowding and high rents. With unemployment, or with an increase in land values and rents, a lodger or two may be added to the family group, so that housing and home expenses may be met. The social effects of taking in lodgers in families already living in one or two rooms are serious.

(5) *Lack of play space* for children is the rule where habitations are congested. Hallways, dark stairways, side-alleys, and rear-alleys are the only places about the home where numerous children may play. Dark alleys foster not sound recreation but vice and delinquency.

The housing problem, then, is seen to arise, first, out of *too much individualism*, which is expressed vividly in a system of greedy profits. For the sake of profits, many landlords are willing to sacrifice the health and welfare of relatively helpless people. Many care little whether tenants as a class live or die, as long as financial returns are netted from property.

A second leading cause of poor housing is *ignorance and lack of responsibility on the part of poor people.* There is ignorance concerning the nature of health, sanitation, and minimum living standards. Many people in large cities have never had the opportunity of learning about recent advances in sanitary science and household economics, despite the adult education movement. Whole sections of urban populations are still living in the Dark Ages. When they do obtain the needed knowledge they are unable or unwilling to put it into effect.

A third factor is the *ignorance and lack of responsibility of the public* regarding housing conditions. One-half of a city does not know or does not care how the other half lives. When bad housing conditions are known to exist, the failure of many citizens to take an effective interest in rectifying untoward situations is a startling commentary on a lack of welfare attitudes. These three causal factors [45] of bad housing, therefore, boil down to two psycho-social factors, namely, ignorance and lack of welfare attitudes.

Several different methods of controlling the housing of the family may be noted:

(1) A *laissez-faire* reliance on private capital and on the law of supply and demand for houses encourages private building initiative, but does not meet the needs of families for well-built homes and does not prevent harmful speculation in a necessity of life.

Better sanitary and health measures for regulating the activities of private builders are necessary. However, they do not hinder rents from rising in times of prosperity or over-crowding from becoming common during a depression.

(2) The building of model tenements by individuals sets a fine example, but does not provide adequate housing for more than a fraction of those needing homes.

It is estimated that 11,000,000 families in the United States alone live in substandard dwellings. If 50,000 new dwellings a year were constructed, it would take 200 years to meet the need, assuming no dwelling fell back into the "slum" classification. As Carol Aronovici points out, the real problem, however, is not so much the elimination of slums as "the salvaging of the human lives which now must live in slums." [46] The bold challenge has been made: Take the people out of the slums and "the slums will be cleared in less time than it will take the government to clear them by subsidies." [47] But how can this be done?

(3) Government owned and operated tenements have been a success in Germany, Austria, and Great Britain. Their development on a large scale in the United States has been delayed because of a deep-

[45] Veiller, *op. cit.*

[46] Carol Aronovici, *Housing the Masses* (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1939), p. xiii. [47] *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

seated antagonism to anything socialistic and because of the inefficiency and political graft in municipal governments.

Among the Western European countries, England, for instance, has been working under governmental authority at attempts to improve the housing conditions of the working classes. Over two million houses have been built for poor people since 1918, but still the problem remains exceedingly serious. It is encouraging that public opinion expresses itself time after time in behalf of slum clearance and respectable housing. Unfortunately, public opinion does not know what to do about the problem; nevertheless, it does sense the fact that "the child who grows up in overcrowded conditions has no real chance. The child is the test." [48]

In England the slum clearance or antislum campaign has made headway slowly. More important, according to E. D. Simon, once Lord Mayor of Manchester and for a number of years a prominent housing expert in England, is the plan to build a house for every family in England, at suitable rents.[49] The building of new houses must take place on the outskirts of the present cities until land values are brought down in central urban areas that are zoned for housing to a reasonable level. For housing the poorer families, private enterprise has not proven equal to the task and hence local city governments must continue and increase their home-building activities; in the same way that public money is used to educate children even to the point of constructing proper school buildings, so must public money be used to secure adequate housing, especially in view of the widespread breakdown of private enterprise as evidenced by the slums. Such is an English view after years of experimenting with the housing problem.[50]

After many years' delay the United States, through its NRA program, announced in 1933 a federal policy of slum clearance. Politics of the unsavory sort and economic greed will do everything possible to block slum clearance, yet why should not all slums be removed and why should not all the citizens of a country such as the United States be entitled to decent homes no matter how humble?

Since the time when the Public Works Housing Corporation was

[48] E. D. Simon, *The Anti-Slum Campaign* (Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1933), p. 4. [49] *Ibid.*, p. 8. [50] *Ibid.*, Ch. XV.

established in November, 1933, the Federal Government has played an increasing role in helping to house the people in the lower income brackets. Government plans include favorable mortgage rates, the insurance of mortgages upon low-cost housing, and the modernization of houses. One culmination of these and related plans came with the lending of government money at rates as low as 3 per cent to persons needing money with which to build their own houses. With the passage of the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act in 1937 the Federal Housing Authority was created and was given power "to lend to public housing agencies, for developing, acquiring, or administering low-rent housing for the clearance of slums up to nine-tenths of the cost of the property." The local communities are to furnish the remaining 10 per cent. It is recognized that slums cannot be cleared without expense to the communities that have been harboring them.

With the advent of World War II the FHA changed its program "so as to stimulate war housing instead of private building for citizens." [51] Previously its work had consisted (1) of the construction of houses for families unable to finance the kind of residences that they needed and (2) a slum-clearance program. After war was declared the FHA shifted its whole emphasis to housing projects for defense and war workers who had crowded into areas where armament production was taking place. Most of these new constructions were of a temporary nature.

In 1945 with the ending of the war a cry went up against better housing for the needy under government assistance. A demand arose that all housing be built "strictly under private control," that a *laissez-faire* housing procedure be given free rein, but protests were made that under private control "the interests of the 11,000,000 families living in substandard homes will be sacrificed to human greed and selfishness." [52]

Social education for housing is a genuine need. "We do not rid a city of its slums by just building new houses in place of old ones." [53]

[51] George B. Mangold, "Trends in the Public Housing Program in the United States," *Sociology and Social Research*, **28**:45, July-August, 1944.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 463.

[53] J. Roy Leevy, "Social Education for Housing," *Sociology and Social Research*, **30**:379, May-June, 1946.

It is necessary to build houses functionally, that is, for the purposes that homes are developed to meet, and it is also important that people learn to develop their homes in ways that reflect their personalities and that help to develop the personalities of their children with full play opportunities being maintained.

A few years ago the Cooperative Building Society in Sweden, the H.S.B., sponsored a housing study in which the 215 Stockholm families which participated kept a record for a week of the activities that were carried out in each of their respective apartments. It was found, for instance, that 57 per cent of all daytime occupancy in manual-labor families was spent in the kitchen. Overcrowding took on a new meaning, for it was found that in the evening a struggle between individuals of different ages occurs for use of the living room. One member may have to give up home studies, another has to refrain from inviting in his friends for a particular evening, another from turning on a favorite radio program when he wants to do so, and the parents "may have to put up with a good deal of unrest in the living room." [54]

(4) The establishment of garden cities is praiseworthy, but meets the needs of only a small percentage of the people. The garden city is foreshadowed in a way by Plato in his discussion of ideal communities. As developed in England, Letchworth, for example, the garden city has the advantages of both country and city. Each family is to have a plot of ground and at the same time the advantages of urban life. The garden city is designed to protect working people and their children from the unwholesome conditions of overcrowded tenement areas. Occasionally an expensive residential suburb has been called a garden city, but this is an incorrect usage of the term.

During the depression years (in 1937) the United States sponsored a garden city type of community. Under government support a new and beautiful city was developed; it was called Greenbelt (Maryland) to indicate that it is surrounded by a green belt of territory. The needs of its residents were met by fifteen different types of consumer cooperatives, a cooperative health association, a cooperative motion picture theater, a cooperative newspaper, and so on.

[54] Svend Riemer, "A Research Note on Sociological Home-Planning," *American Journal of Sociology*, 46:865–73, May, 1941.

(5) Cooperative housing has made considerable headway in many countries. Sweden is an example where every dwelling unit shall be built well and to afford comfortable living and where each unit shall be given an outlook on a pleasing environment. The aim is to keep housing out of politics, and free from graft and from financial speculation, for housing is considered an integral part of home life, and family welfare a vital aspect of national well-being. If a family must move, it receives in full its equity, or if it must sell, the cooperative housing organization pays it at par so "that it neither loses money or makes money." It is enabled to obtain a home approximately at cost, and during its ownership it pays on a pro rata basis for the actual costs of the utilities and upkeep. Home ownership thus is basically encouraged, family life is assisted, and good citizenship is furthered.

(6) Rapid transportation at low rates gives the working classes a chance to house themselves better than if they remained in crowded quarters near their work. However, it affords only temporary relief unless transportation lines are repeatedly extended. The subways in a city like New York noisily carry people fast and far. The people rush in the morning and afternoon into underground caverns, travel at tremendous speed, come up briefly into open air, and then rush indoors again.

(7) Constant persistent education of the public concerning housing is essential in order to secure adequate housing provisions. Proper administration of these provisions and good housing at as near cost as possible are also important. A public opinion is needed which will give steady and intelligent support to socially-minded legislators, administrators, and housing planners, and which will view adequate housing as an aspect of public welfare.

It is a matter of prime importance that all people including their children live in houses that are conducive to health, safety, and morality. Adequate housing is related to proper "homing" and is too vital to be left unprotected in the field of private speculation. Adequate housing will be socially functional, will enable the humblest family to have a home of its own if it wishes, and will provide every family with some sunshine, a pleasant outlook, and possibly a place for a few flowers.

RECONSTRUCTING THE FAMILY

The family in Western civilization is undoubtedly in a transitional stage. The patriarchal and paternalistic family is on the decline. The institutionalized family has sometimes been discarded for tandem marriages and free love. Individualism has been emancipating women with some women becoming home-makers in the fullest sense and with others sacrificing the home for careers. Individualism has given more freedom to children, so that some have been able to develop normal personalities while others have become little autocrats. Undoubtedly the trend is in the direction as pointed out by Burgess and Locke, of families as companionships.

The patriarchal family has been too rigid; individualistic attitudes toward the family, too loose. Perhaps there is a happy medium. A democratic family would be built on respect for age and experience, on consideration for the personalities of children, and on cooperation all around.

To change the family from one in which autocracy and ignorance predominate to one in which a rational and mutual give-and-take rule applies, requires education in democratic relationships, sex relationships, parent-child relationships, and in an appreciation of the family group as a training center for social life.

In discussing the question, "Can the family have two heads?" Dr. Paul Popenoe[55] reports upon a study of 2596 families which he classified into three groups as follows: (1) man-dominant, (2) woman-dominant, and (3) "50–50."[56] He found that in the 2596 families, 35 per cent were man-dominant, 28 per cent were woman-dominant, and 37 per cent were "50–50," or approximately democratic. The answer to his question appears to be that in more than one-third of the families studied the family not only can but actually does have two heads. But Dr. Popenoe at once asks: "Why is it that nearly two-thirds of the marriages in question have failed to reach a democratic basis

[55] Director, Institute of Family Relations, Los Angeles.

[56] Paul Popenoe, "Can the Family Have Two Heads?" *Sociology and Social Research*, XVIII : 12–17, September, October, 1933.

at the present time?" Analyzing the data further, he found that happy marriages were distributed among the three groups as follows:

> Of the man-dominated marriages, 61 per cent are happy and 24 per cent are unhappy.
>
> Of the woman-dominated marriages, 47 per cent are happy and 31 per cent are unhappy.
>
> Of the "50–50" marriages, 87 per cent are happy and only 7 per cent unhappy.
>
> The figures leave no doubt that in marriages of the type studied, a democratic copartnership is associated with the greatest happiness; that man-dominated marriages come next in this respect; and that marriages dominated by the wife show a definitely smaller percentage of happiness than do the other two.[57]

The democratic family is one in which the husband and wife share the authority more or less equally and according to a prearranged division of labor. It is a group whose life is based not primarily on the fear and force of authority, but on the drawing power of mutual respect and affection. Rational love rules.

A democratic family rests on the principle of mutual self-sacrifice. In its sacrificial nature is its greatest strength as a social training center. If children do not learn to make sacrifices for the common good within the family, they have no adequate substitute, for large institutions become formal by their nature. If parents can be trained in the principles of democratic parenthood, and youth in principles of rational marriages, then society will probably keep the family group as one of its basic institutions.

It has been well said that no child has a home if he cannot find it in the attitudes of a cooperative and companionable father and mother. He may have a kind guardian or a thoughtful father, or a loving mother, but the essence of a real home is found only in the attitudes of two parents united in genuine affection for each other.

The family group was "the first human school." Despite its weaknesses it has often been the best school. The most effective teaching is being done in and through the family. The informal education of every person normally begins in the family; the child's most impor-

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

tant educational period, informal though it be, is spent in the family. The education of children in the principles of health and sex hygiene may be given best by parents. There is no better place than the home in which a child can learn obedience, discipline, and socially sound behavior. Training in ethical behavior has fine possibilities in the home. The family may become the greatest socializing influence in the world.

"The family may be conceived as the cradle of personality," according to Joseph Roucek.[58] The only child lives and develops his personality in its earliest aspects in the family, and the child who has a brother or sister has a special advantage. Siblings in a family group have special social relationships, not possessed by an only child, namely, extensiveness of the social contacts and frankness in these sibling relationships. Siblings may be "effective teachers of each other," they may give "emotional satisfactions to each other," but these benefits vary greatly of course from family to family and even from sibling to sibling.[59]

The family relationships include not only what the parents give their children and what the children give each other, but also what the children give the parents.[60] Their gifts to parents have been summarized neatly as follows: (1) an increase in the range and complexity of family interactions, (2) an expansion of family interests, (3) emotional satisfactions of lifelong duration, (4) the opportunity to relive life, (5) the control of human development, (6) insight into life's processes, and (7) insight into the true meaning of life.[61]

Even the role of the guest in the family has rarely been appreciated sociologically. Bossard gives the best statement to date of this point. The factors are rather pertinent in the development of both the parents and the children. The guest furnishes: (1) a standard for measuring parents, (2) a measure of the consistency of parents in precept and practice, (3) a medium for teaching certain rules of social behavior, and (4) the extension of the horizon of beliefs and cus-

[58] Joseph Roucek and Associates, *Social Control* (D. Van Nostrand Company, New York, 1947), p. 123.

[59] James H. S. Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948), pp. 96ff. [60] *Ibid.* [61] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

toms.[62] What reader of these lines cannot recall how the arrival of some important guest in his or her childhood home has not brought about at least temporary changes in manners and meals and living room appointments?

The role of *family table talk* has not been generally appreciated. Transcripts of table talk have been made and have proved enlightening. Bossard indicates that the results are: (1) Identification of personality roles. Each individual conversationalist sooner or later "takes a stand" in behalf of some idea or program, and thus identifies his attitudes. (2) Table talk leads to the development of personality traits. Each participant acquires some experience in expressing himself in a social group. (3) Culture transmission operates effectively during the family discussion hour around the table for each member expresses ideas or describes experiences that he has heard about in his daily activities at the family-mealtime hour.[63]

Burgess and Locke have argued strongly that the family as a social institution has moved in one major direction, namely "from institution to companionship." By institution they mean a group with a more or less formal structure dominated by one person and by companionship they indicate a group in which all the members function in a more or less democratic way in a common world.[64] Zimmerman contends that the family has developed in several directions, not one, that the idea of companionship is sometimes a mask for individualism, and that too few persons are accepting the social duties of familism.[65]

Undoubtedly a number of factors are at work today in weakening the family as a group structure. Some of these as indicated by E. C. Lindeman are: (1) families may be dissolved more easily than formerly; (2) they exercise "a lessening authority" upon their members; (3) their members "disperse at an earlier age" and family solidarity is more difficult to maintain; and (4) increasing difficulty is experienced in keeping effective "a stable home economy."[66] Some of the

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 221ff. [63] *Ibid.*, pp. 171ff.

[64] E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke, *The Family* (American Book Company, New York, 1953). [65] C. C. Zimmerman, *The Sociology of Child Development* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948), Ch. 1.

[66] Quoted in *Bulletin* for October 4, 1947, of the Family Service Association of America.

factors which are bringing about the aforementioned changes are: (1) the increased movement of families in time and space; (2) the lack of preparation for new and "complex requirements of modern family life," and the lack of education for marriage and family under the multiplied stimuli of speeded-up urban life, and (3) emotional tensions that are not relieved due to a lack of neighbors, a lack of children, a lack of adequate housing and of economic security.[67]

It is within the home that individuals may acquire early and effectively the idea that marriage and the family have superior possibilities as social institutions. It is here that the social significance of fatherhood may be taught. Girls, and boys also, learn here that motherhood represents the most important social service which a woman can perform, and that next in importance is the service that men may render as fathers.

Better marriages make an excellent starting point for improving the family. On the other hand, poor marriages are perhaps the chief cause of family instability, divorce, and desertion.[68] Since many persons assume that marriage is not a serious affair, they make hasty and ill-advised marriages and think that they can easily extricate themselves. The easier divorce is made, the wider will be the assumption that marriage is unimportant and the more careless the attitudes regarding it.

Marriage on short acquaintance too often proves a delusion. The time element is necessary in order that young people may determine whether what seems to be love is real and lasting affection, or a passing fancy, or chiefly sex desire. Careful thought for a period of time, consideration of temperaments, consideration of cultural backgrounds, the advice of sympathetic and understanding elders, are helpful if not essential in making one of the most fundamental choices of life, that of a husband or a wife.

Tentative statements of democratic marriage ideals would include a disapproval of the marriage of persons of widely different cultural and racial backgrounds, of persons of widely different ages, of any per-

[67] *Loc. cit.*

[68] George Elliott Howard developed this idea in his article, "Bad Marriage and Quick Divorce," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VI : 1–10, September, 1921.

sons who have tendencies to mental defectiveness, or of persons with venereal diseases. The practice of requiring a health certificate from a reputable physician is intended to protect the innocent against hidden diseases. The requirement that a certain length of time should elapse between the securing of a marriage license and marriage is designed to protect society and persons alike from hasty and ill-advised marriages. If a person is required by law to go through a long period of training involving years before entering a profession, is it unreasonable to ask that persons give at least a few days' thought to entering the marriage relationship?

Legislation alone is not enough. If marriage and the family are not supported by public opinion, then legislation cannot improve matters. Marriage needs to be viewed by public opinion not as an expression of purely individualist impulses but as a social safeguard. The family needs to be considered not lightly but as an institution socially necessary and sacred; not as a temporary contract to be assumed carelessly but as involving human feelings and intimate relationships that are to be treated as lifelong in their effects upon personality. Lax family life rests in part on lax marriage attitudes, and lax marriages rest on lax public opinion. More knowledge about the means of securing sound marriages and stable family groups, and a wide distribution of such knowledge would produce a more wholesome social life.

Although the people of Canada and of England are similar in culture and institutions to the people of the United States, their divorce rate is relatively very low. This situation is partially explained by the fact that attitudes and laws in Canada and England toward marriage and the family are of a different order from those in the United States.

The instability of the modern family may go from bad to worse until a nation such as the United States hits the rocks, even as Rome decayed; or it may be met by new and constructive attitudes. While many factors, economic and otherwise, are vital to national morale, the outcome depends to a considerable extent on the attitudes toward marriage and the family that persons and groups elect to encourage. The destruction or reconstruction of the family lies within the realms of human attitudes.

Mental adjustment and marital happiness have been the subjects

of considerable research beginning with the studies of the first-mentioned subject originally published by Burgess and Cottrell in 1936[69] and upon the second-mentioned theme by Terman in 1938.[70] Burgess and Cottrell found that certain background factors were conducive to marital adjustment, such as, similarity of cultural backgrounds of husband and wife, happy home backgrounds in childhood, rural upbringing as compared with urban background, actual participation in church activities by both, participation in civic and community activities. Many of these factors are significant because they are conducive to developing personalities that are adjustable.[71]

Terman's study centered upon personality traits of happily and unhappily married couples. For instance, he found that happily married husbands are emotionally well-controlled, are cooperative, and are not particularly sensitive in temperament, are not easily discouraged. The unhappily married men are inclined to show neurotic tendencies and to withdraw from social life. The happily married women are likely to be friendly and charitable, to be calm and self-controlled, to be thrifty and active. The unhappily married women are supersensitive and quick to imagine themselves victimized, to be neurotic and contentious, and given to idleness and brooding. Of course the question arises: which of these traits functioned before marriage and which developed after marriage and perhaps as a result of an unhappy or a happy marriage?

In Burgess and Locke[72] will be found a "marriage prediction schedule," which has been developed for persons seriously considering mar-

[69] Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Prediction of Success in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, I : 736–51, October, 1936.

[70] Lewis M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1938).

[71] Other important early articles on this theme were:

Jessie Bernard, "An Instrument for the Measurement of Success in Marriage," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 27:94–106 (1933).

Jessie Bernard, "The Distribution of Success in Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, 39:194–203 (1934).

Jessie Bernard, "Factors in the Distribution of Success in Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, 39:194–203 (1934).

Clifford Kirkpatrick, "Factors in Marital Adjustment," *American Journal of Sociology*, 43:270–83 (1937).

Ray E. Baber, "A Study of 325 Mixed Marriages," *American Sociological Review*, 2:705–16 (1937).

[72] *The Family*, *op. cit.*, Appendix C.

riage. This contains fifty-two items arranged in three parts, and calls for data relating to health, schooling, occupation, church membership and religious activities, leisure time activities, parents' happiness in marriage, size of community in which engaged persons live, attitudes toward having children, information about sex, probable length of engagement, agreement of fiance and fiancee on matters pertaining to money, demonstrations of affection, friends, philosophy of life, comparison of twenty-one personality traits. This schedule is accompanied by instructions for scoring.[73] Likewise Burgess and Locke give a "marriage adjustment form" [74] and instructions for scoring.

Burgess and Wallin have been making progress in predicting success or failure in marriage by studying the adjustment of couples during engagement. They have developed an engagement adjustment scale which together with the Burgess-Cottrell marriage adjustment scale and related techniques have increased the possibility of predicting marital success. Burgess and Wallin have found in their studies that adjustment in engagement is positively associated with adjustment in marriage.[75]

The Harts have brought together a number of important suggestions whereby marital conflicts may be reduced. These are: (1) eliminate needless annoyances, (2) hold frank discussions but avoid arguments over problems, (3) be just but do not always expect justice, (4) work out plans together, (5) give special attention to enlarging areas of agreement, (6) avoid quarreling over nonessentials and overlook petty differences, and (7) at all times play the role of a good sport.[76]

The democratically unified family is one in which the members are unified on the basis of a daily consensus that grows out of counseling together, in which the strength of the family is found in an interstimulation of personal freedom and enrichment of personalities, and in which the members adjust naturally to each other's needs and to the stating and solving of each other's problems. The *family council* may

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 785–87. [74] *Ibid.*, pp. 771–80.

[75] Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, "Predicting Adjustment in Marriage from Adjustment in Engagement," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49:330, January, 1944.

[76] Hornell and Ella Hart, *Personality and the Family* (D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1941), pp. 329–35.

work wonders in developing the integrated strength of the father-mother-children group.

Adjustment in marriage involves many adjustments which take place at different rates of speed or of slowness. The *marriage adjustment differential* is illustrated by the findings of a recent study of 409 couples which shows that adjustment in the area of sex relations takes longer than in any other area. The adjustment rate in each area of marriage relationships varies with each couple, and with each partner. One party may consider that adjustment has been achieved, whereas the other party may consider that no satisfactory adjustment has been reached.[77] Fifty-one per cent report sex adjustment from the beginning and 12.5 per cent report that sex adjustment never was attained. The marriage rate differential in this study shows that 56.8 per cent of the individuals reporting were adjusted from the beginning in spending the family income, 67.1 per cent in social attitudes, 68.3 per cent in in-law relationships, 74.0 in religious activities, and 76.4 in regard to mutual friends.

The American family experiences today an inner conflict, a conflict between organization based on custom and the individual member's wish to have a large measure of freedom. One tendency leads to inner attachments which are restrictive and the other to outer attachments which make for disorganization. In the extreme forms there is either an overdeveloped familism or family chaos. A consensus of opinion and a moral order are needed in the family and at the same time freedom for each member to develop to his fullest extent.[78]

Many American college women find themselves choosing between two somewhat conflicting roles: that of being a home-maker and that of being a career woman. One calls for a relatively quiet, limited social life; and the other, for a publicly active and sometimes glamorous life. Personality traits that are assets in one connection are liabilities in the other.[79]

[77] Judson T. Landis, "Length of Time Required to Achieve Adjustment in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, 11 : 666ff., December, 1946.

[78] See Margaret P. Redfield, "The American Family: Consensus and Freedom," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52:175–83, November, 1946.

[79] Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52:184, November, 1946.

The main function of the family is to train children to become worthy parents, neighbors, and citizens. So far the family has fallen considerably below its possibilities. Child guidance clinics report that a high percentage, sometimes as high as 85 per cent, turn out to be parental guidance cases. Parents as a class have been woefully untrained for parenthood. Colleges and universities are now establishing courses and even divisions of parental education. Religious bodies are also beginning to give attention to this vital theme. Adult education classes for the training of parents are spreading in public evening schools in the United States.

Marriage guidance and *family relations clinics* are beginning to develop. They advise couples about to be married, and assist the married in meeting troublesome conflicts. They furnish the best books and other literature on marriage and the family. They conduct classes on preparation for marriage and for family life. They are setting a pace for public education, and represent a pioneering type of social service of inestimable value.

The first marriage guidance clinic was established in Vienna in 1922, and in the United States about 1930. In the main the European clinics have been governmentally sponsored and those in the United States have been sponsored by private organizations, such as social agencies in themselves or by churches, family welfare bodies, and educational institutions.[80] The experience of a premarital counseling group in Philadelphia shows that three-fourths of those who come for help are women, that most come during the week prior to marriage, and that most come for only one interview.[81] In the family guidance clinic the problems are usually more complicated, involve children as well as adults, and call for a careful study of the backgrounds of the unadjusted parties, and for a series of conferences.[82] Marriage counseling has been called "an emergency profession," one that requires

[80] A. M. Durance-Weaver, "Marriage-Advice Stations for Married and Engaged Couples," *The Family*, 11:85–87, May, 1930.

[81] E. H. Mudel, and others, "Pre-Marital Counseling in the Philadelphia Marriage Counsel," *Mental Hygiene*, 25:98–119, January, 1941.

[82] E. W. Burgess, "Marriage Counseling in a Changing Society," *Marriage and Family Living*, 5:8–10, February, 1943.

thorough training in psychotherapy and professional persons carefully trained in the science of human behavior.[83]

In a discussion of marriage guidance clinics Dr. Meyer F. Nimkoff has shown how family case workers are unable to effect adjustments for more than a small percentage of family problems because of heavy case loads and of lack of specific training. Domestic relations courts are able to effect adjustments in only a limited proportion of instances. The marriage and family guidance clinic has a trained director and offers special help of a psychiatric, psychological, and sociological nature, so that real assistance may be rendered to persons considering marriage as well as those who are maladjusted in marriage. Its thoroughgoing nature has been indicated as follows:

> Since the whole personality of an individual is involved in his life-accommodations, in dealing with a specific instance of maladjustment it is necessary to secure a complete case-history of the persons concerned. Therefore, at the Institute for Family Guidance, the routine procedure calls for (1) a medical report, (2) psychological tests, (3) if needed, a psychiatric examination, and (4) a developmental or social history of the two persons up to the time of their marriage, and of their life together. The last-numbered item is of course the most important. The examinations and interviews then provide the data from which the "tensions" of the marriage may be diagnosed. Each case is analyzed in terms of its "constellation of tensions," and the sources of the stress are sought in the interaction of the personalities and in their social situation.[84]

The family relations clinic is serving an excellent educational purpose. However, this purpose will not reach its fulfilment until the schools, the press, and other training and publicity institutions effect an important change in attitudes regarding marriage difficulties. At present the belief is widely current that when a marriage is in danger of going to pieces the divorce court is the only way out. The new emphasis, which needs to become common, is that when a marriage is tottering both parties should turn to a family relations clinic. It has been suggested that people need to be trained to make the psycho-

[83] John F. Cuber, *Marriage Counseling and Practice* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1948).

[84] Meyer F. Nimkoff, "The Family Guidance Clinic," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVIII : 233, January-February, 1934.

social adjustments needed or at least to try this approach in a scientific and thoroughgoing way, instead of or at least before resorting to a divorce. The popular fashion of patching up differences is quite too superficial. Only a psycho-socially trained person can act as a competent guide.

As the modern family has lost one after another of its important functions and has seen these taken over by associations outside the home, the question has often been raised: Will the family itself disappear? As the economic, educational, recreational, even religious functions of the family have been performed to an increasing degree by agencies in the community, what is there left for the family to do? John Stuart Burgess has answered by saying that as life becomes filled with competitive group activities, with organized recreation, with regimented life, the need for "a place of refreshment and inner enrichment, an intimate group based on mutual understanding and respect, and bound together by affection" will be increasingly needed.[85] Here will be found the indispensable function of the family of the future.

The countless studies of marriage and the family culminate in data which give prediction clues regarding the probable success or failure of a given marriage at the time of marriage or even before the marriage. Adjustment in marriage involves so many variables and is dependent on so many antecedent factors in the lives of both the partners, as well as on so many unanticipated factors that may arise after marriage that prediction is exceedingly difficult. Terman was one of the first to obtain results in his consideration of "psychological factors in marital happiness." [86] Burgess and Cottrell made considerable progress in their research on "predicting success or failure in marriage." [87] Locke has made a study of "predicting adjustment in marriage." On the basis of his own research and that of others whose reports preceded his, he arrived at a number of general conclusions,[88]

[85] "The Dilemma of the Modern Family," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVIII: 131–39, November-December, 1933.

[86] Lewis M. Terman and Others, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938).

[87] E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939).

[88] Harvey J. Locke, *Predicting Adjustment in Marriage* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1951), Ch. 15.

some of which may be summarized here. (1) Happiness in marriage is associated with adjustment and divorce signifies maladjustment. (2) The alienation process is usually "a slow accumulation of conflicts and disagreements." (3) Adjustment depends on "the development of binding ties of affection, common interests and activities, similar attitudes and values" and respect for each other's individuality. (4) Adjustment in marriage includes adjustment to the mate's parents. (5) Adjustment involves sex relations determined by affection and mutual satisfaction. (6) Adjustment involves ready acceptance of marriage and family responsibilities by both partners. (7) Adjustment depends on capacity to give and receive affection. (8) Adjustment is related to general sociability and the number of friends in common.

One of the latest developments affecting the family, particularly in the United States, is the advent of television, beginning about 1948. The early trends may later be changed, but at present they indicate that television is (a) keeping the family at home more than formerly (b) keeping the family more as an observing unit but not necessarily as an interacting unit, (c) cutting down on the reading of books, attending motion picture shows, listening to the radio in the evening, (d) decreasing the amount of homework by school pupils, (e) increasing the acquaintance of children with delinquent and criminal behavior, (f) stimulating the craving for excitement on the part of children, and (g) creating new problems in child training for parents.

After thousands of years of human history, nothing superior to or as good as the educated, democratic family has been found for the training of children. Marriage and the family determine the heredity of nearly all children; they convey cultural backgrounds; they furnish the primary stimuli for personality growth. Although it be built of logs and possess humble appointments, the home may still function as "an informal school room of the human race and the noblest center of human affections."

PROBLEMS

1 Why is the family an important social institution?
2 Explain the statement that "woman has domesticated man."
3 In what ways is home life in the country better than in the city?

4 Why is marriage taken by many people with a lack of seriousness?
5 Explain: "No one marries the real man."
6 Define a good husband.
7 Define a good wife.
8 Define a good child.
9 What is feminism?
10 What are the effects upon home life of moving every year?
11 Why is the dinner table talk of social value?
12 Explain the statement that the rich man's wife is often a parasite.
13 "Is the attitude of the public the same toward the man who has married money, as toward the man who has made money?"
14 Should wealthy women resent being forced "to spend their time in the meaningless round of luncheons, teas, bridge parties, and stereotyped charities?"
15 Should every girl learn home-making?
16 Should every young woman be trained for an occupation outside the home?
17 Why is "dating" important?
18 What is the main function of an engagement period before marriage?
19 Why is the present form of courtship unsatisfactory?
20 Give arguments for and against assortative mating.
21 Give the personality traits of an ideal mate for yourself.
22 Which are the greater, the advantages or disadvantages of being an only child?
23 What is the social significance of each of the three stages of the family cycle?
24 In what way is heredity more important than environment?
25 How is environment superior to heredity?
26 Why did eugenics develop?
27 Explain the statement that although the death rate has declined in recent years, the race is less vigorous than formerly.
28 What is the significance of the statement: Man is "an outdoor animal"?
29 Distinguish between chromosomes and genes.
30 How does "the fittest to survive" vary under different conditions?
31 Explain: "Man is the sickest animal alive."
32 In what ways can "falling in love" be controlled to the advantage of all parties concerned?
33 How far is "falling in love" a sound guide for mating?
34 Why are courses on "Marriage" difficult to teach?
35 When is elopement least defensible?

36 What is the strongest phase of the "go-between" system of choosing husbands and wives?
37 Compare eugenics and dysgenics.
38 What makes a disharmonic type?
39 What is the marriage adjustment differential?
40 Why are real estate "boosters" often rated high as good citizens although they may be enemies of eugenics?
41 Can a large-scale employer be a good citizen and a violator of eugenic principles?
42 What is the strongest argument in favor of birth control?
43 What is the weakest spot in the birth-control argument?
44 Why has the control of birth control become an important problem?
45 Why are so many American families giving up their homes and moving into apartments or flats?
46 Which is better for the family, the single dwelling or the flat?
47 What is the least desirable phase of hotel family life?
48 Explain the statement that every American city has its housing problem.
49 Why is there so much overcrowding in the United States when at the same time there is so much spacious territory?
50 Illustrate the statement: There is no room to live healthily.
51 Why are tuberculosis and crowded housing conditions found together?
52 Why are some good people who live in large apartments negligent as to how the janitor of the apartment building is housed?
53 Why do many poor people keep the windows closed in sleeping rooms even in the summer?
54 What are the main problems of trailer housing?
55 Why were there so many postwar (World War II) housing problems?
56 What are the arguments pro and con regarding cooperative housing?
57 If you were a wage-earner and your rent were suddenly raised, would you take in lodgers or move into a smaller number of rooms? Why?
58 Are the people who own their own homes in the United States increasing or decreasing? Why?
59 Why do many landlords feel no responsibility for the poor health conditions which their properties generate?
60 How does unearned increment affect the question of housing?
61 Who suffers when people speculate in land values?
62 Why are municipal lodging houses maintained in some cities?
63 What percentage of a family's income should be spent for rent?
64 Explain the statement that "you can kill a man, woman, or child just as surely with a tenement as with a gun."
65 What are the problems involved in slum clearance?

66 Why has the United States delayed until recent years the development of a federal plan to help needy young people with their housing problem?
67 Why do many wartime marriages fail?
68 In what way is it true that "the most successful person in the world" is he or she who helps to rear socially-minded and socially-behaving children?

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Chapter

4

The Community Group

EVERY person is born not only into a family but also into a community. At first he is not made aware of the community. But neighbors "run in" and he begins to make the acquaintance of some of the people who reside in the neighborhood. When he learns to walk, and then to play in the dooryard (if there be one), the neighbors' children, or at least some of them, seek him out. Presently he is allowed to visit some of the neighborhood children, whereupon he begins to get a notion of his community as a primary group.

As a child's acquaintance with his neighborhood increases, the surrounding community in some of its rural or urban aspects is taken for granted. Its influence plays upon him in innumerable ways. Now and then he hears the larger community, the state, mentioned, and he learns of the duties of citizenship. Other races, peoples, nations are discussed in his hearing, and even the world as a concept is occasionally depicted for him. Thus, his ideas of the community begin with the neighborhood, but ultimately his thinking about community reaches out to include sections of the world group.

A community is a social group with some degree of "we feeling" and living in a given area. To develop a real community of spirit it is necessary for all the members of a community to participate and to acquire a sense of belonging. A community may be limited to a specific area or it may extend to all who commune together in the fellowship of similar attitudes and values. A community has been defined as "a group of people living in a contiguous geographic area, having com-

mon centers of interests and activities, and functioning together in the chief concerns of life." [1]

Community organization is the basic way in which people react concerning the various phases of life. The older Chinese have a family-clan-village community organization. The older Japanese have a feudal-bureaucratic type. In the United States an individualistic-industrial form of community organization has prevailed. In the family-clan-village organization nationalism is slow to develop, and China still suffers from being a house divided into many parts. A bureaucratic organization makes the individual an automaton, while an industrial type makes him a slave to the day's tasks.

Community organization also has an administrative aspect. A community may organize itself to meet many of its needs. To be specific, a local community may be organized for recreation and pageant purposes, to send local representatives to a city council in support of needed local measures, to work for more reasonable water or transit rates, to take care of its own needy persons; and in so doing it may develop a genuine community spirit.

Communities are becoming *communalities*, that is, a grouping together of persons with common attitudes and values, but spatially scattered.[2] The closely knit community of a few decades ago in the United States is being supplanted by psycho-social unities of people possessing a wide spatial "scatter," as pointed out below by Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan.

> This situation suggests that a type of association, supplementary to neighborhood or community, is being developed, which is located wherever the means of transportation can carry the person; which is defined in social contacts not limited spatially; and which may be called the *communality*. The communality is a social grouping for carrying on an activity, whose members are drawn together on the basis of the common interest or interests subserved. Neither the communality itself nor its total membership is specifically related to any local area. It is an activity circle. It is functional and not spatial.

[1] Loren D. Osborn and Martin H. Neumeyer, *The Community and Society* (American Book Company, New York, 1933), p. 8.

[2] See Bessie A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1929), Ch. I, also p. 108.

The human community has been defined as an ecological product, that is, as "the outcome of competition and the accommodative process." These factors give "spatial and temporal distribution to human aggregations and cultural achievements," [3] and thus communities develop and change.

NATURAL AREAS

If you were in an airplane looking down upon any extensive area that is inhabited you would notice houses bunched together and houses scattered far apart. You would see tall dwelling houses of two, three, four or more stories in which several families live and small one-story houses occupied by one family each. If your eye could penetrate wood and brick and stucco you would see some individuals working more or less alone, while others flocked together daily. You would see some remaining close at home, meeting only a few or perhaps no persons outside of their own families; you would see others rushing hither and yon, meeting fifty or a hundred other persons daily. If you had a magic eye you would see that some had lived in one place for years or decades, and that others were moving in, staying a year or two, then moving to another region.

After making these and many other observations of a more or less physical and spatial nature, you might ask yourself: What are the effects on personality of all these differences in locality, in coming and going, in migrating about and in settling down? In this exercise you would be studying the spatial relationships of people and also the varying effects on personality of these changing differences in spatial relationships. In short, you would be using what is a basic method of studying the community, the ecological method. By human ecology is meant the study of the nature and effects of spatial and time relationships of people and of the changes in their relationships. Some of these changes are somewhat uniform and are known as ecological processes, which will be considered in a later chapter.

According to Robert E. Park human ecology interprets human interrelationships in terms of some of the interrelationships of plants

[3] R. D. McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXX : 287–301, November, 1924.

and animals. Plant and animal populations are continually making adjustments in a given area. These are called *symbiotic*, meaning living with one another. These adjustments take place on an amoral basis. Human adjustments are similar except for the important difference that in addition to biological adjustments moral and welfare forces are also involved.[4]

A *natural area* is a region where people can associate freely, unhampered by any special physical or artificial factors. A mountain valley is often a natural area. A city district of several blocks located between main streets on four sides is another type of natural area.

A natural area may be bounded by industrial and social developments, such as a factory, several railroad tracks lying together in parallel lines, a wide and heavily traveled thoroughfare. A natural area is usually circumscribed by both physical and artificial barriers. Every large city, for instance, is divided into natural areas, or areas in which people can engage easily in daily interaction. A natural area in a city rarely coincides with political or administrative districts. Politics, or more particularly, *gerrymandering*, often makes queer-shaped areas.

The location and development of the community group has been modified by natural factors, such as hills and mountains; and by physical resources, such as soil fertility, rivers, oceans, heat, cold, and rainfall. They have been affected by artificial factors such as highways, boulevards, means of transportation, railroad yards, industrial districts, parks. Certain areas, whether natural or artificial, have developed distinctive characteristics which in turn have separated people widely or brought them together. Moreover, studies of spatial relationships and of their influences have revealed significant uniformities or laws.

Spatial relationships help to determine a person's attitudes, values, and status. Sparseness permits the growth of independent attitudes and self-reliance, and hinders cooperative activities. Notice how slowly the American farmer has responded to large-scale organization. Likewise the Russian rural peasant takes to collective farming with great reluctance. Sparseness creates a reliance not on society but on nature.

On the other hand spatial nearness, or density, forces a certain

[4] Robert E. Park, "Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII : 1ff., July, 1936.

amount of cooperative action and invites community life. It makes possible powerful corporations, large-scale enterprises, and stimulates some persons to take advantage of the masses. Spatial nearness brings opposite interests into fierce conflicts, as well as stimulates socialized tendencies.

Location in the social sense is related to *status*. Location is usually changed when status is lowered. A person grows unhappy and "moves" when his status in a given neighborhood is undermined. When one's social placement becomes unsatisfactory, he generally seeks a new and different spatial placement.

> There is evident a relationship between locus or spatial placement, and status or social placement. Locus is interpreted in contiguity, in terms of nearness of spatial relations, and in terms of temporal relations of permanency and transiency. Status is interpreted in terms of social distance. It defines the relative social position of persons in a group and is a potent factor motivating behavior. When status is threatened, locus is apt to be changed; when status is made secure or raised by residence in a district, locus tends to remain stable. Since status indicates the relative positions of persons in association, and since it is both subjective and objective, *i.e.*, involves a psychological reaction or emotional appraisal of position, and behavior in accordance therewith, it must be considered as an important and even necessary phase of social organization. Its function is the adjustment of social relationships and the stabilizing of the social order.[5]

A concrete way of studying a community is to make a *social base map* of a selected area and then to locate upon it the evidences of given types of activity, such as business houses, schools, dwellings, churches, and so on. The social base map differs from the ordinary geographical map in that it shows only the major physical characteristics, such as rivers or mountains, and specializes in major highways or boulevards, railroad tracks, and industrial districts. Factors such as these tend to separate and segregate people. At first thought one little realizes how a boulevard is a social barrier. Even underground tunnels and overhead bridges do not overcome the divisive nature of a high-speed boulevard. When mapping is carried further, business houses are seen to cluster together, and schools may be found to be poorly

[5] B. A. McClenahan, *ibid.*, p. 77.

located as far as the convenience of many children is concerned. A church may be seen to be situated far from the center of the houses of its members. If the addresses of cases of delinquency are indicated by spots on a social base map, or if they are superimposed on a map that also shows where poor housing conditions or no playgrounds are found, many interesting social observations may be made and a community study may become fascinating.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD

As a child the *neighborhood* came to one's attention through playmates, through family participation with a few persons living near by, and through family conversation, often uncomplimentary, about other persons living in the vicinity. In large cities today the neighborhood is largely a group of "nigh-dwellers"; it is a group characterized chiefly by the fact that the members live within a certain geographic area. In a rural neighborhood people may live somewhat apart although within a specific area, but they know each other well. A village neighborhood involves persons living closely together and well acquainted with each other. An immigrant neighborhood includes people from a foreign country and their children, who are mutually acquainted, who live in close proximity to each other, and who possess a common group loyalty.

The neighborhood is a loose integration of several family groups. Most people like to live near other people even though they do not have much to do with the nigh-dwellers. Children and women feel the neighborhood appeal more than do men. Social bonds, however, are rarely organized, except when a neighborhood enterprise develops, such as a demand for material improvements. A neighborhood often has no specific form of group control except unorganized group opinion and gossip. Its lack of organized social aims explains its main weakness as a group phenomenon.

The *neighborhood feud* is common, spectacular, and lasting. Since the neighborhood is composed of family groups living in close proximity and experiencing personal contacts of all sorts, conflict is likely to arise at any time. As a result of the highly personal nature of the neighborhood, people easily take sides. The neighborhood feud usually

begins with a disagreement between two families over a boundary line between property, over livestock, over children, or over a disparaging remark that one person is reported to have made about some member of another person's family. The imagination works feverishly, tongues wag freely, and an alleged wrong is multiplied. Gossip arouses ill will, and a neighborhood becomes divided into opposing camps.

The feud illustrates the neighborhood group in its worst behavior. It may run for years. In remote mountain districts it may lead to murder, and last until all the thirty-two MacGregors have been killed, and all but one of the thirty-three McIntoshes, leaving only one McIntosh alive and thus demonstrating to a disinterested world that the McIntoshes have won.

Malcolm Ross reports that in a copper mine in Arizona where he once worked, a dependable amusement underground was a feud between Cornishmen and Welshmen. Why should these two types of miners fight each other 1100 feet deep in the earth of a foreign country 5000 miles from home was never made clear.[6] Perhaps they brought their neighborhood feuds with them.

In the modern large city the neighborhood is losing its former entity, as is evidenced by the fact that nearly everyone can stand in his front door and behold the homes of a number of his neighbors whose names he does not know. Many people do not wish to "neighbor" with their neighbors. Old time neighbors are giving way to nigh-dwellers, while people "neighbor" with persons "living all over town."

> I don't know anything about the neighborhood. I don't like it and take no interest in it. We have been here a year and bought only for investment. We have nothing whatsoever to do with my neighbors. I don't even know their names or know them to speak to. My best friends live in the city but by no means in this neighborhood. We belong to no clubs and we do not attend any local church. We go auto riding, visiting, and up town to the theaters.
>
> We are renting and have been here six years. . . . We like to live here because of the conveniences, the local shops, and the junior high school. I don't want to neighbor and I do not know how people neighbor. . . .
>
> I know nothing about the neighborhood and I never did have any-

[6] Malcolm Ross, *All Manner of Men* (Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1948) p. 264.

thing to do with my neighbors. I lived in the N. apartments in S. for ten years and never spoke to a neighbor in the house. I find it best not to, you are much safer. Then no one knows your business and I don't care to know any one else's.[7]

The relation of neighborhood, community, and communality may be indicated at this point. A neighborhood originally was a group of neighbors living in a given locality and having many interests in common including social gatherings, a retail store or two, a school, and a church. Today the neighborhood has been merged into and lost within the larger community, which as Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan has indicated, has several aspects, such as: (1) an expanded area, (2) an expanded population with given culture patterns, (3) stores and industries, (4) recreational and educational facilities, (5) political and other organizational agencies, and (6) personality types and characteristic social values.[8] The largest division of community is twofold, rural communities and urban communities, which will be considered in detail presently. As the neighborhood has disappeared in the community, so the latter has been fused into communality, or interest-circles characterized by "the social nearness of members whose places of residence may be widely separated."[9]

THE RURAL COMMUNITY

Human society began in rural groups, developed to the level of civilization in rural groups and in cities supported by a rural hinterland. Human society has been cradled in the rural group.

Primitive groups evolved a crude form of village life, from which the men went out at first on the hunt and chase and in later centuries to cultivate the soil. At first women stayed at home, but when soil cultivation became extensive and arduous the women folks were also taken along to assist in the harvesting tasks. Today in many regions people live in villages from which they go out, perhaps a considerable

[7] Quoted by McClenahan, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[8] "The Community in the Postwar Social Order," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXIX : 183, January-February, 1945.

[9] Bessie A. McClenahan, "The Communality," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXX : 264–274, March-April, 1946.

distance, to the land that is often divided in strips and cultivated intensively.

The rural group remained basic even after the rise of military strongholds, the establishment of special shrines or places of worship, and the creation of trading posts. In the Middle Ages when commercial centers surrounded themselves by walls, and included congested populations living by commerce and trade, rural influences were still dominant. With the rise of the modern metropolitan city, the urban group began to dominate civilization. The American farmer has been referred to as "the forgotten man except at election times."

Despite urbanization it is still true that the population of the world is largely rural, that urban life is still dependent on the farm and what it produces, and that in times of widespread depression the back-to-the-farm movement is revived. While the unemployed city man is walking the streets, the unemployed rural man can at least raise his own food supply, meet his needs for shelter, and partially provide his clothing needs.

The force of depression produces what is probably only a temporary migration from city to country. While no permanency can be guaranteed to this population transfer, it is nevertheless an interesting social phenomenon. With a million people in a year transferring their allegiance even for a time from urban to rural life, something worth studying is taking place.

The rural group is built around the family. The country is a relatively safe place in which to rear children, although lacking in urban advantages. There are fewer false attractions in the country than in the city. The rural family lives together as a unit, eats three meals daily together, works together, and goes together on picnics.

The long hours and hard work of the farmer represent the exceptional day's work, instead of the regular routine as in the case of the steel worker, the miner, or factory employee. Moreover, the farmer is in a way master of his own time. The introduction of laborsaving machinery has shortened farm hours, decreased the difficulty of labor, and increased the amount of leisure time.

The rural school is undergoing transformations. Through the consolidated school and the rural high school, a new day for rural life

may be expected. The rural school with adequate educational and playground equipment, with a permanent residence for the principal and his family, with a teaching staff that is somewhat continuous from year to year, and with a community and civic center program, is creating a new type of rural life.

In many regions the rural church has been unable to meet the situation. There has been overchurching, and also sectarian conflicts. Many small rural groups have tried to support three or four denominational churches where one strong church would have been better. Near-by city churches with their high-salaried ministers, chorus choirs, and well-organized church activities guided by energetic leaders have drawn rural people away from rural churches. Rural young people especially have felt this pull.

Rural ministers have rarely been rural leaders. Their salaries have been ridiculously low. The rural church has suffered from an absentee ministry; it cannot progress satisfactorily with nonresident leadership. The rural minister has often been a misnomer; he has been a clergyman ministering to a rural parish but having his eyes set upon a more desirable city pulpit, especially if he has initiative and leadership ability; or else he has been a worn-out city preacher who has been transferred to rural parishes to spend the closing years of his ministry.

A specially trained rural religious leadership could transform rural life and make religion a truly dynamic force. The rural pastor is in a strategic leadership position. In addition to a modern religious training, he needs to be well versed in sociology, that is, in a knowledge of the nature of personality growth, group development, and social processes. He needs to understand the technique of making community surveys and community case histories; he should be trained in methods for making the church a leader among rural institutions. He must be as interested in community reorganization as in personal regeneration.

The rural church has lost a large part of the function as a social center that it once exercised. Decades ago in the United States the meeting house was the only place of social stimulation. Today, with good roads, automobiles, rapid transit lines, the rural church is no longer the chief place at which people can meet for social interaction.

The lot of the farmer's wife has usually been and still is full of rou-

tine. Many of the conveniences and comforts of the city, however, are being introduced into rural homes. With an electric motor to operate sewing machines, washing machines and churns, with vacuum cleaners, with electricity and gas for cooking, heating, and lighting, the farm may become attractive to the farmer's wife and daughters.

If the rural school, the rural church, and other rural institutions would cooperate toward dynamic community ends, they could make the country so attractive that the ablest young people, who now flock to the cities, would stay and add their abilities to the process of redeeming and magnifying rural group life.

The rural community is a kind of enlarged primary group. Rural people are subject to the influences of face-to-face relationships. A great many of the mores of the people of the United States have been rural born and rural nurtured. Hence, when the rural community becomes urbanized and loses some of its primary group nature, the mores break down. Our problem becomes that of developing a secondary-group morale and new secondary-group mores that will be effective in an increasingly impersonal world.

Many farmers are reconstructing their farm dwellings and grounds artistically. A small lawn with an attractive arrangement of shrubs and trees and driveways creates a large amount of personal satisfaction in rural life. A rural community of such homes gives rise to a great deal of group pride. With the passing of the unattractive, barren, and drudgery features of the farm home, there comes a new appreciation of the deeper rural values. Rural groups may yet develop many of the advantages of urban groups without acquiring many of the latter's disadvantages.

In many countries today the *rural mind* is closely circumscribed. It represents a great deal of mental inbreeding. In most countries of the world the rural mind is essentially an undeveloped mind; it has not been fully or freely stimulated; it flares up occasionally in feuds; it has strong opinions, prejudices, and faiths.[10]

[10] The rural mind is highly tinged with reactions involving nature. It includes friendships with pet animals and identification with green valleys, woodlands, and streams. The spectacular demonstrations of nature, especially in storms, arouse awe.

The farmer, alert to sudden weather changes, destructive frosts or storms, and sometimes losing the gains of a year because of fruit or grain pests, or cattle plagues, develops attitudes of reserve and of independence. These attitudes are based not on social laws but on nature's laws. The farmer enjoys standing upon a piece of land that he can call his own. He plans his day's work and even a year's work to suit his own ideas. He pities city people who must work according to orders given by other persons. He reacts against the endless committee meetings, "the clatter and clash, the rush and pandemonium of sound" in the midst of which the city man is doomed to spend his best days.

Rural life is not stilted or formal, except when people attempt to ape the city. It does not develop an enslaving night life. Rural people are frank, open, and genuine; they scorn the artificiality of many phases of city life. The rural mind is built on sturdy strength, physical endurance, continuous physical activity, freedom from nerve-destroying speed, and that fast living which turns night into day.

With the development of scientific agriculture, the farmer is becoming increasingly independent of climatic changes and insect pests, but he is still subject to the manipulations of a Wall Street and of unscrupulous politicians. With the introduction of free mail service, the telephone, the automobile and rural electrification into rural life, the rural group mind has enjoyed expansion.

While the farmer has little chance of becoming a millionaire, he usually can make a comfortable livelihood. He is not obliged to live upon an imported food supply, as is the city man. He has plenty of room in which to live; he is not forced to live as a cave man on the sixth floor of a dingy tenement, or to spend his savings as a slave to fashion's dictatorship.

The farmer has the satisfaction of being a direct producer of the necessities of life. He generally becomes a representative of the middle classes; he rarely is an exploiter or grafter; neither does he devote his life to financial speculation. His opportunities to develop an intellectual life have been slight. His reading centers in the intensely practical farm journals and also in the daily newspapers, although in many rural areas of the world these publications are unknown. Rural life does not offer many inducements for intellectual study, although wherever

laborsaving machinery is being introduced and communication and transportation are developed, the situation is changing.

Many studies have been made of rural community groups which show that considerable progress is under way despite great difficulties. In the United States the ideal unit for rural social organization appears to be an area varying from thirty to fifty square miles. This area is represented in certain regions by the consolidated school district. It usually contains one or more trade centers, one or more religious centers, a community hall or two, and four or five neighborhoods ranging from twenty to fifty families each.

The scientific study of rural groups is known as rural sociology. This science, which has been developing rapidly in the United States, points the way to a new era, not only for rural groups but also for the national group of which rural groups constitute a vital part.[11]

Five special rural problems will now be stated.

(1) It is difficult to maintain upon farms in the United States older persons of ability, for most of them have their eyes upon the city and move to the cities, thus depriving rural areas of their experiences and abilities. They "retire" to the cities, leaving the rural community at the time when they might be free to render much community aid.

(2) Closely related is the problem created by the young people of initiative and education who leave the farms for the cities. Energetic rural leadership is thus depleted.

(3) In the United States rural people are characterized by a degree of isolation that is not found in rural Europe with its many village aggregations. Farm houses are separated in the United States and life is less associative.

(4) Tenant farming is on the increase in the United States. It is becoming more and more difficult for a young man without means to marry, rear a family, and pay for a farm.

(5) A related problem is that of land speculation. If in times of depression a young man cannot buy a farm because farm produce sells too cheaply, then in times of prosperity prices of land are raised too

[11] A great many books on rural sociology have appeared within the last ten or fifteen years. A pioneer work was John M. Gillette's *Constructive Rural Sociology* (Sturgis and Walton Company, New York, 1013).

high. The rise of land values under private ownership in prosperity times tends to bring about the concentration of landownership in the hands of a small percentage of the population. This system of "absentee landlords" rarely works well from the larger social viewpoint. The evils are so serious that it may be necessary to limit the amount of land that one person or a group of persons may own, and to regulate rentals. Either speculation in land or depression prices for farm produce works untold hardship on young people who have initiative and character but who possess no economic advantages. In its methods of social control of land a nation may well encourage rather than penalize young men and women who wish to establish homes on rural acreages of their own.

Migrant farmers represent a new class produced by depressions and by natural catastrophes. Migrant farm laborers have long constituted an economic phenomenon, but migrant farm families are a part of the "new peasantry." Many social problems have arisen in connection with the increasing numbers of farm migrants. (1) Family life and conditions lack stability. (2) Lack of respect for parents and teachers on the part of children, poor food for the children, the development of delinquency naturally follow where family life is subnormal. (3) Housing and sanitary and health conditions are often unfit for human beings. (4) Incomes are very low, social security legislation is lacking, and insecurity prevails. (5) Ostracism of the migrant farm family by regular farm families, segregation in temporary quarters, and lack of status are very disorganizing factors. (6) Social unrest mounts and a radical spirit becomes rampant.[12] The transient rural family has become a national problem.

Within recent years large-scale farming has been developing in the United States. Small farms have been joined together and mechanized farming using the latest machinery has developed. In consequence, adequate acreages for stranded farmers have been difficult to secure in many parts of the United States.

Relief for farm families reached striking proportions in the United States in 1932 and succeeding years. Relief in money had a disorganiz-

12 "Migratory Farm Labor in the United States," *Monthly Labor Review* (March, 1937).

ing effect. Work relief was not wholly appreciated. The Resettlement Administration through its rural rehabilitation work made loans to rural people in need, thus enabling them to maintain status and at the same time to get started on a self-sufficiency course again.

The Farm Security Administration was organized in 1935. It was established to meet the needs of farmers who were suffering from debt, from exorbitant interest rates, from lack of agricultural skills, from unreasonable tenancy conditions, and from dust-bowl or exhausted soils. It stepped into the breach between hopelessness and inability to obtain help from private money-lending agencies.

It has been pointed out that the depression which began in 1929 brought the following benefits to rural areas: (1) The subsistence values of rural life increased—for example, such values as "may be obtained from the land for food, fuel and shelter, and all sorts of homemade goods." (2) The soil conservation movement has been speeded up. (3) Rural social work has forged ahead. (4) Increased attention has been given to the status of tenants. (5) The importance of regionalism as a basis for rural programs has been recognized, as well as the need for a national agricultural policy that will integrate the opposing interests of different regions.[13]

The *village* has been in many countries a real neighborhood, the local point of all social life as well as of civilization. It has avoided the evils of both isolation and congestion. For the majority of mankind it has been the center of group life, but in the United States the village as a social nucleus has degenerated. The deadening life of the village is unfortunate but real. People move away from their isolated farm dwellings, pass by the village, and locate in the large city.

The village, however, is a socially strategic unit, especially in a country where the isolated farm dwelling is common. It possesses all the potential advantages of urban neighborhoods and affords expression for the gregarious impulses of people living a half mile or more from neighbors. It is or may be large enough to maintain nearly all the advantages of the city, and yet avoid the hustle, the superficiality, the soot, the squalor, and the homelessness of the large city. The

[13] Dwight Sanderson, "Problems of Rural Life Focussed by the Depression," *Rural Sociology*, III : 258–66, September, 1938.

village might become a happy medium between isolated farm living and congested urban living.

The traditional rural community varies from a handful of homes scattered about in an isolated valley or on a level plain with each family living near the center of an acreage of forty or 160 acres or more to a closely knit village group whose homes are located side by side on either side of a "main street" and with livelihood coming from strips of land located some distances from the houses. In all cases life is simple, families are large and divorces are few, recreational life centers in "socials," education in a schoolhouse, and religion in a church. All these factors are changed under the impact of modern transportation, communication, and particularly of urban life. The rural community today occupies a stage somewhere between the traditional type and the urban community.

THE URBAN COMMUNITY

The *urban* group is a loose organization of people living compactly in a limited area and possessing a relatively high degree of intercommunication. Industrial and business pursuits and social life comprise the main activities. Inasmuch as the people are removed from agricultural enterprise and from direct contact with nature, they live in a somewhat artificial, man-made world. They are subject to superficialities which have indirect effects upon many urban people. Urban society attracts attention to itself by its crowded automobile traffic, its haste, its attention to night life, its wear and tear on nerves. Urban life sometimes defeats that frugality, self-reliance, and satisfaction in work well done which is essential to national welfare.

Urban groups are the products of complex social forces. They have often originated in trade centers, such as those located at "breaks" in transportation lines or near the centers of agriculture or mining. Sometimes they are the products chiefly of population momentum; again, they have been produced by modern industrial and commercial enterprise. Nearly all cities have profited greatly by an immigration of rural people whose ambitious eyes have been caught by the flash of urban opportunities.

In 1790 in the United States only about 3 per cent of the popula-

tion lived in urban groups of 8000 or more people. Today over one-half of the population is congregated directly under urban group influence. In 1800 there were only five cities in the United States which had a population of 10,000 or over; in 1900, a century later, there were 447 such cities.

Every large city is the center of a constellation of smaller centers of influence. Each of the smaller centers becomes integrated with the large center. We must consider a large city, therefore, not so much in terms of population as in terms of its "sphere of influence." Every large city becomes a powerful super community.[14]

The development of the urban group is due to many factors.

(1) As it grows the city gives increasing status to its inhabitants. The social contacts in cities are numerous and compelling. The ordinary person is afforded pleasure simply by being one of a large group, even if he does not know more than a few persons.

(2) The invention of machinery, the increasing use of steam power, and the application of capital in commercial and industrial enterprises have created gigantic manufacturing plants. For the sake of working with others and of high wages men will forego the more independent forms of rural work. Thus, large-scale production has furthered the growth of cities.

(3) The development in methods of transportation and communication, the increased desire for communication, and the facilities which cities offer for satisfying the desire for communication and exchange explain urban growth. The compactness of a city, its telephones, and its rapid transit system greatly facilitate interstimulation.

(4) There is more opportunity for personal advancement in cities than in rural districts. Munificent salaries are found only in the large city. Modern business and commerce draw young men to the cities, offering the chance to "get rich quick." Religious leaders achieve high rank in cities; educational leaders receive special recognition. In all lines of activity the urban possibilities of achievement far eclipse the opportunities for power and honor in the country.

(5) The city offers superior educational advantages. Until recently

[14] R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933), p. 312.

all high schools were in cities. Elementary schools are better equipped and developed than in the country; most normal schools, colleges, trade schools are urban. Prominent national leaders give lectures and addresses in urban centers. Most large libraries are located in cities. Operas and art galleries are urban.

(6) Amusement and recreational agencies in cities are drawing cards. The city worker is able to "go out" every evening. By making appeals in every conceivable way to the feelings, sentiments, play impulses of children and adults alike, commercialized amusements are powerful magnets.

Thorndike and Woodyard have analyzed some of the individual differences in American cities.[15] The cities that were studied differed greatly in wealth, income, health, educational opportunities, home ownership, and so on. A rough index of "goodness" was computed from the value of public property used for hospitals, for schools, for libraries, for museums, for parks, and so forth.

Between the large metropolitan city and the small towns there is what M. H. Leiffer calls "Mediopolis," or the medium-sized city. Leiffer classifies the medium-sized city into five categories, and gives interesting case studies or summaries of cities in each class. There is (1) the commercial city, such as Des Moines, Duluth, Montgomery; (2) the industrial city, or "Mediopolis in overalls," such as Altoona, Scranton, Evansville; (3) the industrial suburb, like Dearborn, Gary, Lynn, Paterson; (4) the residential suburb, or "the parlor of the metropolis," as found in Cleveland Heights, Evanston, East Orange, Newton, Pasadena; and (5) the resort city, "the playtown of the nation," namely, Atlantic City, Miami, San Diego.[16]

In modern cities people are rated socially according to the topographical location of their homes. Those who do the manual work generally occupy the lowest geographical levels. They are crowded into the "draft streets," that is, where the winds drive through in drafts, or into "dead pockets," where wind rarely reaches. The heights and

[15] E. L. Thorndike and Ella Woodyard, "Individual Differences in American Cities: Their Nature and Causation," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII : 191–224, September, 1937.

[16] M. H. Leiffer, *City and Church in Transition* (Willett, Clark and Company, Chicago, 1938).

the commanding spots are occupied by the people with wealth, irrespective of the social value of their lives. Between these extremes the middle classes shift restlessly back and forth. An American novelist has made much of the point that in a city a man's social rating depends in part upon the altitude at which he is able to house his family. As he acquires a competence, he moves up topographically and refuses to live down topographically. Thus, locus and status are interrelated.

In some sections of the world, however, the reverse arrangement is found. For example, in Rio de Janeiro and in certain other South American cities the slums are found on the high places. Water has to be carried up. Streets are not developed. The sewage system does not reach to the top of the hills. Because of these and other handicaps the heights are undesirable residential locations.

Burgess has analyzed the ecological structure of the urban community, basing his observations upon community studies in Chicago.[17] He defines five city zones or areas:

(1) At the center of the city is the "Downtown" business area. Living conditions are quite disorganized. "Nobody sleeps in old London any more" means that all the former dwellers in what was once the original London live outside the area.

(2) Around the downtown area are four major concentric circles of varying widths. Closest in is the area of transition. Business is invading the residential areas, and as a result slums develop. No one wants to improve a dwelling house, but holds his property, expecting to sell it at a high rate for business uses. Consequently, the property becomes run down and dilapidated. The area has been called "interstitial" by Thrasher.[18] It is interstitial in the sense that it lies between areas that are more standardized and not so definitely in transition. This is the cheap rooming house area. Immigrants live here too.

(3) Next comes the zone of the workingmen's homes. Skilled laborers and second-generation immigrants live in this zone. It is the two-flat or four-flat area. Houses are built out to the street and yard space is limited or almost nil.

[17] R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie, *The City* (The University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 50ff.

[18] F. M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (The University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 22.

(4) In the fourth or residential zone live the upper middle classes who maintain considerable family life and whose activities are fairly well standardized. High class apartment houses are supplanting homes to an increasing degree. Single family dwellings are often the rule. Many restrictions on building arrangements are maintained.

(5) The commuters' zone is sometimes called a suburban area or a satellite city. Rapid transit has made possible the commuters' zone, some ten or more miles from the downtown area. Single dwellings, some of which are mansions, are located in landscaped areas and maintained in attractive style.

The "sector theory of urban growth" has been advanced by Hoyt. He claims that "as cities grow in population, the high rent areas move outward along one sector." In some cities "the low-rent districts assume the shape of a cut of pie" and extend all the way from the center of a city to the periphery.[19] Inasmuch as there is evidence to support both the Burgess theory and the Hoyt theory, it may be that the development of cities can best be described in terms of some kind of a combination of the circle theory and the sector concept.

Cities may be classified in various ways. The functional and the activity principles are perhaps the best. In presenting the functional concept Gist and Halbert give a sixfold classification.[20] (1) Production centers, such as Detroit for automobiles, Akron for rubber, Elgin for watches, Danbury for hats. (2) Centers of trade and commerce, for example, New York, Hamburg, Antwerp, Amsterdam. (3) Political capitals, for instance, Washington, D.C. (4) Cultural centers like Oxford, Cambridge, Heidelberg. (5) Resort cities may be illustrated by Atlantic City, Palm Beach, Monte Carlo. (6) Diversified cities, of course, are those which have a great many varied interests but are outstanding in no one special activity.

Cities may be classified according to various standards. The "principal activity" as a test has been suggested by Muntz.[21] According to

[19] Homer Hoyt, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities* (Federal Housing Administration, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939).

[20] Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society* (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, Third Edition, 1948), pp. 8–15.

[21] E. E. Muntz, *Urban Sociology* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1938), p. 8.

this test, however, one activity or purpose may stand out, but several other activities will also be functioning.

(1) Defense cities were all built with walls around them. A few centuries ago most of the world's cities were walled. You can see them today—for instance, Quebec, Manila, Mukden, Cartagena (Colombia). Sometimes they had a moat as well—for example, Dinkelspiel, near Munich. Mexico City was originally built in a lake for defense purposes.

(2) Commercial cities are well known. They usually began as seaport towns and were built where "breaks" in transportation came. Santos, Brazil, where coffee is loaded on ships and sent to the four corners of the world, illustrates the type well. London and New York are of course the leading commercial centers of the world.

(3) Manufacturing or industrial cities are of modern growth. Fall River, Massachusetts, is noted for its manufacturing activities; Pittsburgh for its steel plants, likewise Gary, Indiana; Detroit for its automobile industry. Here labor problems are most acute, the smoke problem is aggravating, and there are large railroad yards.

(4) Political cities are those in which governmental activities are centered. Washington, D.C., and Ottawa, Canada, are busy places when Congress or Parliament is in session. People are coming and going continually. The hum of political activity and the excitement attendant upon formal state affairs obscure business and manufacturing activities.

(5) Religious centers do not make a city religious but tend to define its reputation. Jerusalem commands more religious interest than any other in its general region. The Vatican City has been called a "shrine city."

(6) Educational cities are those that have grown up around or in connection with a great university. Oxford and Cambridge, England, are best known because of their universities; so are Princeton and Ann Arbor in this country. As a rule they continue somewhat remote from the whirl of metropolitan life.

(7) Resort cities are the product of wealth and of the search for relief from the overwork as well as the ennui attendant upon metropolitan life. Sometimes a Monte Carlo is the result, and sometimes a

health resort with its quiet sort of life developed to meet specific health needs.

This classification indicates variety in the functions of a city. Aside from the first, all the other factors are definitely operative today. When it is considered that every city is really a center of not one but four or five of these activities, its complexity and contradictory functions and resultant problems are evident. New functions are in process of development and some cities of tomorrow will doubtless be dominated by purposes concerning whose nature we can only guess.

Modifying the analysis of urban growth as described by Patrick Geddes, Mumford has suggested six stages.[22] Three represent growth and three decline.

(1) The first is called *eopolis*. It refers to the rise of the village community, with its origins dating back to the Neolithic Age in human development. It is "the most enduring of collective forms." Now and again it springs into a city. The city, however, may pass away, but the village goes on forever.

(2) The second stage is represented by the *polis* or "an association of villages or blood-groups." By this association the villages may defend themselves better "against depredation." Rural customs are maintained but specialization of functions arises.

(3) The *metropolis* or big city developed next. A city occupying a strategic topographical position grows and grows until it outgrows its neighboring cities. Its very growth attracts newcomers. It becomes a regional city or a city that dominates a whole region. Size, bigness, speed, mechanization are characteristics of the metropolis. The arts reach a new high level. Rationalization grows systematic. A maximum release of cultural energy occurs.

Metropolitanism means that "a specific population center controls the welfare and destiny of a group of outlying municipalities and other types of settlements." [23] It is a powerful form of subtle social control. It exercises economic power over the millions who live within each

[22] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1938), pp. 285ff.

[23] Carol Aronovici, *Housing the Masses* (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1939), p. 188.

metropolitan area. Also, it wields vast social power through its ability to confer status.

(4) The fourth stage is called *meglopolis*. Decline results from an overemphasis on bigness. "Education becomes quantitative." Exploitation of the proletariat occurs, resulting in "occasional outbursts of savage repression." Speculators develop into a rabble, and looting follows class suppression.

(5) *Tyrannopolis* represents the fifth stage. Parasitism by some of the wealthy is fastened upon the poor. Political exploitation dominates the city. Armed thugs demand protection money. Population increase declines. Suicides mount and creative work ceases. The city is ruled by "gangster-dictators" and the cults of savagery again flourish.

(6) The last stage is *nekropolis*. The city becomes but a "clumsy caricature" of its former self. It turns into a tomb; sands creep over what were once magnificent structures; flesh becomes ashes; and Babylons and Ninevehs are no more.

But this logic in urban events does not always occur. It need not occur, for culture has deep roots and social forces may surge forward again, even in the downward trend of urban change. Moreover, as Mumford emphasizes, even dead cities may experience a renewal of life—for example, Rome. Nobility of purpose struck low may rise again.

Urban groups have a reputation for *namelessness*. Their citizens meet and speak without knowing each other's names. One may live for years in a city and not know the names of half the people whose homes are located in the same city block. Extensive secondary group relationships take the place of primary group ones.

Homelessness is another disturbing characteristic of cities. Boarding-house life and hotel life do not permit the development of real homes. An automobile first and a home afterward or perhaps never is frequently an urban goal. To give to children a genuine home life on the sixth floor of a flat with hallways and flights of stairs as the only play space is almost inhuman. A husband and wife with a pet dog can rent comfortable quarters with ease, but not so if they possess sons. The city environment often puts a premium on childlessness.

Class extremes characterize the city. The worst racketeering and the

best forms of ethical behavior are both to be found in cities. The direst poverty often exists in the shadow of the most elegant mansions, while superior creativeness and chronic unemployment are alike urban characteristics.

Energy and *speed* are traits of the American city. Young and ambitious people set a tremendous pace, both day and night. Stimulation and interstimulation are endless, but generally on superficial planes. The pace soon exceeds the ability of the human organism to maintain it; it is "the pace that kills." Hence cities have been called consumers of population. They stimulate persons to almost inconceivable efforts, but often at tremendous sacrifices.

One of the most searching and revealing criticisms of the big city is given by Robert Sinclair.[24] While he uses London, his home city, as the central theme, he is in reality holding the mirror up to the Big City in any country. The Big City to him is an illusion. Ordinarily conceived of in terms of "prosperity, power, and progress," it gives people a false belief in its cultural and its leadership values. He deflates the Big City by claiming that one in every three Londoners dies in the poorhouse. He calls London a "field of adventure, child of Wren, mother of nations—liar, oppressor, gaudy pauper, and provincial-minded humbug." Admitting the truth in the current indictment of the large urban community, a sociologist concludes: "Evidently, men have not yet learned how to plan and control such huge aggregations." [25] On the other hand, they are not going to give them up. The only solution is in more study of the large city, in a better administration, and in a more socially-minded citizenry.

Arthur E. Morgan points out how the American city draws to itself the potential leaders and "the cream of the population of all America" and then does what? It "extinguishes the family life of those it attracts." He claims that "city families die out in four generations or less," and that if it were not for recruits from rural areas, large cities would shrink to "perhaps a quarter of their present populations." As an antidote, it is suggested that industry and stores should decentral-

[24] *The Big City* (Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1938).

[25] Howard Woolston, *Metropolis* (D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1938).

ize more rapidly than they are now doing so that people could spread out and that urban squalor might disappear.[26]

City planning has been made necessary by the confusion into which cities fall when the different interests develop, each according to its own notions. Belated city planning of this kind involves tearing down and building over, tearing down and widening streets, moving and removing. At its best city planning is the laying out of new plans for growth and expansion. Occasionally a city starts out from a carefully considered plan. A city in point is Washington D.C., for which a plan at the beginning was laid out by Pierre L'Enfant.

An important aspect of city planning is *zoning*. Zoning has been defined as "public regulation of the utilization of privately owned land in the interest of public economy."[27] It indicates the uses to which land may be put. It permits certain uses, for example, for business, for apartment houses, or for parks and boulevards. It protects certain residence areas against the invasion of business. It standardizes the growth of a city. It makes the best use of land in the light of the total welfare, instead of allowing special interests to exploit urban advantages for their private gain. It helps a city to grow symmetrically.

A *blighted area* is a district of a city that is on the way toward becoming a slum. It is an area that is no longer growing. In standing still it is falling backwards. Its buildings are not being kept up; or if maintained in repair, no new structures are being erected; or if some new buildings are constructed, the district is a jumble of old and new. The entrance of business into a residential district starts the blighting process. When permission to zone for business is given, the adjoining region feels the effect immediately. Anything which lessens "desirability for residence" is a blighting factor. Nothing in group life is more pitiable than a dying residential area.

A blighted area has been defined as a district in a city "which is chronically unable to pay its share of the municipal services essential to its existence, and unable by reason of its economic status to pay for its own renovation and repair."[28] Because of their poverty many "working class neighborhoods" are blighted.

[26] Quoted by the Editor, *NEA Journal*, 37:206, April, 1948.
[27] Muntz., *op. cit.*, p. 91. [28] Mumford, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

Moreover, cities tend unwittingly to standardize their blighted areas. Mumford suggests that tenement-house laws, for example, tend to establish "a standardization of blight." In attempting to prevent the development of slums, blight is made permanent. But let no one be fooled, for "regulated blight is an outward order and decency," while the content is not changed much.[29]

The *rural group* once was characterized by a calmer life, a slower pace, and more stable attitudes than the *urban group* has possessed. In recent years many rural people have adopted the characteristics of urban residents. Rural life today offers a large measure of outdoor activity, while city life affords a variety of stimuli for social development, chances for personal advancement, and opportunities for mental achievement. Many rural groups are gradually becoming urbanized.

The history of mankind seems to indicate that any people which is chiefly rural or chiefly urban is at a disadvantage. In the first instance the people are understimulated and subject to inertia; in the second, they are in danger of being smothered by numbers, of being overstimulated, or of being exhausted nervously. A nation somewhat equally representative of healthy rural and healthy urban groups is likely to prove in the long run to be the strongest.

The *suburban* group lives at the edge of the urban group. It is essentially a part of the urban group enjoying favorable living conditions. The suburban group has its occupations in the city but by virtue of the automobile or of commuting is able to live where light and air and space for homes are plentiful and in the main reasonable in price.

Somewhat related is the *satellite city*,[30] which springs up near a large city, sometimes as an industrial center. When a large factory moves out from a city into an adjoining unsettled area, a small city tends to develop at that point. Its proximity to a large city and the original low values of the land involved are its outstanding features.

The *rurban* group, a term coined by C. J. Galpin, refers to that phase of rural life which is becoming urbanized in certain particulars but

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

[30] See Graham R. Taylor, *Satellite Cities* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1915).

which retains various rural features. The rurban group is a rural group in a state of urbanization. It has numerous urban advantages due to rapid transit, the telephone, daily newspaper, and the like; yet it still retains its rural setting and some of its rural customs and traditions. It is in transition from rural to urban. It represents the extreme disadvantages of neither rural nor urban groups, but many of the substantial advantages of both.

THE REGIONAL COMMUNITY

Another important social unit is the *regional area*. It usually combines rural and urban communities into one unit, but several regional communities are usually required to constitute a national community. *Regionalism* should be distinguished from *sectionalism*. The former implies an integral relationship with a larger whole, while the latter suggests separation, segregation, and isolation. Sectionalism is a narrow loyalty to local interests and historic sentiments.

Regionalism involves a cultural wholeness. There is a certain similarity in the culture traits of a region. A region has a culture history of its own. However, the attitudes of its people are not all set toward the past nor are they all turned inward. The people of a region have attitudes that look toward a larger unit for stimulation, relationship, and growth. Regionalism is subordinate to nationalism.[31]

Regionalism includes unity in economic and social functioning. If necessity required, it would be possible for the region to become economically self-sufficient. Socially, also, it could live to itself alone. As an economic and a social unit, a region requires broad-gauge leadership, lest it sink into sectionalism.

Five kinds of regions have been distinguished by Odum and Moore.[32]

(1) A physical region is one in which geographic factors set the boundaries. A large river valley surrounded by highlands and mountains is a well-known type of physical region. Far-flung tablelands would illustrate another type.

(2) A metropolitan region includes a large city, its suburbs, and all

[31] *Cf.* R. Mukerjie, *Regional Sociology* (The Century Company, 1926), for one of the earliest treatises of its kind and for one with an Oriental approach.

[32] Howard W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, *American Regionalism* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1938), p. 29.

the surrounding area whose trading activities center in the metropolis. The metropolitan region has a system of transportation and communication that radiates from the central large city. The major circulation of a metropolitan newspaper usually extends to the boundaries of the metropolitan area.

(3) The sectional region is one in which a peculiar set of folkways prevails. Provincialism is a chief characteristic of a sectional region. Ruralism is likely to dominate.

(4) The administrative region is governed by political boundaries. These boundaries have been determined by convenience or by accident or by political planning.

(5) Then there is the group-of-states region. This type usually possesses physical similarity, population homogeneity, and cultural uniformities.

In terms of the concept of regionalism, the United States may be thought of as being composed of eight regions. The sixfold classification by Odum and Moore will serve as a basis for the following eightfold division: (1) New England may lay claim to being "the most American" region because of its early development. (2) The Middle Atlantic states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and West Virginia, constitute an old and substantial region. (3) The Middle Western region, which includes the states from Ohio to Iowa and from Minnesota to Missouri, contains more character traits that are usually identified as "American" than does any other region. (4) The "Old South" may be viewed as "the most American" in that she maintains more of the "early Americanisms" than does any other region. (5) The Western South has been pronounced the least American of the eight regions, for Indian and Spanish influences figure extensively in the life of Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico. (6) The Plains states reach from North Dakota to Montana, to Colorado, to Kansas with their extensive plains and symbolize the wide-open spaces which have been attached in the public mind to America. (7) The Northwest states which include Washington, Oregon, Idaho have a distinctive climate and forestation and pioneer spirit. (8) The Southwest states of California, Nevada, and Arizona are distinctive because of history and outlook and migration factors. At once it will be ob-

served that state lines are inadequate boundaries for regional divisions.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture has divided the United States into regions based on occupations, for example, the dairy region (New York through Wisconsin), the cornbelt region (Ohio through Iowa). In his studies in regional sociology, Carle C. Zimmerman supplements the occupational basis with the culture-complex basis for determining the size and shape of regions. The assumption is that people in a given occupation will develop certain attitudes and interests and hence regional personalities and also culture complexes. Perhaps a combination of topographical, occupational, cultural, and historical features would serve best in making a regional map of a large country.

Regionalism is to be distinguished from provincialism. It is a localized organization of attitudes and activities oriented as an integral part of a larger national unit. *Provincialism* involves attitudes and activities oriented chiefly with reference to a local region. Regionalism has a wider outlook than provincialism and lives for the larger unit as well as for itself.

For many purposes, federal legislation could meet many needs better by regional provisions than by blanket regulations for a whole nation. Administration of regional laws would be difficult and create many conflicts. A fundamental aspect of any type of regionalism within a nation involves, as Odum and Moore point out, a "national reintegration." Each nation needs to see its total perspective in the changing drama of national life. Each region must function not only as a unit in itself, but also as integral phase of the nation as a social whole.

THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY

The *national group* is composed of neighborhood, community, and nation-wide groups united by a commonly accepted set of collective representations or symbols. The national group is a social controlled body of people whose activities are organized under the auspices of a political government. When danger of attack from outside forces is greatest, the divisions of opinion within the nation close their ranks.

In the presence of a common enemy, primitive peoples developed a keen sense of the need of protection and responded to group or governmental control.

The *horde* was the group organization in which the modern state had its origin. It was a sort of temporary oligarchy based on respect for those whose personal prowess enabled the group to meet attack successfully. The horde may be distinguished from the clan or an organization of families; from the household or a group organization for economic purposes; and from the phratry or a group organization for social, recreational, and religious ends.

The horde possessed three of the fundamental elements of the modern nation. It had (1) the idea of the authority of the leaders; (2) a notion of law, in the obedience given to the commands of the chieftain, and in the customs governing the group while fighting and hunting; and (3) an extensive unity, since all members combine for a general purpose.

Under the protection of a group organization, such as the horde, primitive people acquired occupational stability and inaugurated social advance. Here also were found the origins of private property. As a result of the horde organization man early possessed a measure of protection from the antagonistic world.

In the *tribal* group, which was an advance over the horde, the need of protection stands out prominently. As in the case of the horde, the ties of blood relationship functioned as a bond of union. The common descent of members from a fictitious ancestor was postulated, and the ruler or king was invested with the absolute authority of a father. Religion, especially in the form of ancestor worship, also rendered important service in developing the habit of obedience. It enforced with supernatural sanctions the customs, political and otherwise, of the past.[33] The tribal group was based on the need for protection, on ties of blood relationships, and on the strength of a common religion.

The *city state* was in part an outgrowth of tribal group life. The need for protection was greater than ever, as opposing groups increased

[33] It is at this point, also, that religion has been criticized, for it has tended at times to support the *status quo* blindly and to hinder progress.

in size. The ties of blood relationship were still strong. Religion was an affair of the state and a bond of political strength. The authority of the city state was greater, more regular in its exercise, than that of the tribal group. The city state developed an elaborate administrative machinery, promoted art and education at times, and achieved considerable recognition and historical significance.

The *feudal state* was no longer an enlarged family as was the tribal group. It was "more like an army." The government of the feudal state was semimilitary. In theory the king owned the whole feudal group. He parceled out the land to his nobles, who in turn distributed it among their subordinates. The members did not live so much for the feudal group as for the ruler. Everything was concentrated in the monarch. Personal allegiance to the king overshadowed other loyalties.

The *absolute monarchical* group was an overgrown feudal organization. For centuries in many lands the monarchs treated their respective states as their private property; concessions were secured from them with the greatest difficulty. The absolute monarch was a dictator. Any limitation of the authority of the monarch was rarely obtained except at the cost of bloodshed. Political parties began to develop, but of course as secret organizations. In Russia, for example, political parties existed largely as secret organizations until 1917. In fascist countries today, a reversion to secret political groups naturally occurs.

The *constitutional monarchical* group afforded some privileges to the constituency. The people slowly but surely obtained certain rights from the ruler. The people secured a parliament through which to express their wishes. The monarch lost his status of a superior being with divine rights. Political parties grew stronger; they developed into open organizations representing conservative and liberal attitudes on the various questions of interest to the constitutional group. The sovereignty of the members of the group became recognized.

The *fascist* group is a reversion to a dictatorship. The leader rules by might. The group gives over its powers of governing to one man who by support from an army suppresses and imprisons opponents. Freedom of the press, of assemblage, of speech are denied to all except

those who agree with the dictator. The schools become propagandistic and a generation of automatons is produced.[34]

Fascism denies training in self-government to its people. A major industry becomes "public spectacles." [35] The megalomania, or thirst for power, of the dictator at times knows no limit. Political absolutism and amoral nationalism are in the saddle.[36] As Mussolini once said, "The Fascist conception of the State is all-embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value." [37]

In a presidential message to the people of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt on March 1, 1939, summed up the disadvantages of totalitarian dictatorship in the form of several costs: "The cost of our spiritual values. The cost of the blessed right of being able to say what we please. The cost of freedom of religion. The cost of seeing our capital confiscated. The cost of being thrown into a concentration camp. The cost of being afraid to walk down the street with the wrong neighbor. The cost of having our children brought up not as free and dignified human beings but as pawns molded and enslaved by a machine."

Fascism aims to do away with the class struggle, but it still keeps the classes. When the classes verge toward conflict the state clamps down on their activities. Labor unions are supplanted by guilds operating under direct state control. Sit-down strikes, sabotage, and picketing are prohibited. Likewise the employer is forbidden to profiteer, to dismiss employees arbitrarily, or to maintain indecent conditions of labor. Unfair competition among employers and monopolistic control by employers are not permitted. The rights of property are protected and the obligation to work is emphasized.

The central factor in a fascist state is a managed economy which is controlled "by private groups who infiltrate the government and who concentrate the governmental power and the life of the people in their own hands." [38] In this connection it is claimed that "the concentration

[34] E. S. Bogardus, "Fascism as a Social Movement," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII : 569–74, July-August, 1933.

[35] J. A. Leighton, *Social Philosophies in Conflict* (D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1938), p. 12.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 10. [37] Quoted by Leighton, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[38] James S. Martin, "How Strong is Fascism in the United States?" *Talks*, 73 : 51 (Columbia Broadcasting System), January, 1948.

of economic power has been going on at such a tremendous rate in the United States that it is our No. 1 problem." [39]

Fascism experiences a serious dilemma in that it demands, as Ebenstein suggests, obedience, discipline, and a blind acceptance of fascist principles, and yet on the other hand if it would meet new and changing social problems and wax strong from within it must have "intellectual courage and independent thinking." [40] But how can it achieve its goal when it demands meek subservience and refuses to develop original social and political thinking?

Another dilemma is found in the fact that if fascism is to keep its subjects satisfied with being mere cogs it has to keep them excited by constant preparations for war, which produce poverty and more dissatisfaction. The alternative is war itself, which brings about still greater poverty and misery, and hence more social rumblings of internal dissension.[41] In any case fascism seems to face from within a tragic circle of events.

Totalitarianism considers the individualistic view of life "a basic error." Individuals are abstractions and do not exist outside of the state. They are "born from the State, sustained by the State, and brought up in the history and traditions of the State." According to the ideas of individualism, men live in their smaller selves; but under totalitarianism, individuals give their smaller selves up "in order to return to and live in that higher and all-embracing life" of the state. In old Japan, for instance, "the highest life for the Japanese subject, is to offer himself in perfect loyalty to the Throne so that he may participate in Its glorious life." [42]

Katz and Schanck argue that fascism's goal is one of complete regimentation. It is a goal similar to that of the reactionary type of employer who desires "an ideal working class made up of men who will work hard, ask for little, spend that little upon necessities rather than drink, starve through depressions without complaining, and raise their children to follow in their footsteps." [43]

[39] *Loc. cit.*

[40] William Ebenstein, *Fascist Italy* (American Book Company, New York, 1939), p. 112. [41] *Ibid.*, p. 300. [42] Tokyo *Gazette*, March-April, 1928, p. 4.

[43] Daniel Katz and Richard L. Schanck, *Social Psychology* (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1938), p. 526.

Fascism has developed in nations in which "there is economic stress, lack of raw materials, and need of new territory and economic expansion." [44] In conjuncture with these three factors comes a dictator who promises "a great, glorious, and prosperous future that is supposedly hindered by external enemies alone." [45] As progress is made in determining the conditions under which dictatorships rise and flourish, it may some day be possible for a deliberative body representing a world society of nations to determine what kind of political ideologies can best guide mankind along lines of peaceful development and enrichment.

The *democratic nation* abolishes the office of king and establishes the sovereignty of the people. By means of representatives the people attempt to express their wishes. A general election of officials gives the people a chance to express their approval or disapproval. Gigantic political powers develop. There are generally no more than two leading political parties in the democratic state at a given time, although in European countries such as Germany before the Hitler revolution in 1933, there were several strong parties which were deadlocked to the point that no majority could be obtained by any of them. The deadlock created inefficiency and helped to prepare the way for National Socialism.

Political parties perform a definite social function. The party in power rarely initiates new programs after having been in authority for any length of time. It generally has more than it can do in fulfilling preelection promises. The party not in control renders a service in prodding up the party in power, and in insisting that the latter live up to its promises. The party out of power usually stands for new measures in order to bid successfully for the suffrage of the people.

The democratic national group is in danger of breaking down because of too much individualism and indifference to social welfare. The multiplication of private interests invites neglect of the more fundamental affairs of government. The complexity of modern city life is so great that the ordinary person has difficulty in determining the truth about candidates for office. It was Elihu Root who once publicly ex-

[44] Franz Alexander, "Psychoanalysis and Social Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII : 790, May, 1937. [45] *Ibid.*

pressed the belief that there are too many persons who are trying to get something out of their country and too few who are trying to serve it. Too many persons have accepted government positions for the sake of the offices, the appropriations, the class benefits, and "too few have sought to preserve liberty and to do justice" for the sake of their national group.

Some persons give their attention so largely to their private affairs and neglect governmental affairs so generally that politics has fallen into the hands of racketeers. Hence, many worthy persons refuse to run for public office lest their own good names become smirched. Many politicians work in a realm of irresponsible secrecy, and government decays at the core. That a public office is a public trust is a principle exceedingly difficult to realize.

The larger a nation becomes, the more likely are the people to regard their government, even a democratic one, as "a ruler operating from above." It is not easy for the government of a hundred million people to remain in touch with the people, or to act promptly and flexibly in response to public need. It is also difficult for public opinion under such circumstances not to be influenced by propaganda.[46]

The concept of democracy changes. In the United States it originated with individual farmers, "with little business, with little government, and without organized labor," but today it includes big business, powerful government, and strong labor and farmer organizations.[47] This contrast shows how the American way is not what it was 150 years ago. With this change have come changes in the concept of democracy. Even the conditions under which citizens may vote or may not vote have changed. Democracy still stresses the rights of the individuals and allows individuals to criticize government officials. It still uses force "to bring the recalcitrant into line" with the wishes of the majority. Recent

[46] The taxation problem, or the problem of paying for government, is especially troublesome in a democracy. Personal property, for example, is reported to assessors so inaccurately that the honest person who reports all his personal property pays more than his share of taxes. He is confronted with the choice, as Charles R. Henderson of the University of Chicago once said, "of being robbed or of perjuring himself." Many forms of taxation have led to deception, and perjury has become respectable among many people.

[47] Frank T. Carlton, "What is Democracy?" *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVIII : 3ff., September-October, 1943.

years have seen democracy endorse the expert in industry and in government.

Democracy has new problems to face, such as Big Business strangling Free Enterprise, Big Government strangling Big Business and both Big Business and Big Labor trying to strangle both Big Government and Free Enterprise. Democracy has seen the representatives of the status quo calling everyone who is dissatisfied with the status quo a "red" and confusing true liberals with communists. It still is a large problem for democracy to maintain the civil rights of every one, especially of those who feel insecure and who seek a change even by democratic means.

The nation is a group of people living within a specific territory and exercising organized control over its members. Its activities are threefold: (1) activity with reference to its citizens, guaranteeing them both security and liberty; (2) activity in promoting constructive measures for group advancement; and (3) activity with reference to other states for the interchange of goods and services and the defense of citizens abroad or of its territory at home.[48]

In the first instance the state defends the law-abiding citizen and punishes the antisocial individual. It enforces contracts between persons when properly drawn; it affords damages for accidents; it aims to protect individuals against fraud; it gives protection to persons organized in corporate groups for business or other purposes. It is a powerful agency of social control; it incarcerates for life and it takes life.

In the second instance, the state has many social and economic functions. It coins money and assumes charge of or responsibility for banking. It has become an extensive employer of labor; it carries the mail; it builds and maintains highways. The question may be raised: How far should the state go in the economic sphere? The answer varies. The capitalist says: "Just as little as possible, and still maintain national unity"; the socialist, "As far as possible, and still maintain individual participation." The present tendencies are in the main toward an increasing degree of government supervision and control.

The entrance of our government into direct competition with private

[48] An analysis made by Arthur Fairbanks, in his *Introduction to Sociology* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1910), pp. 195ff.

enterprise was well under way by 1935 when over 10,000 workers were employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority. This public works enterprise included not only the turning of the hydraulic forces of the Tennessee River into electric power but the selling of electric energy by the federal government. The TVA has controlled floods and stopped soil erosion. The government manufactures and sells phosphates as fertilizers. Moreover, the government has taken charge of social reorganization in portions of the Tennessee Valley, and has built homes and villages or small towns. The meaning of this development for the future of our country depends on the degree to which other large river systems may be treated similarly. TVA has utilized sound principles of community organization; it has expanded family life, and given people a new sense of security.[49]

In the third instance the state carries on an elaborate set of diplomatic and military activities. The citizen expresses his indebtedness to the state through *patriotism*, which often is built up largely as a defense mechanism against other states. The strength of patriotism becomes apparent only in case of national emergency, especially when some other state becomes aggressive. Patriotism sometimes unwittingly contributes to national egotism. Sometimes it denies the full obligation of the nation to other nations. Sometimes it creates chauvinism. Sometimes it defeats internationalism. Nevertheless, patriotism is absolutely essential to national welfare.

Patriotism is frequently commercialized. Advertisers even in wartime sometimes disclose this weakness, for instance: "Shop for Value and Save for Victory at —," "Vitamins for Victory," "Your first duty is your beauty—morale on the home front is the woman's job," "Victory colors—let your hat be brave, bright, a banner of your courage," "These days when we all have a job to do, chewing gum can play a large part in your life." [50]

The nation is a group which needs citizens of strong moral character, but which is not in position to create that character directly. Moral character cannot be created by force. The nation does something in

[49] David Lilienthal, *T.V.A.—Democracy on the March* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944).

[50] H. T. Christensen and D. L. Green, "The Commercialization in World War II," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVII : 449, 450, July-August, 1943.

this connection, however, such as preventing the circulation of obscene literature, and regulating the sale of intoxicants. The national group that is wise provides training for adequate rural leadership and rural social organization. It endeavors to transform its village groups into active intermediaries between rural and urban life, providing through them many of the advantages of urban life with little of the nervous wear and tear for which cities are notorious. It strives to make its cities into social groups where constructive home life prevails, where slums are abolished, where persons are stimulated to do their best but not at the expense of other persons, and where prosocial attitudes reign.

The succession of horde, tribe, city state, feudal state, monarchical state, and democratic community logically has one more possible development and that is world community and a world organization, a subject which will be considered in a later chapter. Hundreds of international organizations have been formed in the last half century and are functioning in an international way. Each indicates a degree of world community thinking. Although many of these international bodies are loosely organized, although they rely largely on volunteer effort, and although they do not carry the force of law, they are creating limited types of world opinion. The League of Nations did not succeed because there was not enough of the spirit of world community behind it, and the United Nations has suffered for a similar reason. National community is the strongest form of community organization in the world, and will continue strong even while regional community in the sense of several nations which join for special purposes is beginning to develop, and even while the spirit of world community shows signs of securing expression.

PROBLEMS

1 What is a community?
2 What is communality?
3 What is a natural area?
4 What is social ecology?
5 How does a social base map differ from an ordinary geographic map?
6 Why do people who live in small areas measure life with a yardstick?
7 Why are people who live in mountain areas usually conservative?

8 Why are mountaineers independent in most of their attitudes of life?
9 How do you explain the gaiety of many people who live in "open-air areas"?
10 Why is robber a title of honor in some remote desert areas?
11 In what ways are the Temperate Zones of the world "the school of civilization"?
12 What is a neighborhood?
13 What are the behavior traits of good neighbors?
14 What factors are undermining the neighborhood spirit today?
15 In what ways is a rural people useful to a nation?
16 Why is there a dearth of leadership in many rural communities?
17 In what different ways is rural migration taking place today?
18 In what ways is rural life being made attractive today?
19 In what ways could a village be made an ideal community?
20 What is a city?
21 In what sense are cities consumers of population?
22 Why are many people in cities living in overcrowded conditions?
23 Why is there so much glamor attached to a big city?
24 What is the difference between a blighted city area and a slum area?
25 Why do not all city people live in suburbs?
26 What are the chief characteristics of a "rurban" community?
27 Give five major personality traits of a worthy citizen in any community.
28 Are laws framed to favor a particular interest group in a community of advantage to the community as a whole?
29 Can a person sin against the welfare of a community without breaking any laws?
30 What is patriotism?
31 What is nationalism?
32 What is hypernationalism?
33 What social factors bring about hypernationalism?
34 What is meant by "fifth columnists"?
35 Why have some "patrioteers" been called "sixth columnists"?
36 Why is fascism sometimes called state capitalism?
37 What are the dangers of totalitarianism?
38 Can totalitarianism and capitalism be reconciled?
39 Can one be loyal to a local community and to a national community at the same time?
40 Can one be loyal to a national community and a world community spirit at the same time?

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Chapter

5

The Occupational Group

HUMAN life is focused not only in the family and community groups but also in occupational groups. In the family group bread and butter problems, money matters, and occupational activities arise from time to time for comment and discussion. Dinner table talk frequently relates to the day's work.

Work gives meaning to life. The role of work, according to Lewis Mumford, is "to make man a master of the conditions of life"; the function of work is "to provide man with a living"; and its social meaning is to be found in "the acts of creation it makes possible," particularly those involving the development of persons.[1]

If work is regular and remuneration is received, an occupational status has been achieved. An *occupation* is any type of activity to which a number of persons give themselves regularly for pay. A *profession* is a specialized type of occupation which maintains formal standards for admission, which requires training based on a special university curriculum, and which maintains codes of ethics and formally takes membership away from those who are proved unworthy. An *occupational group* is composed of the persons engaged in a similar type of activity, who use special occupational vocabularies and have similar views on life as a result of their occupational activities over a period of years.

[1] *The Condition of Man* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1944), p. 5.

OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES

Among early human groups the elemental impulse of hunger, perhaps more than any other influence, led to activity. Primitive people satisfied this impulse by searching for food and living upon what they could raise. They gorged and starved, feasted and fasted, according to their skill or luck in finding food.

As an aid in this search for food, primitive people invented crude weapons and tools. Man, the only tool-using animal, invented knives for cutting, hammers for fracturing, needles and awls for perforating, tongs for grasping, and so on throughout a long list of complex implements.[2] It was a remarkable advance when man learned how to kindle a fire, and could cook. Another achievement was the discovery of drying foods in the sun, or before a fire, as a means of preserving them for times of scarcity.

The digging stick, as the forerunner of hoe-culture and later of agriculture, was used to scratch the surface of the soil for planting seeds. For long centuries, doubtless, women with digging sticks and similar crude implements managed to raise a few herbs and roots, and thus to provide against periods of famine. In the meantime men were engaged chiefly in the hunt and the chase, and in fighting.

Man moved forward again when he learned to domesticate animals. This domestication resulted in giving the human race valuable assistance in its industrial activities: in the dog, man had an assistant in the chase; and in the ox, a beast of burden. Then there developed the raising of domesticated animals for food, which guaranteed a dependable defense against hunger and relieved the human group of its dangers of famine, except occasionally.

The domestication of animals became a group responsibility, and a few domesticated animals grew into extensive flocks and herds. Group life changed when pastoral and nomadic life developed. In order to secure pasturage, the human group followed the flocks up the valleys and mountain slopes in the summer and back again in the winter. Not only was a stable food supply thus made fairly certain, but materials

[2] O. T. Mason, *Origins of Inventions* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1910), Ch. II.

were always at hand for clothing. Group organization took on new aspects. Instead of human life's being organized around the mother and children, the center shifted to the flocks and herds, women were subordinated, and men came into a larger dominance.

Along with the development of hoe-culture, field-culture, or agriculture, and pastoral occupations, there arose the institution of *private property*. Tools and weapons were early considered to be the private property of their maker. With the increase of flocks and herds the institution of private property seems to have become well established. Land and pasturage, however, were first considered *group property*, but flocks became private property with group protection. Each tribe or group possessed its generally recognized territory throughout which its members might wander with their cattle, sheep, and goats.

The use of land as an occupational activity is primeval and universal. Hoe-culture, including the protection of roots and tubers for future consumption, developed into tillage of the soil with oxen and plow. When men turned from the hunt as a means of livelihood to hoe-culture—which was probably developed first by women—they made application of some of the technical skill which they had acquired in hunting and fighting. New tools were developed, and hoe-culture was supplemented by crude field-culture on a relatively larger scale. Thus agriculture was born.

With the rise of agriculture, primitive groups passed from the flesh diet of nomadism to a larger use of vegetable foods. The roaming life of hunting days and pastoral nomadism gave way by degrees to the more settled life of agriculture and to the farmer. The farming occupation developed its own attitudes and values, based on an individualistic, stationary life located close to nature rather than to people.

With the cultivation of the soil and the accompanying vast increase in food supply, population multiplied. Agriculture made fixed abodes necessary, and led to the establishment of village communities. The village group grew out of gregariousness, and of the need for protection against human enemies and against storm, famine, sickness, wild beasts, evil spirits.

All these changes were accompanied by the creation of new forms of wealth. The making of money itself became an occupation which has

added greatly to human welfare but which has also created an unlimited amount of human ill will and misery, and which has dominated other occupations as well as life itself.

Slavery early acquired an occupational status. Slaves were used as labor on plantations, in building gigantic structures in the days before appropriate machinery was invented, and in ceremonial exercises. The slaves in royal households enjoyed great status in the eyes of other slaves.

Slavery gradually became economically unprofitable and was ultimately supplanted by free labor and the wage system. Even if human sentiments had not been deeply affronted by such practices as selling children and women "on the block," the factory system would have overcome the slave system. People paid by the hour, day, week, or month have greater stimuli to work than do slaves as a class. In the long run they are much more efficient. In this way the wage system drives out the slave system. This tendency was developing in the South in the United States even before the abolitionists began their campaign against slavery.

Down to the middle of the eighteenth century, agriculture was the leading occupational activity of mankind. The serf system of cultivating the soil, which had existed for centuries, permitted a small percentage of the people, sometimes known as lords, to own not only the land but also the people who worked on the lands and who were known as serfs.

With the Industrial Revolution which began in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and with the manufacture of tools on a large scale, there developed a new type of agriculture. The division of land into farms under independent ownership became common. An increase in population and in the demand for food brought about a change from a superficial and extensive type to an efficient and intensive type of farming, and inaugurated the scientific agriculture of the twentieth century. Likewise free labor paid for on a monthly or day basis developed.

The Industrial Revolution furthered *specialization*. Instead of being a jack-of-all-trades, each person became a specialist in one. Along with specialization in industry and in agriculture, there developed many

occupations and with them occupational attitudes. These attitudes and their accompanying values are basic to a further discussion of occupational groups.

If an occupation is a set of repeated and somewhat standardized activities, it is natural that certain attitudes toward life should develop out of it. Any type of doing and thinking concentrates the attention upon certain objects or values. The continued seeking of the values produces established tendencies to act or attitudes. Each occupation thus has its characteristic attitude and corresponding values. An *occupational attitude* is an acquired and established way to act with reference to some value found in earning a living.

> Each occupation has its own peculiar problems, its own demands upon the attention of its representatives, and its special influences upon the latter's attitudes. Doing a thing or a set of things according to certain formulae every day, in season and out, tends to create mental patterns. The occupation of driving ox teams will produce a slow-moving mental pattern, while driving a taxicab in a large city will lead to quick-moving mental habits. Acting as a motorman with the sign before one of "Don't speak to the motorman" gives one a day's work in a partial mental vacuum, while teaching college classes of wide awake, inquiring young people sharpens one's wits and creates alert mental patterns. Correcting children's mistakes in arithmetic, spelling, and reading for several hours daily over a period of years produces a mistake-hunting pattern.[3]

A person who has enjoyed his work in a given occupation and has succeeded in it is likely to feel that his occupation or profession is the most important of all. Life becomes organized habitually around or conditioned by occupational activities. Moreover, as J. M. Williams explains, "A man's business becomes precious to him as it is that for which he has given his life, just as children are precious to the mother as that for which she has given her life. . . . Life is precious and whatever one gives it for becomes precious." [4] In this way life comes to revolve around one's occupation, and an occupational egocentrism develops.

A professional attitude is a specialized occupational tendency to act,

[3] Adapted from E. S. Bogardus, "The Occupational Attitude," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII : 172, January-February, 1924.

[4] *The Foundations of Social Science* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1920), pp. 57, 58.

arising from skill in a highly complex and limited field. A profession may be distinguished from a trade in that the latter deals primarily with transforming material things into useful commodities, whereas the former renders personal services and at its best promotes health, knowledge, happiness, better government, and better living. The professional groups maintain high entrance standards. They foster an occupational ethics and occupational organizations. They have usually been allied with the higher well-to-do classes. Often they have represented middle-class attitudes and served as a steady mean between the economic extremes. Each profession has developed a high degree of pride and even of self-sufficiency. This tendency has produced bias, narrow-mindedness and intolerance, due in part to over-specialization.

One of the characteristics of occupations is the vertical distance between various types. These vertical distances are accompanied by differences in social status. Sometimes the occupations that yield the largest money returns give the highest social status, while some of the professions where high quality of service is rendered to the public yield relatively low pay and low status. S. H. Britt has made a vertical classification of occupations in the United States which is modified here. In other countries where social values and the culture matrix are different the vertical order would vary from that in the United States.[5]

1. Bankers, big business men
2. Officials, professional persons
3. Salesmen, clerical workers
4. Skilled laborers
5. Farmers
6. Semiskilled workers
7. Unskilled workers

CAPITALISM

Modern industry has gone a long way from those early days when human activities were divided into only four types, with women engaged in rearing children and hoe-culture, and men in hunting and fighting. Modern industry has shifted greatly from the days when settled

[5] *The Social Psychology of Institutions* (Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1941), p. 400.

agriculture arose and slavery and serfdom prevailed. It has its immediate origins in the changes which supplanted the slave and serf systems by the wage system. In the wage system workers found a new measure of personal independence; in consequence they did more work per day than slaves or serfs did, and hence supplanted the latter groups.

The rise of the factory system in the latter part of the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century drew free laborers together under single roofs, giving rise to *class consciousness*. They were drawn away from the homes of their employers, where they had worked under the domestic system of industry and where they and their respective employers kept in close touch with each other. In the factory they lost contact with their employers and a social chasm developed between the two groups. It was then that modern industrial troubles began. With the industry divided into two antagonistic groups, labor-capital conflicts arose.

The application of steam as a motive force in operating machinery revolutionized industry. Hand-driven tools were supplanted by power-driven machinery; and the home as the unit of production gave way to the factory. Although the factory system and large-scale production imply mutual dependence, the loss of personal contact between employer and employee has led to endless industrial troubles. Labor began to organize for its own protection; capital likewise organized for its own advancement. Labor wished to secure control of industry; capital wished to dominate. Two large and powerful groups have arisen with a black gulf between.

The use of steam-driven machinery and the rise of the factory system created a demand for large units of capital. Private business enterprise is conducted (1) by individual *entrepreneurs*, (2) by partnerships, or (3) by corporate organizations. The first method puts everything in the hands of one person. It is satisfactory for conducting a small business. The second is adequate where capital larger than one person can supply is needed. The corporate form is not only the largest and most important type of business group, but it wields vast power, and the social control of it has become very difficult. The leading business occupations which have adopted the corporate form of organization are banking, insurance, manufacture, mercantile enterprises, and trans-

portation. Some types of business, such as investment banking, have developed sinister international connections.

Corporate business units first existed independently of each other. Then in the last half of the past century in the United States there came a period of competition, and even of cutthroat competition, as it was called. When that competition between business units in the same field became disastrous, these units began to combine into larger groups. The following summary is based on the analyses of several leading economists.

(1) One of the earliest types of combination was represented by the agreement of independent concerns to fix prices, and hence to increase profits by restricting competition.

(2) The next step was the agreement of business groups to divide the field; each enterprise contracted to limit its activity to a particular section of the field.

(3) A third phase was the pool, or the attempt to restrict the output rather than the price or the field. According to this type of agreement, each member of the combination accepted an allotted percentage of production.

(4) Then came the formation of "trusts." By this method, each of the constituent companies turned over the operation of its respective shares of the business to a board of central trustees, and in turn received trust certificates. Each essentially abandoned to the trust the entire operation of the business.

(5) The "holding corporation" developed as a successor to the trust. In this connection a new central corporation was formed in order to purchase a majority interest of the stock of individual corporations. Each constituent corporation was operated as a separate unit. The control rested largely in the hands of the parent company. The holding corporation was a trust in a new and more effective form. It made responsibility difficult to locate.

(6) Then the so-called system of "community of interests" developed. By this method the same group of directors possesses a controlling voice in the management of each constituent company. It is exceedingly difficult to prevent combinations of this sort. Their ramifications are difficult to trace. Moreover, a few individuals can command vast

power. They can control legislation, political appointees, and newspapers, and they can manipulate profits to the advantage of themselves and their friends but to the disadvantage of all who are not "on the inside."

Big business sometimes runs into an orgy of speculation, and speculation easily becomes legalized gambling on a gigantic scale. Big business likewise promotes overproduction, and sometimes it produces minds that are little in respect to everything except business.

Combinations of capital eliminate competitive costs and permit the purchase of large quantities of materials at lower prices than the proprietor of the small independent business can obtain. They permit the undertaking of vast enterprises extending over many years, with the result that the small, independent producer generally suffers. The large corporate group becomes impersonal, and its responsibility to the public is often ignored.

The international cartel has come to the fore of late. It may be defined as a combination of capital groups operating in several countries to control the distribution and prices of particular articles of manufacture. Fraught with great possibilities for good or ill, many of these cartels because of their impersonal strength and remoteness from the ultimate consumer have really become manipulators not only of prices but of governments for the gain of the private financial interests of a relatively few people. These giant concerns develop first in a given country and then reach out to other countries and enter into agreements which may be internationally harmful but which are not internationally illegal because there are no international laws to be enforced against them. Cartels are prone to develop totalitarian bureaucratic methods not only of national but of international scope.[6]

Large units of capital have played an important role in bringing about technological changes in the last half century. The more significant of these changes have been singled out as follows: (1) development and application of electric power, (2) manufacture and installation of automatic machinery from clothes washers to ditch diggers, and rocket bombs, (3) "flow production through serialization of labor processes," as illustrated by production lines in automobile and other

[6] Robert A. Brady, *Business as a System of Power* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1944).

factories, and (4) control of machines by instruments, as seen in the gauges and levers on the latest models of diesel engines.[7]

International cartels have operated in the international field where there were no regulations, but in 1948 the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment developed a tentative charter which provided for an International Trade Organization that is to have control over cartels and combines and to prevent them from exercising harmful monopolistic practices. Such a development is something new in the area of international regulations.

TABLE I

NATIONAL INCOME PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES

Year	*Total*	*Per Capita*
1900	$18,000,000,000	$236
1910	30,700,000,000	333
1920	68,100,000,000	639
1930	75,100,000,000	570
1933	39,500,000,000	305
1940	81,300,000,000	513
1945	182,200,000,000	1,280
1950	239,000,000,000	1,726

Some corporations develop attitudes of economic superiority, of class aloofness, of legalism, of profitism, of competitive shrewdness, of worshiping the god of things as they are, and of opposing needed economic and social improvements. A serious weakness of capitalism is that it promotes acquisitive attitudes more than contributive attitudes.[8] It makes great projects of human welfare possible, but sometimes it defies national and even international control.

The *national income* of a nation bears a definite relation to that country's welfare. The greater the total income, the greater the money available for wages, provided a just distribution system is functioning. The greater the total income, the greater the purchasing power of the people. The table presented above shows both the total income for the

[7] Edwin C. Lemert, "Technological Trends," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVI:265ff., January-February, 1942.

[8] R. H. Tawney in his *Acquisitive Society* (Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920), brings out strikingly the "acquisitiveness" of the competitive economic system.

United States and also the average per capita income. It will be noticed that the average per capita income was greater in the depression year of 1932 than in the prosperity year of 1900. Of course, costs and standards of living have also risen.

Alongside the figures for the national income of the United States a table giving the national debt may be placed for comparative purposes. The figures for 1920 indicate a great increase due to the costs of World War I. The amount had been cut down by 1930 but the costs of the depression brought the national debt to a new high mark. World War II raised the debt to unprecedented figures. Wars and depressions are the boosters of national debts.

TABLE II

NATIONAL DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES

Year	*Total*	*Per Capita*
1890	$ 1,122,000,000	$ 17.80
1900	1,263,000,000	16.60
1910	1,146,000,000	12.41
1920	24,299,000,000	228.23
1930	16,185,000,000	131.51
1940	42,967,000,000	325.62
1950	257,335,000,000	1,715.56

The *business cycle* is coming to be known as a serious evil of capitalism. On a rising wave of business there develops overproduction, overextension of credit, overspeculation, even gambling with the idea of making millions out of nothing. Prosperity reigns. Then someone gets scared and decides to "cash in," which requires that others collect the debts owed them. Still others join in selling out until selling exceeds buying. As long as the buying exceeds the selling, prices rise, sometimes sky high, but when the selling becomes dominant, prices fall; speculators are caught with promises and obligations that they cannot possibly meet. A crisis ensues, the worst business offenders are sent to the penitentiary or exile themselves from the country, and people are thrown out of work and suffer all the miseries of a long-drawn-out depression. A few who have lost millions still live in comfort, but the millions who have lost all of their hard-earned savings also lose what

is worse, namely, their faith in government and human nature, and they grow revolutionary. Then business slowly starts all over again, which is after all a very poor and miserable method of economic procedure, and which in 1933 in the United States brought experiments with a socially-controlled system.

The social role of business is often unappreciated. The competition involved in business has led to a great many useful inventions and to the creation of countless comforts in modern life. Business enterprise has enabled a percentage, not always a majority to be sure, of the people to enjoy many conveniences in home life, in travel, in study, and in general living.

A bank has been called a truly remarkable "institution of social unification." It unifies industrial activities and establishes credit relations on a scale that permits vast organizational enterprises to be carried to completion. Credit in itself is based on the establishment of widespread human confidence.

The strong and weak points of capitalism have been summarized by J. Elliot Ross with the good aspects being: freedom of occupation, emphasis on individual initiative for a few, raising the general standard of living, the multiplication of material inventions, and plenty for some people. The bad aspects are: periodic depressions, economic insecurity for many, unemployment periods, maldistribution of food, housing, and other material necessities and amenities, wide differences between largest and smallest incomes for an honest day's labor, existence of dire poverty alongside ostentatious luxury, crushing of initiative in many, monopoly control of business and sometimes of government.[9]

LABOR UNIONISM

The movements to remedy and to prevent the evils arising out of modern labor-capital conditions and the competitive economic system are many. As the laboring man has come to realize the extent of economic injustices, he has organized for his own protection. The labor union is a protest against the evils of capitalism. The labor union probably would not have developed in its present form if capitalism had had the social vision and the willingness to correct its own weaknesses.

[9] *Cooperative Plenty* (B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, 1941), p. 55.

The *labor union* is a group of workers organized on a given occupational level for the purposes of securing better wages, shorter hours of work, improved conditions of labor—through collective bargaining. An *industrial union* is a similar organization that takes in the various levels of workers in a given industry. A *closed shop* is a shop which employs only union labor. A *union shop* may employ nonunion labor with the understanding that such labor will join a union within a given period of time, such as three months. A *preferential shop* is one which employs union labor if it is available, but if not it employs nonunion labor. An *open shop* is one in which nonunion labor has equal chance of being employed along with union labor.

It was during the nineteenth century that labor unions in the United States rose from the status of local organizations to national trade unions, and then into a general federation, the American Federation of Labor. The evolution of the labor union was slow and painful. The labor union had to fight its way upward against the powerful and sometimes unscrupulous methods of capitalism. It learned to fight fire with fire. It too often found the courts on the side of vested interests, and hence took the law into its own hands. It often showed the same shameful indifference to public welfare that it observed on the part of those corporations whose spokesmen sometimes proclaimed: "The public be damned."

Labor unionists believe in *collective bargaining*. They contend that the representatives of unions shall meet with the representatives of an employing concern, and that together they shall determine wage scales, hours of labor, and other conditions of work. Claiming that labor has the same right to organize as capital does, they logically insist on collective bargaining, because as individual bargainers for wages they are helpless in dealing with gigantic corporations.

Labor unionists as a class believe in *arbitration*. They are usually willing to abide by the rule of arbitration, providing they are sure that a fair board of arbitrators has been chosen. Reasonable labor unionists believe that they and broadminded employers can come to agreement after friendly discussions of disputed points. They prefer the personal method of settling disputes. They ask that the representatives of organized labor be accorded a fair hearing by the representatives of organized

capital, and that the chairman of an arbitration board be a public-spirited citizen. They usually object to compulsory arbitration for fear that the arbitration board will be "stacked" against them, and that they will have no recourse.

If denied what they consider a fair hearing, labor unionists resort to *strikes*. They lay down their tools and walk out. If there is a likelihood that other workers will be brought in to take their places they resort to picketing, that is, others are discouraged or hindered from taking their places. The strike is a powerful weapon. It stops production and profits. Moreover, it advertises to the world that a group of workers feel that some employer is treating them so unfairly that they are willing to "walk out."

A *sympathetic strike* is the cessation of labor by employees in a union (which has no grievances of its own) as a means of helping another union whose members are on strike. A *slow-down strike* is the slowing up but not the stopping of labor in order that wages may not be stopped while a strike is on. A *sit-down strike* or *stay-in strike* aims to keep the employer from bringing in strikebreakers. A *general strike* is the cessation of labor in all unions; it is so serious with reference to the welfare of the public that it is generally viewed as a revolutionary attack or defiance of government itself. A *jurisdictional strike* is the cessation of labor of members of one union in order "to induce their employer to discriminate against other workers in favor of themselves." The "other workers" are members of a rival union. A *buyers' strike* is the cessation of buying of certain goods by consumers as a protest against the prices demanded by sellers. A *business strike* is the cessation of production of goods or of distribution of goods by owners through holding them in storage in order to cut down the supply in the market and thus raise prices.

Picketing is a practice established by labor unions whereby individual union members are stationed or walk back and forth in front of a business establishment whose employees are out on strike. The picketers (1) try to persuade strikebreakers not to enter the establishment, and (2) advertise to all comers or passers-by that the establishment is using unfair labor methods. Sometimes picketing has been abused and strikebreakers have been enjoined by force from entering a place of employ-

ment; sometimes the police have been called and many persons have been injured and killed.

In recent decades the strike has become a menace to the public. For example, a general railroad strike paralyzes the transportation of food, and brings starvation to the doors of the poor. It puts the traveling public into embarrassing situations. If the public denies the right of labor to strike, then the public is under obligation to provide labor with other means of obtaining justice. If labor cannot strike, then employers, it is claimed, should be forbidden to exercise the *lockout* or to "fire" without notice. Thus, the control of labor-capital problems becomes in part a public affair and subject to social control.

The moderate trade unionist, as V. S. Yarros has suggested, is not a revolutionist. He does not think of overthrowing the present economic order. He does not object to the wage system, or to the institution of private property.[10] In the United States he has generally been conservative in his demands.

The labor unionist asks for more pay, shorter hours, and safer and healthier conditions of work. He will "always be making these three requests." He wants more pay (in normal times) for the same reason that the capitalist always wants more dividends. He urges shorter hours, for he sees many people who are no more worthy citizens than himself, who are not working at all, but who are living luxuriously, and as it seems to him, at his expense. He will always possess a desire for better conditions of labor, because he feels that he is entitled to share in the advances that are being registered by inventions and discoveries.[11]

The moderate trade unionist in the United States has been aptly described as having no Utopian schemes, as dealing with immediate problems, as priding himself "on his reasonableness and practicality," [12] as believing in private capital if it is not used as an instrument of special privilege, and as protesting against the prejudices, the lack of sympathy and comprehension, and the distrust shown by the capitalist. On the other hand, he has often created a trade union autocracy and personified narrow class control. At times he has been obdurate and inconsiderate, hindering works of mercy because trade union rules would be

[10] V. S. Yarros, "Social Science and What Labor Wants," *American Journal of Sociology*, XIX : 308ff., November, 1913. [11] Yarros, *ibid.*, 309ff. [12] *Loc. cit.*

broken thereby. He has worshiped the rules of the union at the expense of both the employer and the public.

Company unions have been an industrial storm center. They are organizations of labor within a given company, and represent a partial recognition of the right of labor to organize. They are criticized, however, by labor leaders as being organizations that are kept under control of the particular employer in each case. It is claimed that if an employee does not behave in a way to please his employer, he may lose his job without obtaining much assistance from the company union, for all its members are in similar danger of losing their positions. Employers report that the company unions prevent interference from "outside" labor organizers and agitators.

In England the trade unionist is becoming a state socialist. He would nationalize all the major or basic industries. He would have the government take charge of all large-scale business because otherwise he believes that business is dominating government and manipulating it to its own pecuniary ends.

By 1933 in Mexico the labor provisions that were originally introduced into the Constitution of 1917 were proving to be an interesting experiment. If a worker feels that he has been dismissed unfairly he may appeal his case; if he wins he may receive three months' wages and additional wages at the rate of 20 days for every year that he has been employed by the given firm, and for overtime. Many difficulties have pursued the enforcement and operation of these labor laws.

Sociology believes in the principle of "Come, let us reason together," and in methods of adjudicating differences by discussing them frankly and in a friendly manner.[13] It believes that labor and capital have the same need to organize, recognized at last in 1933 in the United States by the National Industrial Recovery Act, and that the representatives of organized labor have the same need for a fair hearing as have the representatives of organized capital. Neither has any right to organize if it uses such organization to work against the common weal.

In 1933, labor in the United States responded to the NRA because the latter recognized the principle of collective bargaining. In the "codes" employers at the request of the NRA agreed to recognize the

[13] Yarros, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

representatives of labor unions without prejudice and not to ignore or discriminate against them in favor of independent workers.

The right of labor to engage in collective bargaining with employers was given national approval in Clause 7a of the NRA. This clause stated that labor shall "be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor or their agents in the designated or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." Moreover, this law freed employees from being obliged to join a company union at the behest of the employing company. In other words, "no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing."

In May, 1935, the NRA was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. Labor began at once to organize its forces along new lines, and under the leadership of Senator Robert Wagner of New York the National Labor Relations Act was passed.

In 1937 the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act. Its basic principle is "the safeguarding of collective bargaining by employees through representatives of their own choosing." This Act created the National Labor Relations Board and gave it power to investigate the conduct of both employers and employees in a labor dispute, to guarantee to employees the right to organize, to bargain collectively, and to strike, without interference. Employees are guaranteed protection against unfair practices on the part of employers. They are protected in their efforts to bargain for higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of employment.

In 1935 a conflict that had been brewing for years within the ranks of organized labor broke out and labor was forced to choose between the craft idea and the industrial plan of organization. The American Federation of Labor has developed its strength in terms of organizing the crafts in a horizontal way in many manufacturing establishments. For example, the metal workers are organized into metal workers' unions, irrespective of the companies which employ them. The industrial union is an organization of all the employees in a given industry. The coal miners, for instance, have been organized for many years as

an industry under the direction of John L. Lewis. In 1935 Lewis proposed that the industrial union be developed in all industries on the ground that mass action is more effective than divided action by crafts. The A. F. of L. voted down the industrial union plan, whereupon Lewis developed the Committee for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.), which later became the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.).

In 1936 and the succeeding years the C.I.O. had a phenomenal growth. Under the leadership of Lewis it succeeded in challenging successfully the control of organized labor by the A. F. of L. The result was that by 1937 and 1938 the ranks of labor had split far apart. In the ensuing conflicts, the general public suffered greatly from internecine fights and began to withdraw support from the cause of labor as a whole.

A talking point of the C.I.O. is that it brings into its fold the unskilled workers as well as the skilled to which the A. F. of L. has been limited. Thus large masses of labor which have been without organization now find themselves occupying new status and possessing new protection. However, they are not prepared for all the responsibilities thrust upon them. They usually demand mass action irrespective of the lessons of the history of organized labor and without due regard to the needs of the public.

The Fair Labor Standards Act was passed by Congress and signed by the President in 1938. It provides "a floor to wages and a ceiling to hours of labor." The law covers only those workers "who are employed in interstate commerce or in the manufacture of goods shipped in interstate commerce." It prohibits the employment of children under sixteen in such industry, but affects only about one-fourth of children under sixteen who are gainfully employed. It prohibits the employment of minors of sixteen to eighteen years in hazardous occupations where interstate commerce is involved.

By 1947 when the Republicans were in the majority in both branches of Congress and public opinion among nonunion citizens had begun to turn against some of the actions of the strong labor unions, the Congress passed the Labor-Management Relations Act, known also as the Taft-Hartley law. It supplanted the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, known as the Wagner law. It recognized the right of labor to bargain collectively but outlawed the closed shop and per-

mitted the union shop to operate only under certain conditions. A "cooling off" period of sixty days (in some cases seventy-five days) is required if either a union or an employer wishes to change a labor contract or to renew an old one on a new basis. Unfair labor practices by both unions and employers are defined. For instance it is illegal for unions to coerce nonunion members to join, to refuse to bargain collectively, to call jurisdictional strikes, or to compel new members to pay excessive fees. Both unions and employers are forbidden to make contributions to campaign funds of candidates for political offices. Unions are required to file annually with the Secretary of Labor many facts about their organizations, including a full financial statement of receipts and expenditures. Officers of unions must file statements that they are not members of or affiliated with the Communist party. Strikes by employees of the federal government and of government-owned corporations are forbidden. The act is administered by the National Labor Relations Board. Labor union people feel that the Labor-Management Relations Act is unduly restrictive while employers generally express satisfaction with it. Modifications in it were proposed almost as soon as it became a law. There are three groups of people who are vitally concerned: labor, employers, and the public. To develop a law that is uniformly fair to all three is difficult because of the different interests and the different sets of social values that are involved.

In a recent Princeton University research of labor-management relations in the clothing industry four firms each employing over 1000 persons were studied.[14] The investigators found that in these manufacturing establishments cooperation between labor and management overshadowed conflict, that the employers had ceased fighting the labor unions, that the unions had reached the conclusion that wages and working conditions could not be materially improved unless they "helped to improve efficiency of operations," and stabilized labor cost, that "market-wide and industry-wide systems for handling industrial relations" are necessary, and that management is willing to recognize collective bargaining, "unrestricted by insistence on exclusive management prerogatives." [15]

[14] R. A. Lester and E. A. Robie, *Constructive Labor Experience* (Princeton University, 1948). [15] *Ibid.*, pp. 108ff.

Labor makes capital possible. Herein lies the merit of Abraham Lincoln's statement in his first presidential message to Congress: "Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration." But labor is not the central factor in society. Labor's function is to join with capital and management in the common enterprise of meeting the needs of the universal consumer.

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Socialism is on one hand a protest against the evils of private capitalism and profitism and on the other hand an announcement that labor unionism as such is too mild and inefficient. The socialist believes that labor unionism is in the long run the cat's paw of capitalism. As a result of the evils caused by private property and the corporate group, the movement known as socialism has achieved a world-wide prominence. In general, socialists, having grown hopeless regarding the labor-union method of appealing directly to the employer, advocate national ownership of the main instruments of production and transportation. When the representatives of organized capital refuse to meet the representatives of organized labor, then socialism is advanced as the only recourse for meeting the needs of labor.

Socialists as a class are opposed to the use of private property "to produce more private property." They make no war upon capital as such, but believe in capital provided it can be owned and operated for the benefit of all. Instead of having only a small percentage of the people reaping the major benefits from capital and land, they would have both owned by the state, and a managerial system developed for operating them, in the same manner as the postal service is governmentally owned and operated in many countries.

Instead of dividing the returns from economic enterprise into four parts, namely, rent, interest, profits, and wages, the socialist urges that all the returns should go to labor, recognizing different types of and gradations in labor service. Since land would be owned by the state no one would need to pay any rent, and since capital would be state-owned, no interest would be charged. Since both land and capital would be used by individuals under the direction of the state, there would be no need for individuals to secure profits to themselves. Thus

all the returns from industrial enterprise, according to the socialist's plan, would go in one major direction, namely, to labor, ranging from the highest type of superintendence and administrative labor to unskilled labor. No one would receive an income unless he worked; and the income would be determined by the skill or managerial ability which the individual showed, and by the social value of his activities.

The socialist does not believe that governmental regulation of gigantic private monopolies will succeed. He contends that the monopolies have become so powerful that they regulate governments. He points to case after case where private monopolies have become entrenched in governmental positions, even in cabinets of the President of the United States, in Congress, and in gubernatorial chairs. The socialist says that the alternative is for government to go all the way and take over the large private businesses, beginning with the so-called national banks, the transportation systems, the basic industries of iron and steel, and so on. The socialist secretly smiles when he sees a gigantic monopoly developing, for he believes that such a monopoly is putting itself into a position where the next logical step will be for the government to take it over. He sees no alternative but for governments to own and control the major industries of their countries on a nonprofit basis.

State socialism, or the ownership and control of the major instruments of production by the national state, as described in the preceding paragraphs, has several strong and several weak points. The strong points will be considered first.

(1) Justice is an effective plea. The ideal of socialism is to have everyone rewarded in proportion to his services, not to himself, but to society. Socialism urges a more just distribution of wealth; it desires to eliminate special privilege. It protests against an economic system which pays one man a million dollars annually merely because he is the son of his father, another man, $10,000 a year for managing the father's business, and other men, $750 or $1500 a year each for furnishing the bulk of the labor. In all sincerity socialism argues that the big economic rewards should not go to the shrewd and the cunning, that the big prizes should not go to those favored by inheritance irrespective of their social worth. It insists upon a more just distribution of wealth.

(2) Socialism asks for a more scientific organization of the exchange

factors in economic life. It asks that the multiplicity of middlemen be reduced. For example, there are perhaps three times as many milk wagons and drivers today in the United States as are required to serve the people. No one would think of returning to competitive postmen, that is, of having three or four postmen delivering mail on a given street at the same time and in the employment of as many different companies. When the farmer sells apricots on his trees at a cent a pound and the consumer a hundred miles away six months later pays twenty-five cents a pound for those same apricots, there is room for a more economical organization of exchange, the socialist claims.

(3) Socialism would eliminate the commercialized spirit. The producing of goods and the rendering of service for profit would be stopped, as the latter has already been stopped in the postal service. It it contended that today many goods are manufactured primarily for profit, that is, primarily for selling purposes rather than because of usefulness. Under socialism it is said that the business of the shopkeeper would be to help the customer find out what he really needs, whereas under capitalism it is often to his interest to sell the customer what he does not need or what will return the largest profits.

(4) Socialism fearlessly proclaims the truth about unjust economic practices. It uncovers the worst conditions in industry. It engenders a critical public spirit. It holds the mirror of publicity before weak spots in economic life.

The first weakness of socialism that may be mentioned is (1) its attempt to put into practice a new economic system before people are ready for it, or before they are trained to assume responsibility under it. In Russia under the Soviet régime a great deal of difficulty has been encountered because a new economic system had been thrust upon a people unprepared for such responsibility. Socialism would move too rapidly; it often overlooks needed evolutionary measures. (2) Socialism tends to underestimate the premium that is placed by the present system upon thrift and energy. Under socialism there would be grave danger that individuals would succumb to the tendency of relying upon the state. The watchword might become: "What does it matter? The state will take care of me anyway." As a result socialism might prove very expensive in governmental administration. (3) Under socialism

there would still be serious danger to personal liberty. Under capitalism when political rulers and business magnates combine, the majority of the people are helpless. With socialism in charge vast political power and absolute economic monopoly would be in the hands of a few persons at a time; moreover such concentrated authority would be fully legal. (4) Socialism puts nearly all its emphasis upon a new *organization* of society. It holds that if you would change the structure of society, you would *ipso facto* secure the desired improvement. It does not provide for adequate and immediate changes in personal character and in personal attitudes toward other classes of people. It makes no primary effort to change the self-centered attitudes which govern so many people so much of the time.

Fabian socialism has developed in England among the educated people. It is the product of the thinking of a select group of persons who put their chief faith in intellectually spreading an evolutionary state socialism rather than in working out an organized political movement. The group has remained weak in numbers but strong in its personnel. Outstanding among its leaders have been Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

Christian socialism also began in England. The Christian socialists find the basis of their beliefs in the teachings of Jesus. They claim that Jesus taught an essentially socialist view of life and that the first Christians set out to practice a form of communism. Theirs is an evolutionary type of state socialism based on religious zeal and motivation. Maurice and Kingsley are the two best known founders of Christian socialism. The movement has gained considerable sporadic strength but nothing equal to the expectations of its founders.

Guild socialism is another movement that has developed in England. It is struggling toward the organization of manufacturing establishments as industrial units with the workers in charge and in virtual ownership. It centers its efforts not on securing political control of society but on obtaining a new industrial organization of society. It has not made great headway.

Syndicalism is an extreme form of socialism, which aims at a complete overthrow of society by violent means in order to put society in the control of the workers. It has had its major development in France.

Like its partial counterpart in the United States, the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), it believes that the program of the state socialist is too mild, and that the political methods of securing economic control will fail. The syndicalist would have his *syndicats*, or unions, assume general control in society. The syndicats would be loosely bound together and exercise a working-class control.

Syndicalism holds that when state socialists are elected to office they become conservative. The syndicalist therefore advocates direct action. Do not try to get control of government by slow evolutionary means. You will get nowhere. Direct action is the only recourse.

A part of the syndicalist's method is *sabotage*, which originally referred to throwing a shoe into a machine so as to stop production and to further revolution. In this way, if carried out extensively, business confusion would result. "If you are working in a freight office and asked to ship oranges from Florida to Illinois, then change the shipping address to some town in New Mexico." By so doing business will break down, profits will be cut off, the consumers will protest against capitalism and ask for "a new deal." Business under capitalistic control will be defeated, and a new syndicalist order can be set up. The *general strike* is also advocated. Let all employees cease to labor, and capitalistic business cannot go on—it will fail, leaving the way open for syndicalism. Syndicalism has not made much headway in the United States but has made itself felt in Europe, particularly in France.

Marxian socialism is best known through its left-wing exponents in Russia, namely, through Bolshevism, sometimes referred to as Leninism or as Stalinism. Karl Marx in his well-known work, *Das Kapital*, showed how class struggle is a necessary result of the autocracy of capitalism. Revolution is the way out. In Russia during World War I the Marxian socialists came into power but not until they had split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, that is, into majority and minority wings. The majority were the more radical, and took charge, establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat. They carried on their political activities through councils, or soviets.

In World War I many of the Czar's army officers had been killed; and the men in the ranks, as they became officers, swung the proletariat into power by a revolution. For the first time in the history of the

world, the propertyless classes overthrew the propertied classes and assumed political control in one of the largest countries of the earth. Under the direction of Lenin, they established a dictatorship of the proletariat, using the same autocratic methods that they had become acquainted with under the lash of the imperialistic forces of the czars. They represent class control, but with a new class, presumably the weakest class, in charge of society. Their success or failure depends on their five-year plans, on their educational programs, on the degree of democracy which they will permit, and on the socialized attitudes which they achieve.

Communism is expressed in various movements, but Russian sovietism is often referred to as a fair sample. In communism ownership and control of everything would be in the hands of a small group presumably representing the common people. Marx advocated an equal distribution of wealth, a phrase which is widely misunderstood. Marx did not mean an equal distribution of all property among all the people pro rata, but a distribution primarily of income according to the service rendered or the work accomplished.

Communism would do away with nationalism and unite the world on a working-class basis. Its internationalism has given that term a special meaning which has painted it red in the eyes of many. According to Marx, nationalism separates the workers and on occasion divides them into warring armies that shoot each other down.

Marx developed the class struggle idea, namely, that the interests of capitalists and workers are so far apart that they cannot be united. In fact the chasm is bound to widen. The struggle between the laboring classes and the employing classes will go on from bad to worse until by revolutionary means and by sheer force of numbers the laboring class will come into control of governments.

Then there is the surplus value theory as developed by Marx. The capitalist by virtue of being in control pays the workers a wage which is less than the exchange value of the goods produced and keeps this surplus value for himself. On occasion the system is especially bad when the capitalist pays the worker less than a living wage, or employs children and women at low wages, and thereby is enabled to pocket a huge surplus.

Lenin came into power in Russia in 1917, committed to Marxian formulas. But he faced many problems incident to changing from one economic system to another. Hence in the seven years before his death in 1924 he did not make great progress in putting Marxianism into practice.

After the death of Lenin his leadership fell to Stalin who was challenged by Trotsky. The basis of the disagreement that led to Trotsky's banishment and was followed by Stalin's many purges was fundamental as far as the immediate conditions were concerned. Trotsky wished to carry communism's battle into other countries, while Stalin felt that it would be wiser for the U.S.S.R. first to perfect a communistic government at home. It was a case of realist against idealist and the latter lost.

To change basically the economic system of a people largely rural, of peasant stock, and untrained in the ways of a widespread collectivistic economy in a short period of time is too much to expect, according to Stalin. Hence, within the boundaries of the U.S.S.R., the transformation pace in the economic life of the people was changed, a number of capitalistic devices were resorted to at least for the time being, and meanwhile at tremendous expense the Red fighting forces were maintained as a protection against attack. Stalin apparently has recognized the fact that culture traits deeply ingrained in the habits of millions of people cannot be changed by government fiat without tremendous trouble. In other words, people have to be educationally trained for a new economic system that is so radically different from what they have known as is communism.

Communists insist on exercising their rights of free speech, free press, and free assembly in democratic countries, but do not allow people who believe in these privileges to exercise them in a communist-controlled country. They want to be treated according to law in a democracy, but when opportunity affords they put communism above democratic laws. Their dedication to the use of violence makes them feared by many people, even by other communists. Their emphasis on violent means in order to achieve ultimate welfare goals undermines human confidence in them.

Communism has made progress in recent decades, but it has basic

weaknesses, for example, its dictatorship practices, its materialism, its repudiation of religious values, its subordination of the individual, its deification of the state, its determination to overcome the world.

Communism's rapid conquest of China startled the non-communist world. The infiltration of communists into non-communist organizations in non-communist countries gave rise to widespread measures to ferret out subversives. The peace proposals advanced by the USSR after Stalin's death and Malenkov's succession to power in 1953 were viewed cautiously. The need is, first, to root out the conditions on which communism feeds, such as social and economic injustices, unfair discriminations, extremes of wealth and poverty. The second need is to build faster a sense of just dealings between man and man, human relations of honesty and trust, emphasis on the dignity of the individual, personal freedom of thought and action. The third need is to help undeveloped nations to develop their own resources.

FASCISM

With the discussion of fascism in Chapter 4 (The Community Group) as a basis, we may now view fascism more particularly in its economic and corporative aspects. In a radio address in 1932 a candidate for President of the United States proclaimed fascism as the last stand of capitalism against communism.

Fascism came into power in Italy in 1922, under the powerful directing hand of Mussolini. Although once a socialist, Mussolini had become disgusted with the weakness of the masses in the self-governing plans and had violently disagreed with their internationalist and pacifist tendencies. Consequently he shifted his allegiance and promoted the formation of groups of ex-service men, augmented by members of the middle and upper classes in the cities and by the landowners in the rural districts. These *fasci di combattimento* sometimes took charge in cities when the government failed. The *fasci di combattimento* were ex-soldiers aided by those who wished to stave off socialism. Fascism originated in part as a defense mechanism against socialism.

Capitalism underwent modifications in Italy under fascism. At first employers were left a relatively free hand, but after April 3, 1926, the fascist government put into operation its so-called "corporative" law.

By this law, "corporations" of workers and also of employers "in each industrial activity were created as legal units" and hence became subject to the will of the fascist government. No private labor unions or large business organizations exist outside of fascism. Only corporative units exist. Moreover, they operate only as they respond to the will of fascism. If a business enterprise is conducted in a way judged detrimental to the state, it receives first a warning and then an order to cease its questionable practices. Both strikes and lockouts are forbidden by law. Prices and wages are regulated.

The corporative state included three groups of corporations. The first group of eight corporations involved agricultural, industrial, and commercial activities. The second group of eight corporations related to industrial fields chiefly. The third group of six dealt with insurance and credit, with the professions and arts, with sea and air transportation, with internal communications, with the stage, and with the tourist industry, including hotels. These corporations operated through the National Council of Corporations, and under the direction of the Minister of the Corporative State.[16]

Under the corporative state both the employee and the employer felt the effects of an authoritative control. Those persons who did not belong to the corporative state, moreover, did not count for much.

Fascism does not take stock in traditional economic principles, such as "competition is the life of trade," or that prices should be regulated by the law of supply and demand. In fact, in 1932 the minister of corporations began to regulate prices on the basis of what he and his advisers judged to be fair prices, and to regulate supply and production on the basis of needs. The private promoter, the real estate "shark," the blatant advertiser were likely to be regarded as enemies of the state, and treated accordingly. Private property and capitalism existed in fascist Italy but were under autocratic control, with the interests of the nation considered paramount. The occupational life of the nation was closely regulated and regimented by an economic organization governed by a small body of men under the leadership of a dictator, who was supposed to know what is better for the common people than they

[16] G. Lowell Field, *The Syndical and Corporative Institutions of Italian Fascism* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1938), p. 95.

themselves know. Fascism in Italy came to an end in 1944 with the overthrow of Mussolini, the dictator.

A basic idea of fascism was: Everyone shall work, but no one shall work against the state. A nationally planned economy is put in operation, with individualism in industry and property being maintained but under rigid and often arbitrary control. This control goes to the extreme of preventing freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assemblage, if that freedom is used to criticize the fascist system. It was promised, however, that some day, when fascism would be more accepted, personal liberty would be returned to the people.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Industrial democracy is the representation of employees in a fair way in the management of business and manufacturing. For many years employers were prone to confuse welfare work with industrial democracy. Complete industrial democracy, however, involves three main factors, namely, the public, labor, and capital. The needs and welfare of the public are primary; the interests of both labor and capital are secondary. Any economic system which gives the entire management of business to labor is unsound; likewise capital is in error when it wishes to monopolize control. Labor and capital alike are striving in part for material ends; one wants more wages, the other more profits. Both goals are materialistic; the higher spiritual needs of life are likely to be neglected.

It is thought by many persons that the main solution of economic problems is to give labor representation on boards of directors and in the management of industry. Capital opposes this plan and labor is not trained for it. The joint control of industry by capital and labor is no certain cure-all for industrial evils. Capital and labor have shown signs of combining against the public. At times capital has profiteered and labor has grown arbitrary. In a given corporation an increase in selling costs was proposed some time ago with the understanding that one-half of the profits that might accrue should be turned into dividends, and the other half into wages. Capital and labor thus combined against the consumer.

In the matter of wages, hours of labor, dividends, and hence of prices,

the third party to industrial enterprise needs to have a voice and representation. Without the consumer neither capital nor labor would have much to do. A *tripartite organization of industry* is suggested. It is essential if all interests vitally concerned are to receive a square deal. The public is bound to come into the picture. If capital and labor, or either one separately, takes the bit into its own mouth, the public will insist upon national control, if not of ownership. It might be better to give the public definite representation on boards of ownership and control. Still more important is the development of prosocial attitudes on the part of all who are involved.

As a reaction against profiteering, overinflation, and high prices, a new economic phenomenon on a large scale occurred in the autumn of 1919 in the United States. It was a *buyers' strike*. This strike continued for some time as a protest against high prices. For a time both capital and labor were so engrossed in their struggle against each other that they did not observe that the public was striking in reality against them both. Again, in the depression which began in the latter part of 1929 and continued for a number of years, business attempted in every way possible to start people buying, but the public did not have money with which to buy. Moreover, they learned how well they could get along on little. Even during the national bank holiday of about ten days declared by President Franklin D. Roosevelt soon after he took his oath of office on March 4, 1933, people generally were surprised by the way in which they could manage their affairs for a short period of time without buying but by "simply trusting each other." In the fall of 1933 the NRA urged widespread buying as a recovery measure and a patriotic duty, but still the public did not buy extensively, for they lacked money. Buyers' strikes demonstrate the necessity of including the public in the management of industry.

It is claimed that industrial democracy will shift the emphasis from rights to functions. Instead of capital's employing labor, labor will employ capital and grow wise in so doing. Instead of goods being produced for profits, business will purge itself of profitism—as teaching, medicine, the ministry have purged themselves—and will produce goods for needs.

According to these principles, capital will be entitled to standard

rates of interest, dependent upon the amount of risk involved and determined by labor-capital-consumer agreements. Any returns above the standard rates would go back into the business, for promotion and insurance. The professions have been changing from a profit to functional and standard income bases. Teachers once were paid directly by pupils; the larger the number of pupils the larger the pay. It was a distinct advance when teachers reached a salary basis. If business does not follow some such procedure, it will be in danger of suffering revolutions and of bringing about labor class control.

Under industrial democracy it is claimed that instead of voting as high dividends as possible and paying workers as low wages as they will accept, the material component represented chiefly by capital will be secured at as low a rate as possible, and the human element, the workers, will be paid as much as possible. A prospective investor in stocks, instead of asking first how large the dividends are, will inquire: What service does the company perform? Social welfare, after all, is the standard to which all classes will ultimately render an accounting. Good will and the spirit of "Come, let us reason together," are basic to industrial democracy.

An illustration of the democratic spirit in business is that of a leading shoe manufacturer who some years ago announced that the main business of his factories is to help the employees to become better men and women and that the secondary business is to turn out better and better shoes. Only by such methods can evolutionary change take place and revolution be made unnecessary.

After all, the most important products of a factory are the men and the women who are employed. Are they becoming better persons and citizens, or are they shirking and becoming radical? Cooperation is a good substitute for destructive competition. Prosocial attitudes in industry would help to make a new earth.

Profit-sharing is an aspect of industrial democracy that some employers have inaugurated whereby "the employee receives a share, fixed in advance, of the profits." It is a plan of paying to employees a share of profits in addition to wages. It is assumed that the profits which are shared were created in part by the increased diligence and care of the employees. It also assumes that the employees help to create profits as

well as wages. It implies that if profits are shared, then losses should also be assumed, but this the employees are unable to do. Hence it becomes a prosperity measure only.

Management-sharing gives the employee a part in the operation of a business. Management-sharing in small ways has been extensive. Workers, for example, have been given places on shop committees. In some instances employers have shared management with their employees to the extent of establishing joint committees for determining hours of labor, wages, and settling other difficult points. Sometimes the committee is composed of an equal number of representatives of the employing firm and of workers, with a public-spirited citizen as chairman.[17] Management-sharing probably has reached its greatest growth in the form of shop committees. It increases the status of employees. On the other hand, many employees are not qualified to assume a share in management while others are adverse to assuming such responsibility.

In labor-management relationships three basic sets of relationships have been designated as being determinative. (1) First comes the nature of "the forces that determine the policy decisions and actions of management" and the forces that determine the decisions and policies of labor union officials. (2) Second comes "the structure of power relationships within management and within the union." Both management and labor are subject to various pressures from within their respective organization.[18] (3) Third comes a subtle but vital "balance of power between union and management."

COOPERATIVE DEMOCRACY

Besides private enterprise as represented in capitalism, and government enterprise as found under socialism, there is cooperative private enterprise. Perhaps all three, commercial private enterprise, government enterprise, and cooperative private enterprise, have appropriate places in the economy of nations and the world.

[17] See Ronald B. Shuman, *The Management of Men* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1948).

[18] Richard A. Lester and Joseph Shister, editors, *Insights into Labor Issues* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1948), p. 8.

Cooperative enterprise had its classic beginnings in the humble efforts of 28 unemployed and hungry weavers in Rochdale, England. On December 21, 1844, these weavers established on Toad Lane, Rochdale, a store where they could secure staple food supplies and effect important savings. The principles upon which this Society was established are remarkable, for they have stood the test of more than a century. The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers has grown from twenty-eight members in 1844 to 32,000 members in 1948. Consumer cooperatives today hold to the same principles with a few variations.[19]

These principles are: (1) Open membership. Irrespective of class, color, or religious creed anyone who will abide by the principles of cooperation may become a member. Any member can turn in his shares to his cooperative, receive back their par value at any time on due notice, and withdraw from the society. (2) Democratic organization, including one vote per member, *not* per share. A person may own more than one share but not have more than one vote. Not money but persons have votes. This is a principle of economic democracy. (3) Patronage refunds. Savings are returned to the cooperators in the form of patronage refunds to all in proportion to the amount of their purchases. There are no profits, and cooperatives are non-profit organizations. (4) Limited interest on shares. A stated and predetermined low rate of interest or wage to capital is guaranteed. Shares are redeemed by the cooperative at par, and no speculation is allowed. (5) Cash trading. Members buy for cash. They may borrow from their cooperative credit union if they wish in order that they pay cash for their purchases. (6) Accounts are audited regularly and reports are made regularly to members. (7) Frequent discussion meetings are held in order to keep the members apprised on the development and problems of the society.

In connection with the foregoing statement of the principles of cooperative procedure it may be said that political and religious neutrality is observed. It may be added that as a rule market prices are followed. The chief exception is found when market prices have become

[19] See James P. Warbasse, *Cooperative Democracy* (Harper & Brothers, New York, Fifth Edition, 1948).

monopoly prices and unduly out of line with costs. Under such conditions cooperatives may adopt an active price policy of their own. Special emphasis is given to quality and full weight and measure, particularly as found in what are known as "Co-op Label" goods which are graded on three quality levels. Administration is centralized but control is decentralized, being kept in the hands of the individual members. The latter vote for the officers of the local cooperatives, and representatives on the regional and wholesale cooperatives' boards; these vote for representatives on the boards of the national cooperative societies; and these for representatives on the board of the International Cooperative Alliance, which is chiefly an educational organization. In this way control is from the people up and not from the top down. Since members are largely family representatives the control is exercised to a marked extent by household units. Thus cooperatives are societies of households. The local cooperative is usually a community-wide organization. Inasmuch as all savings are returned to the consumer patrons, the local community benefits financially. Savings are kept in the community and increase the latter's purchasing power.

Consumer cooperatives are examples of free enterprise. If *free enterprise* is the practice among business organizations of operating free from governmental relationships then cooperatives are the freest of free enterprises. Consumer cooperatives develop on the basis of individual and local initiative. They work with government but do not seek state assistance. Cooperatives would decentralize economic control to consumers in every community and give each one vote—if he will accept the responsibility in a cooperative organization. Cooperatives safeguard private property by making possible the ownership of private property by every citizen. Being controlled by consumers, a cooperative does not adopt anticonsumer practices. Universal consumer control means universal personal freedom. Cooperatives favor free competition with other types of business. As forms of cooperative private business they favor competition with commercial private business that is fair and aboveboard. They favor a *mixed economy* in which cooperative private business, commercial private business, and government business compete openly and honestly in meeting the needs of the people. In promoting

free enterprise, cooperatives do more, for they create freedom and enrichment of personality, and herein is found their greatest sociological significance.[20]

Consumer cooperation is to be distinguished from collectivism. Collectivism is that economic philosophy which involves organizations holding property as organizations. Under collectivism property is held by the collectivity. The individual once he has put his money into the collectivity loses his claim to his property. It is no longer his in the form of private property. In consumer cooperatives, on the other hand, a person who puts his money into the shares of the cooperative continues to own his property. It is still his private property as evidenced by the fact that he can have it returned at any time on giving proper notice. Moreover, any accrued patron's equity reserves are his too which he can receive on proper notice. Cooperatives maintain private ownership and do not adopt collectivism.[21]

The marked extent of the growth of consumer cooperatives in many different lands is due to a number of practical reasons. (1) They can guarantee to themselves honest goods of high grade at reasonable costs. (2) They can save money by cooperating. (3) They can put a premium on personal initiative, conserve their individual liberty, and make governmental bureaucracy unnecessary. (4) They can bring ownership back to themselves. (5) They can protect themselves from undesirable monopolistic practices better by cooperation than by antitrust laws. (6) They can promote the principles of economic democracy. (7) They can help to decentralize economic power better by cooperation than by other means. (8) They can solve the problems of economic distribution by cooperation. (9) They can protect themselves from speculation and gambling. (10) They can promote local community purchasing power. (11) They can do away with class-conscious economic philosophy. (12) They can progress without resort to violence or physical force. (13) Through multiplying the cooperative spirit they can move in the direction of permanent peace. (14) They gain per-

[20] See E. S. Bogardus, "Consumer Cooperation and Free Enterprise," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXX : 391–98, May-June, 1946.

[21] See E. S. Bogardus, "Consumer Cooperation Versus Collectivism," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXX : 52–55, September-October, 1945.

sonal satisfaction through working together for the good of all and hence of themselves.[22]

The usual cooperative sequence is as follows: (1) A study circle is formed for the purpose of learning the principles and practices of cooperatives. If Saint Francis Xavier University of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, through its Adult Education Department, has been unusually successful in promoting the cooperative movement, the explanation lies in part upon an insistence upon educational preparation for cooperation. Moreover the study circles are being maintained as a buttress and support to additional cooperative growth. (2) A buying club is instituted on a modest basis. It is important that cooperatives do not grow faster than people are prepared to work together according to cooperative principles. (3) A consumers' cooperative store logically follows the buying club. (4) Several cooperatives unite to form a wholesale cooperative. (5) Wholesale cooperatives find it worth while to go into the processing and manufacturing business. The Cooperative Wholesale Society of England, for example, which was founded in 1863, which does the largest wholesale business in the world with annual sales totaling a billion dollars, and which carries on a large banking business, now owns and operates over 140 factories, mills, and so forth. Thus cooperative production enters into the picture. Producers' cooperatives, as such, develop very slowly, for there is usually a lack of sufficient capital, trouble with incompetent producers, inability to bear heavy losses, and insufficient training for managerial positions.

A complete picture of cooperative possibilities has been made by Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan.[23] He states that all of human life may be organized around seven sets of values. These fundamental values may be stated in seven words, namely: (1) Health, (2) Labor, (3) Exchange, (4) Growth, (5) Efficiency, (6) Order, and (7) Purpose. Paralleling these values, seven types of cooperatives are already in various stages of development. These are: (1) Insurance, (2) Producers, (3) Marketing, (4) Credit, (5) Mutual Aid, (6) Utility, and (7) Consumers. Kagawa would have not only an entire nation so organized

[22] Cf. E. S. Bogardus, "Why Consumers Cooperate," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVI : 352–63, March-April, 1942.

[23] *Brotherhood Economics* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1936).

but suggests that when many nations carry on their own activities cooperatively they will be able to cooperate internationally, to do away with armament, and to establish a permanent peaceful growth.

Cooperatives are already reaching the international stage. Illustrations are the Scandinavian Cooperative Wholesale Society (Norway, Sweden, and Denmark), the North European Luma Cooperative;[24] the International Cooperative Wholesale Society, uniting wholesalers in 27 or more countries; and the International Cooperative Alliance, bringing together 43 or more countries on an educational basis and representing 465,000 cooperative societies and 100,000,000 families.

One of the problems facing cooperatives is lack of education for cooperation. The individualistic spirit repeatedly crops out in the phrase, "What am I going to get out of it?" A problem of a different sort is the hardship that the small merchant sometimes feels when a cooperative comes into his neighborhood. However, this type of person is free to find a place in a cooperative. When he does this, he usually reports that he is more secure than before. Moreover, the real enemy of the local merchant is not the cooperative but the powerful chain stores and the super markets. Oftentimes by ruthless competition these two representatives of private enterprise have crowded the local merchant into failure or bankruptcy.

Cooperative wholesale societies are able to challenge the unfair and high prices that are sometimes charged by monopolies. In Sweden and elsewhere they have broken monopoly prices and maintained fair prices for the consumer, without the aid or expense of government action.

The cooperative movement produces a democratic consciousness through the participation which it stimulates. It builds economic democracy through its limitation of one vote to one person and its sharing of management. It produces economic justice through its equitable distribution of profits to all who participate in proportion to the amount of participation. It promotes world peace through the constructive cooperative spirit which it engenders.[25]

[24] M. W. Childs, *Sweden, the Middle Way* (Yale University Press, New Haven, revised, 1947).

[25] See Jacob Baker, *Cooperative Enterprise* (The Vanguard Press, New York, 1937); and John Daniels, *Cooperation, an American Way* (Covici-Friede, New York, 1938).

OCCUPATIONAL DISORGANIZATION

Occupational disorganization has created many social problems. One is the question of *child labor*, which is different from child work. The former involves putting children to work for wages in factories, sweat-shops, canneries, and so forth, thus depriving them of health, play, and education. The latter involves a well-occupied childhood, keeping children in school, giving them work to do at home, providing for their health, and allowing full opportunities for development. The former is wasteful and stunting; the latter, educational and developmental.

Since the rise of the factory system, children have been employed at gainful occupations for eight, ten, or twelve hours a day while still at the beginning of their adolescence. The industries which have been the greatest sinners in employing children at too early an age are cotton manufacture, silk manufacture, glass manufacture, agriculture, the canneries, the sweated clothing trades, and the street trades.

The costs of child labor are heavy. (1) The effect upon bodily growth and physical development is serious. Child labor operates against a symmetrical development of strength, vigor, and substantial healthfulness. It generally causes a one-sided development of the body, or the overuse of certain muscles at the expense of others scarcely developed at all. (2) The boy who begins work in industry at an early age will have a total earning power much less than that of the youth who does not begin his working life until he is physically developed. (3) The boy or girl who goes to work in industry in adolescence is prevented from completing a well-rounded education. His training is cut short and he is handicapped for life. (4) Delinquency problems seem to be greater among working boys than among those of the same age who are in school. The working child often falls in with the rougher type of unskilled labor and acquires harmful information; the influence of some of his companions is vicious. He has money to spend, and hence does not feel a full sense of responsibility to parental control. He suffers from adequate guidance in sophisticated social situations.

The causes of unfavorable child labor conditions are numerous.

(1) The greed of ignorant parents is often a factor. Many parents among both the foreign-born and the native-born consider their grow-

ing children as economic assets from which financial returns in the form of wages may immediately be received. The idea once prevailed that the larger the number of children in the family, the larger the family income might grow. Boys on the farm have often been taken out of school because of their capacity to labor, but at the expense of a needed education.

(2) A second cause is real economic need. Many gainfully employed children belong to families suffering from actual economic pressure.

(3) The child's attitudes are significant. For various reasons, sometimes his own shortsightedness, and sometimes the school's inflexibility, he becomes dissatisfied with school life and seeks work. Boys are prone to develop a spirit of independence and become anxious to demonstrate their working capacity. The impulse grows because the boy has friends who are earning money and boasting about it. Few experiences thrill a boy more than the first wages he receives.

(4) The attitudes of the employer are responsible for much child labor. He is responsible because he willingly accepts or invites children. He often encourages parents and child workers in their willingness to continue the evils of child labor.

(5) The rise of the factory system with its minute subdivisions of labor has made it possible to separate the lighter forms of labor from the more difficult, and thus to encourage the employment of children. Many types of work have developed, as in the cotton mills and the glass factories, which chiefly require time, and running to and fro, and hence have been assigned to children. Thus adolescents are substituted for adults but at a heavy human sacrifice.

(6) The public must bear a share of responsibility for child labor, because it has the power to correct the evil. The public thoughtlessly, or otherwise, permits child labor. Public opinion does not fully realize the ultimate effects of premature child labor.

In 1933 President Franklin D. Rosevelt, in signing the NRA codes in the cotton and other industries, which excluded children under 16 years of age as a rule from gainful employment, wiped out a great deal of child labor in the United States. Depression accomplished, at least for the time being, what the prolonged efforts of reformers had not previously accomplished. However, in 1935, when the Supreme

Court declared the NRA unconstitutional, momentous gains were lost, and child labor again increased.

The Amendment to the Constitution that was proposed to the state legislatures by Congress in 1924 has made slow headway. By November, 1947, twenty-eight states had ratified it, but eight more ratifications were needed. The proposed amendment does not regulate child labor but merely gives to Congress the power "to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." However, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as already indicated, protects children where interstate commerce is concerned.

Women in industry constitute another important occupational problem. The rapidity with which women entered industry in the United States after 1880 has been amazing. The number of women and of girls over ten years of age who are in gainful employments passed the ten million mark about 1912. Both World Wars caused a leap forward in the employment of women in industry. The emancipation movement is another leading factor, for in becoming emancipated from the home, women have turned to industry in order to be "doing something," or to make themselves useful.

Women have entered nearly all occupations that men enter, although sometimes at a tremendous sacrifice to health and motherhood. It has been demonstrated many times that one of the saddest chapters in human history is connected with the fact that the machine which was invented to relieve people of labor has led to the factory system of labor, and that women and children are forced "to follow their work to the factory." W. I. Thomas continues as follows:

> The machine which was invented to save human energy, and which is so great a boon when the individual controls it, is a terrible thing when it controls the individual. Power driven, it has almost no limit to its speed and no limit whatever to its endurance, and it has no nerves. When, therefore, under the pressure of business competition the machine is speeded up and the girl operating it is speeded up to its pace, we have finally a situation in which the machine destroys the worker.[26]

When subjected to long hours of industrial labor for years, women are likely to become low-grade mothers. Their children suffer. Both

[26] William I. Thomas, "Woman and the Occupations," *The American Magazine*, LXVIII : 463–70, September, 1909.

mother and child are subjected to the danger of nervous and physical breakdown. If a girl rapidly performs the routine operations of wrapping caramels every day, or threads the almost invisible tungsten filament through a tiny hole at the rate of three every minute, or one thousand a day, or operates an electric sewing machine that carries ten needles sewing ten seams at a speed so fast that the needles become ten streaks of light, that girl becomes less than human, hardly fit to be a citizen and much less fit to be a mother.

Then there is the comparative lack of ambition on the part of many working girls and women to advance above certain low levels. This attitude is due partly to the indifferent spirit of the times, partly to the expectation of marriage, and partly to the lack of adequate opportunities for advancement.

The employment of married women in industry has serious phases. Several years ago in the United States the number of married women gainfully employed passed the one million mark. Homes and young children are neglected. On the other hand, married women whose children are grown need an occupational or organized avocational pattern of life.

During the depression that began in 1929, public opinion turned somewhat against the employment of married women who have employed husbands. The argument is a realistic one. It implies an emergency unemployment situation throughout the country. The number of positions or jobs is less than the demand or need, and hence should be spread as much as possible with not more than one going to each family. The argument takes on a permanent aspect when unemployment becomes permanent.

Another vexatious problem is that of *organizing women in industry*. Some decades ago, the members of men's labor unions refused to admit women to the unions. Today a changed attitude exists. In fact, many unions now try to induce women to organize, and to ask collectively for higher wages and better working conditions. The new idea is to prevent women from competing with men on low wage levels.

There are great difficulties in organizing women in industry. Large numbers of women are only temporarily employed; they have simply a passing interest in the conditions of their work. The majority are

in their twenties and are not as seriously interested in their work as older persons would be. Another difficulty is that there are relatively few good leaders among women wage-earners.[27]

The need of protecting women in industry received unique recognition in New York City in the winter of 1889–1890, when the National Consumers' League was organized out of what had been the Working Woman's Society. The Consumers' League operates by maintaining a "white list," that is, a list of stores whose owners treat their employees justly. It is expected that shoppers will patronize these stores. Then a label stamped with the name "Consumers' League" was devised. This label on a piece of goods assures the purchaser that the goods have been made under standard conditions of labor.[28]

The need for the protection of women in industry against the harsh influences of organized capital is being met by the National Women's Trade Union League, which was organized in 1903. It has done an important work in helping women workers to organize and thus voice their needs effectively. As Alice Henry says, organized women are "the only women quite free to express opinions without paying for freedom of speech in the loss of a job." [29]

To the extent that the wife and children enter industry, the wages of husband and father are thereby reduced. There is much evidence to show that the income of the male wage-earner when working alone is as great as the combined wages of the man himself, his wife, and the children when the wife and children enter into industry in competition with him. The composite wage of all the members of the family is not likely to exceed the income of the male wage-earner when employed alone. A unique suggestion for meeting this problem has been made by Paul H. Douglas:

> The way out, therefore, lies in the fixation of a minimum wage sufficient to support single men with added allowances for dependent wives, children, and other adults. The natural danger which such a plan would create in causing employers to discriminate against those with dependents in order to reduce their wages bill can be prevented, as is later explained,

[27] See Alice Henry, *Women and the Labor Movement* (George H. Doran Company, New York, 1923).

[28] Mrs. Florence Kelley was the prime mover in the organization and development of the National Consumers' League.

[29] *Women and the Labor Movement, op. cit.*, p. ix.

by the creation of funds which generalize the burden over a group of employers as a whole. Such a plan, moreover, would make it possible to pay women an equal minimum with men and hence remove the dangers of their undercutting the men's rate.[30]

The arguments for the employment of women in industry have been summed up as follows: (1) their ability, (2) their training, (3) their merit because of service rendered, and (4) their responsibilities for supporting others. In depression times the figures show that "the financial obligation for the support of others increases for women as well as for men." [31]

Dangerous occupations comprise a real problem. Fatal industrial accidents among wage-earners in the United States passed the 25,000 mark per year some time ago. The number of nonfatal industrial accidents involving a disability of two weeks or more also reached the million a year mark a number of years ago. The most dangerous industry is mining. Navigation and railroad transportation are also high on the list. Then follow occupations such as electrical work, quarrying, lumbering, building, and draying. Air transportation is the most spectacular in its accident role.

According to John B. Andrews, industry maims more men than war ever did. H. R. Seager has pointed out that the United States has shown a larger proportion of industrial accidents in its mines and factories and on its railroads than has any other civilized land. "Industry is doubly wasteful of life and efficiency," says G. L. Campbell. He continues:

It [industry] may be charged not only with the extravagance of killing and maiming yearly thousands of workers, but it seems to choose for its victims many persons in the prime of manhood, normally with years of life before them, and with obligations but partly discharged to wives and children. . . . Yet it is evident that the victims are usually young men, that the majority of them have families, and that the standard of living of these families is greatly lowered by losses due to injuries. The tale of industrial accidents is at best a tale of destitution, blighted hopes, and arrested development.[32]

[30] *Wages and the Family* (The University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. ix, x.

[31] Minnie L. Steckel, "Women's Financial Responsibility Toward Maintenance of Others," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXII : 557–63, July-August, 1938.

[32] *Industrial Accidents and Their Compensation* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1911), pp. 21, 27.

Occupational diseases are common. They consist of those diseases which are caused directly by the nature of the occupation in which the wage-earner is working, such as lead poisoning, caisson disease, or even tuberculosis. The worker himself may be quite ignorant of such sickness-producing conditions. The employer may be only slightly interested in the welfare of the employees, and may neglect to protect them against danger. In some cases the poisonous character of the materials used produces diseases, for example, in the printing trades, in plumbing, and in making phosphorus matches. The poison seeps into the human organism day by day, and in time becomes a main cause or a secondary cause of disease.[33]

Overfatigue is a serious occupational problem. Despite all the talk about short hours in industry and about unemployment, there is still a great deal of overtime work for many people in the world. Overtime means overfatigue, which represents one of the most subtle effects of occupational activity. It involves a chemical process that continually tears down muscle and nerve tissues. Fatigue substances or toxins circulate in the blood, poisoning brain and nervous system, muscles, glands, and other organs.

Overfatigue causes industrial inefficiency. As a rule, poorer and less work is done in the last hours of a long day's work than in the earlier hours. Overfatigue likewise causes industrial accidents. In general, liability to accidents increases with the passing of the hours of the day. After a study of the records concerning 36,000 industrial accidents in the United States and Europe, the writer arrived at the following conclusion.

> The more or less regular increase in the number of accidents, hour by hour, from 9,113 to 12,230 and from 12,230 to 15,064, indicates quite definitely the results of fatigue in terms of industrial accidents—inasmuch as extraneous elements have been largely accounted for and not included in these figures. . . . Continuous work, other things being equal, is accompanied, hour by hour, by an increasing number of accidents.[34]

[33] These major hazards of industry, thus, may be summarized as: infections and poisons, trade dusts, humidity, air pressure, and fatigue.

[34] *The Relation of Fatigue to Industrial Accidents* (The University of Chicago Press, 1912), p. 55.

Overfatigue assists the advance of disease. An overworked person is more susceptible to pneumonia, tuberculosis, and typhoid fever than is one whose vital resistance is normal. With fatigue toxins in the body, the organism is seriously handicapped. It has been pointed out that a not uncommon succession of events is: first, overfatigue; then colds; then pneumonia or tuberculosis; then death.

Nervous diseases are also accentuated by overfatigue. Long hours of work at a feverish pace lead to nervous breakdown. Unscrupulous employers who are abusing the principles of scientific management are guilty of turning many of their employees into lightninglike machines. The neural system, not built for such a pace, breaks down after a time.

Future generations will suffer from the fatigue of the present generation. The children of perennially tired parents are in danger of being physical weaklings. Overfatigue has an untoward effect on morals. It increases human susceptibility to temptation, causes a person to turn almost anywhere for relief, and leads him to neglect his own welfare and also that of his family.

Labor turnover is an important phase of industrial life. It is an outgrowth of the "hiring and firing" system of capitalism. In many industries men are "hired and fired" freely, and a labor turnover of 100 per cent in a year has been known to occur. When the whole body of workers in a given establishment changes in a year (100 per cent turnover), then the costs to the employer of "breaking in" new workers and of supervision are excessive. To the workers, "hiring and firing" are obnoxious. The honest laborer who comes to his work daily with the fear that he may be notified that his services will not be needed tomorrow develops an unbearable state of mind. If he has a wife and little children dependent on him, such a state of mind creates antagonism against "a heartless economic system." [35]

Occupational disorganization is evident in depressions. A depression is usually a resultant of the follies of prosperity. People overspeculate, overbuy on the installment plan, overadvertise, and overstimulate the wants of each other, until perhaps 60 per cent of the workers are engaged in making luxuries. When a limit in overspeculation is reached,

[35] Brissenden and Frankel, *Causes of Labor Turnover in Industry* (Ronald Press Company, New York, 1921).

people cease buying on a large scale and limit themselves to necessities, throwing a great many workers out of work.

If more social control is ahead, either in the form of fascism or socialism, individual liberty will be cut down. Either represents a dominating government control and a minimized individual. An alternative is to be found in the cooperative movement, with its emphasis on personal initiative and responsibility.

The weakness of fascism is that it gives a kind of efficiency which takes as its toll the liberties for which our forefathers fought and died. The weakness of socialism is that it centers authority in state-owned enterprise instead of distributing it to every individual as in the case of cooperative democracy. Democracy, if it is to work in a complex present or future, requires that people be trained to think and act cooperatively.

The depression beginning in 1929 was unique because of its world-wide character. In the United States in 1933 President Roosevelt pushed the idea of national control of capitalism further than had ever been done before. With powers greater than those accorded President Wilson during the first world war, President Roosevelt went ahead with a nation-wide program of government control of industry, labor, and agriculture. With unemployment reaching twenty million workers, a national program of social security was developed. Minimum wages and maximum hours of labor were fixed. Bank failures mounted into the thousands until the government came to the rescue. The national structure was severely tested but met the strain successfully. The economic life of peoples around the world was upset, and poverty and suffering were greatly increased. The period of the New Deal was followed by the Fair Deal which continued an extensive development of social controls.

In 1953 the Eisenhower Administration came into power and inaugurated a decentralization of a part of the government authority that had been developed previously. Beneath the shifts that occur in politics and without making invidious political distinctions, it may be said that no one can see the end of the struggle between individualism and statism. Too much of either seems to result in a cramping of national well-being. Too much individualism sometimes results in economic monopolies and cartels, the crushing of small business, and

the manipulating of government by powerful economic forces extending halfway if not all the way around the world. On the other hand, too much state control breeds bureaucracy and becomes totalitarianism. In either case democracy is crushed and the people generally are victimized. Unrest develops and violent overthrow of government is proposed.

A middle way is advocated today by many people. Individualism is supported until special individual interests begin to dominate and then state control is urged. State control of obstreperous individual interests is advocated and supported until it begins to act as an end in itself. A middle way would give individualism as much freedom as it can exercise without becoming monopolistic and authoritarian, and at the same time it would give state control no more control than is necessary to keep conflicting special interests from weakening the national structure and to keep any one set of special interests from controlling government itself.

Another way is by education to train all individuals to assume full responsibility for their acts in line with the general well-being. If everyone would develop attitudes of full social responsibility, social controls could be reduced to a minimum, government control could be extensively decentralized, and the freedom of the individual be both conserved and developed. The whole problem of social control springs from the degree to which the attitudes of all persons can be developed in terms of individual responsibility for the general well-being. The development of such attitudes calls for a concomitant development in education and social vision.

PROBLEMS

1 What is labor?
2 Should all able-bodied persons work?
3 What is an occupation?
4 What is meant by an occupational attitude?
5 What is occupational egocentrism?
6 What are the main reasons why a laboring man works?
7 What are the main reasons why a capitalist works?
8 What are the average laboring man's attitudes in the United States toward the capitalist?

9 What are the average capitalist's attitudes in the United States toward the laboring man?
10 What is the best test of a successful laboring man?
11 What is the best test of a successful capitalist?
12 Can you name any occupation in which capital produces without the aid of labor?
13 Can you name any occupation in which labor and capital produce without the aid of the consumer?
14 Is either the average capitalist or the average socialist in a position to pass an unbiased judgment upon socialism?
15 Is socialism to be judged by its ideals or by the way it works?
16 Does it make any difference who owns the wealth, providing it is socially administered?
17 Under socialism, what is to take the place of the present rewards of industry as an incentive to the exertion of a person's best efforts?
18 Explain: "Luxury at present can be enjoyed only by the ignorant."
19 Can business enterprise survive if, as in the case of the teaching profession, the element of profits is eliminated?
20 What is the difference between an acquisitive society and a functional society?
21 Why do some business men put profits above human values in treatment of their employees?
22 Why was there no such gulf between the laboring classes two centuries ago as exists today?
23 Why have capitalists insisted on the right to organize but have fought the efforts of labor to organize?
24 Does anyone in the United States earn more than the President, and hence should he receive a larger income?
25 Should anyone be paid as much as he earns?
26 Should anyone be paid who earns nothing?
27 Who is the chief gainer from child labor? The chief loser?
28 Explain: "Child labor is child robbery."
29 Why does an adolescent boy have strong desires for earning money?
30 Explain: "The newsboy needs your protection, not your patronage."
31 What is meant by the national income of a country?
32 Is picketing always defensible?
33 Why have the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. found it difficult to adjust their differences?
34 What are the main factors in producing harmonious labor-management relations?
35 What are the effects upon the home of careers for women? In what different ways can a mother fulfil her home duties and satisfy her desire for a career?

36 What factors would you consider if you were a member of a wage board and asked to determine a minimum wage for women in a given occupation?
37 Should equal wages be paid to men and women doing similar work in the same occupation?
38 Should unmarried and married men doing similar work in the same occupation be paid the same wages?
39 Make out a minimum budget for a self-supporting young woman or young man who is employed in a department store.
40 What is thrift?
41 Does the miser or the spendthrift set the more unworthy example?
42 Why have the Rochdale principles been so effective in many countries?
43 Can you improve upon Kagawa's seven basic human values?
44 In what way is the TVA a new departure in the United States? Give arguments for and against the TVA.

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Chapter

6

The Play Group

THE play group is a primary social group with a unique advantage, for its activities are enacted in the spirit of enjoyment, pleasure, fun, excitement. In a play group individuals may expend more energy in an hour than in working a similar period, and yet feel more exhilarated when the hour is ended. Where does time pass as rapidly as in a play group? Where may a larger percentage of the members of a group participate in such joyous abandon as in a play group? Where are the latent traits of personality more easily stimulated into action?

The play group is complementary to the work group. Play gives a proper balance to work as a means of personality growth. Play meets the needs of personality when the work day shortens. "In idleness, life loses all meaning." [1] If the world is moving into an age of leisure, it will need to fill that leisure with constructive activities or personalities will disintegrate.

In a day of leisure recreation "takes its place along with religion, education, health, and work as the five essential factors molding individual personality and affording a community more abundant living." [2] This high rating is based on the ways that recreation can be a substitute for work, that it can give zest in living and develop personalities, that it can build morale in a group, even in wartime, that it can create enthusiasm, and that it can unite people in dynamic group living.

[1] George Boyle, *Democracy's Second Chance* (Sheed & Ward, New York, 1941), p. 55.

[2] Harold D. Meyer in J. S. Roucek, Editor, *Social Control* (D. Van Nostrand Company, New York, 1947), p. 260.

Work and play, occupation and recreation, are complementary. Family life, occupational activity, and play are a natural trinity. Play is coming to be recognized as one of the main activities of life, and leisure time is becoming more extensive than work time. Moreover, leisure-time problems are increasing faster than are work-time problems.

While recreation has always been a matter of deep human interest, it now occupies a more fully accepted position in the scheme of human affairs and finds ready justification on the grounds of health and efficiency as well as relief from the routine of daily toil. In a very real sense recreation has forged to the front as one of the compelling interests of human life and has already developed to the point where it makes extraordinary demands upon time and energy and requires large financial expenditures to cover its mounting costs.[3]

The play group is one of the primary groups in which the child's earliest attitudes are developed.[4] It usually originates within the family group and as a primary group within primary groups.

If one will ask himself, "What was my earliest play group?" perhaps the answer will be "Other children in the neighborhood." Further thought will probably reveal a parent or a brother or sister within the home as forming with one's self the original informal play group. By the time the child is two or three years of age he begins to participate with some regularity in playful activities with other children, within or without the home, or both, and the play group becomes an important nursery of child life. Under normal conditions childhood and adolescence have their main setting in play group life. Moreover, play attitudes are normal throughout life.

The significance of the play group is found in its pleasing nature. It is full of interesting stimuli. It is lively. The play group is an ideal combination of pleasing atmosphere, stimulating events, and changing scenes of action. It is composed not of one's elders, but of one's peers or of individuals posing as one's peers. It offers companionship. The reason that college activities often win out over college studies in their

[3] Jesse F. Steiner, *Americans at Play* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933), p. ix.

[4] C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1909), p. 24.

bid for the student's time is that they represent the spirit of play, often serious play to be sure, in association with one's peers.

The play group has had a long history, dating back to primitive life in every land. It has varied greatly in different ages of human development and among various peoples, and yet throughout time it has everywhere had common traits, such as its informal character, its social composition of peers, its activity nature, its stimulating, changing program, its primary role of forming and changing attitudes and ideals.

PLAY ATTITUDES

(1) To primitive people life was activity or inactivity, with the former possessing varying degrees of interest. Neither work nor play arose as distinct concepts among earliest peoples.

(2) A long leap forward is represented by the Greeks, who carried the idea of contests into regular spectacles involving large numbers of persons who submitted themselves to long periods of training. Play rested on physical education and culminated in group pageants, often symbolizing the finest and best aspirations of people. A perfect human physique was idolized and a widespread participation was secured. Commercialization of play in the current sense was unknown. To the Greeks play had a kind of therapeutic value. It built up morale and loyalty. It had a religious setting as evidenced by the fact that the Olympian games, said to have been originated in 776 B.C., were devoted to Zeus. The modern Olympic Games first held in Athens in 1896 are credited with having internationalizing influences. At any rate widespread play is beneficial to a large group, providing competition does not become bitter, for it enables that group to express itself wholesomely rather than in riots, mob action, and social turmoil.

(3) Among Roman leaders, particularly in the days of Nero, the belief was held that play is a natural expression of life energies. This is remarkably like certain modern theories. However, the social product among the upper classes was often licentiousness and demoralization. Morals were often flaunted and amusements brutal.

(4) Early Christianity promptly reacted against the Roman interpretation of amusements and swung to the opposite extreme of urging that play be suppressed. Live seriously as a preparation for the next

world, became the Augustinian doctrine. Alcuin, the celebrated English educator of the Middle Ages, developed further this theory, helping to make it dominant in Europe for many centuries. The rigid control of play impulses was accepted by the Puritans and was brought to the United States by them. Puritanic attitudes prevailed widely in the United States until recently. Under their influence it was believed that play is useless, or worse still, frivolous. Play should be discouraged and suppressed. At best it is a relatively harmless way of amusing children who are too young to be doing anything useful.

(5) In the closing decades of the last century several other theories of play developed. For example, Herbert Spencer, following the suggestion of Schiller, argued that play is essentially an expression of *surplus energy*. When a growing child accumulates an overflow of energy, he plays. This theory, however, does not account for the girl who "jumps the rope" until she falls from exhaustion. In other words, the Spencer-Schiller theory accounts for a part of but not for all play.

(6) The recapitulation theory of play, promoted by John Fiske, held that a child in his play life is primarily living over rapidly the stages of human development. In his earliest play he is experiencing the days of savagery of the race. Then he becomes interested in play activities which represent the days of barbarism. When he later comes to take part in team play and cooperative sports, he is said to have reached the stage of civilization. From fist action or teasing animals or fighting in gangs he moves up to highly controlled social play. Again we have an incomplete theory, covering only a portion of play phenomena.

(7) Play has also been defined as an instinctive preparation for life.[5] Play is practicing for life. In playing with a spool, that is, in rolling and catching a spool, a kitten is getting ready for the serious business of catching mice. The kitten is thereby developing claw and eye coordination which will in due time be useful in procuring food. In like manner the play of a lamb is a preparation for the life of a grazing animal. The play of a small boy prepares him for activities of building, constructing, and acquiring. The play of a small girl with her dolls is fitting her for motherhood.

Play teaches respect for law. In no other way can a boy so fully realize

[5] K. Groos, *The Play of Man* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1911).

for himself the value of law as on the playground. By the same token he learns respect for others, acquires habits of cooperation, and sacrifices personal ambitions for the welfare of the group. According to this interpretation, it would seem that play is "a first-rate educational process."

If we accept this theory that play is a preparation for life, we might go one step farther and say that play is a preparation for *more life.* He who ceases to maintain play attitudes ages rapidly and dies; he shrinks within himself. It is an important accomplishment to be able to turn from a day's work and to forget the perplexities of that day's work in healthful play. Play has been called "the sovereign recreator," necessary especially for the adult worker. Play is no luxury. It is a natural technique for the development both of self-control and of prosocial attitudes. It needs to be maintained throughout life. The play impulses have been pronounced nature's way and God's way of developing body, mind, and character. "The Creator has purposely set the beginning of life in a joyful mood." Such a theory, like the others, is significant but does not account for all play.

(8) Play as one of the natural expressions of personality is John Dewey's explanation.[6] The difference between play and work is largely in time span. In play the means and ends are directly connected. Hence, "the interest is more direct." Play is not necessarily simpler, for it may have a whole series of complicated ends. The steps between means and ends, however, are shorter and closer together.

Among young children there is no distinction between play and work.[7] Play activity and work activity are the same, but the difference comes when observed results are (1) obscured, (2) lost, or (3) dull and uninteresting. Unfortunately modern industry places the results of work in one, two, or all of these three categories.

Play consists of those activities which are not consciously performed for the sake of any reward beyond themselves. They contain their own stimuli. Prizes do not need to be offered in order to get children to play. When prizes are offered, the goal in play becomes objective, and play itself becomes work.

[6] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (The Macmillan Company, New York. 1924), pp. 237ff. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Play attitudes are tendencies to throw one's self wholeheartedly into any interesting and stimulating situation. If in responding to social stimuli and social problems one forgets himself in the activity of the moment, he is experiencing play attitudes. Anticipated stimuli, as in the case of boys who clear a lot for a baseball diamond, may be so vivid that they color the current routine task and make it seem like play.

None of these theories is entirely adequate, but each contains some truth. A complete explanation doubtless would combine the valid elements in all the theories, and add newly discovered ones. More attention is needed in working out an inclusive, well-balanced theory of play.

COMMERCIALIZED LEISURE

Commercial enterprise has taken advantage of play impulses and turned them into dollars for the benefit of the promoters of amusements. It has furnished amusements for every period of life, for every social level, and for all degrees of ignorance. This movement began in an organized way in the United States as early as 1890.

In 1907 Simon N. Patten, the economist, declared that we had gone little further than to permit men to exploit for private gain the human craving to be amused. In his words: "The workman is drawn hither and thither by the uncorrelated motley devices of selfish promoters and is often solicited by them until he has dissipated his vigor and lowered his moral tone." [8] Wherein is there any personality growth, any social welfare, any social sense in such an unregulated, individualistic régime?

When the workman comes from "the barren industrial grind" of the day's work, where is he invited most loudly to turn, if not to a great variety of amusement institutions in which the melodramatic and overexciting presentations stand out foremost? For several decades the leisure of the people in the United States has been capitalized by private enterprise to the extent of billions of dollars. The play impulses of people have been used not to increase the total welfare or to build up personality but to make money. "Cheap seaside resorts have sprung up over night, vying with one another," it has been observed, "in enticing

[8] *The New Basis of Civilization* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1912), p. 132.

patrons thither by patriotic or salacious posters and advertisements," and in furnishing them with new sensations. The regular frequenters of such places of amusements are getting "so much excitement for a small outlay of money" that they find the attractions irresistible.

The *dance hall* often has a disorganizing influence. Some proprietors of certain dance halls knowingly permit men and women of questionable character to prey upon young girls. Where drinking of liquor is also permitted, the effects are likely to be vicious. The appeals of vulgar dancing, of drinking liquor, of noisy and exciting jazz, of boogie-woogie music, are some that many participants find hard to withstand.

In a recent study of the patrons of *amusement parks*, the heterogeneous aspects stand out. Individuals of all ages and of all occupations frequent the amusement park. Another noteworthy characteristic is the variety in "created wants" that the management has produced. These include "visceral excitations, temporary escape avenues, vivid vicarious experiences, artificially stimulated conviviality, novelty, and reversions to juvenile pursuits." Some of the items possess marked "disvalues," others are wasteful of time and useless, but a few are quite worth while.[9]

Theaters may be divided roughly into at least four types, namely, variety shows, burlesque, standard, and motion picture. The old-time vaudeville appealed to many people because of the cleverness of some of the acts, although as a whole the programs were often trite and vapid. They were exciting without requiring mental effort. The *variety show* has won wide popularity because of its high-powered dancing, acrobatic, musical, and wise-cracking performers. It appeals to many people because of the escapist diversions that are provided; to others because of the excitement and the crowd spirit; to others because of sheer entertainment.

The *burlesque* has been found repeatedly to be the most undesirable type of theater performance. It has been diagnosed as "artistically crude" and "intellectually stupid." Its appeal is based on physical prowess and lewd sex behavior. No improvements in it in recent years have occurred.

[9] John F. Cuber, "Patrons of Amusement Parks," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXIV : 63–68, September-October, 1939.

The *standard theater*, partly because of the admission charged, draws only a small proportion of the theater-going public, perhaps not more than 10 per cent. The working classes, isolated partly because of the admission prices, are unable to attend the best plays. The profound character of certain plays, such as the Shakespearean, is also a deterrent in the eyes of those who seek amusement.

The standard theater produces a small percentage of plays of lasting value. Herein is an opportunity for the citizens of every community to encourage wholesome plays of cultural worth. When young people come to have a vital appreciation of worth-while drama, they will no longer be satisfied with low, unrefined theatrical performances.

With the development during the depression of government interest in providing suitable work for the unemployed, the Federal Theater Project was undertaken. People with acting ability and experience were brought together in many large cities and trained in putting on carefully selected dramas. Popular prices, rarely above fifty-five cents, were charged. The results were remarkable. Excellent acting was presented to the public. Moreover, thousands of people were able to see legitimate plays splendidly staged and performed at a cost within reach of the humblest citizen.

In a study of 300 college students, divided about evenly between men and women, and ranging in age chiefly between eighteen and twenty-two, made by Harriet Touton, it was found that modern plays "are overwhelmingly more popular than classical plays." [10] The proportion was about eight to one. Most people who attend classical plays go "for either cultural or dramatic education," but those who attend modern plays go "for entertainment alone." Interestingly enough, many of these persons go to classical plays with one set of friends and to modern plays with an entirely different group of friends.

Many of the people studied who attend a classical play feel that such attendance raises their status. Those who go to modern plays feel that their status is not affected. Very few will admit or are aware that attendance upon either classical or modern plays affects their attitude toward life or their standards. There is room here for a careful piece

[10] "The Theater Audience," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVIII : 554–64, July-August, 1934.

of investigation regarding the hypothesis that attendance at plays has a real but indirect influence in conditioning attitudes.

The theater-goers in the main expressed approval of modern plays. The implication is that the modern play is representative of either the expressed or the subtle unexpressed attitudes of youth today. However, there are many evidences of disgust with some of the aspects of modern plays.

The attendants studied admit that the theater audience has serious effects upon them. This fact seems strange in that the same people are not able to discover that the play itself has any effect upon them. The evidences of approval given a play or parts of it are definitely influential upon over one-third of the attendants. On the other hand, 16 per cent reported definite disgust with the behavior of certain members of the theater audience. The ways in which strangers sitting next to one are annoying are numerous. Another aspect of theater audience psychology is that tenseness at times is common and general, while weeping is restrained.

While drama influences human attitudes, it also has a recreational value to many people. Although the following excerpt represents an extreme case, it reveals clearly the playful significance of drama.

> And then again, I always distinctly remember an old neighbor of ours, a woman who was such an inveterate theater attendant that one might say she lived the greater part of her life in an orchestra seat. Now, one could tell from her behavior just what play she had seen the day before, for her actions were but imitations of those heroines she admired most. Let a *Sappho*, a *Zaza*, a *Mrs. Dane*, or a *Camille* be played before her, and for the next few days, she fancied that she and these ladies were identical. Their very affections became hers, their sayings, hers, their manner of receiving guests, hers, smiles and sighs, hers. And all this, much to the embarrassment of her family and friends, bore strong testimony to the vitality of the theater! [11]

MOTION PICTURES

The *motion picture* began to attract attention in the United States at the close of the last century. By 1905 it was becoming well known,

[11] Melvin J. Vincent, "The Influence of Drama Upon Human Attitudes," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII : 142–52, November-December, 1932.

although the cheaper type predominated; by 1915 the theaters producing elaborate motion pictures were common in the large cities. By this time motion picture producers were combining into powerful nation-wide organizations; the demand for censorship had already been expressed strongly, and public opinion had begun to turn against certain types of motion pictures.

The "nickelodeons" of 1905 were supplanted by better theaters and higher prices. Physical conditions have been greatly improved, for the fire-traps have been largely done away with, ventilation systems have been developed, and film projection is not the strain on the eyes of the spectator that was once the case. The technical quality of the films has made vast strides. By 1930 there were in the United States, the leading motion picture country of the world, about 22,000 motion picture theaters, with a combined seating capacity of 11,000,000 representing an investment of $2,000,000,000, drawing into the box offices an annual total of admissions amounting to $1,500,000,000, and having a weekly attendance of 100,000,000 individuals.[12] While the corresponding figures for 1948 show no great change from those for 1930, the prices of admission for the most elaborate feature pictures have greatly increased, and the techniques of production and exhibiting have been improved. Many people believe that in the by and large the motion picture as an element of public amusement has reached its main heights. When it shifts its criterion of content from the box office receipts to an educational significance it may experience a rebirth, not necessarily reflected in quantity but in social value.

The great popularity of motion pictures has been pointed out by various individuals. The main reasons may be boiled down to the following points: (1) The fascination "of not knowing what one will see" is effective. (2) No punctuality is required; a person can enter and take a seat at any time and leave at any time. (3) "No special degree of intelligence" is required; "no attitude toward anything" is needed; "no convictions on anything" are necessary. No knowledge of any language is essential; consequently, the immigrant is reached by the motion picture before he understands the language of the community.

[12] *Cf.* Jesse F. Steiner, *Recent Social Trends* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1933).

(4) A fairly good eyesight and the price of admission are the main requirements. As "a direct and immediate appeal to the feelings" and to an elemental understanding the motion picture is far-reaching. (5) Appeals to one's love of children, of home, of flag, of courage, of romance, are usually made, but these worthy tendencies are often accompanied by tantalizing appeals to the melodramatic, the brutalizing, and the sex impulses. (6) The family as a group, among poorer people with small children, often finds it feasible to attend, although the jumbling of wholesome and unwholesome scenes before the eyes of impulsive children and adolescents, not to mention child-like adults, is disorganizing.

The "talking picture" arrived in 1926. Sound in pictures created many upheavals. It sent well-known stars to the scrap heap. It required the expenditure of millions of dollars in building soundproof rooms and halls. It made many types of scenes more realistic, for example, the locust scenes in *The Good Earth*. It limited foreign markets.

Then in 1928 came a new development in "animated cartoons." Under the magic touch of Walt Disney, pictures could now be made to do anything. No stretch of the imagination was too difficult to be handled. "Actors" are no longer limited to the pull of gravitation or the sequence of the centuries. Relief from stern reality and compensation for limited outlooks account in part for the success of such full-length animated cartoons as *Snow White*. It is interesting that "Dopey" has become a national stereotype of a whole class of people.

Early in the thirties still another innovation appeared, in the form of "Technicolor." Unsatisfactory at first, technicolor has been perfected until now full-length pictures are shown with only a few weak spots and always with several magnificent color reproductions. Color furthers realism and increases the artistic appeal.

We may now turn to the oft-repeated need for regulation of motion pictures. Perhaps the need arises chiefly from the use of *indirect suggestion*. This principle operates strongly both constructively and destructively. The constructive tendencies are found in the emphases on the worth-while values of the home, recreation, art, morals, social life. The destructive tendencies have been effectively stated as follows:

> We now are freely setting before our children an unrestricted volume of pictured representation of every immorality in the world in the film theater under the name of entertainment. . . . Sin is exploited insinuatingly for amusement. . . . The picture is a graphic story, clear and complete to the last detail, a hundred times easier to comprehend than reality. . . . To seductively illustrate the life of a moral reprobate for an hour, and then for a minute to say "that such living is wrong will not excuse such a performance." [13]

Motion pictures vary from the developmental to the demoralizing. The positively developmental constitute only a small percentage of the whole. Then come the major group which have been labeled "entertaining" and "merely entertaining." After these come the "undesired" and "demoralizing," which run up to perhaps a third of all scenes and which include a great deal of violence.

Most pictures stir up unduly the feelings and emotions. By being so designed, they draw the largest audiences and hence the largest profits. The effects of operating motion pictures primarily for profit instead of for social welfare are far-reaching.

A leading producer has said that the picture which draws the largest audiences represents the level of intelligence of an adolescent; therefore the common run of film is made on that intellectual level. Managers who have attempted to show films of a higher educational value than the average report that the audiences immediately decrease in size to a point where the showing of such pictures is no longer profitable. It appears that the public does not go to the motion picture show to be educated but to be amused. The immense popularity of the "Mickey Mouse" and similar pictures is a case in point. The public does not attend to reason or to think hard, but goes in a passive and subjective sense for pleasure.

The motion picture exercises such subtle effects upon adult minds that it operates continuously as a powerful psychological force upon an entire national group. The public is hardly yet aware of this far-reaching form of control. If the public is receiving but one-fourth to one-

[13] E. P. Oberholtzer, *The Morals of the Movie* (The Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia, 1932), p. 85. A recent defense and explanation of the "morals of the movies" may be found in Margaret Thorp's *America at the Movies* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1939).

third of the constructive values which it might from the billions of dollars that are spent on this popular form of entertainment, if motion pictures pour out a steady stream of questionable influences along with the good influences upon the youth of the nation, if they exert a generally hypnotic influence upon the adult mind, arousing in it a greater and greater thirst for the excitable, the criminal, the sexual—then the public is entitled to ask for public control and regulation of pictures.

In a remarkable study of motion pictures conducted under the general supervision of W. W. Charters and supported by the Payne Fund, in 1933–1935, many facts were discovered. Examples are: Many scenes stimulate youth to commit crimes. Some boys testified that from the movies they learned how to open safes, to elude police, to play the role of gas or other inspectors, to break into houses, and so on. On the other hand, the punishment meted out to criminals in the movies does not have the deterrent effect that is attributed to it. After seeing how thieves and other criminals are caught, many youths are not deterred, but are quick to point out how they can fool the police. Young children of a nervous nature suffer a great deal from fear and horror upon viewing many movie scenes. Race prejudice is aroused by various films; one of the worst offenders was *The Birth of a Nation*. Widespread is the tendency to condone crime after seeing it in the movies. Equally serious is the reaction that is produced against the desirability of honest work. Instead of learning that "crime doesn't pay," the conclusion of some movie-attendant youths is that "work doesn't pay." Impartial judges of films have protested against the numerous scenes that are shown of feminine aggressiveness and coarseness. Likewise murders and homicides are played up entirely too much. While youths learn considerable valuable information from the movies, they also acquire a great deal of misinformation.

Inasmuch as the motion picture has catered so often to the lower elements of human nature, it has had to face censorship. Four times an adverse public opinion has arisen.

(1) The first angry wave of public opinion came in about 1907–1909, when, for example, Mayor Gaynor closed all the motion picture houses of New York, and the Chicago *Tribune* denounced the cheap theaters and films. As a result films and show houses were improved.

(2) The questionable picture, however, continued, but on a higher level of technique. Public opinion demanded but did not get an improvement, and in consequence, censorship achieved a widespread vogue. City after city and even states passed censorship laws. Censorship, on the whole, has not been satisfactory, partly because it is negative, partly because it is enforced by untrained persons, and partly because it "cuts" pictures after large sums of money have been spent on their production. By 1921 the adverse public opinion had acquired such momentum that the motion picture industry undertook to reform itself. It secured a member of the cabinet of the President of the United States to direct the reorganization. Adverse opinion quieted down, only to rise again with new force about 1929. This time it was the women's clubs and liberal church press, such as the *Christian Century*, that led the adverse opinion. A sample of the unfavorable opinion is expressed by Mrs. Robbins Gilman, president of the Federal Motion Picture Council in America:

> The industry claims that it has twenty million people viewing films a day. These people cannot go to motion pictures for one month without realizing that the worst accusations that have been made are self-evident in the moving picture theater. There is no need to prove—even if this writer were willing to present the sordid details—that, even with due regard for good pictures, the screen is permeated by exaggerated sex appeal, criminal practices, ridicule of marriage, disregard for law enforcement, desecration of religious ideals, and questionable ethics. . . .
>
> The facts show that motion pictures are influencing unfavorably the education and character of citizens in this and other countries; that they are undermining the prestige of Americans in foreign lands; are causing the loss of confidence in the leadership of the white race; and are menacing the good will among peoples and endangering the peace of the world.[14]

From the motion picture producer's viewpoint the problem is complicated. The producer is often under pressure from many directions. He has to make a picture so that it will appeal to all types of people, to "the adult, the child, the moron, the intellectual." The producer pays exorbitant salaries to the stars and the director, and faces countless

[14] *Woman's Journal*, XV : 11.

expenses before the product is marketed.

(3) The third adverse movement reached a climax in a widespread belief that the "movies" are unable "to reform themselves," that the securing of well-known people to act as "reorganizers" means little, and that nothing short of public control and regulation will suffice.

In the *public control* of motion pictures the principle is involved of regulating pictures at the point of production rather than to wait and censor the finished picture. Federal regulation of what pictures shall be produced and sent to foreign countries is considered to be as vital as granting passports and deciding what citizens shall go abroad.

With the rise of competition from television beginning about 1948, the motion picture industry experienced a considerable decline in attendance and many of the smaller neighborhood houses were forced to close. Large numbers of people cut down their attendance to stay at home and view television programs. By 1953 television had won over a number of the best known and most popular radio performers and the number of television sets in the United States had reached 20,000,000.

In 1953 some of the leading motion picture producers believed that they had found an answer to competition from television in Cinerama and three-dimensional motion pictures. Large sums of money were thrown into the new type of motion picture. However, a new competitor appeared to be at hand in color television.

Research concerning the effects of motion pictures upon children and youth developed a dozen important studies in the thirties.[15] The entry of television into millions of homes has made a widespread appeal to children and youth. Research studies in this connection are needed on such subjects as: effects of television (a) on children's eyes, (b) on children's desire for excitement, (c) on their interest in the basic values in life, (d) on their reading and study habits, (e) on their reactions to an extensive diet of scenes involving violence and crime, (f) on family activities in the evening, (g) on family unity, and (h) on problems of child training and parental control.

[15] Made under the direction of the Committee on Educational Research of the Payne Fund (published by The Macmillan Company, New York, beginning in 1933).

(4) The Legion of Decency of the Catholic Church made itself felt in no uncertain terms in the middle thirties with its determined threats of boycott if pictures were not improved. Almost immediately a few outstanding photoplays were put on the market and a better impression was created. At the same time a great many low-grade pictures were being made and shown.

A part of the total criticism has arisen over the type of picture that is made in the United States and shown in foreign countries. A great many of the "triangle" and other love scenes are judged by foreigners to be representative of life in the United States and hence give a distorted impression. The United States at its worst rather than at its best is sometimes depicted. As a vehicle for diffusing culture patterns the motion picture is very effective, at least in a superficial way. "On the whole, movies have had greater influence upon the superficial aspects of personal behavior than upon attitudes related to basic social values." [16]

It is in leisure hours that *alcohol* becomes prominent. The use of alcoholic liquor has been common to many peoples. It has met various types of craving, ranging from the desire for excitement to the wish to deaden one's feelings and drown defeats and sorrows.

In European countries such as France and Italy the drinking of wines with varying degrees of alcoholic content is significant because they are drunk regularly with meals, and as agents of sociability. They are drunk up to their maximum stimulative levels and occasionally to an intoxication stage. In Germany, for example, it is beer with a low alcoholic percentage that is drunk regularly with meals and in beer gardens. It often is drunk slowly while listening to classical music or while conversing with friends. Again, it rarely is drunk until it produces drunkenness.

In other countries, such as England, where hard liquor or liquor with a higher alcoholic content is used, the "public house" or "pub" where liquor is sold under government supervision becomes a "hang-out" not only for men but for women, day after day. Often the "pub" becomes a rendezvous for "old sots." The poor spend their earnings at these

[16] P. F. Cressey, "The Influence of Moving Pictures on Students in India," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI : 346, November, 1935.

"pubs" with nothing of value to show as a result. Reports indicate that in some sections on the East Side of London the people spend more for liquor than for bread, milk, rent, and taxes combined.

The widespread misuse of liquor in the United States has been due on one hand to individual lack of control, to the speed with which everything is done, to the belief that a person can do as he pleases, and that if a person wants to get drunk such a debauch is his own affair. The commercialized dealers have sold liquor to Indians until they became "crazy," to youth until they became "fools," to the working man until he had no money with which to buy bread for his wife and children, to the man in "high society" until he sank lower than the brutes. Commercialization of liquor created the disreputable "pub," the saloon, and the tavern. Concerning the saloon an observer says:

> How well I remember the saloons in our town. Big, fat bartenders with red noses, lines of hard-handed working men in blue jeans at the bar; now and then one would come out "blubbering away" to himself and unsteady at the knees, reeling listlessly; at the back door was a poor sot "sleeping off" his overindulgence. Worst of all was the man who went by our house yelling with "delirium tremens," on his way "home" to wife and children, led by a friend. How one man could sell another, glass after glass of poisonous drink until the latter sank beneath the human, was more than I could understand.[17]

Many European nations during the World War of 1914–1918 declared officially against alcohol, but they reverted after the war to prewar attitudes. If the use of alcoholic liquor militates against efficiency in war, the argument is strong for the rigid control of it in connection with the strenuous activities and conflicts in times of peace, for it is in these periods that a nation grows strong or weak, and builds the foundations for future successes or defeats.[18] Alcoholism turns leisure time into waste time and creates an abuse of human abilities.

THE AUTOMOBILE

When the automobile came upon the market in the first decade of the present century it was a luxury. The wealthy bought it for their

[17] From personal interview materials.

[18] For further discussion of this subject, see the section on "Alcoholism" in Chapter 12 on Group Disorganization.

TABLE III

PASSENGER AUTOMOBILES IN THE UNITED STATES[19]

1920	8,200,000
1930	23,000,000
1935	22,600,000
1940	25,500,000
1945	24,300,000
1950	40,080,000

personal enjoyment during their leisure hours, and an occasional business or professional man persuaded himself that it was a necessity. Today, however, the automobile is considered a necessity in both leisure and working hours by millions. The "automobile public" in our country includes most of the population between the ages of fifteen and seventy years of age.

Figures regarding the rapid expansion in the use of the automobile reveal something of the size of both the social assets and the liabilities involved. The depression years brought a standstill in a movement which doubled in the decade from 1920 to 1929 inclusive. "Prosperity" is disclosed in automobile sales as well as if not better than in any other industrial gauge. The automobile, expensive as is its upkeep, has moved into the realm of necessity for millions of people.

In all the seven wars that our nation has been engaged in, beginning with the Revolutionary War, a total of 490,000 men were killed in action. Yet the peace-time record in the United States for the twenty

TABLE IV

A PEACE-TIME RECORD OF DEATHS BY AUTOMOBILES

1920	9,100
1925	17,500
1930	29,000
1935	34,100
1940	32,200
1950	38,700

[19] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1952.

years from 1921 to 1941 alone was 600,000 men, women and children killed in automobile accidents.

For the first time in the nation's history the number killed in automobile accidents in 1941 reached an all-time high when the figures were almost 40,000 and the number injured exceeded 1,000,000. In a list of "driving errors" that has been published in a booklet designed to educate the public regarding the problem, the classification is subject to criticism but is nevertheless worth studying. Table V gives this analysis for three-fourths of the accidents in 1937. In the remaining accidents the nature of the driving errors was not clear.

TABLE V

ERRORS IN DRIVING

	Killed	*Percentage*	*Injured*	*Percentage*
Exceeding speed limit	9,380	36.8	227,560	24.9
Reckless driving	4,440	17.4	138,910	15.2
On wrong side of road	3,440	13.5	124,290	13.6
Did not have right of way	3,030	11.9	197,400	21.6
Drove off highway	1,890	7.4	53,010	5.8
Other factors	3,320	13.0	172,730	18.9

The dangers involved in automobile driving are laid at the doors of about one-tenth of the drivers, the mischief-makers, by Clarence M. Case.[20] These are either young persons, drunken drivers, or "the genuine Road-Mutt."

"I have called them Road-Mutts because they seem to fill on the road the same role carried by Mutt in the well-known comic strip of the daily press. Mutt in the cartoon is not the enemy of Jeff by any means, but he has a way of imposing on his companion and occasionally shoving him around, which suggests a crude and unsocialized personality. 'We injure one another more with our elbows than with our fists'; and Mutt, whether figuring in the comic strip or the anything but comic traffic accident, is no exception to the rule." [21]

Another aspect of the automobile development is the increased social mobility of people. Persons of ordinary means now consider an

[20] "The Social Infant on the Road," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXIII : 6ff.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

automobile a necessity. They travel far and wide, not only during vacations but over week-ends. Traveling about in an automobile offsets the monotony and cramped feeling that many people experience in living in apartment houses and flats.

The house trailer movement reached a major stage by 1936, during which year one manufacturer alone turned out 9000 trailers.[22] Beginning in what has been called the "tin can" and the "gipsy" stage, the house trailer moved up into the "portable home" pattern of travel. No longer hand-made as a rule, the house trailer has attained a great variety of custom-made styles.

While a small percentage of people live for long periods of time in their trailers, most view them as a vacation convenience. The number of people who now view them as a means of extending their sightseeing is well up in the hundreds of thousands. The trailer functions in part as an inexpensive means of compensating for the hurly-burly of modern city life. To go "roughing it" has an appeal for people who react against the artificialities of urban restraints.

The great development in the house trailer movement has several explanations, as given by Clark and Wilcox.[23] (1) Improvement in hard-surfaced highways has made traveling by automobile enjoyable. (2) Improvements in manufacturing have been made whereby an inexpensive automobile can pull a trailer up grades and for long distances without great cost. (3) The development of special materials such as plywood makes it possible to manufacture lightweight but durable and attractive trailers. (4) Large-scale manufacturing has cut down costs. (5) The depression gave inexpensive travel a boost. (6) The publicity given the National Parks has proved a drawing card. (7) The increase in the number of unemployed and retired people who are not old explains part of the interest in trailer travel.

World War II with its rationing of gasoline and its cessation of automobile manufacturing effected a sharp decline in vacationing by trailer. By 1948 a slow increase in spending vacations in trailers is noticeable. The advantages and the problems remain as before the war.

[22] C. D. Clark and C. E. Wilcox, "The House Trailer Movement," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXII : 507, July-August, 1938.

[23] *Loc. cit.*

The automobile may be viewed in terms of a social welfare balance sheet. On the liability side are factors such as:

1. High death rate of (*a*) drivers and riders, and (*b*) pedestrians.
2. High accident rate and suffering.
3. Furthering the "speed complex," recklessness, and thoughtlessness.
4. Increasing urban congestion in traffic.
5. Making roadhouses profitable rendezvous for questionable amusements.
6. Undermining behavior patterns safeguarding the sex relations of youth.

The assets represented by the invention and use of the automobile are also far-reaching in their effects upon personality. They include:

1. Increased facility of transportation and of making social contacts.
2. Taking city people into the country for pleasure trips.
3. Bringing rural people into the city and increasing their opportunities.
4. More extended vacation trips and increased development of parks.
5. Enjoyment of more recreational opportunities.
6. Helping to raise the standard of living.[24]

THE NEW LEISURE

Man started out with a great deal of leisure on his hands. In the beginning there was no organized work and leisure predominated. Then developed slavery and feudalism, with one class having all the leisure and another class having all the work, which was often mostly routine. Relief from routine was often secured through idleness or carousal, sometimes fostered by the master class. A century and a half ago steam power was harnessed to the machine and the factory system arose with many gradations of labor. Those at the top had as much leisure as they wished; those at the bottom had little if any leisure. The long hours of labor of those at the bottom, again, were often punctuated by periods of idleness and carousal.

In our day the machine age has reached a climax. The shorter working day began to arrive for the industrial masses through the efforts of organized labor and benevolent employers. In the autumn of 1932 it

[24] Several of the items in this and the foregoing list have been suggested by E. E. Muntz, *Urban Sociology* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1938), p. 608.

was proclaimed boldly by the technocrats that a four-hour day four days in the week would soon be sufficient. The machine would do the rest. The new leisure is for everyone.

The depression that began in 1929 brought the "staggered" week, in which a week's work for one person is divided up between two or three persons with doubled or trebled leisure for all. Depression brings its millions of unemployed with its leisure for millions. World War II brought special recreation problems. Today new leisure time problems are arising.

The new leisure is that which comes in normal times with the short working day and the short week. If both the machine and production are properly controlled, everyone will again have leisure, as in the primitive days of mankind. This new leisure will be enjoyed or wasted under entirely different conditions from those of earliest human days. The new leisure is really the old leisure of primitive days but under entirely new conditions.

The new leisure means that every week-end will be a set of holidays for everyone. New inventions in transportation will mean increasing journeys in number and length, not only in summer but throughout the year, for every week will have its vacation as well as its vocation aspect.

With the development some years ago of the ideal of eight hours for work, eight hours for leisure, and eight hours for rest, the leisure-time problem became a problem of prime importance. With a growing emphasis on a forty-hour or shorter week the problem increases. When every week-end becomes a short-term vacation, the leisure problem grows.

Leisure becomes the problem of what to do with at least a third of life. The leisure hours are becoming as important as the work hours. In a way they are more significant, for during work hours there is standardization, but during leisure hours there is likely to be lack of regulation and a tremendous waste of time. The problem is especially acute when commercial interests prey upon the leisure hours of people, creating great excitement, leaving people nervous and befuddled, and stripping them of their possible savings.

It has often been asserted that civilization depends largely upon

the way people use their leisure time. Leisure may mean recuperation from work or the acquisition of vicious habits, the invigoration of body and mind or the destruction of life itself. The leisure hours of a hundred million people and more are becoming as important to the nation as the hours spent by the adult at work, or as the time that the school claims of children. If technocracy is a correct prophet, then leisure hours are going to multiply and work hours will diminish. Controlling the leisure of a national group will become a staggering problem.

The social situation regarding play in a country such as the United States has changed greatly in the last century. A hundred years ago all the natural activities of life centered in the home. They could be expressed largely within the physical limits of one roof and its environs and under home control. They were simple, noncommercialized, and more or less in the open.

The modern city has changed this social situation. Formerly boys could expend their energies upon hillside and meadow and in the dooryard and barnyard of the rural home. Parents maintained a watchful eye. Today, in the city, boys play on narrow streets traversed by speeding cars and heavy trucks. The parents are relatively helpless. Said a boy to the writer in connection with the "Boys Work Survey" of Los Angeles, "There are no vacant lots in our neighborhood any more; we can't play on the streets without getting 'pinched,' the school playground closes at seven, but what boy wants to go to bed at seven?" [25]

In giving boys and girls opportunities to earn money at an early age and in leaving them free and often unguided in spending their money "as they choose in the midst of vice deliberately disguised as pleasure," the modern city is grossly negligent.[26] Apparently, continues Jane Addams, the modern city sees in working girls, for example, two main possibilities, both of them commercial: first, a chance to use day by day their new and immature labor power in its factories and shops, and then another chance in the evening to extract their wages from them by catering to their love of amusement and play.[27]

[25] E. S. Bogardus, *The City Boy and His Problems* (Rotary Club of Los Angeles, 1926).

[26] Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1912), p. 8. [27] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

A vital question is: Shall the leisure-time and play attitudes be monopolized by commercial interests, or shall prosocial uses of leisure be taught and generally adopted? Which shall it be: the commercialization or the socialization of leisure? Shall the leisure of all be exploited for the financial gain of a few, or turned into activities building up both personality and group welfare?

The promulgation of wholesale community projects such as were once sponsored in Czechoslovakia, where thousands came together not as spectators but as participators, under the direction of physical education leaders, is needed. In this way a new community consciousness may be developed for large groups of people.

If "the use of leisure is the architect of character" and if leisure is to be more extensive than ever before, then social recreation has an enlarged responsibility. If, as Samuel Johnson said, "No man is a hypocrite in his recreation," then physical education leaders are to be congratulated for they are working with people when they are most natural. If instead of "leisured classes" we are to have considerable leisure for all classes, then let social recreation step into the breach before commercialized agencies take charge.

To what use will the new leisure be put? The answer depends largely on what leisure-time stimuli are set before the people.

(1) One possibility is to leave the use of leisure in the hands of commercialized amusements operated for profits for a few, and characterized to a large extent by excitement and melodrama. In fact, commercialized amusement interests will leap forward with all sorts of devices to steal away not only the leisure hours but the potential savings of the multitude.

(2) A second possibility will be to allow a great deal of leisure to go to waste. Between the hours given over to commercialized amusements and the actual working hours will be a considerable margin of hours spent in simple "fooling around," flitting from one nerve-wracking hour to another, "loafing," gossiping, despite the fact that life is "too precious for a single hour to be wasted."

(3) A third use of the new leisure will be an interesting emphasis on the "sitting amusements," that is, on those in which people sit down to talk or read, or listen to the radio, or ride in an automobile,

or otherwise watch and listen to others. The intellectual values may be great or small, but physical exercise values are likely to be negative.

(4) The use of the automobile during leisure constitutes an omnipresent social problem. Even speed is speeded up, and superficiality is furthered. A great increase in nervous wear and tear has nothing of real significance to show for itself. Deaths in automobile accidents have reached the point where they constitute a serious social problem.

(5) The fifth possible use of the new leisure may come through socialized recreation. It will be an expansion of activity programs for families as such, for individuals of similar ages, sex, and tastes, and for communities. It will be a further development of the play movement that has already made excellent headway. It will center attention of the participants on group ends and welfare goals.

SOCIAL USES OF LEISURE

Broad-minded persons have led the way in creating institutions that develop constructive play attitudes, irrespective of financial gain. In the various constructive activities developed for their own sake or for welfare purposes, and irrespective of monetary ends, the playground movement easily leads. This movement began in the United States about 1880, won considerable public attention about 1900, and by 1920 had secured wide recognition.

Seven main stages in the playground movement in the United States have been clearly analyzed by Clarence E. Rainwater.[28] These are: (1) the sand garden stage, beginning with a box and a pile of sand for small children; (2) the model playground stage, with a small playground to a million people perhaps; (3) the small park stage, for walking and sitting or for the playing of a few games by selected individuals; (4) the recreation center stage, with first a public auditorium, a school auditorium, perhaps, for pageants and lectures; (5) the civic art and welfare stage, with an emphasis on esthetic factors and a public consciousness; (6) the neighborhood organization stage, where neigh-

[28] *The Play Movement in the United States* (The University of Chicago Press, 1922). This book gives an excellent analysis of the play movement.

borhoods develop a concrete consciousness through widespread and active participation; and (7) the community service stage, originating in part in "war community service" during the first World War. This exhibit reveals the trend of an important social development.

The stages were accompanied by the growth of an all-year playground service of play facilities for youth and adults as well as for children. In the adult world the play movement has meant the organization of whole communities, giving them an opportunity to decide upon the type of recreation that they need, encouraging them to provide recreation for themselves at a minimum charge, and withal indirectly developing in them a social consciousness and a community participation which lie at the heart of any truly democratic life.

The play movement has had not only stages or levels of growth but also transitions, or evolutionary changes. The stages are testimony to the operation of organic growth. These evolutionary emergencies have been ably summarized by C. E. Rainwater,[29] namely, (1) from provisions for little children to those for all ages of people; (2) from facilities operated during the summer only to those operated throughout the year; (3) from outdoor equipment only to both outdoor and indoor facilities and events; (4) from programs for congested urban districts to programs for both urban and rural communities; (5) from philanthropic to community support and control; (6) from "free" play and miscellaneous events to directed play with organized activities and correlated schedules; (7) from a simple to a complex field of activities, including manual, physical, esthetic, social, and civic projects; (8) from the provision of facilities to the definition of standards for the use of leisure time; and (9) from appeals to individuals to appeals to group and community activities.

The public school in the United States has had few organized play activities until recent decades. However, it has caught a new impetus from the public playground movement, and consequently boards of education are providing playground directors not only for school days but for the holidays and vacations, when in large cities such directors are in fact more needed than during school days. In a particular school

[29] *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, "The Transitions in the Play Movement."

district in L. the boys have complained with reference to school vacations, especially holidays, saying:

> During the Christmas holidays the school playground is closed, and we can't have a good time. There is no regular playground in our neighborhood. We will get "pinched" if we play ball in the street. Only the alleys and hallways are left. Christmas is the dullest time of the year for us, for there is no place to play.[30]

Social settlements and similar institutions have been known for their recreational programs, although they have often been inadequately equipped and forced to rely on volunteer or poorly paid workers. They have been located in the heart of congested areas, and hence have been quick to appreciate the few constructive opportunities for play which the poorer people have at their command. They have responded to this need nobly, despite the limited means at their disposal. They have been heroic pioneers. They understand the masses, and hence are in a strategic position for formulating a widespread recreational procedure for those most in need. The successful methods which they have worked out have sometimes been adopted by the city or local area and put into operation on a large scale with the use of public funds. They have contributed ideas for a city-wide public school and playground program financed by tax money. Many of their functions thus have passed into a larger expression, leaving them free to develop other and newer ideas through experimentation.[31]

The churches are beginning to recognize that wholesome play activities are normal. The recreation impulses are such powerful forces for the good or ill of children, youths, and adults alike that churches are assuming positive attitudes toward them. Some churches have built splendid recreation halls and developed a diversified community program.

In certain instances churches have led in combating destructive amusements. They may well go further and assume the leadership in

[30] From personal interview materials.

[31] Small and large parks alike have offered only a minimum of recreation until recently for the working people. Located usually in the same areas where the wealthy or well-to-do live, their beautiful expanses have afforded chiefly a walking or sitting type of recreation. In the last few decades the extension of play facilities and equipment to public-owned spaces has proceeded apace.

developing a new public opinion, a public opinion that will insist on constructive play provisions for all the people, young and old.

Boys' and girls' clubs and organizations have had a remarkable development under the direction of private agencies. Boy Scouts, Boy Rangers, Y.M.C.A. clubs for different ages, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, Girl Reserves, Girl Guides (English), and so on, suggest the wide range of activities that are being provided for youth by private welfare bodies. When these programs are coupled with the public playground movement, the results in terms of providing for the leisure time of youth can hardly be imagined. Trained professional leaders, both men and women, are becoming increasingly skillful in helping youth to develop wholesome personalities and in turn to become leaders of the next younger groups of boys and girls. They are helping youth to solve youth's leisure-time problems constructively and to avoid unnecessary maladjustments and delinquency.

The play movement thus grows out of the principles that the dominant interest in the life of youth is play, not work, and that the best development at this age comes from play rather than from work. It also includes the principle that adults need wholesome and constructive play which will offer true recuperation from a neurasthenic urban pace.

In providing for a richer development of play a comprehensive vision is a prime essential. Play needs are varied and may be met in a number of important ways.

(1) The greatest need, possibly, is to educate all the people regarding the principles of recreation. For example, the public needs to see how modern industry and the city have created home conditions for the masses that are too congested and ill-arranged to permit the enjoyable spending of leisure time in the home area, unless radical changes are made in eliminating the congestion. The public may well understand how commercial enterprise has taken advantage of the play attitudes of people, and has catered to the play impulses of every age-period in life and "to every grade of intellectual, artistic, and moral development." The public needs to appreciate how commercialized amusements, developing under a *laissez-faire* public policy, have often led to the economic and moral exploitation of both children and adults.

It is quite clear that under modern complex conditions recreation can no longer be left to individual and commercial control.

Public control cannot neglect the fact that children and adults alike require and will have amusements of some sort. If such control is chiefly repressive it may do more harm than good. It is best when regulatory and constructive. Every community, rural as well as urban, may well have a recreation committee or commission, private or public, voluntary or paid, to study the play needs of the particular area and to see that as many of these needs as possible are met, and that their cost is kept low.

(2) A recreation body will find its greatest work in planning and providing for the future, although in crowded urban districts it will be swamped in providing simply for current needs. Local recreation bodies will not be enough. State recreation commissions are necessary in order to co-ordinate properly the local programs. Many cities now own mountain and winter as well as summer camps many miles away from their business centers. Regional play facilities are a necessary part of a real leisure-time program for all the people. In fact, so great is the scope of recreation needs that a national recreation commission has important functions to perform in correlating the activities of state commissions, in promoting new types of play programs, and in formulating new principles for the socialization of play.

(3) The development of home recreation is essential. Even in comfortable homes there has arisen a tendency for young people to get away before the dinner hour is over in order to enjoy themselves, thus eliminating the few remaining hours now available to the members of the family as a unit. After all, the home has perhaps the best requisites for becoming a socialized recreation center, particularly for children. The opportunities are many for the development of play as an activity of the family as a unit.[32]

(4) The provision of many small playgrounds for young children is a standard need. In Philadelphia a study some years ago of the attendance at playgrounds showed that 74 per cent of the attendance of the

[32] The development of home yards for play purposes is important. Many small yard spaces are available, but are totally unequipped and improperly used. Parents as part-time instructors might easily double the home play facilities in particular city areas.

younger children was from homes within three blocks, or a five minutes' walk, of such playgrounds. The radius of efficiency of a playground, according to a Milwaukee study, was from one-fourth to one-half a mile. Later studies have verified this conclusion.

For adolescents over fourteen years of age in cities of size, larger playgrounds, play fields, and parks are needed within a twenty minutes' walk of every home. Another safe rule is to spend twice as much on supervision as on any special form of equipment, for the human element in play and its supervision and direction is by far the most important consideration. A play leader performs vitally in the development of the personality of his followers. He leads in the most engaging form of human interest, namely, play relationships. He sets examples when examples most easily condition the behavior patterns of others.

(5) A most difficult task is to secure proper inspection, control, or suppression where needed, of commercialized amusements that are run for profit rather than for welfare, such as low-grade dance halls and academies, drinking inns and "roadhouses." In suppressing commercialized amusements that are destructive of the best values of life, it is necessary to provide constructive substitutes. In controlling them, it is usually necessary to defy "politics" and "pull," and to substitute standards of recreation for destructive amusements.

(6) Socialized play distinguishes between amusement and recreation. Amusement is passive, nonparticipating, but often exciting; it creates "spectatoritis." The amused person is one who looks on while someone else plays or works or overworks. Recreation, on the other hand, is active and recreative; it is constructive and invigorating.

A current tendency is to accentuate amusement at the expense of recreation. The emphasis may safely be reversed. The majority of adults and many adolescents can secure ample amusement in real, enlivening recreation; in fact, many persons obtain genuine recreation through their work, providing it contains sufficient opportunities for creative expression. Work which is so specialized that it possesses no interesting elements compels the worker to look to the end of the day or of the week for his recreation. Leisure hours spent in idleness or in melodramatic excitement are abnormal.

(7) The need for community recreation, that is, for recreation provided for the community and by the community, is paramount. A splendid step to this end is taken when a whole community is stimulated to provide organized recreation for itself at cost. The ideal is for each community to provide its own recreation at a minimum expense. "Community recreation by the community" is a sound slogan. It helps to create democracy in the community.

(8) Cooperative recreation has been making rapid developments. It is one of the oldest types of recreation known to mankind. It is that type in which a number of persons combine to furnish themselves with recreational activity at practically no cost. Through cooperative organizations they meet their own recreational needs pretty largely without dependence on commercialized amusements. In the "co-op play group" every person freely takes an active part along with every other member. The recreational activities are those in which cooperation largely displaces competitive activities. They include folk dancing, folk games, folk singing, guessing games, co-op plays, and so on. The motivation comes from sharing together in a pleasing activity for its own sake and for the sake of the enjoyment of others on a wholly democratic basis.[33] Each member shares freely in the joyous activities of other persons. Each enjoys the free expression of himself in the rhythmic activity patterns of the group.

The values in cooperative recreation are carefully stated by the late David Crosby.[34] (1) Group awareness and cohesiveness are products of cooperative recreation. (2) Group created recreation assists in the development of the culture of a people. (3) Cooperative recreation gives a natural emotional development of personality. (4) Cooperative recreation gives young people favorable orientation toward "such values as mutual aid, social justice, and peaceful evolution of society."

It may be added that leisure is being conceived as a means whereby persons can adjust themselves to the community in which they live. When at work, persons may have their "noses so close to the grindstone" of daily tasks that they do not discern the relation of themselves

[33] David Crosby, "Social Values in Cooperative Recreation," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVI : 139ff., November-December, 1941.

[34] *Loc. cit.*

to their community. In one's leisure he can devote himself to helping make the democratic system work.[35]

The primary needs to which modern leisure is to minister have been suggested as seven by E. C. Lindeman. This list may be considered as a scale or yardstick against which to measure the leisure-time activities of any of one's friends or of one's self. These needs are: (1) healthy and balanced organisms and personalities, (2) normal skills, (3) participation in the arts, (4) acquaintance with nature, (5) non-vocational learning, about national and international problems, (6) contemplation, and (7) group experience.[36] Each of these items is general enough to allow for variations comparable to differences in personality. The list as a totality is more significant than a mere sum of interesting parts.

AVOCATIONS AND LEISURE

Leisure may be defined as the time that remains after work hours, sleep and rest hours, dressing and eating hours are deducted from the twenty-four hour day. Leisure time may be classified as follows: (1) waste time, (2) pastime, (3) hobby time, and (4) avocation time.[37]

(1) *Waste time* includes "fooling around" and "killing time." Some persons waste nearly all their spare time, while nearly everyone is guilty of squandering some time. Indecision is an explanation of much waste time. Waiting by one person for other persons is another common source of waste time. Lack of personal system and of well-defined personal goals also explains wasted time.

(2) *Pastime* is a short-term diversion. Perhaps it is reading a work of fiction now and then; perhaps it is something entirely useless. A pastime usually has little meaning, or as the term indicates, it is something by which to "pass the time." Note this example:

> I had a few minutes to spare and picked up a jigsaw puzzle that lay on the living room table. I spread out the pieces and they fascinated me.

[35] H. L. Hunter, "Leisure—Problem or Pleasure," *The Cooperative Productive Review*, 22:254, 255, November, 1947.

[36] E. C. Lindeman, *Leisure—A National Issue* (Association Press, New York, 1939), p. 24.

[37] This classification has been tested by Marion Flad in her study, "Leisure Time Activities of 400 Persons," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVIII : 265–74, January-February, 1934.

They went together well for a time and then I was balked, but I did not want to admit defeat even to myself. I kept on for hours and finally won. I am not much interested in jigsaw puzzles but now and then I get caught in the net. They take my mind off my work. Once a start is made I never give up until the puzzle is completed. It is not a hobby with me by any means.[38]

(3) *Hobbies* are interests to which a person devotes considerable time over a period of years, but irregularly. Personal pleasure is a chief result. Making collections of some object, for example, of paintings, or butterflies, or books, playing bridge for enjoyment rather than to win, and gardening are examples.

My garden is my hobby. I belong to several garden clubs and I am learning the Latin names of flowers. My family laugh at me because at times I take the garden clubs so seriously. The trips to visit the elaborate gardens of the wealthy are marvelous but I shall not keep them up, although I shall be arranging and re-arranging my garden from time to time. There is where my real interests lie. I like a garden for its own sake. It is "a lovesome thing." You can't work with flowers without thinking beautiful thoughts. Of course I get pleasure out of showing the new flowers or the best ones to my friends. Maybe I'll compete in a flower show soon.[39]

Hobbies are sometimes pursued with abandon for a time. A hobby may take one to the extreme of high tension. At a close game the baseball fan wears himself out. The bridge fan strives so hard to win that defeat is bitter and the mistake of a partner an unpardonable sin. The "night-out" devotee goes to his work the morning after with a thick head. In other words, hobbies may be carried too far and a check is required. The best antidote is perhaps having a hobby with a purpose, but this safeguard carries it over into the nature of an avocation.

Making the hobby the end in itself is a waste of time. Having a hobby with some definite purpose in view is everything. If you ever think of taking up a hobby, try rare book collecting. But specialize in a certain type of rare book. You'll be astonished how much enjoyment you get out of it. At the same time if you acquire a large collection and keep it intact, you will be performing a great service to scholarship.[40]

[38] From personal interview data. [39] From personal interview data.

[40] Harold D. Carew, "Otto h.f. Vollbehr Discusses the World's Greatest—and Other—Books," *Touring Topics*, XXV : 8, April, 1933.

Hobbies possess several values. They are a worth-while way of spending leisure time, and they meet needs that are not met in one's occupation. Perhaps the two purposes can be put into one as follows: Leisure time makes possible the development of interesting activities that are denied one in his regular daily work.

Hobbies, rightly chosen, give personality that change and development which are denied it by the day's work. At the same time they furnish a main justification for the possession of leisure time. They make leisure time more valuable than work time. Transform leisure time into hobby time and it holds no dull moments. Hobby time banishes time, for you are unaware of the passing of time. Hobby time breaks up time into a pleasing succession of delightful moments.

Hobbies make a person interesting.[41] They meet the requirements of the ancient saying, that to be interesting one must be interested in something. A hobby takes a person's center of attention away from himself. An interest in hobbies provides interesting topics of conversation. A hobby makes the hobbyist's home interesting. A dull home is one in which the occupants have no hobbies. A hobby is "the distinguishing feature that impresses you as you enter the door or hall." [42]

Hobbies make old age interesting. Without hobbies old people are often problems, but with them they turn youthful again. Hobbies may be the saving factors in the lives of retired persons. Hobbies are lifesavers for incapacitated young persons, for convalescent soldiers, for anyone whose mind is restless but whose body restricts his normal activities.

Hobbies offer a release from strain. They may prevent nervous breakdown. They are antidotes to worry and to fear. They are therapeutic. The zeal in activity that they give may lead to the rehabilitation of a disorganized personality.

The social uses of hobbies are many. A young man became a collector of samples of wood. He became interested in trees and in the qualities of different kinds of wood. In World War II he was assigned to the

[41] E. E. Calkins, *Care and Feeding of Hobby Horses* (Leisure League of America, New York, 1934), p. 12.

[42] W. G. Robinson, *Recreation*, 31:242, July, 1937.

shipbuilding industry where his knowledge was of use to his country. A southern boy began to collect books for Negro youth. Out of pine trees he built a cabin and established a library for Negro youth. A recent report indicates that he has established twenty-eight libraries for Negro youth.[43]

(4) An *avocation* is a spare-time activity that is followed regularly, seriously, and that has recreational or other useful values. Regular hours are devoted to it each week. It may be illustrated by the person who faithfully plays golf twice a week for the sake of recreation and health. If a person played a dozen games of golf in rapid succession three or four times a year he would be treating golf as a hobby. One who gives regular hours each week to physical exercise has an avocation. The worker who spends some time daily in improving his mind or in developing a new skill, or the business man who teaches a church school class every Sunday, has an avocation. Another type of avocation is found in the Latin or mathematics teacher who practices at the piano daily.

An avocation is pursued in a businesslike way. Attention is given to details, without allowing these to overwhelm one. While an avocation is pursued purposely and without thought of remuneration, it may lead to the development of useful skills and be rewarded by an occasional fee. One may grow so proficient in an avocation that it may be substituted for his regular vocation.

Most persons fall into their avocations. There is little scientific study of avocations being made, and yet with the increase in leisure time now taking place avocations are important aspects of personality organization or reorganization. The choice of an avocation requires a great deal of thought and care. Avocational guidance is coming to be as important as vocational guidance. Avocational planning already deserves a place in school curricula.

A basic principle in avocational choosing is *balance*. The teacher whose avocation consists of professional activities is using her leisure time in ways that are too closely related to her vocation to give the necessary balance in personality growth. Moreover, most persons who

[43] E. S. Bogardus, "Hobbies in War and Peace," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVII : 215ff., January-February, 1943.

choose avocations that are different from their vocations usually participate in such avocations with persons of their own callings who do not thereby fulfill all the requirements of balance.

Chart I is a personality diagram in which V represents one's vocation and A and A′ his avocations. The latter are related to his vocation, either in the nature of the activities, or of associates, or both. They are therefore likely to further the development of a one-sided or over-specialized personality. Whole sections of personality may atrophy.

If we examine this principle of balance further, we find that it calls for avocational activities that will balance the vocational program. For example, a person whose vocation keeps him indoors will choose an

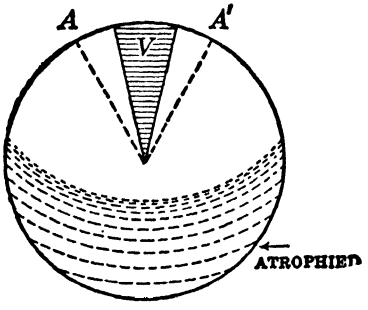

CHART I

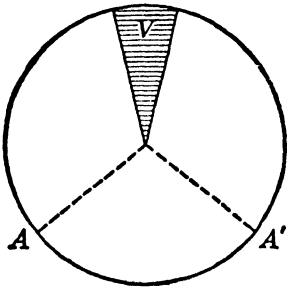

CHART II

outdoor avocation. He who has a strenuous mental vocation requires a physical-exercise avocation.

Chart II illustrates the principle of balance. The avocations A and A′ indicate activities that are quite different from the vocation; they give a person the breadth of outlook that he needs in view of the delimiting influence of a specialized occupation, afford him contacts with people entirely different from his vocational associates, and enable him to develop a balanced personality.

If all individuals could be trained to select and maintain well-chosen avocations, a large part of the recreation and amusement problem would be solved. Leisure would become constructive and personality would mature in socially valuable directions.

The sociology of recreation is becoming increasingly important for

a number of reasons.[45] (1) There is more leisure time available for a larger and larger percentage of people. Consider old people or our "senior citizens." Think of the shorter work day for people of early

TABLE VI

BALANCES IN AVOCATIONS [44]

Vocation		*Avocation*
1. Indoor	balanced by	outdoor
Outdoor	" "	indoor
2. Mental	" "	physical
Physical	" "	mental
3. Sitting	" "	standing
Standing	" "	sitting
4. Individual	" "	social
Social	" "	individual
5. City	" "	country
Country	" "	city
6. Noisy	" "	quiet

and middle maturity. More youths are having a longer developmental period than ever before. (2) Free time may be idle time and mischief-making time and crime-creating time, or it may be used to build both personality and community. (3) Through the play uses of free time attitudes are made, torn asunder, and reconstructed with greater ease than under any other auspices. (4) Play is the most enjoyable setting in which to live and to work and to create. (5) Playing together is one of the easiest and most natural means of developing the co-operative spirit in human relations.

PROBLEMS

1 Distinguish between play and work.
2 What is the main function of a football game?
3 Why is making artificial flowers, work; and climbing Mont Blanc, play?

[44] This table of balances grew in part out of the study by Marion Flad on "Leisure Time Activities of 400 Persons," *op. cit.*

[45] In S. H. Britt and S. Q. James, "Toward a Human Psychology of Human Play," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 13 : 351–84, May, 1941, are summarized and critically reviewed many studies of play.

4 Explain: "Milwaukee spends a thousand years of leisure each week."
5 Why is it often true that an American's idea of a holiday is a fatiguing journey?
6 What is the tenement child's most common playground?
7 Who are in greater need of provision for play, the children of the poor or of the rich?
8 Explain the statement that the parks are often too far away from the individuals who need them most.
9 Why do many people prefer so much passive amusement when active recreation is their real need?
10 How was the play of the children of primitive people different from that of the children of tenement areas today?
11 What was the best feature of the recreations of the early Greeks?
12 What was the major weakness of Nero's notion about recreation and amusements?
13 What is the strong point of the Puritans' theory of play?
14 What is the main flaw in the recapitulation theory of play?
15 Is the theory of play as a preparation for life or for more life wholly satisfactory?
16 Can you see any advantages in commercialized amusements?
17 What are the chief disadvantages?
18 What is meant by the phrase, "Our movie-made children"?
19 Characterize the motion picture public in the United States today, that is, those who weekly or oftener attend motion picture shows.
20 What types of persons rarely or irregularly attend motion pictures?
21 What results may be expected from treating the motion picture industry as a public utility under regulation by a federal commission?
22 How effective has been the National Legion of Decency in influencing the motion picture industry?
23 In what ways is alcohol a leisure time problem?
24 Why did so many of the states of the United States in 1933 vote against the Eighteenth Amendment?
25 What can be said in favor of the alcohol habit?
26 What is meant by the "new leisure"?
27 How is recreation closely related to personal character?
28 What is "socialized recreation"?
29 What is meant by "stages" in the play movement in the United States?
30 How are the "transitions" in the play movement related to the "stages"?
31 What new steps can be taken regarding the excessive death-rate due to automobiles?

32 Why is public opinion relatively inactive regarding this appalling destructiveness?
33 Mention any five hobbies that people enjoy and rate them in order of social importance.
34 What is the relation of recreation to avocation?
35 Distinguish between a hobby and an avocation.
36 What are the merits of a well-chosen avocation?
37 What is the principle of balance in choosing an avocation?

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Chapter

7

The Educational Group

THE family, occupational, and play groups are all highly educational, but they represent *informal education*. They do not teach directly and do not resort to formal methods. By indirect suggestion they create atmosphere, furnish lasting impressions, and give a setting whereby formal facts are interpreted.

The school in part represents *formal education*. It is direct and systematic. It begins with the nursery school and ends in the university and the professional school. Education of the formal type has been defined as "a social process directed by the community or by individuals of the community toward the realization of socially accepted values." [1]

Education in one sense begins with the thousands of years of experience into which each individual is born. Into these experiences, crystallized in the form of culture patterns, each child is born, and from them he obtains his fundamental concepts of life. This *culture heritage* includes a marvelous technique of alphabet, language, a system of writing, literature, traditions, customs, inventions. Education consists in acquiring the meaning of the culture heritage and of life.

The most vital part of the culture heritage is the ensemble of inventions. An account of human inventions is a story of the creative efforts of quick-witted or deep-thinking persons and of alert, vibrant minds. It is the story of group change and advancement. Through inventions the human group has advanced from the dugout to the palace, from

[1] Samuel L. Eby, in *An Introduction to Western Civilization*, ed. George A. Hedger (Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., New York, 1933), p. 659.

skin breeches to elaborate costumes, from the uncooked aboriginal meal to the seven-course dinner, from the digging stick to the twenty-furrow steam plow, from the carrying stick to overland trains, and from the gourd with a cord stretched across it to modern oratorios and symphonies.[2] Educationally, it is the child's problem to learn the meanings of this culture heritage, to acquire methods of mental analysis, and to function as a critic and a molder of the culture heritage.

Leading elements in the culture background are preserved in poetic and prose literature. Literature is "the best expression of human thought reduced to writing." In early human society the first formal educators were the priests. They compiled the tribal chronicles; they were the rhapsodists who celebrated the prowess of tribal chiefs in the presence of the worshipful tribal people. Since man feels before he reasons, and since poetry is the language of the feelings, poetry developed before prose. Hence sacred writings and war songs became the first educational source materials. Then the epic records of past glories developed and were supplemented by the lyrical records of contemporary events.

The development of reasoning tended to deprive poetry of its ornamentation and to provide man with a simpler and more accurate educational instrument. Prose of permanent value soon found expression in the form of oratory, which reached an exemplary level in Greece. Public speaking became a powerful educational force. During the early centuries of the Christian Era and the Middle Ages, no new educational methods were produced. The invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century made inexpensive books possible. Invention has followed invention in recent centuries until the printing press, the telegraph, the telephone, and the radio have made education available to all.

The scientific method insists on definite proof; it struggles for accuracy. It strives to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Although the known is but a small part of the unknown, no student today can hope in his education to encompass all knowledge. However, he can learn enough truth to free himself from superstition,

[2] See O. T. Mason, *The Origin of Inventions* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1910), p. 17.

to be able to go through life with an open mind, and to receive the message of courage and hope which comes from scientific inventions and the achievements of mankind.

Broadly speaking, education includes both the feeling elements of personality, or literature, and the reasoning aspects, or science. The average student often scorns one or the other, neglecting to see that a well-educated person must be familiar with the advances being made in both literature and science.

The well-educated child learns not only to feel and to think, but also to do. Education has generally been weak in training behavior. It has neglected the doing process. For example, it has taught people to think about democracy more than it has taught them to do democracy. Mankind, however, has been active, energetic, and even original; the lists of human achievements are beyond ordinary comprehension. Sound education, whether informal or formal, whether operating in the family group, the play group, the occupational group, or the school group, emphasizes in a balanced way the affective, the cognitive, and the activity phases of personality. Otherwise education produces incomplete personalities and one-sided groups.

EDUCATIONAL ATTITUDES

The *nursery school* receives the child at two years of age or younger. It is a recent development which appeals to poor and wealthy parents alike. The latter have had nursemaids and tutors for their children, but the nursery school furnishes necessary group stimuli. The former are inadequately trained (many wealthy parents are equally untrained) to give their children a proper start in life and hence welcome the efficient nursery school.

The *kindergarten* is "more social than other grades or years" of school life, and hence possesses a greater appeal to pupils than does any other stage of school life. The child's work is organized on a group basis. The group stimuli coincide so well with the child's play attitudes that play pervades work. Activity and freedom predominate. The child learns almost entirely through doing, and reacts enthusiastically to the process.

As the child advances in the grades, education begins to take on

formal aspects and to develop routine phases, symbolized by the checkerboard seating arrangement in the schoolroom. The learning processes become more difficult and intellectual factors become segregated from the affective and behavior elements. The children organize school "activities" which are conducted outside school hours, supplanting the "passivities" of the regular routine.

The first two or three years of a child's life are spent in learning muscular co-ordinations and in developing basic feeling patterns. The years from three to twenty-three or more are the period in which the individual acquires meanings for the human experiences of the past thousands of years of history. In this age period he becomes somewhat adapted to his physical and social environments. On the basis of this training a person is expected to earn a living and to make a contribution if possible to the sum total of social culture and human happiness. At least, if given opportunity he should not be found among that "stupid procession that never had a thought of their own."

Many interesting developments in the way of socializing school life are taking place all the way from the early grades to and through college. According to one of these experiments, reading, arithmetic, and geography are no longer studied as such. Instead, in every grade, people are being studied. For example, the second-grade children give their attention to Indians, but in studying about Indians they learn more than the usual quota of reading, arithmetic, and geography. In so doing they do not develop any of the customary adverse reactions to routine and formal studies.

While education may take cognizance of play attitudes and of organizing the study process around interesting stimuli, the child needs to keep in mind that education is incomplete if it fails to train him to do gladly some things that are uninteresting and unpleasant. Education based only on desires and pleasant stimuli is negligent, for life itself contains unpleasant tasks that must be faced, and faced with a smile, even though it be a forced smile. The sooner every child learns to face some disagreeable tasks with a degree of stoicism, the better balanced will be his personality.

The emphasis in school studies has been one-sided. Self-culture studies and the physical sciences, splendid as far as they go, give an un-

balanced development. In the main, languages and literatures represent self-culture, and the sciences help in securing control over natural resources, although too often in terms of individual success and power. The importance of the social sciences and of a social welfare emphasis is but slightly appreciated by many school leaders and still less by some boards of education or by the public.

Any serious attempt, however, to train in terms of public welfare must begin in the early school years because the majority of children do not go beyond eight or ten grades and yet when they become adults they may cast deciding votes. Moreover, social studies need to be given a primary place in high schools and normal schools. Training in the public welfare viewpoint is more important than training in individual success and efficiency, for the latter by itself creates a nation of exploiters and racketeers.

Education that is acquisitive may suffice in pioneering areas, but is destructive in vast population centers. Acquisitive education needs to be supplanted by social education, that is, by an education that trains in rendering service. Instead of emphasizing the acquiring of knowledge as the alpha and omega of education, the current tendency is to view education as "a learning by doing" process. He who would learn the best things must do the best, that is, render service without seeking personal reward.

Another important social conception is that the whole child needs to be educated, and hence every phase of the child's personality requires development. The school is not simply a place to train a child's intellect. Intellectual development without concomitant training of the feelings and emotions is dangerous. It puts powerful tools in the hands of the non-dependable and the reckless.

At the vital point of spiritual development, the average public school official is nonplused. The whole child is not trained properly if spiritual and religious values are neglected. The increasing role of science in education brings the physical and the material and the measurable into increasing prominence, while the intangible, the spiritual, and the religious are in danger of losing out entirely, although they represent the essence of personality.

One of the most difficult problems confronting the school is that of

training youth in *social* and *group responsibility*. A child who learns the Constitution of the nation does not *ipso facto* become a good citizen. There is little transfer of a memorized Constitution into terms of real national loyalty. Children and youth need to be taught the significance of becoming good neighbors, good fathers and mothers, and good citizens, by doing neighborly, fatherly or motherly, and citizenship acts regularly. Training in social responsibility is as important as teaching the trades or how to earn a living.

Sex education has social merit. The ignorant and perverted exercise of the sex impulses as manifested in illicit sex relations, "phony" marriages, and after-marriage effects of pre-marital sex relations constitutes a widespread problem. Segregated talks to youth on sex hygiene are inadequate. Sex education as an aspect of botanical, zoological, and physiological studies needs to be supplemented by courses of study on preparation for marriage, and marriage counseling.

Industrial education and *vocational guidance* are enabling children and youth to orient themselves with reference to life. There is danger, however, of forgetting that the chief value in learning a trade is that the child may discover himself. He should be trained for one or more occupations for the purpose of earning a living, essential as that is, but also that he may through his occupation develop his personality to the fullest and richest extent. To teach a trade or to learn one for the purpose of acquiring individual success may prove antisocial. A person who has attained high individual efficiency but who has not learned to work well and wholesomely in society is an unbalanced person.

The *continuation school* is performing a worthy social function. If all boys and girls would attend school a few hours each day until eighteen years of age, the increased capacities would more than counterbalance the cost. A chief merit of the continuation school is that it combines work and school so that education takes on the meanings of the actual workaday world and that work satisfies educational needs. The continuation school enables society to exercise guidance over thousands and hundreds of thousands of youth who would otherwise be thrown into a sophisticated environment and surrounded by many temptations at a time when they may have developed only partial control over turbulent desires.

Education needs to take cognizance of three types of youth.[3] The first type is "flaming youth," undisciplined and pampered, seeking chiefly to "get by" and making mad plunges here and there. Second are the social crusaders, interested in pacifism and social justice. Third is the largest group of all, intellectual gropers, some of whom are loath to learn from their elders and yet are blindly experimenting with life. For each of these groups, education needs to develop a distinctive program.

Educational opportunities have been made available in a greatly enlarged way in the United States since 1900. A few figures will illustrate the progress that has occurred. In 1900 there were about 500,000 enrollments of pupils in high schools, or only 11 per cent of the youth of high school age. In 1940 there were over 7,000,000 pupils enrolled in high schools or 73 per cent of those eligible by age. In 1900 there were less than 250,000 college students or about four per cent of the population of the usual college age. In 1940 the number had risen to 1,500,000 or over 15 per cent of the given age group in the United States. By 1948 the number of college students had reached nearly 2,500,000, partly due to the enrollment of veterans under Public Law 346 and Public Law 16. It is evident that the increase in enrollments is far greater than the population increase. Moreover, at the beginning of the last century there were no women in college, co-education in college had not yet been established. In 1940, a fairly normal year, the numbers of women enrolled in college nearly equaled the numbers of men.

That there is a wide discrepancy among youth between ability and opportunity, educationally speaking, has long been known, but the width of the chasm has been a matter of conjecture. In a study of 10,000 school children in England, made in 1933–1934, it was found that from 45 per cent to 59 per cent of all the exceptionally able children in school did not have the opportunity of a higher education. Moreover, "the higher social and professional classes" contribute only one-third of the total of gifted boys and girls, while the wage-earners furnish 50 per cent. It is the latter who do not have the advantages of

[3] Clarence M. Case, *Social Process and Human Progress* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1931), pp. 192ff.

a higher education, even though they are exceptional, as their parents are unable to pay the necessary fees. The ability of about half of the gifted children is thus in a large degree lost.[4]

In considering the situation in a large state university in the United States, where the tuition is free or nearly so, S. C. Menefee found that in 1937 a child of the agricultural or labor groups had one-seventh as great a chance of being in college as did a child of the business or professional groups. If gifted children are distributed by nature more or less equally in all occupational groups, then hundreds of thousands of young people with exceptional ability do not have the opportunity of a higher education even in the democratic United States. Moreover, as suggested by Mr. Menefee, "the high percentage of students from the business and professional classes may explain to the college teacher the prevalence of certain attitudes and prejudices among his students." [5]

In a recent study by Allan A. Smith of personality traits that college students in three different colleges prefer in their professors the following traits stood at the top of the list. (1) Knowledge of subject matter comes first. This involves a broad mastery of the subject as well as of pertinent and important details. Up-to-dateness regarding subject matter is also emphasized. (2) A "personality to put the subject across" comes second, although a "stimulating intellectual imagination" was considered adequate by some college students. (3) Fairness and impartiality are greatly appreciated. In fact, it is not always easy to meet the students' requirements in this connection, for many students, if their grades are unsatisfactory, are prone to imagine that their instructor has not treated them fairly. (4) Ability in organizing materials and in presenting them clearly and logically is considered essential. (5) "Ability to get along with students" involves putting one's self in the students' place in the classroom and elsewhere. (6) Sincerity and honesty are required. Students are quick to detect bluffing on the part of an instructor. (7) A sense of humor is priceless. It lessens tensions, arouses the desire to meet the instructor halfway, and creates a stimulating atmosphere.

[4] J. L. Gray and Pearl Moshinsky, "Ability and Opportunity in English Education," *The Sociological Review*, XXVII : 113–62, April, 1935.

[5] S. C. Menefee, "Social Classes in a State University," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXII : 124–27, November-December, 1937.

(8) Personal appearance is allowed considerable leeway, but the unkempt teacher is depreciated.[6]

The *campus cooperative movement* which began to develop in the United States about 1932 and which in 1948 had reached over 300 campuses is becoming regionally and nationally organized.[7] While the immediate aim of a campus cooperative is (1) to effect savings for students with the limited resources they possess, (2) the advantages that come from systematically working together in buying food, preparing meals, keeping the accounts in order, and in leasing and buying a group home are valuable. The cooperative activities extend much further than in the case of the college fraternity. Perhaps the fundamental advantage of a student housing cooperative, which is the main type (others, for example, are book and supply cooperatives), comes (3) from developing a practical philosophy of cooperation. The creating of a cooperative spirit in an individualistic youth accustomed to have his own way at home or in making his way by himself in the world is a strong point of a campus cooperative.[8]

The *college fraternity* is in many ways a unique social group. The sociologist would call it an unusual type of primary group.[9]

In a fraternity the members do not hesitate to let one another know what each thinks of the behavior of the others. Praise from the fraternity is sweet, but to be frowned on or to be ignored by the fraternity is deadly.[10]

The fraternity is a unique primary group in that its members usually remain active only three or three and a half years, or less. This is a relatively short time. The turnover in members is abnormally high. Thus the fraternity has to work fast if it is to accomplish much that is worth while. But the shortness of time and the consequent speed may

[6] Allan A. Smith, "College Teachers Evaluated by Students," *Sociology and Social Research*, 28:471–78, July-August, 1944.

[7] The North American Students Cooperative League includes campus cooperatives in both Canada and the United States; its headquarters are in Chicago and it is affiliated with the Cooperative League of the U.S.A.

[8] E. S. Bogardus, "The Campus Cooperative Movement," *Sociology and Social Research*, 28:296–307, March-April, 1944.

[9] The fraternity is an excellent laboratory for the study of Cooley's concept of the "primary group" because of the amount of free interaction that takes place.

[10] The concept of status may be studied to special advantage in the fraternity, because of the frankness of expression which obtains.

engender methods that are sometimes superficial and sometimes blunt. Not much thought is given to these methods, except by the fraternity's advisers. Even the adviser rarely appreciates his or her responsibility to awaken systematic self-study by the fraternity.

The fraternity is a powerful social force within its membership. Its authority reaches up in one direction into the fountainhead of authority of the college or university; in another direction to its influential and far-flung alumni or alumnae members; and in still another direction, if the group be nationally organized, to the national organization which has granted its charter.

Instead of being carefully re-evaluated from time to time, the standards of the fraternity come to the fore chiefly when someone violates them and when the status of the fraternity is hurt. The fraternity rarely stands off and looks at itself with the cold, critical eye of the outsider. The local chapter rarely makes a thorough self-study of its own standards. It is usually too busy promoting these standards to question them. It never makes an attitude test of its members at the beginning and at the end of their fraternity careers in order to find out what changes have occurred in the personalities of its members. It does not make tests to see how far these personality influences are due to fraternity influences and how far to other college forces.

The fraternity is very effective in its "polishing up" activities. It can rub off or knock off rough corners in manners better than any other primary group can do. Unfortunately, the process does not run deep. Its operation is not analyzed very thoroughly. The time element is often too short. The fraternity, however, does a good piece of work in giving its members needed social experience. It is an excellent social training center.[11]

When being "rushed" the freshman is dazzled, but as soon as initiation begins he is dumbfounded. First he is honored and then humiliated. The informal initiation exercises in men's fraternities have added scarcely a single intelligent element since they were planned several generations ago. And some would not do credit to the initiation cere-

[11] The fraternity is more effective than almost any other social group in conditioning and modifying personality in line with its standards within a short space of time.

monies of our cavemen ancestors. Initiation rites everywhere tend to be ruled by the dead hand. Even up-to-the-minute young college men are marvelous in submitting to the impositions of a hoary antiquity.

The fraternity is unique in that it brings together so many young people with different backgrounds. Even though there are fraternity "types," the differences in culture heritages in each type are many. These differences are invaluable in broadening the outlook of each member. Boys and girls with rural or small-town backgrounds are thrown for the first time with urban youth, some of whom are urbane. When urban youth become sophisticated they may become disorganizing forces. It is easy for them to be unsympathetic toward and inconsiderate of the really worth-while values in the lives of the less socially experienced members.

The fraternity is often a blessing, not always in disguise, to the "spoiled child." The latter, who has ridden roughshod over his family, may find himself "let down with a bang" in a fraternity. It is a tough lesson to learn, and probably the fraternity cannot be criticized very severely for doing a needed piece of work rather ruthlessly.

The fraternity generously satisfies the wish for social response. It gives many young people opportunities to meet other young people of both sexes. Of course, fraternity members often rate these social opportunities so high that the intellectual advantages of going to college are obscured if not eclipsed.[12]

The fraternity may go so far in meeting the wish for response that some of its members become cliquish. Cliquish behavior leads to negligence. The cliquish person is one who enjoys a few friends so much that he neglects other friends and ignores nonfraternity persons altogether. The tendency of some fraternity members to fail to rate nonfraternity young men and women on a par with themselves has led critics of the fraternity to feel that a campus should not have fraternities unless all the students on a campus are so organized.

The fraternity originated in predemocratic days. While it still maintains itself as a secret organization, the tendency to push the "secrets" into the background is commendatory. "Blackballing" has a dark

[12] However, fraternities, especially the women's fraternities, are now doing a great deal of useful and greatly needed scholarship stimulation for their members.

aspect. It enables a member with a nonpertinent prejudice to keep a worthy person from membership.

The standards of selection of new members call for revision. They are not well thought out. No deep personality analysis of prospective "pledges" is made. When worth of character as a qualification for pledging is placed below the fact that the person considered drives an elegant car, something has gone askew. And when large numbers of our best college men and women are unable to afford the cost of membership, another serious oversight has not been corrected. Many worthy eligibles are entirely overlooked.

Rushing is a questionable method of selecting new members. It is correctly labeled, for it is all that its name implies. Rushing is too rushed. On short acquaintance incompetents are rushed into the fraternity while some competents are rushed out of the front door before being given a chance to demonstrate the stuff of which they are made. No other primary group climaxes the selection of its future leaders in such a pellmell fashion.

The fraternity lives as a unique primary group because it satisfies deep personal needs. It works best when it is most alert to the needs of its neediest members. Its most significant opportunity is to look deep into the lives of its incoming members (its future leaders) and to assist them in the development of constructive and conscientious and cooperative personalities.

The fraternity or small organized social group would lose nothing of social value if in institutions of higher learning it were organized on a more democratic basis, if it functioned on a less expensive level than now, and if there were enough such groups so that all the students in each educational institution who wished to do so might belong. Tradition, however, is difficult to change and hence any democratization of the college fraternity will come about slowly, even in an educational institution which is supposed to view its own activities with a critical eye from a democratic standpoint.

Adult education is developing extensively. Its main emphasis has been on meeting the needs of immigrants and the backward; its new accent is on education for every adult, for a person may often profit most from systematic education after he has gained considerable ex-

perience. It assumes that no one's education "is ever concluded at any point." It would have everyone go to school for at least some time every year throughout life in order that his personality may continue to grow richer and more socially useful.

The *Chautauqua movement* in the United States has been an interesting phase of adult education. It originated in an idea in 1874. A religious leader, Bishop John Vincent, developed the pattern out of an outdoor assembly for religious purposes. Study groups were added, and entertainment features of a wholesome sort were given a place in the day's program. Thus the Chautauqua Assembly became an annual affair on the shores of Lake Chautauqua, New York. Chautauquas sprang up elsewhere in New York and then throughout the United States. In 1897 the Chautauquas were federated, and two years later the International Chautauqua Alliance was formed.

Another institution, somewhat different and yet related, was the lyceum or lecture bureau. This furnished nationally known speakers who would travel from one Chautauqua to another. Their appearances were scheduled by one or another of several lyceum bureaus. Thus the cost of securing outstanding programs was cut down, and yet one of the serious problems of the Chautauquas was often that of meeting the expenses.

As the commercial booking agency came into the picture the religious elements retired into the background or disappeared entirely. The Chautauqua became more of a community institution. Local community leaders took pride in putting on a big program successfully. It helped to build community morale and to a degree satisfied certain sociability needs.

The local Chautauqua continued to function as an educational and recreation center to which thousands of people came every summer. However, the program of the traveling Chautauquas fell off in quality, and finally the national Chautauqua movement came to an end as an influential social force. In the analysis by R. B. Tozier, several factors were instrumental in the decline of an adult educational movement which at one time claimed a total audience each season of 40,000,000 people. (1) The rise of motion pictures and later of the radio offered overwhelming competition. (2) Civic, business, service, women's, and

other clubs with weekly meetings have met needs once filled in part by the Chautauqua. (3) The tastes of the American public underwent important changes, and the Chautauqua type of program no longer drew audiences. (4) Community life in small towns has given way to larger and more diversified activities extending over a wide geographical area, due to the advent of the automobile. As a form of adult education, the circuit Chautauqua has had to bow to the night school, the motion picture, and the radio.[13] It served a useful social purpose in its day, but ran its course and disappeared because of new and changing attitudes.

Education is limited both by social tolerance and by opportunities. The latter in turn rest upon inventions and the individual's freedom to make use of them. Even the availability of the telephone and the use that is made of it are indications of the amount and scope of informal education. In this regard compare the opportunities in the United States with those in many other inhabited parts of the world.

The *progressive education movement* has acquired considerable momentum in the past decades. The emphasis is not on subject matter but on "the development of the child." This procedure requires an analysis of child growth in terms of group life, and integrated study plans. The child is seen as a functioning member of a social group and the teacher is viewed as a "helper." The aim is to promote creative expression by the child instead of pushing him through a regimented system of facts to be memorized or swallowed whole.

Progressive education is informal and democratic. The children have a voice in selecting the day's work. They gather materials. They sit at tables or move about with freedom, with the group participating in the formulation of whatever rules are necessary. The old system of occupying seats and desks arranged in rows and of "reciting" at the teacher's behest and "cramming" for tests is discarded for a system of creative expression.

There is a danger that progressive education may sacrifice something in the way of essential knowledge. A lack of co-ordination of project-activities may occur. Also, there is a problem of discipline. Some boys and girls under the impulses of creative expression become self-centered

[13] R. B. Tozier, "A Short Life-History of the Chautauqua," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL : 69–73, July, 1934.

despite group controls that are supposed to operate. Not all teachers are successful with the procedure, and many report that it requires "more work" than does the regimented method. As progressive education matures it will be able to overcome some of its weaknesses.

The role of *scientific knowledge* in social change is far-reaching. Science changes society "by introducing new ideas and inventions." [14] It gives us "the means of satisfying our material needs," and also "the ideas which will enable us to understand, to co-ordinate, and to satisfy our needs in the social sphere." [15]

Science needs democracy if it is to be free, for under totalitarianism it is used as "a tool of government." Science in a democracy claims social responsibility for the uses to which its findings are put. It sometimes produces "docile citizens" who prefer to be conformists. However, those who proclaim that "war represents a definite perversion of science" are recognizing that science cannot wholly escape its social responsibilities.

The *visiting teacher* takes education into the homes of persons who cannot come to the school. To the multitudes of poorer people the visiting teacher introduces scientific knowledge concerning the proper care of children during their first years of life.[16] Countless children are so handicapped by lack of proper care in their homes before they reach the regular schools that "they are not in a fit condition to have public money spent upon them." [17] Somewhat related is the *home teacher* who goes to the home when the child is unable through illness or otherwise to attend school.

The visiting teacher is a boon in immigrant neighborhoods. She carries not only knowledge but the spirit of helpfulness and human sympathy and understanding into homes where wholesome contacts with

[14] J. D. Bernal, *The Social Function of Science* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1939), p. 386. [15] *Ibid.*, p. 408.

[16] See Julius J. Oppenheimer, *The Visiting Teacher Movement* (Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, New York, 1925).

[17] The visiting teacher offers the homes of the less fortunate a knowledge of sanitary living conditions, of sound purchasing methods, and of homemaking. Large numbers of people are still living in darkness as far as their knowledge of sanitation, bacteriology, and sound health is concerned. Many are unable to go to a night school or to adult education classes, and so the visiting teacher comes to them. They are taught better ways of living under the actual conditions that they daily face.

natives are few. To the immigrant mother with her slight opportunities to know the life and institutions of the natives, the visiting teacher is an angel of light as well as of mercy.

More important than methods of teaching or than subjects taught is the personality of the teacher and the atmosphere created. The personality of the teacher may kill a worthy subject or enliven a dead one. It may stimulate common clay into superior effort or smother throbbing aspirations. It may transform human energy into social sacrifice or social sacrilege.

Specialization in education is a necessity and a danger. It is a necessity because the fields of knowledge and skill have become too many and complicated for any one person to master more than one or a few. It is a danger because it narrows a person's vision and concentrates his viewpoint until he becomes unappreciative and often intolerant of other fields of specialization. If successful in his specialty he tends to develop superior feelings regarding it and to look down upon other and equally important lines of work.

A young man entering college wishes to become a specialist as soon as possible, and sometimes "to get out into the world immediately" where he can make money. Consequently he shuns or submits unwillingly to the cultural courses, and demands the practical. The practical courses to him are those that train for individual and pecuniary efficiency. Public welfare is slighted and education becomes indirectly unpatriotic and dangerous to the common weal. Moreover, a young man in avoiding the cultural is building his personality upon narrow and shallow foundations. He is cutting off his future possibilities of development.

NEWSPAPER PUBLICS

While the school is a primary group, there are informal educational groups such as those who comprise a *newspaper public*. Such a public is being daily educated by what it reads, that is, by the pictures of society which it receives every morning or evening from the columns of its favorite newspaper. Such a public is largely the adult educational group. If in the United States the schools reach practically all the peo-

ple while they are young, the newspapers reach practically all when they are adults.

The rise of the newspaper in recent decades has been meteoric and marvelous. In catering to the casual, the ephemeral, and the melodramatic the newspaper has often belittled its high educational calling. In bowing to advertisers, because the latter pay so large a proportion of newspaper costs, the newspaper has often become a one-sided organ of public opinion. By playing the game of party politics, it loses the confidence of independent thinkers.

The newspaper, together with the telegraph, the telephone, and the radio, has created a special degree of social consciousness. It has even at times made a world consciousness possible. It has made Paris, Rome, Berlin, London, New York, Tokio, and Peiping neighbors, or at least nigh-dwellers. It is a marvelous thought to contemplate a hundred million persons or more, leaders and common people, reading simultaneously about one national or world happening after another, hour after hour, the whole day through as the earth continues its endless revolutions. More significant is the fact that each reader knows that thousands and hundreds of thousands of other persons are reading and thinking about the same human success or tragedy at approximately the same time. He also knows that many if not nearly all are responding to startling happenings in the same way as he is responding. This gives him a place in a large and almost incomprehensible social group. Therefore, the newspaper constitutes a powerful instrument of creating public opinion, social consciousness, and good or ill will; and newspaper publics become interesting and powerful social phenomena.

Today five million dollars is hardly sufficient for establishing a metropolitan newspaper of size. The capitalist-owner has supplanted the editor-owner. As a rule, the editor is no longer the owner unless he is a millionaire. An editor like Horace Greeley or Charles A. Dana who owns his paper and makes it the projection of his personal character and social ideals is rare. Many editors now are hired. They are not expected by their employers to put their own ideals into the paper.

The highest social usefulness of the newspaper has been compromised by commercialization. The securing of financial returns has become the yardstick for measuring what will be printed. Often the profit

standard overrules the public welfare standard. A part of this untoward situation is due to the fact that a large proportion of the total receipts in the newspaper business is derived from the sale of advertisements. The subscriptions represent a decreasing percentage. When advertising furnishes two-thirds and more of the earnings of a daily newspaper, the advertiser rather than the subscriber or the general public supports and controls the newspaper and the newspaper public becomes an advertiser-created phenomenon.

Corporations which are extensive advertisers are referred to in newspaper offices as "sacred cows," and nothing in the news or editorial columns is printed that would in any way offend the "sacred cows," no matter if the latter be the community's leading racketeers. A difficulty lies in the fact that the selling of advertising is purely commercial, while the printing of news and editorials is a matter of social values. Edward A. Ross has declared that the modern metropolitan newspaper is in danger of becoming a factory where ink and brains are so applied to white paper as to turn out the largest possible marketable product.[18] Under such conditions a newspaper's public is in danger of being a narrow and bigoted group.

The general public takes a rather irresponsible attitude toward its newspapers. To be sure, it criticizes them freely and ceases to buy them at times, but as Walter Lippmann has pointed out, no one is willing to pay for his newspaper. He is willing to pay just a fraction of the cost.[19]

The newspaper as an authority is both reliable and unreliable. It is dependable in bringing many important matters and much trash to public attention. It is not dependable in bringing all the important happenings to the public eye, in giving proper weight to the various events that are reported, or in getting all the essential details correct.[20]

It is clear that more newspapers are needed which ignore the dubious influence of certain advertisers and whose owners avoid the role of propagandists. Newspapers are needed which will consistently print

[18] *Changing America* (The Century Company, New York, 1912), p. 112.

[19] Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922), p. 321.

[20] Lucy M. Salmon, *The Newspaper and Authority* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1923).

the truth about police protection to vice, corporate tax-dodging, and nonenforcement of laws when money buys its way to freedom. The public does not fully realize the actual situation; it is not aware how little of the real news it receives on many questions. It does not know the degree to which coloration of news takes place. Newspaper owners and the public together have the power if they wish to bring about a day when public welfare will be the test of newspaper efficiency. The need for a nationally endowed press has been strongly advocated.[21] Perhaps a privately endowed newspaper would be better, providing there were no strings attached to the endowment.

Coloration is writing up news in such a way that its meaning is distorted. Economic data may be colored in the direction either of capitalism or socialism, depending upon a newspaper's policy. Figures, statistics, and the like "can be used to prove anything."

If education is giving persons data on all sides of a question, then *propaganda* is limited to presenting partial data as though it were the whole story. If education is developing a person through his social experiences, then propaganda is channeling a person's thinking in a definite direction. Propaganda originally was synonymous with informing people about a worth-while cause. Today, however, it commonly means a process of deception. The propagandist gives a person a part of the facts, and furthers the impression that these data are all that need to be considered.

Propaganda has been defined by L. W. Doob as "systematic attempt by an interested individual (or individuals) to control the attitudes of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion and consequently, to control their actions." [22] He distinguishes between intentional and unintentional propaganda. In the former the propagandist is likely to be more skillful and dangerous. Advertisers, political parties, commercial organizations are sometimes leading types of propagandists.

Censorship is a negative complement to propaganda. It is a repressive process. It promotes propaganda by withholding a part of the facts. Even democracies engage in widespread censorship during wartime.

[21] See V. S. Yarros, "A Neglected Opportunity and Duty in Journalism," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXII : 203–11, September, 1916.

[22] *Propaganda* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1935), p. 75.

Totalitarian states engage in definite propaganda programs and enforce rigid censorship with reference to everything that is contrary to the particular economic-political theory that is in power. Free speech, free press, free assembly, free radio are all suppressed—until such time as the dominant theory becomes generally accepted.

To offset the biased newspaper a number of independent weekly *journals of opinion* have developed in the United States. In the main they are liberal in viewpoint and play a considerable role in the formation of opinion among the more open-minded. Some people grow tired of much opinion and read semiscientific monthly journals as a basis for their attitudes on public questions. Only a small percentage of the total population, however, reads the scientific journals; there is a need for a monthly digest in popular terms of all scientific journals. In this way the latest facts and analyses of facts would be made available to everyone.

RADIO PUBLICS

The *radio* has created new and gigantic publics. The listeners-in at a given address or concert often extend over an area with a radius of several thousand miles. With the development of "hookups" the radio can turn a whole nation into one colossal public, creating a primary group feeling.

It has now been several years since the first open forum of the air was inaugurated. The speaker asked the listeners-in to telephone questions to the radio station as he was speaking; these questions were then answered over the radio. Debates are held via radio and the members of the public who wish to participate may register their decisions over the telephone. International hookups and short wavelengths have made possible the beginning of a world community group. The radio defies the storms that snap telephone wires and reaches into polar regions as well as around the world. It is hastening the day of a common world language and of one comprehensive world group.

Radio has established regular broadcasting theaters. "Hundreds of seats are provided and the admission is by ticket for which no charge is made. At first radio concerts and plays were broadcast from "silent rooms," with no one present except the necessary directors. Today the

situation has changed. Audiences are admitted, for it has been found that the presence of spectators helps to make the broadcasting more realistic. The performers are more natural than when receiving no responses from their remote unseen audience. "The chuckles and applause of the audience give them 'that feel' that the trouper needs to tune him up." The performers thus have a double audience—a primary group at hand, and a secondary group "on the air." Each group requires a special type of presentation with the result that a happy combination in style of presentation may be effected.

It was three or four years after World War I ended, about 1922, that this new and remarkable means of communication came into use in the United States. The following figures, based on data from *Radio Today*, show a phenomenal growth, even during depression years. They connote entirely new uses of leisure time.

TABLE VII

RADIO SETS IN USE
IN THE UNITED STATES (Estimated)

Years	*Numbers*
1921	10,000
1930	13,000,000
1935	30,500,000
1940	51,000,000
1948	75,000,000
1953	110,000,000

The extent of the influence of the radio is suggested by the fact that in 1948 over 35 million homes in the United States were equipped with one or more radio sets. Even 80 per cent of the rural homes have a radio. In the United States there were in 1948 about 235 radios per thousand population. Sweden had even more—270 per thousand population, and even Iceland had 210 per thousand. It is estimated that the average listening time per family in the United States is about five hours daily. It has been said that "every American is a radio listener." Since 1938 the amount of time given to news broadcasting and to news comments has greatly increased. The best orchestras in the country, noted instrumentalists and vocalists, stage and screen stars, drama and dance are

broadcast. The nonsponsored programs deal with national and world news, educational and religious talks, sports broadcasts, and so on.

Studies of radio listening show no great differences in hours devoted to listening when various levels of intelligence are considered within a certain group classification such as college students.[23] Seemingly the radio has a surprisingly universal appeal. Perhaps the more educated classes listen less than the less educated. However, they may be more seriously interested in the programs to which they listen than are the less educated. Perhaps they "dial off" more often, and are more aggravated by some of the programs that come over the air. They are more critical of what they hear, even to the point of protesting against mispronounced words.

The broadcaster is stimulated to develop a radio personality. He must appeal to his audience chiefly by his voice. Not yet can he bring facial expressions to his aid. The radio broadcasting group of two or more persons, with an emphasis on dialogue, has been developing at the expense of the lone radio speaker.

International broadcasting has been hampered in recent years by the totalitarian states. Such a state exercises rigid control over programs that are broadcast to other countries. Moreover, it discourages its people from listening to programs from other countries.

The debate still continues regarding the respective radio systems of the United States and of England. Ours is owned and operated by private enterprise, and the costs are paid largely by advertisers; England's is owned by the government, with a tax assessed on owners of radio sets in order to cover the costs of operation. The American stations offer far more variety, but a part of this is cheap and vapid. Advertisers grow very tiresome if not obnoxious in telling about their wares. A more dignified program is put on over the English stations, but the materials are often limited and staid. In the government-owned system the chance for suppression of the news and for regimentation is great.

A great deal of criticism has been directed at radio programs and particularly at the commercials. The programs are very expensive, running into several thousands of dollars for a single program. Hence

[23] Clifford Kirkpatrick, "Intelligence and the Radio," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIX : 199–209, January-February, 1935.

the sponsors feel that they must push their interests to the limit in order to receive adequate returns in sales of their products. The situation has not changed a great deal since twenty-five years ago when Herbert Hoover was quoted as saying in 1922: "It is inconceivable that we should allow so great a possibility for service, for news, for entertainment, for education, and for vital commercial purposes to be drowned in commercial chatter." [24] A current statement is more specific but represents the same line of thought: "One of the most annoying features of network shows is the middle commercial. Just when interest in a broadcast is at its highest pitch, the announcer interrupts with synthetic gaiety to impart some intimate bit of blather about Quick-Lather." [25]

The national networks with a hundred or more stations in each give a program a gigantic audience. Put these together, and, as has been suggested, a national referendum of wide scope could be conducted with a few minutes of time. Already the radio serves more people than enjoy the use of electric lights and far more than have telephones in their homes—perhaps nearly twice as many—in the United States.

The radio is developing at a time when immigration is being restricted. Nationalism and depression stop migrations, but the radio recognizes no national boundaries. It is an international carrier of culture patterns. It levels culture up and down. Economic opportunities will become more uniform when world radio functions freely. It will no longer be necessary to migrate in order to enjoy the finest music of another country. International radio, broadcasting regularly from common world centers like Geneva, Paris, London, or New York, could create an international-mindedness little dreamed of today.

The *motion picture*, already discussed in the preceding chapter, is an educational agency of tremendous force. Each star has his or her public, which includes people of many nationalities around the world. Cinema publics also may be classified according to the type of stars who are worshiped. As an educational force the motion picture utilizes indirect suggestion to its fullest extreme. While the direct suggestion is indescribably great, indirect suggestion emanates not only from the

[24] Jerome H. Spingarn, *Radio is Yours* (Public Affairs Committee, New York, 1946), p. 4. [25] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

pictures themselves but also from the lives of the stars. The motion picture uses many characters that move rapidly, that dramatically pass before the eyes of the spectators in countless roles, and that stimulate them in a multitude of unsuspected ways. If the spectators are youthful, freedom-loving, enthusiastic, uncritical, they are thereby usually susceptible to the indirect suggestion of the film. The star in his personal life, his styles of dress, his forms of amusement, and the like, is copied in detail far and wide.

The use of carefully selected and produced films in schools and churches is increasing; they bring the farthermost reaches of the earth into the schoolroom or church hall with accurate vividness. They envisage the best of the past of all races; they enable persons to relive events of human significance that occurred thousands of years ago. They personify the greatest religious ideals, giving the spectators immeasurable inspiration.[26]

The talking motion picture, which was introduced to the public in 1926, added to sight the influence of sound in making realistic whatever it reproduced or set forth. It multiplied the realism and the force of the screen. Its educational possibilities are forecasted in the "language laboratories" that are being set up in many universities.

Television carries marvelous new possibilities. Television publics will exhibit powerful crowd characteristics. A press item raises such interesting questions as these:

> The cinema with its technicolor developments and with all the possibilities of the animated picture, has fallen far short of its possibilities. When television becomes commercially feasible, then an unforeseen revolution will occur in the cinema world.
>
> When will the first television wedding occur? The bride and groom may be a thousand miles apart, and the clergyman some distance from either of them, yet each will be able to see and hear the other, and they will be in full view of an assembled congregation.
>
> It is thought that this new science may be used to speed up the machinery of the law. Why should not a witness give evidence by television and submit to a cross-examination through the air?
>
> Will a doctor be able to visit patients without leaving his office? Will a business man carry on his work at home?

[26] For a manual prepared for the use of high school students see Edgar Dale's *How to Appreciate Motion Pictures* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933).

Will an engineer responsible for construction of a bridge direct operations from his office, where he has all the details in front of him? He can instruct his assistant on the site to carry the television transmitter to any point he wishes to examine.[27]

Television bids fair to open a new era of social life. In a way it represents a movement opposite to that of the talking picture, for in the latter case "sound caught up with sight," while in the former, "pictures are catching up with sound." With pictures accompanying sound at lightning speed to the ends of the world, the day sometime may come when all the world may be summoned together in one vast public and by picture and sound be made to feel the force of a common cause.

Television is bringing the motion picture into the home. Although the motion picture theater will continue, it will have a serious competitor when vision and audition carry the same films into millions of homes simultaneously the world around. A social evolution will have occurred when television unites the people of every country. Television and radio together, if not interfered with by national censorship, will usher in the long heralded day of a world language, a world culture, a world public.

The day of *television* is at hand. The combination of picture and sound that television brings into the home and wherever a few people are gathered together may be powerful in arousing mass emotion and in stirring up emotions of loyalty or of hatred. When television sets become perfected and when every home or nearly every home in the world has one, the day of one world will be approaching. Where people at the common meal the world around can see and hear people from one country after another, the dawn of world understanding may become a reality.

READING PUBLICS

The *public library* has become an important social institution. With a number of the larger cities having libraries reporting over 10,000,000 annual circulation, a usage of books ranging up to 10 per capita per year, and with expenditures exceeding $1,000,000 annually, the library clientele is seen to be very extensive. However, fine as is this develop-

[27] *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 1933.

ment, there are 30,000,000 people in the United States today who have practically no library service at all.

The library's service is not limited to reading opportunities. Reading is a form of recreation to many people. Reading is education, for as Bacon said: "Reading maketh a full man," that is, full of information. What he does with this information is of course another matter. Reading is also therapy. It helps some people to forget their troubles and even to make needed mental adjustments. Ideally, as one person suggests, "Reading maketh a free man."

The relation of reading and social change has been investigated by Ruth A. Inglis. She raised this question: Does literature affect social attitudes? More specifically, do changes occur in fiction, for example, before they occur in social groups? Miss Inglis distinguishes between the "reflection" theory and the "control" theory. According to the former, the works of fiction that are being read merely reflect social changes that are already taking place. According to the latter theory, people are socially controlled through their reading habits. The current findings are doubly significant, that is, "literature sometimes reflects and sometimes controls society." [28]

The exercise of *reading* is rarely thought of in terms of social experience and of its relation to personality. In studying the reports of children concerning their reading activities, Katherine Niles Lind describes four types of reading experience. (1) Reading serves as a form of escape from a world more or less unpleasant and as a form of enjoyment of a supplementary imaginary world. (2) Reading is "a temporary diversion with a heightening of the emotional tone" over and above that of regular experiences. (3) Reading has "an organizing influence in the reader's personality." It helps him to understand himself and the world about him. It assists him in defining his role in his social groups. (4) Reading has objective values, such as giving facts and arousing interests. Its function in this regard may be called "instrumental," that is, an instrument for getting a better grasp on the world about one.[29]

[28] Ruth A. Inglis, "An Objective Approach to the Relationship between Fiction and Society," *American Sociological Review*, III : 526–33, August, 1938.

[29] Katherine Niles Lind, "The Social Psychology of Children's Reading," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI : 454–69, January, 1936.

Reading gives clues to the interests and attitudes of peoples. Most reading is done to meet problems, to satisfy special aims, and to support attitudes. An examination of what people read gives clues to their wants and their aspirations. A release of the American Library Association reports that in the year 1947 "the average reader in the United States" was first and foremost interested in his personal problems, then in housing and business, and was little concerned about international troubles and atomic energy. Perhaps the two last-mentioned subjects are treated in too technical and uninteresting ways. Many persons asked for "a book to live by." War fiction "lies practically untouched on library shelves," but novels dealing "with race and social problems are much in demand." The use of library books in 1947 showed a marked increase over the preceding year due perhaps to "more abundant leisure time, the housing shortage, and a gradual return to home recreation."

Many rural districts are without public libraries. The *branch library* has met an important human need in both rural areas and in cities, especially where it has had rooms which have been available for club meetings and where it has served as a kind of neighborhood center. The *bookmobile* is a useful institution for arousing the reading interests of rural people who are not served by regular libraries. The bookmobile takes good books to people instead of waiting for people to come after them. Its possibilities as a socio-educational agency and for directing the reading of rural folk are unlimited. Even a *Parnassus on Wheels*[30] is not without its socially significant possibilities.

Reading may be socializing or isolating as far as its effects on the reader go. The determination of these tendencies is found (1) in the reader's cultural backgrounds, (2) in the type of printed matter that is dwelt upon, and (3) in the conditions under which the reading is done.[31]

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF EDUCATION

The social functions of education have two broad aims: (1) To dispel ignorance, and (2) to dispel misunderstanding. In positive

[30] By Christopher Morley (Doubleday, Page & Company, Garden City, N. Y., 1922). [31] Lind, *loc. cit.*

terms these aims are: (1) To help everyone to become literate and to develop his intellectual capacities, and (2) to build up widespread understanding among peoples of different cultures and different interests.

An informal educational classification of people may be made in two different ways. First there is the intelligence-heredity test. The results are fivefold, as follows: (1) geniuses, (2) talented people, (3) persons with intelligence quotients ranging from 90 to 110, (4) mental defectives, and (5) morons. Social planning will endeavor through eugenic programs to eliminate classes (4) and (5) as far as possible, for they are a more or less dead social weight. Individuals in these classes easily and unwittingly commit some of the most heinous offenses, although the shrewdest crimes are committed by members in the first three classes.

The other test is educational, and the results are also fivefold: (1) university and professionally trained persons, (2) the college trained, (3) the high school trained, (4) the elementary school trained, and (5) the illiterate. This classification is based largely upon opportunity. A telic society today aims to move all its members into the first three classes as far as possible. The task of overcoming illiteracy, however, has been gigantic, even in the United States which prides itself on having one of the best educational systems in the world. A few countries boast of a smaller percentage of illiteracy than does the United States, notably Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, England, Scotland.

Certain countries still have excessive illiteracy rates, such as India, Egypt, China, and, until recently, Russia and Mexico. Where the illiteracy is 50 per cent or more, the majority of the people would not recognize a map of their own country. Political democracy under such conditions would have little chance.

After illiteracy is cut down to a negligible level, a telic or planned society still has the problem of socializing its literates, that is, of training and conditioning them to react intelligently in behalf of the common welfare first of all and then in behalf of themselves.

"Social imbecility," as Clarence M. Case uses the term, apparently ranks high in most literate nations today. Evidences of social imbecility

are found in those obnoxious signboards that clutter up the landscape in American cities and on country roads, in the habit of getting off street cars backward, in throwing lighted cigarettes away carelessly, in endurance tests such as marathon dancing, in thinking that getting drunk is "smart," in the "Valentino hysteria," in publishing glaring newspaper accounts (with large headlines) of startling but disgusting behavior, in "night-riding," in honking horns so as to make the pedestrian jump for his life, in settling national disputes by killing off a number of the finest specimens of young men. It does not matter much what name or label is used, whether boobery, foolhardiness, moronishness, idiocy, or stupidity—the problem is the same. In mental age many people may rank high, but they are low in "social age." Despite their big brain power they are still little children in their sense of social responsibility. They have never grown up. Concerning social stupidity in general and war in particular, Dr. Case states:

> The social stupidity in question is the work of the great mass of non-psychopathic, apparently adequate, normally intelligent human beings who carry on the daily work and play of the world. Yet the result of their quite intelligent (?) activities is a notably stupid world at home and abroad—a world that not only suffered the World War, but actually and inevitably, and through no sort of accident, produced it as a legitimate product. The stupidity, even moral and social idiocy, of such a world cannot be characterized in words. It might be said to represent the ideal for a perfectly stupid world, especially since it now seems bent on repeating the recent orgy of destruction.
>
> Apologists for "the system" may attempt two defenses. One is that war is an affair of humanity in its vast, unwieldy, international aspects, but no fair measure of our associated life on the smaller and more manageable scale. The other is that such blind folly belongs only to the less lucid moments of social experience and not to the steady run of affairs. Both arguments are vain, for the sober fact is that behavior essentially of that kind is the daily and hourly experience of all human groups everywhere. Such foolishness is the stuff that associated human life is made of, and I have been able to hit upon no better name for it than social imbecility.[32]

Educational groups, thus, are seen to be both formal and informal. The formal is well organized and characterized by informative action.

[32] Clarence M. Case, "Social Imbecility and Social Age," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII : 224, January-February, 1928.

The informal is unorganized, indirect, and characterized by personal appeal. One moves in the rational realm; the other in the feeling sphere. One provides facts; the other, atmosphere and stimuli. One is represented by the carefully directed classroom; the other, by personal followings and by publics. Both are educationally essential.

Within the last three decades a noteworthy development has occurred in the field of what is sometimes called *educational sociology.* Definitions do not agree, but in the main educational sociology is the study of experience in the group as an educational process. The major developments in educational sociology reveal personality as being born and growing up in social groups. They show that social experience is both the main educator and the most natural educator. If individual persons are more responsive "to the voice of the group" than to any other force in the world, the study of group values and processes becomes all important not only for progressive educators but for everyone.

PROBLEMS

1 Explain: "Better than time to read is time to think."
2 Why are relatively so few people engaged in doing original thinking?
3 Why do students "cram" for examinations?
4 What would be a better method than "cramming"?
5 Why is the better method not followed?
6 How many months should there be in the public school year?
7 What is education?
8 Explain: Every student should have a target.
9 Do you see any values in being stupid?
10 Should society spend more money per capita upon wealthy or poor children?
11 What are the arguments for and against a national university?
12 Which function of teaching should be given the greater attention: imparting information or developing critical thinking?
13 What is the relation of the daily newspaper to public opinion?
14 What is the major effect of coloration of news?
15 In what ways does a newspaper hinder its readers from forming opinions freely?
16 Describe a socially ideal newspaper.
17 In what ways is a radio public different from a newspaper public?
18 How might a national radio public become exceedingly dangerous on occasion?

19 What is the relation of the radio to culture diffusion?
20 In what ways does the motion picture exercise indirect suggestion?
21 What social changes might be effected by television?
22 What are some of the effects of television on the lives of children?
23 How is television affecting the pattern of family life?
24 What is meant by social illiteracy?
25 Why is there so much social illiteracy when ordinary literacy has been eliminated?
26 Describe in a sentence or two the probable state of society in the United States if all the schools "were to be closed tomorrow and kept closed for one full generation."
27 What is the purpose of a loyalty oath?
28 In what ways do loyalty oaths fail to gain their aim?
29 Should all capable youth have at least two years of a college education?
30 Should there be enough college fraternities so that all college men and women might belong?
31 Should college fraternities be non-secret and hence more democratic organizations?

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Chapter

8

The Religious Group

AT AN early age the average child is likely to find himself under the influence of a religious group. If so he begins to respond in one way or another to religious stimuli. He may react favorably and grow in religious faith and wisdom. He may fall away for a time, for years, and then as life wears on, as troubles come and losses of loved ones occur, return to his childhood faith and spend his closing years in a renewed religious hope. He may react adversely and proudly call himself an atheist, although most atheists are reacting against "an inadequate conception of God" and not against a wholesome religious spirit.

When one person worships with other persons a special religious spirit develops. Fellowship creates first a religious group, and then a religious institution. The process has been well stated:

> If the person is alone naturally he must worship by himself or not at all. If there is a small company of people of similar faith they will come together from time to time for common worship. After such a group has settled and has become large and strong enough they will build a house of worship near their habitations. They will then hold services as often as convenient and attempt to secure a person to visit them at intervals and perform the functions of priest or pastor. If the neighborhood grows and the pastor is successful in increasing the membership a resident pastor will be engaged to look after the ministrations of the group. When this happens we may say that the religious life of the neighborhood has become institutionalized. It is this objective manifestation of religion with which we are mainly concerned here.[1]

[1] William L. Leap, *Red Hill—Neighborhood Life and Race Relations in a Rural Section.* Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers (Bureau of Publications, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1933), p. 80.

In the Christian mass movements in India interesting light is thrown on the relation of the social group to religion. In India people are trained in group action. Individual action, as found in the West, is more or less foreign to them. They live in caste groups, and hence it is easier to move religiously together than as individual units.

It has been estimated that 80 per cent of the 1,800,000 Protestants in India are the product of religious mass movements, and that the same explanation holds true for one-half of the Roman Catholics. These results have occurred through "group decisions favorable to religion." Not one member but a whole group of "sweepers," for instance, may become converted to Christianity. It is far easier for each to help the others "to keep the faith," and thus to develop genuinely new religious life than it would be for each to try to stand religiously alone, possibly the object of the group's scorn and ostracism.[2]

However, action in a crowd may be a superficial type of group activity. One may act as a crowd member without thinking deeply why he acts. He may act chiefly because others are acting in a given way; he may act in a group, even a religious group, in order not to be conspicuous and not because any real change of a religious nature has taken place in his personality.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

A child's religious attitudes are likely to develop out of the religious attitudes of his family group. Even an adult's religious attitudes may be personalized expressions of some of the mores of his parental and community groups. They may likely be a natural outgrowth of the religious traditions and beliefs of his parents and peers.

The religious group is everywhere an expression of the need for extra-human aid. At best every person suffers a degree of isolation. Many of the hardest blows in life one cannot shift to others, and hence one may seek religious aid.

Religious impulses have been and are universal. They were common among primitive groups and are found today nearly everywhere, but in many different forms—Christian, Mohammedan, Buddhist, Jewish,

[2] J. W. Pickett, *Christian Mass Movements in India* (The Abingdon Press, New York, 1933), p. 5.

and so on. In many of their narrow and bigoted expressions they have been socially destructive, but in their finest and truest developments they have been socially helpful. In recent centuries they have found expression in definite religious groups with elaborate rituals, costly cathedrals, and powerful social organizations. St. Peter's, Westminster Abbey, the Cathedral of Milan, the Cologne Cathedral, not to mention Mohammedan mosques, Jewish synagogues, and Buddhist temples are among the outstanding achievements of religious zeal.

To comprehend the significance of religious attitudes it is necessary to analyze religious behavior. The universality of religious attitudes is due to the universality of certain overwhelming human needs. For example, there come times in every person's life when he is confronted with the fact that he does not know very much after all. The most highly educated and cultured, the wealthiest, the most powerful politically as well as the poor and the ignorant, are all in the same category when it comes to placing themselves, their achievements, and their powers alongside of the powers of the universe and the realms of the unknown. Miracles and marvels and mysteries face man at every turn. Life is filled with baffling problems, and death remains the greatest conundrum.

At best it appears that human beings are but little organisms moving hopefully for a short moment through a vast sweep of mystery. As Charles H. Cooley once stated, human beings are like "a party of men with lanterns making their way through an immeasurable forest." [3] To all except the intellectually blasé or the stupid, the perplexities of life sooner or later are recognized as being too great for man to meet out of his own resources. Herein is the explanation of the permanency of religious attitudes and groups.

Religion has developed out of human needs that cannot be met in mundane ways. When the sense of need urged primitive man to attempt to communicate with a higher power, there religion made its first appearance and there prayer became the first religious tool. Religious attitudes have developed from both feelings and thought, leading on one hand to faith, and on the other to beliefs about life and the universe. In its essential nature religion is a conscious and cooperative

[3] *Social Process* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1918), p. 362.

relationship of puny human beings with the omnipotent Creator of the universe.

At its noblest, religion perceives human society not as an end in itself but as an emergence of the superhuman, the endless, the Divine. To consider human life in its finest and richest aspects as an emergence of an Eternal Personality lends greater value and an increased dignity to human society. Through religion man sees himself as a functioning unit of a social group far larger and more significant than any visible human group. He views himself as a part of a society extending back into the centuries, struggling up the steep and slippery road of human endeavor, but at times falling back. He sees himself as an immortal part of a society extending into endless time. When he views the hard-fought victories of the past he braces up with renewed courage for the tasks of the day, and when he catches a glimpse now and then of the vista ahead he steps more lightly to his day's work. Thus religion is one of the main sources of those enthusiasms of life without which gloom, pessimism, and cynicism would settle down over all and engulf all.

The religious views of preliterate peoples were usually tied in intimately with their whole group life. Everywhere the individual turned and everything he did was related to a complicated set of religious and supernatural beliefs, even superstitions that had come down to him from the groups that had lived before him. Each generation had added taboos and increased the number of spirits that inhabited both the animate and inanimate world all about its members. The individual's superstitions had come to him from preceding generations, chiefly through the family and tribal groups.

TRIBAL AND NATIONAL RELIGION

Man early conceived the sun, the moon, the wind, the heavens, as being like himself and as guided by feelings and attitudes like his own. Even the thunderstorm was worshiped as a mighty being which had power to end a drought. Nature worship was common. Some objects called fetishes were worshiped not because of their intrinsic value, charm, or power, but because a spirit or god was supposed to reside in them. Animals were worshiped, and revered for the qualities in which

they excelled. Ancestor worship was common. The simplest folk of Tibet, for example, are described as the most religious people in the world in that they are continually praying, that they literally pray in five different ways at once, and that their political and social organizations are subordinate to their religious life and organization.[4]

The worship of innumerable spirits became burdensome and confusing, hence many spirits were supplanted by a relatively few deities and religious beliefs. Then it seems that the main deity of the leading tribe in a given area became supreme. Here is found the beginning of monotheisms and of national religions.

In early times a man's religion consisted largely of the religious acts which he performed rather than in the beliefs which he held. In modern days the emphasis is often reversed. Sacrifices were invaluable features of early religions. By this method the relationships with the gods were renewed and strengthened. Prayer was the ordinary concomitant of the sacrifice; it was the means by which the worshiper explained the reason of his gift, urged the deity to accept it, and asked for the help he needed. Worshiping thus was a series of social acts, a phase of social behavior, and an outgrowth of group relationships.

There were few temples, idols, and no churches in the early human world. The worship of natural objects did not suggest the enclosing of a space for religious purposes. There were no formal religious organizations. Everyone in the social group was assumed to take part in the religious exercises and every group organized thus had its religious phase. In later centuries religion became somewhat set apart from the rest of life and manifested itself in distinctive institutions.

Taboo developed. In order to maintain religion intact certain acts were forbidden. Particular objects became taboo. The earthly belongings of a deity could not be touched. By taboo a chieftain, because of his close relationship with a deity, might save to his own use, or pleasure, objects of special value. Religion thus furnished society with one of its earliest tools of control.

Taboos were enforced by invoking fear. The wrath of the gods would come down upon the offender, and punishment would strike

[4] Dorris Shelton, "Culture Traits of the Tibetans," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVIII : 150–57, November-December. 1933.

him down. Thus along with taboo came the appeal to fear and the concept of punishment. Rewards and punishments for here and now were not sufficient to induce or to deter certain behavior, and hence the individual was promised a Heaven of bliss or threatened with a Hell of agony. The behavior problem thus is shown to be one that even religion could not deal with except by glorious or terrible stimuli.

The religion of the tribal group developed into the religion of the national group. Instead of partisan tribal gods, a higher and impartial deity was conceived, who belonged to and watched over all the tribal groups. New social bonds developed. There was no longer the tie of blood which bound the people to their gods; the tie became more spiritual and more social.

The Inca religion, Confucianism, and the worship of Yahweh, or Jehovah, may be considered national group religions. With the coming of the Hebrew prophets, religion assumed broader aspects and finally culminated in Christianity, with its claim as a religion fit for the world group.

Sometimes national religions have been officially adopted as state religions, but in recent decades the tendency has been in the opposite direction. State and church are no longer one in most countries. The combination has sometimes led to undue concentration of power, and created difficult problems. If religious needs, however, are vital to the development of the finest type of persons and citizens, then perhaps the religious phase of life cannot be entirely neglected by the state.

UNIVERSAL RELIGIOUS GROUPS

In its essence *Mohammedanism*, which has aspired to be a religion for all the world, holds to the doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of Allah, and of the responsibility of every human being to Allah.[5] The submissive tendency, the implicit surrender, and entire obedience to Allah are emphasized. Allah, however, does not inspire the worshiper with ideals of goodness, although an influence against evil is exerted; he is abstract. He does not come in close contact with people; he seems to have little personal interest in human welfare. He does

[5] See Allan Menzies, *History of Religion* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1906), Ch. XIII.

not inspire persons to strive after high social standards; he does not seem to be related to humanity and cannot figure extensively in group welfare.[6]

The central movement of East Indian religious thought has culminated in *Buddhism*, another world religion. Gautama, the founder, in his early manhood began to realize that suffering accompanies all existence, and scorned a life of rank and ease. In rising from a period of contemplation this remarkable leader proclaimed himself as Buddha, the Enlightened One, the one who beheld the true nature of things.[7] Sorrow and evil had lost all hold on him; he had reached emancipation by the destruction of desire. Moreover, if people are to be "saved," they must do it by their own efforts; no mediator can relieve them of any part of the burden.

Buddhism is based on the social concept of equality. All human beings are to be paid respect; hatred is to be supplanted by love; life is to be filled with kindness. On the whole, however, Buddhism is not a positive force. The believer does not trouble himself about the world but chiefly about his own salvation. Buddhism does not aim at an ideal society, such as a Kingdom of God. It checks rather than fosters enterprise; it does not actively interest itself in the advancement of civilization. It favors a dull conformity to rule rather than a free cultivation of various gifts. It does not train or condition the attitudes toward virtuous and harmonious group action. It seeks "selflessness" and "quietism." It would escape life and its problems rather than attain "the development of life through mastery over its conditions."

Buddhism holds to a "negation of the world" philosophy. The aim is to get away from the temptations of the flesh. In so doing, however, it is necessary to avoid anger, evil-doing, unchastity, intoxication, lying, murder. A person who fails to live up to these negative virtues is delayed just that much in attaining a state of future perfection.

Buddhism puts positive emphasis on caring for one's parents, on gratitude, on kindliness. In other words, a doctrine of life negation produces "an ethic of inner perfection," but to attain this goal it is necessary to be profoundly spiritual and to renounce material things.

[6] *Loc. cit.* [7] *Ibid.*, Ch. XX.

The way to inner perfection is to put spiritual values above material ones, and to avoid every act that would be harmful to others. To achieve this negative result, positive social values are furthered. A world of people with no hatred in their hearts is on the way to world peace. A world with no greed and envy in its heart will not engage in destructive warfare. "Only he who has a pure mind and in addition is filled with sentiments of cheerful kindness for the whole world is said to be capable of experiencing the highest detachment from the world in self-submergence." [8] These attributes signify a measure of human good will.

When we turn to Gandhi we find that his doctrine of nonviolent noncooperation undoubtedly has a religious basis. Again this idea is like those negative doctrines by which the ancient Hebrew writers are well known. The negative principle as it works out in Gandhism and other Indian religious teachings contains a widespread social meaning. Not only the human world but the whole universe of living things is included in the practice of doing no harm. All life is viewed as having a place within what amounts to a socially negative doctrine. In other words, "our behavior must not only concern our human neighbors but all living things." [9]

Judaism, or the religion of the Jews, is based largely on the teachings of the Hebrew prophets and has a strong social content. It has conserved the family group as a socializing institution, and has pictured Jehovah as a God of both righteousness and mercy. A better human society is sought. Its attention has not been centered on other-worldly affairs so much as on the problems of this world. It has borne fruit in calm and well-organized social programs.

Judaism, which began as a tribal religion, has evolved as a world-wide Jewish religion. Wherever Jews were exiled in their long-suffering experiences their religion was a major force in holding them together as a culture group. It served them well as a unifying force in time of trouble, for without it they would doubtless have lost their main adhesive nature.

Judaism was the parent of Christianity. In fact its current relation

[8] Albert Schweitzer, *Indian Thought and Its Development* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1936), p. 105. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

to Christianity is such that the two are sometimes referred to as the Jewish-Christian religion. By virtue of the vicarious experiences of the adherents of Judaism in many lands, the religion of the Jews has developed into something of a world religion. It has reached beyond the bounds of a nation-religion in its conceptions of Jehovah, in the teachings of the prophets, in its ethical doctrines.

Judaism has among its leaders today many who hold a world view of religion. One Jewish leader urges, for example, a world parliament of religions which call for "the renunciation by every religious communion of any claim to exclusive possession of salvation," [10] and the recognition of the principle of religious group equality. Thus, Judaism without aspiring to become a world religion has developed teachings of world-wide significance. It has leaped national boundaries and developed world-group implications.

Christianity early made its world claim. Its first great missionary, St. Paul, carried it to Gentiles as well as to Jews. Its doctrine of the brotherhood of man also gave it a world flavor. Its later missionaries have braved disease and death in order "to evangelize the world," and to set up Christian churches in all lands. Its social emphasis is implicit in the injunction of its founder "to love thy neighbor as thyself"; social ideals and service have been carried far and wide. In it religion assumes extensive social expressions and accepts varied social obligations.[11]

SOCIAL PHASES OF CHRISTIANITY

The *social principles of Christianity* originated in the teachings of the Hebrew prophets and the other founders of the Hebrew or Jewish religion; they received a dynamic impetus in the teachings of Jesus; then they lay dormant for centuries, in fact, until about 1885, when they began to be reinterpreted.[12] For centuries the individual and the social interpretations of Christianity remained divorced. Theology tended to build up the individual principles of religion at the expense of the social. On the other hand, Jesus apparently made them insepa-

[10] Mordecai Kaplan, *The Future of the American Jew* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1948), p. 158.

[11] In Christianity also religion finds intolerant, dogmatic, and vicious behavior, but at its best it rises to cosmopolitan claims.

[12] By religious leaders such as Washington Gladden and Josiah Strong.

rable, for he insisted upon the test of loving one's neighbor as a test of loving one's God.

Within the decades since the social principles in the teachings of Jesus have been discovered they have been attacked by fearful theologians and by narrow-minded laymen. These social principles are not to be considered as the whole of Christianity but as "the lost tribes of Christian thought." When given their due emphasis they enable Christianity to take a leading part in directing the solution of the world's problems. They furnish the vision and the dynamic for solving the labor and capital problem, divorce, housing, and even war. Christianity could not prevent the World Wars, for its social principles had been submerged for eighteen centuries while the war pattern of settling disputes had been practiced and ingrained into the body politic of many nations for eighteen centuries and more. During the World Wars many people in the fighting nations reduced Christianity to a national religion headed by a national god; many lost sight of the social principles of Christianity entirely in the midst of the killing.

It became the task of St. Paul to work out some of the world-wide implications of Christianity. In Christianity it was expected that all racial differences would disappear. "In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek." [13]

As Jesus taught, God is the Father and human beings are his children unless by their behavior they belie or decry the relationship. All that a person needs to do is to live in communion with man and God on a socially responsible level. Religion thus becomes the active communion of children with their father; the father and children are to dwell together in loving behavior. Religion is not an apparatus but a process of love. He who acts on a lower level than love breaks the tie and by that act grows irreligious. Prayer is necessary, for the child must keep in tune with the father. The process is simple, deep, broad, mutual, dynamic, constructive, and holy.

In its essence Christianity inspires a person not to withdraw from the world, but to realize his own richest possibilities in and through group life. Its ideal of a Kingdom of Heaven may find elementary but genuine expression on earth, and through human personalities. In fact

[13] Romans 3 : 29.

the perfect society has begun in the personalities of those who live in terms of love and social responsibility. Realization of religion means living according to the principle of the brotherhood of man and the principle of the Fatherhood of God. Only in these two principles when integrated can a person realize his complete emergence; nothing less is satisfactory to the whole person.

Not only is Christianity personally developmental but it is socially constructive. In its finest expression it not only identifies itself with a large measure of human freedom but tends to unite all persons in a vast world brotherhood. It has taken the richest sentiments connected with the family, namely, the ideas of brotherhood and fatherhood, and given them the largest possible group application. It has possibilities of becoming the supersocializing force of all times.

The Kingdom of God is both a spiritual and a social ideal; the two elements are inseparable. Those religious persons would seem to be mistaken who say: "We are not here to make the world any better; we have to pass through it on the way to glory." Equally mistaken are those who conceive of the Kingdom of God as a social ideal only, who are simply humanitarian, and who proclaim: "Every man a well-fed, well-housed, and well-cared-for human being." The kingdom lays stress upon character, love, and social ideals. It implies "good conditions, a perfect environment, justice to all, wholesome dwellings, the fair reward of labor, opportunity for men to realize themselves," [14] and in addition spiritual growth and the development of stimulating social bonds.

As a social and spiritual dynamic, Christianity has operated in three directions. It has furnished social ideals, it has formed character, and it has evoked service.[15]

(1) Christianity gives new ideals of life—of personal, family, and group life. It affords a vital interpretation of marriage, and has "founded the Christian home." It emphasizes the child as a center of sacrificial living. It sets up ideals that are to transform human personalities and the world. It would create high-minded, sympathetic, and progressive groups everywhere.

[14] David Watson, *Social Advance* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1911), p. 28. [15] *Ibid.*, Ch. II.

(2) "Christianity has produced the highest type of character known to man," says David Watson.[16] Without constructive character, it may be added, all group life would become a farce, and the world would disintegrate. Christianity lays heavy emphasis on moral traits. At its noblest it moves persons and peoples away from lives of selfishness, idleness, and vice to lives of sacrifice, fidelity, and service.

Closely related to the social aspects of religion are the moral. In a study of the reactions of 300 college students to the moral role of the church (in a general sense) Paul B. Horton obtained the following results:

a. The church is helpful in maintaining high moral standards (185 votes, 62 per cent).

b. The church is absolutely necessary if high moral standards are to be maintained (71 votes, 23 per cent).

c. High moral standards can be maintained just as easily without the church (35 votes, 12 per cent).

d. The church is a hindrance to the maintenance of high moral standards (6 votes, 2 per cent). No answer was given by three persons (1 per cent).[17]

According to this test the church is credited with possessing a close relation to moral behavior but exceptions may occur. To the extent that religious teachings include an emphasis on obligations to fellow human beings, a moral influence may be anticipated, although teachings under any auspices do not necessarily carry over into appropriate behavior.

(3) The dynamic of Christian love has operated not only through high ideals and sturdy character, but also through social service. It has stood for doing good, for philanthropic endeavors, and self-sacrificing behavior. It has stimulated endless numbers of men and women to inaugurate and carry forward reform movements. Nearly every philanthropic movement in recent centuries had Christianity as one of its major dynamics. Countless missionary activities, full of sacrificial deeds, have been born of Christianity. Scientific training and the spir-

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[17] Paul B. Horton, "The Church as a Socializing Agency," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 15:46–52, September, 1941.

itual dynamic of a wholesome religious outlook combine to make an excellent foundation for social service.

After social and economic programs have been put into action, the spirit of constructive religion will be as useful as ever. After everyone reaches a level of material comfort, religion is still needed. No social or economic program suffices to abolish sorrow, or pain, or infirmity, or human regrets, or heartaches, or death. There come times in the lives of everyone, no matter how sympathetic his environment may be, when none of these things suffices, when the best of friends can do little more than stand mutely by. The religious spirit in its greatest sweep contains the largest group idea possible. It dares to include all human beings. It dares far more—to include all those who have lived well and died, those who are to live, and God—all in one almost inconceivably large group, living on, and ever developing.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS TRENDS

Religion, like other phases of life, tends to grow professionalized, to become narrow, to develop bigotry, and to fail to adjust itself to changing social needs. Persons have difficulty in living up to their religious expectations; religion fails to meet personal hopes. Many socio-religious problems, or socio-personal problems in the religious realm, arise.

(1) A difficult task is that of affording all persons an appreciation of the highest attained religious concepts. Underlying this problem is that of coming to an agreement as to what are the highest religious concepts. Also basic is the problem of discovering new religious truths and of seeing more clearly the relation of the finite life to the infinite. However, if present religious truth and faith in their most helpful phases were known, accepted, and put into practice generally by mankind, the leading social and personal problems would be met.

(2) The tendency of religion everywhere is both socially and personally conservative. On one hand it ties up with vested interests, as in the case of Russia under the Czars, until a widespread adverse human reaction goes to the opposite extreme of atheism. On the other hand, it ties up with a person's prejudices and biases, his outworn sentiments, until his religion no longer appeals to the new, inquiring

generation. When a given practice has once been sanctioned by religion, it has been almost impossible to eliminate it until long after it has ceased to serve a useful purpose. At times the church has been one of the most conservative of group institutions. It has tended to identify itself with the conditions of a given decade and then to cling to the established methods long after the situation has changed.

(3) Generally in their social living persons fall below the religious ideals which they profess. Many instinctive impulses and tendencies are so persistent and so subtle that even some religious persons fail at unexpected moments. It is not possible, of course, that persons subject to the weaknesses of human nature should attain to religious perfection without a long struggle.

Then there are those who profess religion but who live as hypocrites. The hypocrisy may be conscious, or more or less habitual and unconscious. It is such behavior which harms religion immeasurably. A man who supports the church but employs children, men, and women at less than living wages is a concrete example. A church member who gambles with the savings of hard-working people and through the failure of stock-manipulations causes elderly people to spend their days in virtual pauperism is another notorious example. Still another illustration is that of the lawyer who conducts a church school class but who at the same time for a liberal fee helps a client to dodge the legitimate laws of his country.

"He is an angel at home," said the chauffeur for a big business man, "but he is a devil in business, driving his employees as though they were slaves and crowding his competitors to the wall." The reverse is also true of other church members. "He is an angel to his stenographers and customers, but a devil at home to his wife." There is the churchman in good standing who boasts that he can always hire unskilled labor at less than the market rate. The exploited laborers curse him, however, and, worse still, they curse religion and the church. Men may be good husbands, good fathers, and good church members, but bad employers or employees, bad patriots, bad citizens.

(4) Religious, church, denominational rivalries do inestimable harm. It is such conflicts that belie the Christian's profession of love and brotherhood. If Christians, for example, cannot make their broth-

erhood principle work among themselves, how can they conscientiously ask unbelievers to accept their doctrines? Present sectarian divisions are socially, economically, religiously wasteful. Union and cooperation need to be substituted for sectarianism; fair play and love for religious conflicts and hatreds. In a small experimental way the community church is developing as an antidote to religious division. The experiment has many weaknesses but also achievements to its credit. It serves not only the religious needs of the entire community, but in certain instances has taken the lead in reorganizing and building up the entire life of an entire community.[18]

(5) It has been one of the weaknesses of religion that it moves persons as individuals, but does not affect their behavior vitally in their group or social relationships. The process of saving individual souls has often failed in saving persons in all their group activities. It has been pointed out that the custom of appealing to individuals to seek personal salvation first of all is to arouse egoistic attitudes. A religion that leaves a person satisfied with saving his own soul is socially obstructive; religion must go further if it is to command widespread respect. Some claim that the best way for a person to "save his soul" is through saving the souls of other persons. The truly religious church, it has been claimed, is not the one which seeks primarily to build itself up, but that which builds up the community in which its members live and work.

(6) *Social service* as evidence of a religious attitude has grown rapidly in recent decades. It has also met with serious-minded rebuffs. It has been misunderstood and in places has misunderstood itself. The social service movement of the churches has developed particularly in the United States. In other regions, such as Europe, religion has been both other-worldly and charity-minded. Social service denies its high calling when it stoops to substitute "a soup and soap salvation" for spiritual regeneration. Moreover, it was never meant to provide bait for enticing the unchurched laboring men into the house of worship. Its chief concern is not with externals or comforts but with get-

[18] Cf. A. C. Zumbrunnen, *The Community Church* (The University of Chicago Press, 1922).

ting the dynamic of divine love into all human groups and processes. One of its exponents explains:

> A religious community is not necessarily one that is full of churches, each seeking its own peculiar formulas and practices. It is rather a community which has become aware of its organic nature, which has found its soul, repented of its sins, come to conscious realization of its powers and needs, and is co-ordinating its forces, including its churches, in harmony with a power greater than itself, for the working out of its salvation.[19]

While the church is engaged in individual soul saving, "evil gathers its corporate power, puts its hand upon the forces of social control," and nullifies the gains that come from evangelizing individuals. The doctrine, "Preach the Gospel and the rest will take care of itself," does not take into consideration the lives of thousands that are being snuffed out by evil forces in the community.

The important features of social service programs of religion are many.

(a) These programs are based on the social injunctions of religious leaders, on the group character of religion, on social principles such as the brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God. They supplement, not supplant, the individual phases of religion; they indicate whether or not the individual is sincere and intelligent in his religious professions. They furnish a medium by which a religious person may test his religion and grow more genuinely religious. They represent a form of group worship.

(b) These programs call for a service procedure, organization, and training. They require a paid and a volunteer corps of social service workers. They imply that everyone in the parish will become something of a service worker, from the minister down. The minister will become an expert case work adviser regarding personal problems of maladjustment in religious beliefs, in marriage procedure, in parent-child training problems, and so on. He will develop both educational and activity programs of service within his parish.

[19] Harry F. Ward, *Social Evangelism* (Missionary Educational Movement, New York, 1915), p. 21.

(c) The church program includes social service classes, divided into study groups and training groups, also talks and sermons according to a schedule on all the leading social problems at home and abroad. In some parishes the Sunday morning service is distinctly devotional and worshipful, and the evening service is likewise devotional and worshipful in the sense of considering community, national, and world problems involved in the injunction: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

(7) Christianity is developing a concrete social creed. In 1912, for instance, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America perfected a creed, which was revised twenty years later in 1932.

In comparing the Social Creed of 1932 with the first one adopted in 1912 new developments appear, such as: injunctions to the church to stand for (a) "subordination of speculation and the profit motive to the creative and co-operative spirit," (b) social "control of the credit and monetary systems and the economic processes for the common good," (c) "educational preparation for marriage, home-making, and parenthood," (d) "economic justice for the farmer," (e) "protection of the individual and society from the social, economic, and moral waste of any traffic in intoxicants," and (f) "repudiation of war" and "drastic reduction of armaments." [20] The new creed indicates that the churches are keeping up well with the social trends.

So important are the social creeds of religious bodies that the one adopted by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in 1932 may be given here for careful scrutiny. It declares that the churches should stand for:

1. Practical application of the Christian principle of social well-being to the acquisition and use of wealth; subordination of speculation and the profit motive to the creative and co-operative spirit.
2. Social planning and control of the credit and monetary systems and the economic processes for the common good.
3. The right of all to the opportunity for self-maintenance; a wider and fairer distribution of wealth; a living wage, as a minimum, and above this a just share for the worker in the product of industry and agriculture.

[20] Graham Taylor, "The Church Keeps Up with Social Trends," *Survey*, LXIX : 64–66, February, 1933.

4. Safeguarding of all workers, urban and rural, against harmful conditions of labor and occupational injury and disease.
5. Social insurance against sickness, accident, want in old age, and unemployment.
6. Reduction of hours of labor as the general productivity of industry increases; release from employment at least one day in seven, with a shorter working week in prospect.
7. Such special regulation of the conditions of work of women as shall safeguard their welfare and that of the family and the community.
8. The right of employees and employers alike to organize for collective bargaining and social action; protection of both in the exercise of this right; the obligation of both to work for the public good; encouragement of co-operatives and other organizations among farmers and other groups.
9. Abolition of child labor; adequate provision for the protection, education, spiritual nurture and wholesome recreation of every child.
10. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity; educational preparation for marriage, home-making and parenthood.
11. Economic justice for the farmer in legislation, financing of agriculture, transportation and the price of farm products as compared with the cost of machinery and other commodities which he must buy.
12. Extension of the primary cultural opportunities and social services now enjoyed by urban populations to the farm family.
13. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of any traffic in intoxicants and habit-forming drugs.
14. Application of the Christian principle of redemption to the treatment of offenders; reform of penal and correctional methods and institutions, and of criminal court procedure.
15. Justice, opportunity and equal rights for all; mutual good will and co-operation among racial, economic and religious groups.
16. Repudiation of war, drastic reduction of armaments, participation in international agencies for the peaceable settlement of all controversies; the building of a co-operative world order.
17. Recognition and maintenance of the rights and responsibilities of free speech, free assembly, and a free press; the encouragement of free communication of mind with mind as essential to the discovery of truth.

In a study of social action in American Protestant churches that was reported in 1947 a questionnaire was sent to the church headquarters

of 240 religious groups in the United States. Responses were received from the national headquarters of denominations "which have 32,500,000 of the 36,000,000 Protestant church members in the United States." [21] Social action was defined as "an intentional, direct effort to modify the attitudes toward or change the action in any phase of social life such as government, labor, or recreation." [22] The results showed that 39.6 per cent of all denominations believe that the church should initiate programs of social action in all areas of life; 37.2 per cent believe in social action but do not think that it is the purpose of the church to initiate such action; while 11.6 think that the church should initiate social action in many but not all areas of life. The large denominations are better organized than the small ones and maintain more active social programs. Most of the large denominations have national committees for social action. These denominations are giving particular attention to problems in the fields of labor relations, interracial conciliation, and urban problems. Other subjects receiving attention are peace and temperance. One of the major developments was the action of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in 1946 when it renounced "the pattern of segregation as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the gospel of love and human brotherhood." The Council called on its constituents to work for "a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society." [23]

In 1950 the National Council of the Churches in the United States of America was formed and supplanted the Federal Council. Through its twenty-six Protestant denominations and four Eastern Orthodox bodies and its thirty-two million church members it has opportunity to exert a widespread influence on the socio-economic aspects of life through social studies and social action.

Catholics likewise have well-worded creeds, declaring for needed social ideals, and social action programs. The current Catholic position on labor was stated in 1891 by Pope Leo XIII in his *Rerum Novarum*. This encyclical "On the Condition of the Working Classes" is widely known and read. It has been called "The Worker's Charter." Not only

[21] Judson T. Landis, "Social Action in American Protestant Churches," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII : 517ff., May, 1947. [22] *Loc. cit.*

[23] *The Church and Race Relations* (New York Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1946), p. 5.

are the owners of property to be made secure, but the workman also is entitled to a satisfying security. In concise words Pope Leo XIII declared: "If we turn now to things exterior and corporal, the first concern of all is to save the poor workers from the cruelty of grasping speculators, who use human beings as mere instruments for making money. It is neither justice nor humanity so to grind men down with excessive labor as to stupefy their minds and wear out their bodies." The taking "of one's profit out of the need of another is condemned by all laws, human and divine." [24]

Employers are enjoined in *Rerum Novarum* to treat their employees justly. But if they will not do so, then "justice, therefore, demands that the interests of the poorer population be carefully watched over by the administration, so that they who contribute so largely to the advantage of the community may themselves share in the benefits they create. . . ." Since the richer population have many ways of protecting themselves, and since wage-earners are undoubtedly among the weak, they "should be specially cared for and protected by the commonwealth."

The causes of strikes are analyzed in the following threefold way: "the hours of labor are too long, or the work too hard, or . . . they consider their wages insufficient." The results of strikes are injurious to employers, to employees, to trade, and to the general interests of the public. Hence laws should be passed beforehand which would remove the legitimate causes of strikes. Thus Pope Leo XIII made an analysis of labor troubles and suggested a method of prevention.

Pope Pius XI in 1931, on the fortieth anniversary of the issuance of the *Rerum Novarum*, issued an encyclical known as *Quadragesimo Anno*. He pleads for harmony among employers and employees. Let them "be aided in this wholesome endeavor by the wise measures of the public authority." One of the vital reasons why labor must be safeguarded is the laborer's family. If fathers of families cannot receive "a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary human needs," then laws should be passed that will guarantee such a wage.

[24] The translations of selected sentences from the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and of Pope Pius XI are chosen from those referred to by E. J. Ross in her *Fundamental Sociology* (Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1939).

In his encyclical "On Christian Marriage," *Casti Connubii*, Pope Pius XI says: "To the proximate preparation of a good married life belongs very specially the care in choosing a partner," for thereon depends a great deal whether or not the forthcoming marriage will be happy. In making this choice each person involved should keep in mind the thought of God, of the Christian religion, of himself, of his partner, of the children to come, and of human and civil society, seeking prayerfully not to be led "by the blind and unrestrained impulse of lust, nor by any desire for riches or other base influence, but by a true and noble love and by a sincere affection for the future partner." [25]

The Catholic Church has supported the injunctions of her leaders by a program of activity known as Catholic Action. Pope Pius XI has explained Catholic Action as the pursuit of personal Christian perfection, and as "a true apostolate in which Catholics of every class participate, coming thus to be united in thought and action around these centers of sound doctrine and multiple social activity." The Social Action Movement and the Legion of Decency of the Catholic Church made themselves felt in the struggle against indecent motion pictures, as well as in other constructive directions.

Many Jewish rabbis are known for their social beliefs. They have protested against unjust economic conditions, and have urged a more just distribution of wealth than now exists. Collective bargaining is favored. Social insurance is considered essential. Natural resources belong to all and should be owned by the state. All natural monopolies, such as oil, coal, and other sources of power, should be controlled by the state. It is unwise to have these basic social enterprises operated for profit. They should be operated for the service of the community. Jews have favored better housing, federal laws against lynching, and also freedom of speech.

It is at the point of social welfare needs that Catholics, Jews, and Protestants have been able to work together better than in any other connection. When Catholic, Jew, and Protestant stand shoulder to

[25] Quoted by E. J. Ross, *Fundamental Sociology* (Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1939), 169.

shoulder on a commonly accepted social welfare program, a new social order may be envisaged.

(8) The social service activity program of religion refers to meeting neighborhood needs and the building of a community of forward-looking and forward-moving persons and groups. It would condition persons in terms of national and world welfare. It would eliminate all behavior that blights human hopes and lives. If it would meet the needs of people in terms of better working and living conditions, the churches would be crowded to the doors by many of the people who now shun them.

Social service attitudes are neither the whole of religion nor a disconnected adjunct; they are an integral, organic phase of genuine religion. Neither welfare-minded persons who are outside of the church nor individually-minded persons inside the church are representative of religion at its best. The integration of personal religion and social service presages a new type of religious dynamic that may yet transform the world.

The modern metropolitan city is sometimes considered to be the enemy of religion. The truth is that many factors turn attention elsewhere. Extensive Sunday labor, the sophistication of many urban people, competing Saturday night parties that continue into the Sunday morning hours are samples of the factors that militate against religious thought and practice.

Part of the difficulty doubtless lies with the churches. As C. D. Wells points out, many churches now functioning in large cities are following patterns of services that originated in a rural era of society. He says that "the city's churches have but recently migrated from rural areas from which they have achieved a rural heritage which finds deep-seated expression both in their beliefs and practices." [26] He believes that "religious institutions will succeed in the city only after they have been adapted to their new urban environment."

Six types of personalities in the matter of religious reactions are suggested by Wells. The first three maintain an active relation to religious groups, and the second three are inactive.

[26] *The Changing City Church* (University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, 1934), p. 34.

(1) The fundamentalist is a type of religious person "who clings tenaciously to the old familiar religious beliefs and practices, resisting vigorously all attempts to weaken or change them." [27]

(2) The modernist is a person who has reacted against "fundamentalism" and who stays within the church, but he endeavors to work out reforms in both religious beliefs and practices. He is sometimes called a radical.

(3) The progressive personality has achieved a constructive and working combination of "intellectual ability" and "emotional stability." He maintains working relationships with both fundamentalists and modernists and endeavors to lead them both toward a functioning religious goal.

(4) The backslider is a person whose religious beliefs have not changed but whose religious practices have fallen into disuse. He has become inactive either (a) because of the urgency of other demands on his time, or (b) because of dissatisfaction with religious beliefs or practices or both.

(5) A heretic is a person who has been active in a religious group but who has developed religious doctrines definitely opposed in one or several particulars to his earlier religious teachings.

(6) The individualist is a religious person "who has broken with organized religion" and who has worked out "a private religious system" for his own needs.

Religion exists to maintain the faith of the first three of the aforementioned types of religious personalities, and to win back or over the other three types to the acceptance of its teaching. Religious groupings often develop around the first three types of personalities in order to meet the respective needs of each.

It is contended that organized religious groups are influenced by the kind of social environment in which they find themselves. John E. Nordskog points out the way in which organized religion in various countries is subservient to the economic and political institutions found in each.[28] In capitalistic and fascist countries religion shares in such

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[28] "Organized Religion and Social Reform," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXII : 136, November-December, 1937.

motivation. In a communistic country where the motif is anticapitalistic, religion shares in this belief. Religion "should be more significant as a producer of influences on the other institutions." [29]

As cited in Chapter 4 Dr. Leiffer finds five types of middle-sized cities: (1) commercial, (2) industrial, (3) industrial suburb, (4) residential suburb, and (5) resort. He describes the particular social characteristics of each, and then proceeds to describe the special characteristics that are developed by the churches (Protestant) in each of these five different social environments.[30]

(1) In the commercial city the "downtown" church is undergoing basic modifications and having increasing difficulty in raising the budget. Rapidly developing churches with stately edifices are appearing one to four miles from the downtown area. The people are becoming less sectarian. Members over 45 years of age are out of proportion numerically to those between 20 and 35.

(2) In an industrial city the foreign-born are in evidence. A deep cleavage tends to develop between those who are for the church and those who are against it. Some people feel that the church is capitalistic and out of touch with the working classes. High population mobility affects the church membership. An interdenominational church council is usually operative.

(3) In the industrial suburb the dominance of manufacturing "ties the church closely to the whole industrial process." Many industrial suburbs are not well churched. Some of them are bilingual, because of the foreign populations. The institutional church with support from outside the area develops; a community-centered program is often added to the regular services.

(4) The beautiful and artistic in the services are characteristic of the "first churches" in the residential suburb. Elegant sanctuaries have been built. There are no or few bilingual or institutional churches. Irregularity of attendance, induced partly by the temptation offered by the automobile on weekends, is a problem.

(5) The resort city confronts the church with "almost insuperable

[29] *Loc. cit.*

[30] M. H. Leiffer, *City and Church in Transition* (Willett, Clark and Company, Chicago, 1938),

difficulties." The resort city has so many transients and strangers in it that a systematic religious program with a continuing membership is rare. Moreover, the resort city is often a place where "the tourist trade is placed above morals." Even the salubrious climate of a resort works against church attendance.

A religious group at its best is characterized by "a congenial fellowship, an uplifting worship service, a varied program suited to the needs of such people as live in the local community." [31] It is a group actuated by spiritual aims and molded by social stimuli, engaged in the development of personalities on universal bases.[32]

A religious social service program, fine as it might be made, is not enough. Social action under religious auspices as such is not enough.[33] If religious groups of all faiths were to put into daily practice the principles of the Golden Rule, of the Brotherhood of Man, or of the Sermon on the Mount they would not need to emphasize social action, for their daily living would be social action enough; it would meet universal human needs. If the religious way of living could be wholly democratic, wholly just and fair, all the time and in every social contact, there would truly come a new heaven on earth.

Apparently churches in small cities "show more vitality than those in rural districts and are in some ways healthier than those in large cities." [34] Many rural areas lack adequate religious leadership, while many large churches in the big city suffer from numerous competing factors. It also appears that churches which are conservative in belief have members who are more loyal in membership than do the liberal churches. They are usually smaller in size and thus gain from the greater operation of primary group relationships.

The role of religion and the church in the lives of people today depends upon certain functions which have been stated by Paul B. Horton as follows: (1) The church needs to offer "a religious philosophy

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

[32] Cf. T. Earl Sullenger and Gwen Lindevall "The Urban Church In a Changing Social Scene," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXX : 196–200, January-February, 1946.

[33] Cf. W. S. Nelson, *The Christian Way in Race Relations* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948).

[34] Frederick A. Bushee, "The Church in a Small City," *American Sociological Review*, XLIX : 223ff., November, 1943.

that is intellectually defensible and consistent with the spirit and method of and content of modern science." (2) The church will be functionally effective to the degree that it becomes expressive of a person's "most altruistic ideals, of his most cherished faiths and loyalties, and the fountain of their imagination." (3) The church will become functionally significant to a person to the extent that he finds in it "a channel for his energies and activities—both the activities of those persons who seek companionship and recreation" and "of those social idealists who wish to share in the building of more just and efficient social order." [35]

The sociology of religion is found in the perfecting, developing, and enriching of personality and in the constructing of a one world society, without an ending. There are ideals that are set up by religion which free and enrich personality. There are eternal goals which give a large survey to personal life. There is a Kingdom of Heaven that begins on earth, in fact within human hearts, and reaches a growth and a functioning that defy the imagination.

The proposition that a universal church would be the world's most valuable institution contains much of merit.[36] It is suggested that in it people "of all races and ways of thinking would find their spiritual home and unite in one fellowship and good-will." Such a plan could not be imposed on people but would have to develop from individuals outward. Even then, its members would need to keep its central and powerful drawing force continually before their eyes. All the resources of a united educational program builded on a supreme spiritual dynamic would be essential to the realization of a "Church of Humanity." The Amsterdam World Assembly of Churches which met in August-September, 1948, was an epochal gathering of 135 or more religious faiths whose delegates came from forty-four countries. The social pronouncements of the World Assembly and its World Council that were effected represent new steps toward a worldwide religious procedure.

Life is surrounded on every hand by mystery, miracle, and the unknown. That which is not known far exceeds the known and the under-

[35] "The Church as a Socializing Agency," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 15:46ff., September, 1941.

[36] L. P. Jacks, *Co-operation or Coercion?* (E. P. Dutton and Company, New York, 1938), pp. 90ff.

stood. Through feeling, thinking, behaving, man may interpret the mysteries of life, acquire faith in God, and stand up against the odds of life which at times are almost overwhelming. These interpretations often take the form of poetry, music, and other forms of art, as well as philosophical and religious treatises. These expressions are the vehicles of those things which are felt to be true but whose truth has not been proved or disproved. The child who early learns to perceive the handiwork of the Creator in the beauty about him, to feel inspired in the presence of such handiwork, and to act as a worthy person in a creative world, will hate ugliness, imperfection, meanness, littleness, pettiness, and narrowness; he will create beauty, and justice, and love, which are the finest fruits of a socio-religious personality.

Through teachings involving the brotherhood of man religion gives the social dynamics necessary for the transformation of many racial and cultural groups into one world group. It offers the framework for humanity-wide social action. It ties the world to every person and every person to the world of human beings. It makes all people brothers in one world group under the twin dynamic of personal and social salvation.

A unified religious program on the world front is needed. It is doubtless possible to develop a widespread sense of spiritual oneness. The ideological basis for a world religious program is to be found in the universal human longings for satisfactions that material goods cannot meet. People the world around are seeking satisfying answers to the fundamental mysteries involved in both life and death.[37]

In summary it may be said that the sociology of religion involves the following points. (1) A religious group is composed of persons worshipping together in ways that have developed out of past beliefs and teaching. Its members are characterized by a loyalty emanating from these beliefs and teachings. (2) A religious group is composed of persons who turn to a greater Power than themselves in meeting the problems of life and death. (3) Some religious groups are led by their beliefs in a brotherhood-of-man philosophy. (4) Some religious groups are motivated to carry out programs of social action.

[37] Cf. Waller Van Kirk, A *Christian Global Strategy* (Willett, Clark & Company, Chicago, 1945).

PROBLEMS

1 Distinguish between individual religion and social religion.
2 Why is neither by itself adequate?
3 What is social salvation?
4 In what ways may religion make a person more individualistic?
5 In what ways more socialized?
6 Why are many religionists intolerant of social welfare plans?
7 What forces besides religion produce high types of character?
8 In what ways is religion conservative?
9 In what ways is it "the most radical social force" in the world?
10 "Is it an advantage or a disadvantage to Christianity that it began among the working classes?"
11 What is your church doing as a social service institution?
12 What changes of any kind would you make in the "Social Creed of the Churches"?
13 What is your own definition of religion?
14 What are the essentials for a world religion, that is, for all mankind?
15 What are the obstacles in the way of the development of a single worldwide religion?
16 Compare the social emphases of Christianity with those of Judaism, of Mohammedanism, and of Buddhism.
17 Why has Christianity failed to prevent war?
18 Why is it difficult for one today in the United States to live up to the social teachings of his religion?
19 In what ways does the social group play roles in a person's religious life?
20 Why have there been so many conflicts in a religion that stresses the principles of love and brotherhood?
21 Is there a contradiction between a personal and a social religion?
22 In what ways was the Amsterdam World Assembly of Churches (1948) of worldwide social significance?
23 If you were going to measure the social significance of a person's religion, how would you proceed?

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Chapter

9

The Racial Group

RACIAL or ethnic groups inhabit the earth, but each is composed of a mixture of biological strains. The cultural anthropologist states that there are no pure races, and that the term *race* as popularly used is a misnomer. The anthropologist will not go further than refer to Caucasian races, Mongolian races, and Negro races. Each of these groups is composed of nationality groups in many instances, or in all cases of ethnic groups. It is in the ethnic sense that the term *racial groups* is used as a rule in this chapter.

Every person possesses racial traditions, prejudices, and pride. Many a small child comes to believe that his race is the best race, but only a few persons perceive how impossible it is for every race on the earth to be "the best."

Since nearly everyone is proud of his race it is very easy for race conflict to flare up, especially when everyone holds premises concerning his own race which are partly false. To have one's race praised is to feel a sense of race superiority, but to have one's race attacked in any way is to experience race antagonism.

While the human race probably had a common origin in regions extending roughly from England to Java, its earliest groups wandered in many directions. These aborigines migrated and increased in the various inhabitable areas of the globe. As a result of different physical, climatic, ecological, psychical, and social conditions, early peoples developed separate cultures and became more and more differentiated from each other, and with the rise of anthropology and ethnology they have been designated by definite ethnic names.

It is migration that has been basic to the making, the remaking, the conflicts, and even the assimilation of races. It is largely migration that has created new races, caused invasion by a race of an area already occupied by another race, and separated mankind into various population centers. It is migration which changes the population balance in various regions.

"Half of Nation's Population Has Moved Since April, 1940" was the startling caption in a metropolitan newspaper in the United States in April, 1948. This news item was based on a report from the U.S. Census Bureau, which indicated that between April, 1940, and July 1, 1947, about 70,000,000 people had moved to a different house, that about 12,000,000 persons moved to a different state, that farm areas lost 3,200,000 persons in about seven years, that the West added about 2,000,000 persons by migration from other parts of the nation, and that the South lost over 1,500,000 in the same period. These bare facts raise many questions of a sociological nature which cannot be answered at this point but which constitute problems for investigation. For example, what effects do all these population movements have upon the adjustment problems of people? What are the effects on human attitudes? How do they increase or lessen group conflicts?

Underlying the migration changes and changes in racial group are the ever-present and universal population bases. In a large sense every racial or cultural or racial-cultural group is a population group.

POPULATION BASES

The population of the earth has grown from a few persons scattered here and there, according to the cultural anthropologist, to the present world population of two billion or more people. This vast number are crowded together unduly in certain areas of the earth, and particularly in certain sections of large cities, and at the same time part of the number is spread out thinly in other regions. Sometimes the congestion is due to the pull of the city, sometimes to inability to find any other place to live except in overcrowded urban districts, sometimes to family customs. The spreading out of population elsewhere may be due to the barrenness of certain areas because of lack of water, or to extreme cold as at the Poles, or it may be due to the fecundity of nature as in the

Amazon Valley where man has not been able to cope with the virility of bacterial proliferation.

Climate is an important factor in fixing the geographic limits of the human population. Arctic latitudes, high altitudes, and arid regions draw the deadline for all life. A certain range of temperature and of moisture is essential to the survival of human groups. Temperature, humidity, rainfall fix the boundaries of human population.

The greater density of population is found where the average mean annual temperature ranges from forty-five to fifty-five degrees, Fahrenheit. On either side of these limits the population of a country diminishes. Less than one-third of the world's population lives in areas where the mean annual temperature is over fifty-five degrees, and only one-hundredth live where the average temperature is seventy degrees or over.[1]

A high humidity and a high temperature are enervating. The migration of people from cold to tropical regions is followed by enervation of the individual and a loss of group efficiency. These results are partly due to debilitating heat, and partly to easier conditions of living.

Where human groups have migrated into the tropics, "they have suffered arrested development." In a way the tropics have been man's nursery, for there "it has kept him a child." If the subtropics were "the cradle of humanity," then the temperate regions have been "the cradle of civilization." In other words, the temperate zone provides enough stimuli but not too many obstacles for the maximum development of human population.[2]

Desert regions are natural barriers to the growth of population. In areas where the soil is nonfertile, or where lack of rainfall has created barren, boundless, arid plains, there population is sparse, and "restless, rootless" people are found. As Ellen C. Semple has said, migration alone is permanent; and although the people are continually moving, progress stands still.[3] The habit of migrating on the part of primitive groups does not permit the accumulation of wealth except that "which

[1] Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1915), Ch. V. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[3] Ellen Semple, *Influences of the Geographic Environment* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1911), pp. 490, 493.

can move itself," such as flocks and herds. The supply of clothing and equipment is scanty; the use of much furniture in tents is slight; the opportunity to develop large-scale social organization is lacking.

Early human groups developed in those areas where food could be easily obtained. The first large population centers arose in the valleys of the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Yangtse-Kiang, and the Nile. "The first dense massing of human population was in that wonderful valley, six hundred miles long, with an average breadth of seven miles, over which every summer from immemorial time the Nile has spread the black silt of the Abyssinian hills." [4] Today the largest groupings of people are located not only in the valleys already mentioned, but also in the valleys of the Po, the Seine, the Rhine, the Thames, the Hudson, and the Mississippi.

Human beings increase most rapidly in river valleys. Here population becomes crowded because of soil fertility and the resultant ease of securing a cheap food supply. The Amazon river valley, perhaps the most fertile area in the world, is an outstanding exception. Even with the aid of modern invention human groups are weak and helpless in comparison with the power of nature. The rainfall is so high, insects so numerous, pathogenic bacteria so virile, nature so flourishing, that human beings have been unable to make much headway.

The size of an area affects a people's outlook on life. In a small area, people measure life with a yardstick.[5] A large area gives a feeling of independence. People living in the center of a large area are likely to be isolationists.

Mountain areas keep population small. Only a small percentage of the world's population live 5000 feet or more above sea level. Most of the civilized groups of the world live where the altitude is between 100 feet and 1000 feet. The population of a mountainous region is conservative, for little reaches them from urban areas to stimulate them, and their own life is likely to be sterile. Religion remains orthodox, legends abound, and dialects survive. The rigid conditions of life explain the motto: To have and to hold. Mountain areas are "museums of antiquity." [6]

[4] Franklin H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology* (The Macmillan Company, New York), p. 85. [5] Semple, *op. cit.*, p. 195. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 601.

Mountain dwellers possess narrow viewpoints and live in closely limited personal worlds. They easily fall into feuds; their lives are characterized by pronounced hates. They lack cosmopolitan interests. When they visit cities, they quickly grow homesick. They react against the artificialities of civilization, and long to return to their mountain homes. The mountain life develops in them "strong muscles, unjaded nerves, iron purposes, indifference to luxury," [7] and an individualistic outlook.

In different areas different population structures and outlooks have developed. Out of different environments have come different cultures —all combining to form "a great sociological puzzle." The culture patterns and the social values that a migrating population bring with them may be as influential as the patterns and values of the area into which the migrants have come. The result depends on relative status of the in-group and the incoming group.

As spatial distances decrease, a sense of population pressure arises. Here is where competition and conflict may also arise. *Population pressure* means that there are more people living in a given area than the conditions can take care of from the standpoint of human needs. Population pressure leads to a demand for more territory, and national aggressiveness develops. In pre-World War II Japan, for example, a high birth rate operating in a land of limited natural resources cut down spatial distance to a point where population pressure is credited with sending Japanese armies into Manchuria in 1931, so that the population of Japan might have more room. Crowded social conditions make people restless and responsive to dictators who promise a long-sought relief.

An *optimum population* is one of a size and quality best fitted to achieve some social goal.[8] A high birth rate and large numbers of people constitute an optimum population for war purposes. They also comprise an optimum population from the standpoint of "saving as many souls as possible." From an economic viewpoint, an optimum population is a large one when there are many natural resources to be

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 599.

[8] W. S. Thompson, *Population Problems* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1942), p. 40.

exploited, but a small one when resources are scarce. What would be an optimum population in prosperous times would be a surplus population when unemployment and starvation stalk the land. Capitalism often asks for a large population so that an excess labor supply will keep wages low, while social workers and taxpayers protest because of the heavy expense upon public and private charity when "times are hard" and millions are thrown out of employment. A large population is desired by real estate promoters, for land values rise with every addition to the population in good times. A city of one million would be increased to a city of two million or five million by real estate "sharks," without being particular about the quality of population or about the kind of housing and living conditions under which many of the proposed two or five million will live. The "boosters" are inclined to ignore if not to defy all the sound principles of eugenics. Eugenics would shift the emphasis from quantity to quality of population; sociology, from plenty of people to plenty of opportunity and of creative stimuli.

History supports eugenics in its contention for a sound and a limited population. Population authorities stand with the eugenists. In the early part of the nineteenth century an English scholar by the name of Thomas Malthus wrote an important essay on population and developed what has since been called the Malthusian doctrine, in which he asserted that population increases faster than food supply, and that poverty and misery may be expected to result unless something is done to check the birth rate.[9] It is pointed out that by deliberately holding the birth rate down, a nation can prevent poverty and attendant misery.

On the other hand, if such a *preventive check* is not utilized, then certain *positive* or *natural checks* may operate, according to Malthus. These include famine, pestilence, war. The preventive checks and the positive ones hold an inverse relationship to each other. When the positive checks are operating strongly, the preventive ones are quiescent. When the preventive ones are holding down the birth rate, the positive are likely to be inoperative.

[9] See Thomas R. Malthus, *Essay on Population* (Reeves and Turner, London, 1878); Edward A. Ross, *Standing Room Only?* (The Century Company, New York, 1927); Warren S. Thompson, *Plenty of People* (The Jaques Cattell Press, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1944).

When a country is new, eugenics is likely to receive little consideration, and the Malthusian law is defied. A new country is often reckless in developing or exploiting its natural resources, and likewise may be careless regarding the birth rate and the heredity of its people. As it grows older, and its people grow more educated, the birth rate may decline but not so fast as the economic resources. Surplus populations seem to call for territorial expansion and to justify wars of aggression.

Some of the followers of Malthus have been known as Neo-Malthusians. They have urged *birth control*, or the use of artificial measures for the regulation of births. Birth control measures were first adopted somewhat spontaneously by the wealthier and better educated classes. Then they were urged by reformers for the protection of women of lower economic and less educated levels from being burdened continuously by childbearing. Eugenists have favored the birth control movement in order to protect society from an increase in morons and feeble-minded, for these types reproduce their kind extensively. Birth control is urged also by those who wish to protect the unskilled classes from becoming so numerous that wages for them will be kept at starvation levels. Birth control advocates appear to be gaining in numbers.

The opponents of birth control have claimed that the people who use it most are the ones best able and fit to have socially acceptable children. It is pointed out that birth control has been adopted by the wealthy, the educated, and by society women in order to escape childbearing. It is used as a means of shirking a distinct duty to society. The educated and financially independent cut their birth rate so low that they do not keep up their numbers, and thus society must rely on the lower cultural groups to replenish itself.

Orthodox religion objects to birth control on the ground that it "interferes with the will of God," and cuts down the number of souls that may be saved. If church people practice it, then church adherents are depleted. Church people who oppose birth control do so on strictly ecclesiastical grounds, or because it is a poor substitute for that moral control by which people regulate the number of their children "by will power" and by keeping sex impulses well subordinated.[10]

[10] A clear-cut statement of this viewpoint is given by E. J. Ross, *Fundamental Sociology* (Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1939), p. 526.

Birth control is opposed by some militarists, nationalists, large-scale employers, and real estate "boosters," under the captions of "victory," "patriotism," "prosperity." Nearly all of these contentions are the products of wishful thinking on the part of self-centered interests. The majority of social workers favor some form of birth control, for they are working with many people who are lacking in "moral control," or who are the victims of exploitation. Internationalists in general favor birth control for they fear "population pressure" as a leading cause of war. It is contended that no birth control leads to "standing room only," and the latter to misery and war.[11]

The *control of birth control* in some quarters is becoming a problem. In certain European countries the birth rate has been declining faster than the death rate; hence, if this ratio continues, the peoples of France, England, and Holland, for example, as they are now known, will pass away. It is also argued that birth control makes promiscuous sexual relations safe and that it is undermining marriage and normal family life and happiness. No control of birth control greatly increases self-centered existence on the part of many people. In a larger way the lack of international control of birth control is fast becoming a problem. The fact that birth rates are low in France and England and high in India and China is detrimental to the population balance of the world. Population authorities make a great deal of *differential population pressure,* or the differences in the demand upon natural resources as affected by population numbers. But numbers are not the whole story. Numerical size does not necessarily take account of technological advancement or of economic monopolies and control over the necessities of life. Technological advance will counterbalance population pressure somewhat, but monopolistic control will aggravate it.

RACIAL MIGRATION

Many social groups are composed of two classes, the native-born and the immigrant—those born within the group and those who come in as outsiders from other groups. The native-born persons have been called

[11] See E. A. Ross, *Standing Room Only?* (The Century Company, New York, 1927.)

genetic members, and the immigrants, congregate members. The invaders are especially significant when they come from other groups, bringing special sets of culture patterns with them. At once culture conflicts arise and acculturation begins.

Man has always been "a wanderer on the face of the earth." Since earliest times he has wandered to and fro in search of a better living. He has always been more or less dissatisfied with his situation at any given time, and has felt that if he were elsewhere he would have a better opportunity and would be happier. Society seems to be made up of many persons in whom this spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction is inherent. In fact, persons who are easily satisfied have rarely developed fully. Civilization itself is a product largely of aspiring, hopeful, energetic attitudes. Persons looking for larger opportunity are prone to migrate.

The leading single cause of migration is perhaps economic, that is, the desire to make a better living. Among primitive peoples hunger was a primary force which set the human race in motion. Later, the immigrant became "a seller of labor seeking a more favorable market." Since the economic advantages of the United States, Canada, Argentine, Australia, New Zealand, and Brazil have been striking, these countries during the past century have been the chief immigration countries of the world. Italy, Germany, Poland, South Slavic countries, Scandinavia, England, and Ireland have been among the leading countries from which people have migrated. Political oppression, religious persecution, adventuresome urges, and desire to join relatives, together with economic dissatisfaction are the main causes of migration.

Migration was at first characterized by aimless *wandering,* as in the case of primitive tribes moving up and down valleys in search of food for themselves and their flocks.[12] It sometimes expressed itself as a *mass wandering,* in which a whole population moved slowly from one section of the earth to another, notably the movement of the Huns into Europe.[13]

Migration was sometimes *forced;* weaker peoples or offending

[12] This analysis of the types of migration is based on A. C. Haddon, *Wanderings of Peoples* (University Press, Cambridge, England, 1911).

[13] Cf. Henry P. Fairchild, *Immigration* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925), pp. 13–17.

groups have been exiled or driven out of one country and compelled to seek refuge elsewhere. Then there came a period known as *colonization*, when for three centuries or more, beginning with the latter part of the sixteenth century, nations officially sent out small groups of people as colonists to take possession of a given area in the name of the parent country.[14]

Immigration is an unofficial movement of people, either as individuals or families, who on their own initiative move from one established country to another, usually to a newer country, for the major purpose of improving their living conditions.[15] Whenever the economic advantages of two countries are noticeably unequal, population will flow to the more favored nation, providing there are no restrictions. When the advantages become somewhat equalized, the population movement slows up. As the newer countries of the world have become populated, their free lands occupied, and their natural resources exploited, immigration has declined.

There are still millions of people, however, living in poverty in India, in China, and in other parts of the world, who if they learned of more favorable conditions elsewhere, and were aided, would form a wave of migration that would be engulfing. Nearly all the leading countries of the world which received immigrants have experienced economic depression, widespread unemployment, and an increase in poverty in recent decades, and have put up legislative barriers against immigrants. Even before World War II began, hypernationalism was on the rampage and turned a cold shoulder to the admission of immigrants, for the influx of the latter would most certainly, the chauvinists contended, weaken the racial stock or bring in subversive ideas.

Wandering, mass migration, forced migration, colonization, immigration—all these forms of the movements of people have in turn pretty largely ceased. If immigration, the latest form of population movement, is reaching an end, what will be the result on racial conflicts, and what new form will migration take?

At the time that immigration restrictions are being put into operation, radio is beginning to carry the ideas of one culture group

[14] Cf. A. G. Keller, *Colonization* (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1908).
[15] Cf. Fairchild, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

through the air to other groups. Legislation stops the migration of peoples, but radio multiplies the migration of ideas and other culture patterns. Sooner or later it will not be necessary for people to migrate in order to take advantage of opportunities elsewhere. As culture programs are carried back and forth from one country to another over national boundaries and immigration barriers by air, there will come about a leveling down and up of all cultures. Declining migration will tend to cut down racial conflicts; increasing international broadcasts, if kept on a constructive level, will foster good will and similarities if not cultural unity. Commercial aviation is also bridging the chasm between cultures. It is making a common language more and more essential. If languages grow fewer in number, culture diffusion will spread more easily, provided other factors remain equal.

Unfortunately the rise of totalitarianism has halted culture diffusion. Two tendencies are evident. One is suppression of free speech, and the other is the prevention of listening to foreign programs, the ban on foreign newspapers and magazines, and the hindering of travel abroad. Totalitarianism, then, is slowing up the process of cultural diffusion on an international scale.

Migration is also a social phenomenon of importance within a nation, for people move extensively from rural areas to urban; from one part of a city to another; from the city to rural regions. In a country covering a large area such migration brings different culture patterns and people into contact, conflict, and accommodation.

Since the person who changes groups takes with him culture patterns different from those in the group to which he goes, many problems arise. The greater this difference in patterns or values, the greater the problems. When different standards of living, different types of governmental views, different religious beliefs come into contact, problems of adjustment are created.

The industrial problems arising from migration are many. The immigrant often experiences trouble while striving to find acceptable work at satisfactory wages. To the extent that the conditions under which he works are agreeable to him, the immigrant learns to love the new country and desires to become a citizen. If these conditions are disagreeable, or if the immigrant is mistreated or exploited, he becomes

suspicious and develops a sense of injustice. He leans toward radicalism and revolution, and away from loyalty to the country to which he has migrated.

Living conditions also constitute a problem to the immigrant. In the United States the influx of immigrants for several decades has usually been to the overcrowded sections of the population centers. The immigrant finds that congested housing in a big city is more serious than poor housing in the rural area from which he has come. Moreover, he may have had his expectations too high and as a result suffers a severe jolt when he finds that living conditions are no better than they were at home, or perhaps even worse.

The social problems of the immigrants are many and troublesome. If the immigrant does not know the language of the adopted country, he is isolated and has difficulty in understanding many of its culture patterns. A real barrier exists between immigrants and natives where neither group speaks the language of the other. Misunderstandings due to differences in cultures easily arise. The stranger, foreigner, and immigrant are generally regarded with prejudice. This sentiment usually expresses itself in condescending attitudes, in scorn, and sometimes in derision. The problem emerges in racial conflicts.

RACIAL GROUP CONFLICTS

Wherever racial groups markedly different exist together in considerable numbers, race problems may become insuperable. A race characterized by physical differences wears a racial uniform that cannot be removed. A race whose members arouse *adverse sensory reactions* in others feels the sting of *antipathy*. The persons against whom antipathy is expressed usually cannot help themselves; they generally find such antipathy almost impossible to allay or to overcome, especially if it be due to color of skin or to facial angle. Antipathy means that physiological processes have been aroused.

An immigrant race which *competes* with natives for a livelihood, for an occupation, for a neighborhood foothold, or for any other form of status—social, economic, political, religious, educational—suffers the bitterness of *prejudices* expressed against it that at times is unbearable. When the competition is removed, then race prejudice will be allevi-

ated. The two entirely different sources of antipathy and prejudice are worth pondering; the two need to be kept distinct even when the general or inclusive term of race antagonism is being used.

Some persons would like to show no race prejudice but circumstances hinder them. Rather than to suffer loss of economic or social status they ignore their best attitudes. A fair statement of this predicament is given herewith:

> There is no question but that to have Japanese and Negroes move in here would lower the value of our property. It is an economic problem much more than an ethical one. Even now with the Negroes as close as they are, white people simply won't buy property in this block. Yet it is not only an economic problem. The people have lived here in this district a long time and they feel at home. We, for example, have lived here thirty-one years. Some have lived here longer. Our feeling is that if the Japs and Negroes had not moved in so close to us, all this property would have boomed with the Stadium and the Park not far away. It is a lovely place to live but their coming has made it less desirable.
>
> The situation is rather difficult for us too. If we want to raise money on our property, for example, the banks hesitate to loan as much on property where the colored people or the Japanese are encroaching. . . .
>
> We neighbors must really stand together, for it is clear that if the man next door sold his house to a Negro or to a Japanese my property would immediately become worth a thousand dollars less.[16]

Often a person who claims that he possesses no race prejudice has the most deep-seated kind. He has learned to protect his status by keeping members of another race "in their place" and is unaware of the serious character of his race antagonism. A case in point follows:

> I have no prejudice against the colored people. I have always had colored servants and nurse girls for my children and I like them. I have never known them to be dishonest. My husband employs seven colored men and his experience has been the same as mine. I don't care to live next door to a colored family nor across the street and if they do come this side of Raymond I certainly will move out.
>
> I like the colored people, they are excellent people but they do not know their place. It is one thing for me to invite the children of my colored woman who has worked for me for twenty years to come over and see our Christmas tree, but what do they do but the next week turn

[16] Quoted by Bessie A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1929), p. 85.

around and invite my children to come and see their tree. That shows how well they know their places, as if I would allow my children to go down there to "Nigger" town to see their tree! [17]

The most far-reaching race conflict in the Western hemisphere is between the white and colored peoples in the United States. It all started in 1619 when Dutch traders sold a few Negroes to the Virginia colonists as slaves. The evils of slavery received increasing public attention during the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time slavery was growing industrially unprofitable in competition with the wage system. It was attacked bitterly by abolitionists and during the Civil War it was ended. With freedom came suffrage that threw illiterate Negroes into political power alongside of white Southerners, who liked Negroes only as slaves and so long as they stayed "in their place," that is, on a distinctly lower level socially. To have Negroes rule over them was unbearable, and hence in whole sections of the South the Negro practically lost the privilege of voting.

In seven words the history of the Negro in the United States can be roughly summarized. With (1) slavery came (2) miscegenation, or a considerable amount of race mixture involving white men and Negro women. (3) Emancipation in 1863 was soon followed by (4) enfranchisement (1867), which turned out to be a mistake at the time, for 90 per cent of the Negroes were illiterate and without any experience in the matter of government. By one means or another (5) disenfranchisement was brought about, usually in ways contrary to democratic principles and unfair as judged by objective standards. (6) Education of the Negro in order that he might vote intelligently and in other ways become a worthy citizen has made considerable headway.

(7) Segregation has been the lot of the Negro since his emancipation. The ways in which the Negro is segregated are almost too numerous to mention. Few persons who are not Negroes can fully appreciate the embarrassments that segregation imposes upon well-meaning citizens simply because of the pigmentation of their skin. There is little realization on the part of many citizens of how segregation of the Negro varies from one region to another, from one state to another, and from one

[17] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 84.

part of a city to another part of the same city. Segregation and discrimination occur most frequently (1) in residence areas, (2) in educational institutions, (3) in recreational and amusement centers, (4) on railroads, ships, streetcars, and busses, (5) in hotels and restaurants, (6) in stores, (7) in hospitals and in the professional offices of doctors, dentists, and in undertaking establishments.[18]

Many Negro and white leaders have been active in recent years in doing away with Jim Crow cars and other forms of Jim Crowism, all of which represent a form of segregation. They have sought to eliminate the poll tax and other procedures which have prohibited the Negroes from voting. They have tried to make lynching a federal offense. They have sought through the Fair Employment Practices Committee and other means to overcome discrimination against Negroes in employment.[19] They have tried to make restrictive residence covenants illegal.

In 1948 the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision that courts cannot enforce real estate agreements which bar persons because of race and color from owning property and living in all-white neighborhoods. Such covenants the Court said violate the "equal protection" accorded all persons by the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court also decided that there is no violation if the agreements are effectuated by voluntary agreements, although such agreements cannot be enforced by the courts. Enforcement by the courts, according to Chief Justice Vinson, was unquestionably an act by the State and "because of the race or color of these petitioners they have been denied rights of ownership or occupancy enjoyed as a matter of course by other citizens of different race or color."

At the beginning of the present century Booker T. Washington's program developed widely. Washington urged first industrial efficiency and then professional efficiency, claiming that as the Negro showed himself capable and worthy and friendly the white man's antagonism to the Negro would gradually disappear. In social relations the two racial groups are to remain separate as the fingers of the hand, but in

[18] Charles S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1943).

[19] See Malcolm Ross, *All Manner of Men* (Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1948) for a detailed account of the operation of the FEPC.

other matters they are to work together.[20] By showing his worth the Negro can undermine the antagonism of many white people. W. E. B. Du Bois and others took a different stand and claimed that the only way the Negro could obtain his rights would be to fight for them.

A recent tendency is for the conservative and radical wings of the Negro race to join together in a common cause. Some conservatives are growing militant and some radicals are toning down their extreme views. In this way Negroes will present more of a united front than in the past and will probably secure an increased recognition.

We may "anticipate an increased tolerance in intellectual and cosmopolitan circles," but there is little reason "to expect it elsewhere," according to one authority on the race question.[21] Although Dr. Reuter saw no solution to the Negro's problem, he believed, however, that ultimately the Negroes as such will disappear from the population as a result of intermixture, and then the race problem will be solved.[22]

A foreign observer, B. Schrieke of Holland, after a careful study of the Negro and his problems concluded that Negro-White relationships are in a petrified state.[23] He offers the explanation that the plantation psychology still obtains in the South, even though a new industrial economy is developing. The social relationships that existed on the plantation have been carried over into a new day. Dr. Schrieke observes, however, "that there is an identity of black and white interests."

World War I and the postwar developments increased the social distance between the white and colored peoples in the United States. Negro soldiers to the number of 400,000 were in the American Expeditionary Forces; one-half of this number went to France. They were told that they were fighting for democracy. To their surprise they found that for the most part the "color line" was not drawn in France and Italy, especially among the peasant peoples. Far more to their surprise, to their chagrin, and to their bitter resentment they found upon their return to the United States that the color line was drawn tighter than when they went hopefully away to fight to "make the world safe for

[20] Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (A. L. Burt Company, New York, 1900), p. 221.

[21] E. B. Reuter, *The American Race Problem* (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, Revised Edition, 1938), p. 419. [22] *Loc. cit.*

[23] *Alien Americans* (The Viking Press, New York, 1936), p. 193.

democracy." This resentment spread among nearly all Negroes and culminated in a troublesome social unrest that was countered by a recrudescence of Ku Klux Klan activities, by night-riding, and other threatening moves by white people. These counter activities have used fear as a weapon of social control, but fear suppresses and aggravates. It never settles anything, but multiplies the sense of injustice among those against whom it is directed.

One of the worst features of racial group conflicts is lynching and rioting. Fear and brutality are miserable tools of social control. They produce undying hatreds, besides failing to settle difficulties justly. They create a greatly embittered atmosphere in which the ordinary race problems are made unusually difficult to solve.

As long as lynching is considered to be a local offense and lynchers are tried in local courts, no justice can be expected. The local jury will exonerate their fellow citizens, for their feelings are similar. When lynching is viewed as a federal offense and tried in a federal court sitting at a distance from the area where a lynching occurred, the chances of a dispassionate judgment are greatly improved. Lynching is a form of intimidation, bad in itself, and defiant of the established law of the land.

A somewhat effective method of dealing with both "the Negro problem" (as seen by white people) and "the Negro's problem" (as seen by colored people) has been local joint committees in various communities where white and colored people reside. White people in the Southern states have taken the initiative, and in the main have selected conservative colored people to serve with them on the same committee. Liberal white people and conservative colored people meeting together can iron out many difficulties, and most important, can create good will, whereas conservative Southern white people and radical colored people could not even meet together round the same table. When trained and broad-minded white and colored leaders meet at the same counsel table to discuss in good faith the problems which concern them mutually in any community, the results are incomparably superior to leaving these same difficulties to be settled by race riots, which usually are begun by the hoodlums of both the conflicting races. Upon the basis of these local conferences and adjustments it has been possible to

work out methods for solving race problems on a larger scale. From the concrete and specific and local to the general and national and world-wide is a logical sequence for a racial adjustment procedure.

A more recent development in the South is the formation of the Southern Regional Council. The Council holds to the ideology that the race problem in the South (or anywhere) is a part of a larger social situation which is also economic and political as well as racial and that all these aspects of life must be adjusted together. To tackle one only and not to change the others will avail little.

Race antipathy can be undermined by agreeable experiences, and race prejudice can be destroyed by eliminating competition. Much race antagonism arises from misunderstanding, and from ignorance of the potential worth of "the other fellow." When the Negro permits his increasing worth to speak for itself and is enabled to work out his advancement without creating competition, and when white people treat colored people on their merits, race problems are on the way to a satisfactory solution. If the Negro's problem can be solved, then all other race problems can be met, for none seems more difficult to handle.[24]

The white man in turn has a definite responsibility, which consists in being able to recognize true worth, ability, and dependable personality wherever they may be found irrespective of color. It is assumed that in a democracy the Negro will be allowed and encouraged to vote as soon as he is really qualified. An educational test would be meritorious, for the mere fact that a person is born in a country and has reached 21 years of age is no guarantee that he is a competent voter. Of course an educational test would need to be applied indiscriminately to all persons alike, Caucasians, Negroes, Indians, immigrants. It is claimed that as the Negro reaches the higher educational levels his birth rate drops to the level of the white race and hence that political justice can be made possible without creating special problems.

In turn the Negro must assume a special responsibility, namely, that of putting his case upon the achievement and merit level rather than upon the boasting and "fighting back" planes. A great deal of race

[24] For a valuable symposium of eight articles on the Tuskegee Institute point of view, see the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, VII : 149–205, November, 1933.

prejudice is engendered when the less developed race flaunts its successes before the more developed group. There is a vicious circle here, for when the more advanced race "lords it over" the less advanced, the latter is likely to retaliate by the most striking weapon at its command, namely, by the assumption of superiority on the slightest excuse, which reaction in turn creates more "lording it over" on the part of the more advanced group purely as a defense mechanism.

In considering anti-Semitism as a form of race conflict, Morris Ginsberg concludes:[25] (1) many non-Jews attribute to most Jews the offensive qualities noted in a few. (2) They label some offensive behavior as specifically Jewish, such as vulgarity and pushfulness, which are common among other peoples. (3) They overlook worthy qualities of Jews and regard them as exceptional. (4) They condemn sharp practices when Jews perform them and condone these when done by others. Anti-Semitism is race conflict within the Caucasian race.

Whenever a subordinate group pushes ahead of the dominant group, conflict results. The only way that a subordinate group can advance peacefully is to move slowly and to walk circumspectfully. The dominant group has responsibilities of being fair, just, and understanding in all its relationships with the rising subordinate group.

Another intra-Caucasian race conflict is that in the Near East between the Jews and the Arabs. The Jews have been progressing in Israel, a territory which the Arabs claim was taken from them under the auspices of the United Nations, without consultation or plebiscite.

In the Union of South Africa racial tensions have been mounting, especially since the National Party came into power in 1948 and began putting "apartheid" customs into legislation. The Caucasians of European descent (Dutch and English) are outnumbered four to one by natives, colored, and people of East Indian and Malay descent, who are uniting in their protests against "apartheid," which the dominant Caucasian minority believe is the only way that they can remain in control. A policy of slow integration of interests, not of amalgamation, might dissolve the conflict and conserve these interests.

[25] Morris Ginsberg, *Reason and Unreason in Society* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1948), p. 197.

RACE RELATIONS SPIRALS

When races of similar physical traits and culture patterns come together without competing, assimilation occurs. When races widely different in physical type or in cultural patterns or in both come in contact, or when they compete, a conflict ensues that pursues a definite spiral of relationships.[26]

(1) Newcomers of a strange race are viewed first with *curiosity*. Sympathy is aroused in favor of the peculiar stranger. His strangeness, coupled with fewness of numbers and apparent helplessness, arouses a harmless interest in him. He may be pitied or even laughed at, but in a friendly way.

(2) If he comes to do work that natives find disagreeable he meets with an economic welcome, particularly on the part of employers. They see in him a source of "cheap labor," and encourage him to send for compatriots from his own country. If wages are higher than at home his compatriots respond in large numbers.

(3) When many immigrants come, especially if they come rapidly, industrial antagonism develops. When native workers find the wage scale going down because of the competition of foreigners, the latter at once feel the brunt of antagonism. Propaganda starts and the flames of prejudice leap upward until the newcomers are helplessly encircled by mistrust, fear, antagonism, and possible hatred. Organized labor often leads the defense campaign.

(4) Political antagonism quickly follows. Politicians see a chance to win votes from natives by denouncing the dangerous foreigners. The politicians grow bold and reckless in attacking immigrants, for the latter, not being naturalized during their first five years in the country, have no vote. The immigrants are depicted as bringing in degrading customs or as becoming the parents of hordes of children who one day will become voting citizens and will favor the parents' homeland. Patriotic societies take up the cudgels against the foreigner.

(5) Social antagonism arises sooner or later. Native-born parents object to the presence of the children of foreigners in the same school

[26] Based on an analysis made by the writer in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV : 612–17, under the title, "A Race-Relations Cycle," January, 1930.

and on the playground with their children. Low-grade conditions in which the foreigners live are deplored, but if some of the more progressive foreigners desire to better their living conditions and attempt to move into a better neighborhood, they suffer from outbursts of bitter antagonism.

(6) Legislative antagonism is the climax. All the antagonistic forces combine to secure restrictive legislation. Sometimes it is legislation debarring immigrants from entering the country; sometimes it is legislation preventing landownership. At any rate the further advance of the "undesirable immigrants" is blocked.

(7) A period of quiescence sets in. With the danger past, the antagonism subsides. Even a degree of friendship may be professed for the immigrants, whose increase by migration has been stopped. Prejudice gives way to indifference and in a few cases to sympathetic interest. The persecuted immigrants are left to get along as best they may with their wings clipped.

(8) Ultimately the second-generation problem develops. Children may grow up as persons without a country. In theory they are the heirs of two countries, but actually they are out of touch with the country of their parents and are not fully accepted by the land of their birth. They learn the language and customs of the latter country but are not accepted because they look like their parents, and hence are treated as foreigners. At the same time they have broken away from parental attitudes and values so far that they are partly disowned by the parents and they would never be satisfied to return permanently to the parental homeland.

(9) The third-generation problem duplicates that of the second generation. However, it is less severe. The third generation are more like the natives of the adopted country than were the second generation in personal appearance, physical type, and culture patterns. They are less likely to be taken for foreigners; they are given more opportunities and on the whole their difficulties are ameliorated considerably. They are on the road to assimilation and to general acceptance but still have a long way to go.

What are some of the causes of race antagonisms? In answering this

question no attempt will be made to arrange the various factors in order of importance.

(1) Economic and social competition is a common factor. People who fear immigrants as actual or possible competitors develop a prejudice against them. Japanese immigrants in California twenty years ago were greatly feared as economic competitors and hence the prejudice against them became strong. Some people do not like to have the representatives of certain races live in their neighborhood, for fear the price of their property will go down; hence they develop race prejudice.

(2) An entirely different source of race antagonism arises out of adverse sensory impressions. If you do not like the color of the skin, the shape of the eyelids or of the noses of other races, you are likely to have an antipathy for them. If some of them are uncleanly, dress in soiled clothes, or are otherwise repulsive in bodily appearance you experience race antipathy. Since race prejudice and race antipathy have entirely different origins, one in competition and the other in adverse sensory reactions, their prevention, or their overcoming, calls for two entirely different methods of treatment.

(3) Somewhat related to the preceding factor are the low cultural standards of some races. The crude customs of backward races are often the sources of race antipathy. Moreover, if we see only the low-grade members of a race, the "uncultured" members, we are likely to feel an antipathy for the whole race even though it be advanced.

(4) Closely related to the last-mentioned point is what has been called the particularistic error. That is to say, if we have had one particular unfavorable experience with a member of another race, we are likely to jump to the unfortunate generalization that all the members of that race are undependable and undesirable.[27]

(5) Experience has taught many people to view strange races with caution, suspicion, or even fear. Strangers are feared when they are viewed as serious competitors.

(6) The super-race idea is often the main element in race antago-

[27] Fortunately this tendency works the other way too, at least with some people. In other words, a happy experience with a member of another race may give one a friendly feeling for that group.

nism. If you feel that your race is superior to all other races, then you will look down upon other races. The race superiority theory leads to race inferiority judgments. As a result, some people go to the extreme of calling other races by unpleasant and disgraceful epithets, and thus they spread race antagonism. Any race which attempts to compete with one's own "superior" race is immediately viewed antagonistically.

(7) The use of bad names in describing races is another factor in creating race antagonism. The practice often begins on the playgrounds and among children playing on the streets or in alleys. Perhaps such children have heard their elders use terms of disgust in labeling races, and they are merely repeating what they have heard. The effect is disastrous racially. Derogatory nicknames are at times used to belittle people and races who are worthy but competitors. Sometimes they are applied as a result of distasteful sensory reactions.

(8) In the home parents often carelessly condemn a racial member or a whole race. An unfavorable racial experience is described with adverse feelings. Perhaps everybody enjoys a hearty laugh at the expense of a race which has no one present to defend its reputation. Very significant is the fact that children who may be present accept the adverse judgment uncritically, and develop racial feelings of scorn or hatred. The power of indirect suggestion is even stronger, and a lifted eyebrow or special inflection of the voice may condemn a whole race.

(9) Newspapers are accustomed to mention criminals of other races by racial name. But when natives commit similar offenses, their race is not mentioned. In the first case, the crime is announced as having been committed by "a Negro" or "an Italian"; in the second instance, the criminal is not mentioned as an American. Thus newspaper readers are likely to condemn members of other races, but are not led to react against their own race when one of its members commits a crime.

(10) There is also the tendency to excuse the members of one's own race when they commit crimes. At the same time the offenses of other races are magnified instead of being condoned. This practice of treating one's own race with magnanimity while at the same time condemning other races on the slightest provocation creates race antagonism.

(11) Motion pictures sometimes use members of other races as

"villains." In this way the spectators are aroused to a high pitch of fear and hatred, not only against the villain as an individual but, far more seriously, against him as the representative of a whole race. The worst traits of a race are thus played up, the best traits go unheralded, and race antagonism is greatly and unfairly created and made relatively permanent.[28]

(12) Obtrusiveness on the part of a few individual members of a given minority race will create antagonism against a whole race. Obtrusiveness, always disliked, works havoc in race relations.

Closely related is aggressiveness when practiced by some members of a minority race. Aggressiveness may be merely an attempt to get ahead, considered from the standpoint of the so-called aggressor. However, when viewed by the majority group, the aggressive members of a minority group are condemned. The majority views minority aggression as dangerous and the whole race of the aggressor individual as undesirable.

(13) Other antagonizing traits of a minority race are unreliability, trickiness, and unfair practices. The unreliability or dishonesty of one or a few individuals is charged against the whole race. This is an undesirable trait wherever it shows itself, but it is magnified by the majority group when it appears in a minority group. Trickiness is even worse; it produces bitter race reactions. Unfair practices are universally condemned. A minority race has to be doubly on guard lest some of its members bring down the antagonism of the majority against their race.

(14) Quarrelsomeness and disagreeable temperament are much condemned and avoided when found in the members of a minority race. People will often put up with such traits within their own family circle, but not so when appearing in neighbors who are loud and boisterous. Immigrants who have these traits are straightway pronounced a nuisance. The police are called, and deep-seated sentiments of an adverse nature are the result.

(15) Travel is generally considered a helpful factor in creating race tolerance, but the opposite is the case with all travelers who lack adequate backgrounds for understanding the culture of crude and back-

[28] Some steps are now being taken by the motion picture industry to end this unjust procedure.

ward races, or of the crude and ill-mannered members of advanced races. It has been estimated that nearly half of all travelers are more likely to misunderstand the strange, the peculiar, and the low-grade behavior of some people in nearly every foreign country that they visit.

(16) All race reactions, friendly and unfriendly, depend on the social philosophy of the persons who feel these reactions. Unfavorable experiences may be interpreted by one person as an exception and even excused. Favorable experiences may be interpreted by another person with suspicion and even turned against a whole race. If a person's social philosophy is one of tolerance, broad sympathy, cosmopolitanism, religious brotherhood, then his race experiences are likely to result in friendly behavior. If the opposite philosophy governs one, then race antagonism will easily arise; moreover it will be overcome only with great difficulty.

Another type of race relations spiral begins (1) in a curious interest in new immigrants, (2) in an economic welcome, and then moves on not in a spirit of antagonism but (3) of friendly approval, (4) of adjustment and accommodation, (5) of assimilation, acculturation, naturalization, and (6) of amalgamation. The essence of this spiral is found in the type of native-born person whom the immigrant learns to know and in the conditions under which the contacts are made. This type of person is known for his tolerance, good will, and cosmopolitanism. The favorable conditions are devoid of competition, and hence race prejudice is not aroused.

Among the factors leading to race friendliness are:

(1) Similar culture traits. We prefer to associate with races similar to our own because they subscribe to about the same social values as we do. We feel more at home with people who are like ourselves. However, the immigrant, even though he belongs to a race similar to ours, must not act in a superior way or compete too strongly.

(2) Persecution and oppression of an immigrant arouse friendly attitudes toward him by many of the natives. Americans are prone to favor the "under dog." Persecution, defeat, and mistreatment bring forth sympathetic reactions.

(3) A third prominent factor is found in kindness and geniality traits. If the members of an immigrant group are courteous, polite,

and respectful even when misunderstood, race friendliness is promoted. If they are willing to be helpful, to lend aid, to do thoughtful deeds, they are likely to meet with friendly attitudes.

(4) Closely related are dependability and fair play traits on the part of immigrants. It is important that they prove themselves trustworthy, aboveboard, and scrupulously honest.

(5) Hard work by immigrants, provided it offers no competition of any sort, makes a favorable impression. Industry and frugality create favorable attitudes. Achievement, if it is not competitive, is a basis for friendliness.

The first two of these five factors relates directly to the native and the other three to the immigrant. A sixth (6) element that operates indirectly is the philosophy of life of the native. If he has a cosmopolitan and fraternal philosophy of life, he will easily develop race friendliness without special effort.

INTERMIXTURE OF RACES

The presence together of racially different groups not only leads to conflicts but also to assimilation and amalgamation. In its original meaning *assimilation* refers to the adoption by one people of the culture patterns and the personal attitudes of another people. In a more developed sense it means giving as well as receiving; it involves a unifying of culture patterns and of attitudes. Both the incoming race and the native race mutually contribute to the building of a synthesis of attitudes and values.

It was once thought that the immigrant should give up his traditions and customs and adopt *in toto* those of the country to which he migrates. If he is not willing to do this he should hurry back home, or should not have come at all. Such a method usually means that the immigrant is to shift from one group to another and usually to an intolerant group. He is to put off one culture and put on another, pretty much as he would exchange one coat for another. This demand by the native group is based on ignorance concerning how personality develops; it is also grounded on an exaggerated race pride and group egotism.

Another theory is that the immigrant should be "melted into the

body politic." He should throw himself, culture patterns and all, into the melting pot, and lose his racial identity in his adopted national group. Although there is merit in this theory, it does not allow sufficiently for personality traits; an immigrant cannot easily and jauntily throw away his connections with his homeland, with his childhood days, and with the country in which perhaps his parents or other relatives live. No one wants to lose his identity suddenly and entirely.

The belief that an immigrant should give up and forget his native language as soon as possible is begotten of false local pride. In his native language the immigrant brings a precious gift to any country. A truly cultured group is one in which many of its members are bilinguists. Through the languages that they bring immigrants represent open doors to the cultures of the world. Through the language which they learn immigrants are able to understand the culture to which they come. Through both languages immigrants become culture interpreters. If the new culture synthesis represents the best culture patterns of the races concerned, the product will be superior to either of its parts.

After the melting pot theory of assimilation became common in the United States,[29] the average American rested content in the belief that immigrants were being satisfactorily assimilated. He was not disturbed by the open fact that in all the congested districts of all large cities immigrants were living in ever enlarging colonies, having few contacts with Americans at their best.

The first World War made evident to the American people that, by virtue of their neglect, millions of persons had been allowed to live in the country without having any reasonable opportunity to become Americans in spirit. Thereupon Americanization of a narrow type was put into operation with a vengeance; it used compulsion, neglecting the fact that loyalty is a delicate human sentiment that cannot be forced. In fact, the more you demand loyalty the farther away you drive it.

Immigrant children as a rule become assimilated first, immigrant fathers next, and mothers last of all. The fathers do not make their contacts under as broad or as favorable conditions as do children. Their

[29] Following the appearance of the drama, *The Melting Pot*, by Israel Zangwill, in 1909.

contacts are found in factories and mills, where often they learn profanity and obtain their first impressions of the new culture (new to them) from the curses of foremen and bosses. Public schools and social settlements, however, have come to the rescue and have helped immigrants to learn the strange language and to acquire favorable impressions.

Immigrant mothers usually have the fewest opportunities to become assimilated. They have few contacts with the adopted land or its culture, for they are often circumscribed by the life in their own immigrant colony. They live in a small and isolated world. Fortunately, the visiting teacher [30] has helped to save the day for immigrant mothers. She serves as a beneficent friend and guide; she brings the best of the local civilization into the home of the immigrant mother and her family.

Closely related to assimilation is *amalgamation*, which is a biological union of peoples and the creation of new racial stocks. Racial intermixture or *miscegenation* may take place through marriage, or outside of marriage and illegitimately. Amalgamation cannot easily be forced and it is hard to control. It is a slow process of the generations and even of the centuries.

However, when assimilation has occurred, amalgamation naturally follows. When peoples come to think alike, possess somewhat similar culture patterns, and give each other equal status, then no objections are raised to amalgamation. For this reason different cultures with proud exponents resist assimilation as long as possible.

The amalgamation of races that are somewhat different from each other is to be favored. The result of such intermixtures has often been a race stronger than either of the parent races. The English, Germans, Scotch-Irish are outstanding examples of at least partly amalgamated peoples.

The three main factors which seem to operate in furthering amalgamation, as shown for example in a study made in New York,[31] are: (1) the preponderance of marriageable men over marriageable women, with the consequent seeking of mates in outside groups; (2) a rise in

[30] See Chapter 7 on "The Educational Group."

[31] Julius Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920), Chs. IV, V.

economic status, although here a controlling reaction sets in as soon as a medium economic level is attained. Social exclusiveness begins to operate forcefully with economic success, and cuts down the intermarriage rate to that, if not below that, of the lowest economic classes; and (3) a diminution in the intensity of the group consciousness or in the attitude of group solidarity.[32] In the second generation the increase in the intermarriage rate is offset by a decrease in "the number of nationalities with which individuals of the second generation intermarry." Here again social aloofness operates with especial force. The second generation suffers a break in racial solidarity with its parent generation, but is held back from racial intermarriages by a general exclusiveness on the part of other races. The intermarriage rate varies in the main according to the increase or decrease of friendly social contacts.

The amalgamation of races widely different in physical types and in cultures has occasionally taken place under normal or favorable conditions, as in the case of Brazil. It has occurred illegitimately, or where bitterly opposed by race prejudice and adverse public opinion. Nature apparently does not object to such intermixture of races, but social standards in many countries forbid it. The age-long controversy still rages around the "racialists," that is, around the people who claim that race represents distinct biological gaps, with some races inherently superior and with others inherently inferior. The data against this theory are slowly but surely outbalancing the data that favor the theory. Apparently all races are blood relations. Apparently there is only one human race, with marked differences in external appearances and in acquired culture patterns.

Of all the major immigration countries, Canada has perhaps shown the most intelligent understanding of the assimilation problem. Canada has analyzed her needs, determined upon the types of immigrants that she has needed, and then sent for them to come—from the United States, England, Scotland, Ireland, Scandinavia. She has officially encouraged certain types of persons to immigrate, namely, those for whom she has felt a specific need. When they have arrived at her gates

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 146–48.

she has helped them to become adjusted to the new conditions and tried to protect them from exploitation. Her immigration halls and employment offices have rendered free service. By softening the harsh conditions of adjustment, the immigrant's good will has been won.

Responsibility for nonassimilation rests upon both immigrants and natives. If the immigrant will show himself cooperative and a willing learner, and if the native will be tolerant, kindly, and afford opportunity, assimilation will take place more or less automatically. Favorable experiences at vital points condition immigrants so that they are turned into loyal citizens.

In the past the United States has placed emphasis upon the individual, and allowed the masses to increase and to become disgruntled. She has been busy developing or exploiting her natural resources to the advantage of a few. During her haste to exploit her natural resources, her masses—the immigrant masses, the farming masses, and the industrial masses—have become recalcitrant. The development of material values has gone ahead so fast and furiously that the spiritual values of good will and loyalty have been neglected.

The greater the differences in culture and temperament between the natives and the immigrants, the slower must migration take place if racial conflict is to be avoided. If the immigrant is more developed than the native, then he must immigrate with very great slowness, else rioting will break out against him. These points are well illustrated in Palestine, where the immigrants are more developed than the natives and where they have been coming in by the thousands even though the country is small.

The greater the differences in culture and temperament between native and immigrant, the more must the latter take care not to be aggressive. Aggressiveness on the part of immigrants arouses powerful prejudices and destroys the confidence of the natives.

The racial group often becomes *enclaved*, or culturally set apart. It continues to exist as a cultural unity especially if surrounded by cultures that are different. It is natural for a racial group to become enclaved (1) when the surrounding cultures are considered grossly inferior, (2) when they are considered strongly competitive, (3) when

their representatives assume haughty attitudes, and (4) when their leaders engage in persecution.[33]

New attitudes of helpfulness are needed in a polyglot racial nation such as the United States. When one comes to know the history of any race and to understand the struggles and disappointments of that race, he grows more friendly and in turn secures more friendly responses. If it is true that "in the highest and lowest spheres of thought and activity, all races are alike," [34] they have proved their essential unity, and the exponents of democracy may take hope.

The role of the *hybrid* varies.[35] Sometimes he is disowned by both parent groups and sometimes he occupies the place of power. If the dominant parent race takes a definite stand against the hybrid, then the latter identifies himself with the other parent race. If the other parent group also has a sense of racial pride, the hybrid becomes a man without a race and without a country. He is a marginal person lost in the chasm between two cultures.

However, if the dominant parent race takes a tolerant attitude, the hybrid may then come to the front, for he may show characteristics which when refined in the crucible of race conflict give him a position of leadership. If the numbers of hybrids grow numerous under these conditions and finally outnumber either of the parent groups, the hybrid becomes the ruling class and hybridism is viewed with pride.

Naturalization is partly an administrative procedure whereby an immigrant forswears allegiance to one country in favor of another. It has often been conducted in formal ways, with immigrants memorizing parts of the constitution and of the laws of a country. It has at times represented merely a legal shift. Real naturalization is based on an actual change in the center of an immigrant's loyalties from his native country to his adopted country. Such a change comes about through no legalistic formulae but only on such grounds as better working conditions, better living conditions, and better personal treatment than were found in the home country.

[33] Edward A. Steiner, *Against the Current* (Fleming H. Revell, New York, 1910), p. 229. [34] See the discussion in Chapter 2 of the "Marginal Man."
[35] E. S. Bogardus, "Racial Enclavement," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXV : 460–65, May-June, 1941.

The current tendency is to move toward an educational basis for naturalization. In the United States a curious situation exists, for the naturalization laws developed spasmodically. At first, in 1790, naturalization was opened chiefly to "free white people," and later, in 1870, naturalization was opened to Negroes. It has thus been available only until recently to persons of the extreme colors of white and black but denied to intermediate shades. However, during World War II the United States changed its historical way, and gave the privileges of immigration to China, India, and the Philippines on a quota basis, and also gave the immigrants from these countries the privilege of becoming citizens of the United States on the same bases that citizens from other nations may qualify for citizenship in this country. One more long step is needed: to put qualifying persons from all countries on the same immigration bases and allow them to apply under the same rules for citizenship in the United States. In this way the United States would become recognized for its attitudes of fair play toward all racial and cultural groups. By keeping the standards for immigration and naturalization high the United States could receive new cultural stimuli and at the same time protect itself against adverse results. It has even been suggested that native-born persons also should all pass a qualifying examination in terms of knowledge and socially-spirited behavior in order to have voting privileges, for after all the principles of good citizenship are something that have to be learned by native-born and by immigrants alike.

The displaced person has become a world-wide phenomenon. The *displaced person* is one who has found himself perforce of circumstances over which he has no control in a situation where he is out of place, a stranger, a "foreigner," an unwanted person, or at least a grossly unadjusted person. Sometimes he wants to get back home, for example, the French peasants and city laborers who were carried off by the Nazis in World War II to work on the farms and in the factories of Germany, and who at the end of the war were left stranded in Germany with no means by which to return home and in some cases no homes to which to return.

Other displaced persons are prisoners of war left in foreign prison camps and who when released have no place to live. The surviving

German Jews were among the persons displaced by World War II who have suffered the most. They do not want to, or cannot stay in, or return to Germany. They are known as *nonrepatriable refugees.* They cannot migrate to other countries of their choice because of limited immigration quotas. In many cases they are *stateless* and with no chance of acquiring citizenship anywhere. Worse than that, the ravages of Nazi cruelty and of war have broken up families and even wrecked the health and the minds of those who managed to survive.

Another type of displaced persons are those who are displaced on the farm by the advent of mechanized and motorized machinery—or the city laborer whose service is needed no longer because of the introduction of electric street sweepers or of automatically-operated machines. It has been estimated that 200,000 or 300,000 persons in the United States are displaced a year in this way. The problem is serious because of the wives and children who are involved and because the wage-earner may be too old to learn another trade or occupation.

INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

In the coming together of races and peoples their relationships will depend on the differences in their culture systems and on their understanding of one another's culture systems. As pointed out in earlier chapters people's ideologies are to be explained in terms of their cultures. When peoples misunderstand one another's cultures they are on the way to open conflict. Without understanding of cultures peoples have no basis for reducing their conflicts.

Intercultural understanding can be stimulated by broadgauge organizations such as UNESCO, but far more is needed. Intercultural education begins in the home, for there children learn some of the differences between peoples; they hear the representatives of other races condemned in a wholesale fashion.[36] They hear favorable references to the racial group of their parents and unfavorable comments made about many other racial groups. The inference is plain, namely, that other races are inferior to their own. They are quick to pick up epithets and to apply them when a boy or a girl of a condemned group

[36] R. W. Cordier, "Toward Intercultural Cooperation," *Sociology and Social Research,* XXX : 296–302, September-October, 1945.

happens to behave in an unapproved way. Parental notions of races influence children when the latter are especially subject to their feelings and when they lack information.

On the other hand where parents are careful to judge other individuals as individuals and not as unpleasant stereotypes, when parents themselves understand the cultures of other groups and speak respectfully of them, and they are fair and just in their comments on people of groups different from their own, then intercultural education is being expressed in a most vital way for children. Parents can easily set friendly and fair patterns for judging races and for discriminating between the constructive and destructive aspects of cultures.

Intercultural understanding can be furthered on the playground. Children from homes that view races fairly and are careful to treat representatives of other groups with due consideration may stand for just treatment of all children on the playground. Children are prone to be mean if other children set examples of meanness and to be kindly if other children are helpful.

The public schools have a large role to play not only in teaching intercultural understanding but in setting examples of intercultural activities. While the social studies have special opportunities along this line, cultural understanding may be developed in all school studies and activities.

Tolerance is scarcely adequate, for it may cover up attitudes of scorn and ill will. It does not necessarily involve understanding and appreciation.[37] A tolerant attitude is all too frequently accompanied by attitudes of superiority.

The literature is increasing which emphasizes planned programs of intercultural education in the schools. A major emphasis is to retain cultural differences within the United States so that there may be a maximum of interstimulation and the avoidance of a dull and monotonous cultural similarity everywhere.[38] Vickery and Cole summarize intercultural education in the schools in three words: understanding, appreciation, and cooperation. They stress basic concepts for the every-

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

[38] *Cf.* W. E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1943).

day vocabulary of teachers, such as, cultural democracy, acculturation, and intercultural education itself.

Many forms of the Springfield plan are coming into operation. The original one was developed in the public schools of Springfield, Massachusetts [39] under the direction of Superintendent J. E. Granrud. The idea is simple enough, namely, for every child to be careful to treat all other children as he would like to be treated. After making a study of the policies and practices of seven different school systems in meeting the problems of minority groups, Theodore Brameld concludes that "where peoples of various cultures and races freely and genuinely associate, there tensions and difficulties, prejudices and confusions, dissolve; where they do not associate, where they are isolated from one another, there prejudice and conflict grow like a disease." [40]

In Philadelphia there recently developed "The Open-Mindedness Study" plan. In each of several schools a committee of teachers is formed "whose function it is to discover emotional conflicts and prejudice and to do something about them." [41] A joint meeting of these committees is held weekly to discuss mutual problems and procedures. The latter include teaching methods and curriculum materials as well as the building of a more intelligent and kindly world of human relationships. The main point is that the emphasis is placed on the constructive development of open-mindedness.

A special educational development of great importance is the intercultural workshop. It is a specialized form of the educational workshop; it provides a laboratory with special setting and equipment, specially selected leaders, and carefully selected student members, persons who are teacher-leaders in their respective communities and who have professional maturity. The members and staff choose a planning committee who develop and schedule the activities. These activities include presentation of factual materials regarding racial and cultural problems in which the members are interested, shop conferences for

[39] See C. I. Chatto and Alice L. Halligan, *The Story of the Springfield Plan* (Barnes and Noble, New York, 1945).

[40] Theodore Brameld, *Minority Problems in the Public Schools* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1946).

[41] Samuel Everett, "Teachers Combat Prejudice," *NEA Journal*, 37 : 216ff., April, 1948.

over-all interpretation, orientation of the racial and cultural themes in the larger phases of educational work, and an individual project, for each member.[42] Members of different races give lectures and serve as resource people. Trips are taken to the different sections of the area where minority groups live. It is important if not necessary for all teachers to participate in at least one intercultural workshop. In giving his racial distance test to the members of an intercultural workshop at the beginning and the end of the workshop in 1947 the writer found that the racial distance quotient of the group decreased from 184 to 163 points or 21 points.[43] Since all teachers are likely to encounter, sooner or later, the problems inherent in cultural and nationality differences, their training as teachers is incomplete without the experiences which an intercultural workshop can give.

Intercultural understanding is of vital importance because "minority peoples have tasted a new freedom," they have fought in two world wars against oppression, and they are judging all nations by the degree of democratic behavior that is accorded them as human beings.[44] Democracy today means nothing less than seeing to it that minority groups have the same opportunities and responsibilities that are enjoyed by majority groups.

In studies of race riots it has been found that they sometimes begin in the aggressiveness resulting from the frustrations of repressed minority groups. The predatory activities of a Mexican American boys' gang may stem from the fact that these boys have been repressed since the day they first entered school.[45] They could not speak English upon entering the first grade and were made fun of or did not understand their teachers or other pupils, and were called dumb when they were in no wise to blame for making blunders. They were told not to finish high school, for they would still have to become day laborers. They received little favorable attention, little recognition, little encourage-

[42] Stewart G. Cole, "The Intercultural Workshop," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXX : 476–83, July-August, 1946.

[43] E. S. Bogardus, "The Intercultural Workshop and Social Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32:798ff., March-April, 1948.

[44] Stewart G. Cole and Others, *Charting Intercultural Education* (Stanford University Press, 1946), pp. 1ff.

[45] *Cf.* E. S. Bogardus, "Gangs of Mexican American Youth," *Sociology and Social Research*. XXVIII : 55–66, September-October, 1943.

ment to get ahead, and so they formed gangs and sought satisfactions for the basic urges of life, common to all human beings, in predatory activities, gang warfare, defiance of law and order.

Racial discrimination may arise out of the failure of people to distinguish between class and caste. Many persons in the United States who discriminate against members of a minority group would disclaim any desire to foster a caste system, and yet that is what they are doing. They admit that they believe in class but not in caste. However, racial discriminations are often based on the belief that "our group" is inherently superior to the minority group against which the discrimination is expressed. "Inherently superior" means biologically superior, that is, that there are qualities which the "superior group" possesses that the minority group does not have and never can have. An impassable distance made by nature herself exists, it is assumed, and never the superior group and the minority group shall meet on the same social plane.

In his discussion of a "more perfect union" of peoples, MacIver contends, for example, that intergroup discrimination may be "a manifestation of established social attitudes, mainly attitudes that imply the sense of caste." [46] This idea will be startling to some people who have never analyzed the source of their discriminations against minority groups. In the second place, the social attitudes that imply a sense of caste, if widely pervasive, are "the respective indoctrinations of the discriminating groups," and they are stimulated "by the interests of these groups as conceived by them under the indoctrinations." [47]

A constructive aspect of these tendencies is that the attitudes involved in intergroup discriminations can be changed in two ways: (1) by substituting new indoctrinations of a cooperative nature for the old ones, and (2) "perhaps more potently by policies and programs that, where feasible, favorably alter the situations out of which the indoctrinations arise." [48]

Race relations turn out to be a social problem whenever there is an awareness of "racial difference." Not all race relations represent a social problem. When awareness of racial difference disappears race problems

[46] R. M. MacIver, *A More Perfect Union* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1948), p. 20. [47] *Ibid.*, p. 21. [48] *Loc. cit.*

melt away. As cultural understanding increases, "racial differences" decrease and "racial" discriminations are reduced.

Cultural pluralism, providing it functions in good faith, enables the immigrants in a country to develop their cultural patterns and to contribute these to their adopted country, thus enriching the latter's culture system. When based on good faith and loyalty to the adopted country on the part of people who come from a variety of countries, cultural pluralism may make rich additions to a country's culture.

The passage of the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952 by the Congress of the United States over President Truman's veto and contradicted by the Report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization on January 1, 1953, brought the methods of admitting immigrants to the United States before the public for review. The McCarran-Walter legislation put the Japanese and other Orientals on the quota system and provided for careful screening of immigrants who might become subversives, while the President's Commission raised vital questions regarding the appropriateness of the whole quota system inaugurated in 1924.

Beneath all the racial and cultural divisions of the human race are both cultural and psychological universals which are vital factors in determining national policies regarding immigration and racial-cultural relations. The cultural universals refer to the universal culture pattern of all peoples (see Chapter 2) and the psychological universals refer to the similar basic urges for security and freedom of all peoples (see Chapter 1). These universals appear to offer minimum bases for intelligent action and sound human relations.

PROBLEMS

1 Why do people migrate?
2 Have you or your parents moved from one house to another? Why?
3 Distinguish between intermigration and intramigration.
4 Distinguish between colonization and immigration.
5 How does migration cause progressiveness?
6 Why have immigrants tended to go to the already overcrowded areas in large cities?
7 "What is the underlying reason for permitting immigration to the United States?"

8 What is race antipathy? How may it be overcome?
9 What is race prejudice? How may it be reduced?
10 What is the Negro problem in the United States?
11 What is the Negro's problem in the United States?
12 Why is the white-colored problem the most difficult of all racial problems to solve in the United States?
13 Why are hybrids coming into political power in Mexico, Brazil, the Philippines?
14 Is race prejudice or race antipathy the easier to overcome, and why?
15 Is race prejudice or religious prejudice the more difficult to overcome?
16 What is a race relations cycle? Name two types.
17 What causes race conflicts?
18 What is assimilation?
19 What is amalgamation?
20 What is miscegenation?
21 What is naturalization?
22 What is the chief factor that brings about cultural enclavement?
23 What is racialism?
24 What are the main factors that bring racialism about?
25 What are the strong and weak points of the Quota Law passed by the Congress of the United States in 1924?
26 What are some of the main points in an appropriate immigration policy for the United States in 1954 and later?

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Chapter

10

The World Group

TO THINK of the whole human race as a single world group is a large undertaking for many people. It taxes even their imagination unduly. It seems impossible, and yet it is in line with social evolution.

ONE WORLD

In the chapter on the Community Group attention was called to the succession of family group, horde, tribe, tribal confederacy, city state, feudal state, monarchical state, and democratic nation state. This development naturally leads to the rise of the largest unit of all—the *world group*.

In the aforementioned sequence, *alliance* or *confederacy* play an important role, in fact, a role which seems to lead to a larger and better-knit organization. The alliance or the confederacy was usually a defense mechanization. For example, the Iroquois Confederacy developed in defense against powerful enemies. The Hanseatic League was a loose organization of towns, a kind of mercantile organization for economic defense.

Later, the Triple Alliance was formed by England, Holland, and Sweden in 1668 to protect these nation groups from the imperialistic designs of France under Louis XIV. The Holy Alliance of 1815 was an alliance of sovereigns, the emperors of Russia and Austria against the possibility of revolutionary attempts of their own peoples. A recent outstanding example of an alliance was the Axis (Germany, Italy, and

Japan) which was developed for both defensive and offensive purposes.

The confederacy was usually a more closely organized unit than the alliance. It has had greater permanency. In 1777 the American Colonies formed a Confederacy which lasted until it gave way to a federal government in 1789. The North German Confederacy preceded the rise of an empire. The Swiss Confederation has had unusual stability and length of life. It has assumed most of the characteristics of a democratic nation.

The *federation* has come to mean as a rule a more closely-knit organization than does a confederacy. A federal government implies that the center of power has shifted into federal control and out of the hands of the constituent groups. A federal world government is proposed today, but it is viewed adversely by many of the members of national governments.

Of course the succession from a tribal group to leagues of nations has nowhere occurred in a straight line. Sometimes two or three types of these group developments have been taking place simultaneously. In one region a large group organization has developed while in a near by region, one of the smaller types has flourished. In some areas some of these group types have never appeared. The succession from a gens group to a world group is to be thought of in a broad, general way.

Today it is common to find family groups organized into village groups, and village groups jumbled together into a city or even into a Greater London, where towns and cities have expanded until they have reached one another's boundaries. Cities are united under provincial or local-state organizations, and provinces and local states under nations. The latter are now trying to develop some kind of world-wide league, but are having untold difficulty because the people who live in each have not yet developed a worldmindedness.

Hundreds of international organizations of one kind or another have been formed in the last several decades; all of these represent progress in the development of world-group thinking. Although many of these international bodies are usually organized to promote a single type of activity, such as the International Association of Public Employment Services, the International Conference on Social Work, International

Migration Service, they are creating each in its own way, a type of world thinking. Although these bodies rely on a great deal of volunteer effort and although they do not carry the force of law or national decree they are conducting activities of world-wide import.

WORLD ORGANIZATION

A world organization with broadgauge activities, with legal implications, and with substantial world-group meanings was the Hague Tribunal which was set up in 1899 at the Hague, Holland, by the first of the International Peace Conferences. The Permanent Court of Arbitration, the longer name for the Hague Tribunal, was subscribed to by forty-five nations, which could submit any international question that it wished to the Court for adjudication. In 1919 the World Court, or the Permanent Court of International Justice, was organized as provided by Article XIV of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in 1945 the International Court of Justice was provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. In these developments the concept of worldmindedness has acquired increasing significance.

International law is an evidence of world community, at least in an incipient form. International law is a body of rules, generally recognized by civilized states, which determines to a degree the conduct of modern states in their mutual relations. The coexistence of many national groups spatially near each other has made it necessary that they develop standard rules of action in their interaction.

In war times and similar crises the principles of international conduct are likely to be violated. Owing to the absence of an adequate world opinion or of some other social force, international law may break down. The function of international law, however, is to regulate the conduct of national groups in all their contacts, hostile as well as pacific. Modern international law is based on the principle that nations are organic units in a larger society, and possess mutual obligations. Hugo Grotius [1] was one of the first outstanding leaders in bringing about a recognition of the international concept.

The spirit of nationalism is still far stronger than the spirit of world

[1] The distinguished Dutch founder of international law.

community. The World War of 1914–1918 demonstrated that nationalism in Europe is more powerful than Christianity, with its doctrine of the brotherhood of man, for Christians split up into their respective national camps and viciously mowed each other down while calling upon the same God to give them victory. The war likewise showed that nationalism is stronger than socialism wth its international premises, for calloused-handed workers were divided into the opposing national camps and tried to annihilate each other with machine guns.

The League to Enforce Peace was organized in 1915 in Philadelphia with William H. Taft as its president. It set a new ideal before the world and pointed the way to a League of Nations which was organized after the close of World War I. Its name was unfortunate, for how can real peace be enforced?

The League of Nations was organized in 1919 at the close of World War I as a dream come true that was held by Woodrow Wilson. But President Wilson could not bring his own nation to a willingness to enter the League, and furthermore he had to allow the League to be tied in with what turned out to be the unpopular Treaty of Versailles. However, it was a distinct move toward organizing the nations as a world group.

The League of Nations was seriously handicapped because it was built upon so many nationally narrow concepts. Some feared it as an organization of nations for the promotion of an autocratic capitalism. Others suspected it as a postwar weapon for defending the Versailles Treaty. Still others felt that it was in reality a league of European nations. Even its very limited power to deprive nations of a small part of their sovereignty for the sake of world community was deplored by nationalists everywhere.

The Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments (1921) was based on the principle that independent nations should come to agreement on world problems without giving up even a slight degree of sovereignty to a world agreement. The Conference furthered the development of a world public opinion. The Kellogg-Briand or Paris Peace Pact made considerable headway in a world community direction. Its pronouncement is remarkable:

ARTICLE I

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

ARTICLE II

The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

In 1928 the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact was signed by fifteen nations and represented a distinct step in the direction of international cooperation. It denounced war and stressed pacific measures as means of settling disputes. However, it lacked measures of enforcement, although when in 1929, President Hoover proclaimed the Pact in full force the concept of a world community was furthered.

In September 1931, Japan, one of the signatories of the Peace Pact, sent her armies into Manchuria and opened her guns on the Chinese, violating the spirit of her own signature to the Peace Pact. Secretary of State Henry Stimson in January, 1932, declared that any territory taken over by Japan in violation of the Peace Pact would not be so recognized by the United States. Japan did not actually declare war, and hence she claimed that she did not violate the Peace Pact. At the League of Nations in 1932 it was proclaimed that a declaration against war was not enough to meet the world situation, and the phrase in the Pact "condemn recourse to war" shall become "condemn recourse to force." Thus the movement to safeguard world peace and promote world community became a contest of wits, a struggle to solve the problems created by hypernationalism, and a desperate contest between warlike forces and attitudes of peace.

The London Economic Conference of 1933 made little headway, partly because three underlying national principles were in conflict. From London William Allen White [2] pointed out that three systems of control were deadlocked, namely: democracy, represented, for example, by Great Britain, France, the United States; fascism, repre-

[2] Correspondent of the North American Newspaper Alliance.

sented by Italy and Germany; and communism, represented by Russia. Nationalism was blocking internationalism, with fears, hatreds, and prejudices predominant. Moreover, it was proclaimed that the public conference method is inefficient, because while the speakers are addressing the assembled multitude of newspaper reporters and political attaches of one kind or another, the real decisions are being made by the representatives of the respective nations behind closed doors or via telegraph and cable dispatches in code to each other. However, there never was a time when so many people as now in each country are aware of the nature of international dilemmas and hence in a position to think in terms of a world group.

In 1933 Hitler came into power in Germany for a period of twelve years. He capitalized upon divided and frustrated peoples in his country. He assumed a dominant role, made great promises with reference to creating a new Germany that would become a leading nation of the world, appealed to mass emotions, denounced and punished all who dared to cross his will, made scapegoats of the Jews, rearmed Germany, and started out on a campaign of bringing all Europe under his control.

Then a unique happening occurred when countries as far apart as communist USSR and capitalist United States became allies. Another surprising event took place when the Japanese military forces misjudged the temper of the people of the United States and made a destructive sneak attack upon Pearl Harbor. The downfall of Italy, Germany, and Japan followed one another with the defeat of the latter being hastened by the setting off of two atom bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively. A reign of defiance of international rules thus came to a melodramatic close. It began in 1931 when Japan illegitimately took over Manchuria. It continued when Italy attacked Ethiopia in 1935 by force and carried on a campaign of destruction of human lives against a relatively helpless people—under orders from Mussolini. It found further expression when the Nazis moved into Czechoslovakia and Poland, but found their Waterloo in the USSR.

Manchuria fell to Japan despite the League of Nations, because Great Britain and the United States did not stand together in support of Secretary Stimson's defense of Manchuria. Ethiopia fell to Italy despite the strenuous efforts of the League of Nations to impose

sanctions against Italy for violations of agreements. Sanctions in this case were restrictions on an aggressor nation. They amounted to embargoes. In other words, nations agree not to sell or to lend money to a nation that is violating treaties and endeavoring to conquer a weak nation. Sanctions imposed by the League of Nations against Italy failed partly because England and France could not agree and partly because sanctions could not be enforced universally and completely.

By the time Nazi Germany moved her armies into Poland and then into Russia the League of Nations was too weak and ineffective to have an influence upon Hitler. Great Britain recognizing the failure of the appeasement of Hitler at Munich was forced to declare war in 1939 against Germany. Hitler quickly overran one small nation after another, and also France, but it was not until Japan made the fatal mistake (for her) on December 7, 1941 that the United States entered the struggle and World War II with all its tragic sufferings became a reality. By 1944 the tide was beginning to turn against the Axis powers. Germany was turned back in Russia, Mussolini was killed, and Japan began to feel the pinch of the noose being drawn about her by the American forces. Germany fell in May, 1945, and the atom bombs brought the surrender of Japan in the following August. Totalitarian states, even an alliance of them, fell before the superior strength of the United States and her allies. The stubborn resistance of Great Britain in the early days of the War was also vitally important.

But the end of the war did not bring the expected peace. The Allies fell apart. The unnatural alliance of the USSR and the United States at once turned into a mutual distrust. Neither was willing to take any steps that would play into the hands of the other. However, a United Nations was organized in 1945 before the War was ended. The name was suggested by President Roosevelt.

The Charter of the United Nations in its opening sentences declares:

> We the Peoples of the United Nations determined
> to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind,
> to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom . . .

do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

In these words the United Nations is dedicated to the observance of sound sociological ideas, namely, the value of human personality, the necessity of establishing conditions that will generate social justice and fair play, the raising of standards of living of all peoples, and the necessity of delivering mankind from the scourge of war.

However, the United Nations which got under way in San Francisco in May, 1945, faced vital conflicts from the start. The veto power that was provided at the request of both the United States and Russia prevented needed adjustments and hamstrung the activities that the United Nations needed to carry forward. In 1948 the representative of the United States to the United Nations, Warren R. Austin, was able to say that "the UN has done a tremendous job for world welfare and remains the only hope for world peace." [3] While the UN charter does not live up to the famous Atlantic Declaration that was drawn by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and signed jointly by him and Winston Churchill in August, 1941, or to the earlier declaration made on January 6, 1941, by President Roosevelt about the four freedoms, freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want, and freedom from fear, yet the Charter represents considerable agreement among nations with various economic and political systems. The program planned by the UN which is to be carried out through its subsidiary organizations, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization [4] is promising. The Economic and Social Council of the UN is second in importance to the Security Council of the UN, for the economic and social advancement of all

[3] "1096 Days of Progress," *United Nations World*, II : 9.

[4] See *The United Nations at Work: Basic Documents* (World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1947).

peoples "is limited by no horizons" and is "the very substance of peace itself." [5]

In 1943 when Wendell Willkie's book entitled *One World* [6] was published people in many countries were ready to think in terms of one world but war conditions and national traditions prevented them from doing so. In 1945 when the atom bomb was exploded over Hiroshima people began to realize that no place on earth was safe from destruction and that they must act as one in controlling atomic energy or suffer extinction. The situation for every inhabitant of the earth was epitomized as: One world or none.

World community is a working together although not necessarily alike of all peoples toward the realization of world values. A world situation in which there are eighty nation groups, each setting up its own standards of right and wrong conduct, and passing judgment on all the other seventy-nine, makes necessary some kind of a new world order, a citizenry in each nation with world vision and a widespread human consciousness. Humanitarianism, having no goal outside itself, may tend to become self-centered. The principles of brotherhood if they have a religious basis are more than humanitarian. Since their goal is located beyond humanity, they provide a dynamic guiding force for a humanity-wide community.

Some kind of a federal world government is needed. It needs to be based frankly not on the results of past wars but on present needs and future interests. If the sociological hypotheses are correct, namely, that people the world over are far more alike than they are different and that they have more in common than they have in opposition, then an association of nations has solid foundations in human nature upon which to build.

Strange to say, the first step has scarcely yet been taken. An initial step involves the investigation by a broadly representative committee of the common interests of the nations of the world. In the next place, some common acceptance of these categories of universal interests and needs would have to be obtained. Here would be substantial ground

[5] John G. Winant, quoted by George M. Day, "The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations," *Sociology and Social Research*, 31:376, May-June, 1947.

[6] Simon and Schuster, New York, 1943.

upon which a federal world government could be built. It would need to pool the good will and the dependability of each nation. It would have as its task the defining of goals toward which all could work. If a world ideal toward which all the nations could strive in cooperation were to be clearly and acceptably defined, a great gain would be made. The economic development of all would be a worthy aim. Cooperation, not competition, would serve as an excellent principle.

After progress had been made in cooperative and dependable and trustworthy efforts and organizations, an association of nations could then undertake to study the specific needs of each nation and to devise ways and means of achieving such ends in ways that would not destroy the developmental interests of any of the other nations. A cooperative society of nations might have to reduce competition in many directions and to boost cooperation into first place as the guiding principle.

Specific merit is found in Streit's plan to organize the democratic nations of the world into an international association. Streit's idea assumes that democratic and totalitarian nations cannot work together.[7] Their social principles are too variant. Perhaps he is correct, and yet where is the dividing line between democratic and nondemocratic nations? What would a nondemocratic nation need to do in order to qualify for membership in a democratic league? Would the organization of such a league tend to bring the totalitarian states into closer union and thus set up another powerful and competing organization of nations? A "union now" of the democratic nations would build up a nucleus of increasing size and strength of nations who believe in and practice negotiation and arbitration.

Jacks has suggested that each nation might indicate its sincerity by cutting down its expenditures for war purposes by 10 per cent.[8] The money that would come from this 10 per cent could be put into an International Fund, which might serve as a basis for building up the welfare of all the nations. Five methods of mutual help among the nations are suggested: (1) stabilizing currencies, (2) lowering tariffs, (3) financing and furthering the distribution of raw materials, (4) de-

[7] See Clarence K. Streit, *Union Now* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939).

[8] L. P. Jacks, *Cooperation or Coercion?* (E. P. Dutton and Company, New York, 1938), p. 126.

veloping many international services, new and old, and (5) assisting nations when widespread calamities strike them. In these and other ways the spirit of one world may be fostered and a world group become a reality.

Many plans have been suggested for a world government. The proposal of the United World Federalists is not based merely on the absence of war but on the presence and functioning of justice, law, and order. This plan would make use of the amendment processes of the United Nations in order to change the latter into a real world federation. It would make use of world constituent assemblies, either of private individuals or of parliamentary or other groups. Membership in the proposed world federal government would be "open at all times to all nations without power of secession." Representation in the legislative body would recognize population, economic status, educational development. The world constitution would include a bill of rights giving equal protection to all individuals in the world. Dependable revenue would be raised by a direct taxing power independent of national taxation. Armaments by any nation beyond the need for internal policing would be prohibited. The world federal government would have control over the dangerous aspects of atomic energy development, including adequate world inspection provisions. Other world federalists would go further in extending the powers of a world organization beyond those enumerated in this paragraph.

Another proposal known as the Culbertson plan calls for a federated world state with (1) well-defined powers delegated to it by member states, with (2) a federal government separate from the governments of individual nations and (3) acting by majority vote within the scope of its delegated powers. These delegated powers are to be expressed in terms of a world law that "no state or its citizens may commit aggressive war," and that no state or its citizens may produce scientific weapons of warfare beyond a certain quota. This plan also indicates that the federal world government shall have a separate armed force of its own, adequate to support its authority. It also calls for a reorganized security council of ten with two members each for the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, one for France, one for China, and two for all the smaller powers. But no plan however well developed can

secure adoption as long as world-wide distrust of nation by nation creates a world crisis in an atom bomb age.

It is the belief of an outstanding anthropologist that "the future peace of mankind is possible only on a principle of a commonwealth of nations." [9] In a world divided by races, cultures, nations, peoples, languages, ideologies, a full tolerance in racial relations, in respect for the individual, in a federation of nations is "the very mainspring of all progress." [10] Moreover, the sovereign national state can be a very real obstacle to social progress if it becomes totalitarian and if it presumes to overrun the world.[11] Another great enemy today is the infiltration into the democratic body politic of disruptive ideas and forces. The need of the hour is for discussion to supplant force, justice to take the place of oppression, faith and reason to be substituted for a crude, dictated mysticism.[12]

WORLD CRISIS

One cannot go far today in discussing the world group without facing the issues created by the atomic bomb. The world is in a state of crisis, first, because the atomic bomb is so destructive. Nothing like it has ever been invented before. Further, hydrogen bombs, hundreds of times as powerful as the one exploded over Hiroshima are now reported to be in existence. The atom bomb has been described as the absolute weapon of death, for it "combines the maximum of indiscriminate destruction with the minimum of direct control." [13] The bomb is so powerful that it may destroy science itself which created it, and even the spirit of science in the world along with all the technological development of mankind since the beginnings of the human race.[14]

A second reason for the present world crisis is that the atom bomb is of such a nature that all the scientists agree that there is no defense against it. It can be fired over distances of a thousand miles or from a height of many thousands of feet and come out of the invisible heav-

[9] B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1948), p. 309. [10] *Loc. cit.* [11] *Loc. cit.* [12] *Loc. cit.*

[13] Bernard Brodie, editor, *The Absolute Weapon: Atomic Power and World Order* (Yale University Press, 1946), p. 98.

[14] Harold C. Urey, "Technology: Peace or War," *Social Science*, 21:279, October, 1946.

ens with terrific speed and land with a fair degree of accuracy upon its target. If every able-bodied man and woman from sixteen to sixty-six years of age in the United States were to be trained intensively for three years, the nation would still have no defense against atom bombs.

In the third place the world crisis is due to the fact that World War II gave the world "the power to destroy itself" but did not give it a system for controlling the bomb.[15] In fact the development of the atom bomb has multiplied manifold the difficulties of establishing an adequate world organization and worldmindedness.

Fourth, the world crisis is due in part to the fact that technological science has raced far ahead of man's ability to reconstruct his social institutions to meet the atomic emergency. "The gap between our scientific know-how" and our knowledge and willingness to regulate the results of scientific efforts is so wide that it constitutes a world-wide crisis.[16]

Fifth, the world crisis is partially due to the paralyzing fear of destruction that has spread around the world since the atomic bomb and its fellow-agents of destruction, the jetbombs, atomic rockets, guided missiles and radioactive and bacterial poisons have become a part of reality. This fear stimulates a sense of the need for a world organization to control the bomb and its accompanying lethal instruments. On the other hand this fear is so great that it has a paralyzing influence on most efforts that look toward a world-wide control of the bomb. Professor Harold C. Urey, eminent chemist, stated as early as 1945: "I'm a frightened man myself. All the scientists are frightened—frightened for their lives and frightened for your life. . . . We will live in fear and die in fear. We will be afraid every time there is a disturbance in the international situation, that the atomic bombs will arrive before morning." [17]

A sixth aspect of the current world crisis is the distrust that exists between nations. Distrust is nothing new in the international field but it perhaps was never greater than between Russia and the United

[15] Nickson and H. S. Brown, American Library Association, *Bulletin*, 41:71, March, 1947.

[16] *Higher Education for American Education*, Volume I: Establishing the Goal (U.S. Printing Office, 1947), p. 21.

[17] Founder's Day Address, Drexel Institute of Technology, 1945, p. 12.

States today. There is so much distrust of Russia by the United States and of the United States by Russia that neither wishes to enter a world organization that is going to be dominated by the other. Instead of "one world or none" the more practical slogan has become, "two worlds or none."

So great is this distrust that what one nation calls a defensive activity is interpreted by another as being offensive. Each interpretation in offensive terms leads the given nation to engage in further defense, which in turn is misinterpreted and calls forth new defensive action by the other nation. Thus, this distrust not only prevents the rise of "one world" but actually motivates a vicious circle leading toward a third World War.

The atomic bomb, in the seventh place, plays into the hands of totalitarian governments. Its manufacture and ownership cannot be trusted in the hands of free enterprise. Since it must be government-manufactured, owned, and controlled—by common consent—it places tremendous power in the hands of a few persons who must act in secret regarding the whole precarious situation. Even the manufacture of atomic energy by an international body might put the control of the world in the hands of a few who could form a dictatorship of the world. The atom bomb has been described as an ideal weapon for war lords and dictators "from the standpoint of surprise, devastating effectiveness, and even possible secrecy after attack." [18]

The individual shrinks as a democratic unit when considered alongside of an atomic bomb. He shrinks in his own mental image of himself as a democratic person. He may grow cynical and fatalistic regarding the future of the world. When hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions feel this way the interactive effects are powerful in the negative direction and constitute a gigantic obstacle in the way of developing a world organization.

WORLDMINDEDNESS

If atomic energy is to be controlled constructively, then people will need to become worldminded and to put the welfare of the world on a

[18] Ely Culbertson, *Must We Fight Russia?* (The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia, 1946), p. 5.

par with the welfare of their own country. It no longer suffices to judge human behavior by numerous and contradictory national standards. The atom bomb has made it necessary for people to expand their frame of reference from provincial and national limits to world horizons. A set of world standards appears to be necessary if the leaders are to save the world at all and the various nations that compose it.

The United Nations faces the problem that it is largely "a product of Western civilization." [19] As such it represents "individualism, nationalism, and other traits which tend to separate rather than unite nations." It needs to cultivate some of the traits that are characteristic of Oriental civilizations if it is to be a real United Nations of the world. It needs to foster a sense of group solidarity, in this case, of world solidarity.

It has been proposed that a federated world government be developed with powers limited to preventing wars. Economic sanctions and an international police force would be used to control offenders. But more than a world organization will be necessary to prevent war; a thorough-going program for developing attitudes of mutual fair-dealing and democracy is also needed.

In 1948, the Third Assembly of the United Nations adopted a convention on the prevention and punishment of "the crime of genocide." By genocide is meant an act by a nation that attempts the destruction of "a national, ethical, racial, religious, or political group as such." In many countries a public opinion is also developing against the crime of genocide.

One of the far-reaching developments in the direction of a world-mindedness is represented by UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, which was established in November, 1945.[20] Its basic principle is "mutual understanding through increased communication among peoples." Without such mutual understanding it is doubtful whether the United Nations can long survive, or whether any federal world organization no matter how perfected can

[19] John E. Nordskog, "Social Solidarity and the United Nations," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32 : 685ff. January-February, 1948.

[20] Julian Huxley, *UNESCO: Its Purpose and its Philosophy* (Public Affairs Press, Washington, 1947).

come into being. The difficulty with UNESCO is that its method is educational, which is by its nature slow, and the question arises: Can it develop mutual understanding throughout the world before some nation gets scared with reference to its security and begins to hurl atom bombs?

UNESCO has a number of aims that point toward world understanding. First, it plans to work toward the elimination of illiteracy in all countries, in other words, to level up "the educational, scientific, and cultural facilities in all backward sectors where these are below the average, whether these be geographical regions, or under-privileged sections of a population." [21] Second, and more important still, a worldwide campaign for literacy needs to be coupled with a general social education involving health, work, and citizenship. UNESCO may be able to give people the world over some simple philosophy of living of a positive nature to take the place of a prevalent cynicism, and to remind people "that one of the basic needs of men is the need for giving, for devotion to something other than self, for service and love of others, so that concentration on satisfaction of selfish needs will spell incompleteness and frustration." [22] UNESCO might be a logical agency for developing a *World Information Council* which would combat false reports of news and propaganda in the newspapers in all countries. The bulletins of such a council would need to be given regular space in the leading newspapers in all countries. An initial step in this direction was taken in Geneva, Switzerland, in March, 1948, when the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information began to formulate views on "the rights, obligations, and practices to be included in a United Nations concept of freedom of information."

UNESCO has aims on a large scale similar to those of individual universities. President James B. Conant of Harvard University says that "universities have always aimed to be international in their outlook: the world of scholarship and science recognizes no nationalities, and in theory stops at no frontiers." [23] UNESCO can render a service of inestimable proportions in behalf of worldmindedness.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [22] *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.
[23] President's Report (Harvard University, 1947).

Mutual understanding calls for an underlying *culture matrix*, according to Henry N. Wieman.[24] Mutual understanding is likely to fluctuate or be undermined by sinister interests unless undergirded by a set of world-embracing culture patterns. Not necessarily one spoken and written language but a common understanding in terms of good will, fair play, and cooperation is needed.

Professor J. Robert Oppenheimer, director of the laboratory at Santa Fe which perfected the first atom bomb, declares that "new systems of cooperation" are needed. There is too much negating of moves in this direction. The urgent need is for the emphasis to be placed on "the basic idea of security through cooperative ideas." [25]

The needed worldmindedness has an ethical component. Social science as science is not equal to the task before it. Increased moral power is needed to match the increased physical power that mankind is acquiring via the splitting of the atom. Dr. Daniel S. Robinson phrases the ethical aspect of the world situation as follows: "Technological science must be ethically conditioned." [26] He proposes that intellectual leaders, presumably in all countries, shall begin "to function together in close integration in actualizing the ideal of the common good of all mankind." [27] To actualize this ideal soon enough and on a scale large enough means that programs and methods be developed to make clear "the ethical values and concepts of human relations upon which a world order will be developed." [28]

Worldmindedness requires positive national plans of helping other nations along the democratic road, without any strings attached. Worldmindedness requires that help by one nation to other nations will be given in such a way that no charge can stand up which says that such help is offered for the sake of economic imperialism. It is essential that all grounds be removed for charges that the good will of other

[24] "Sources for Constructive Use of Atomic Energy," in L. Bryson and others, *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1947), p. 248.

[25] "International Control of Atomic Energy," *Foreign Affairs*, **26**:250, January, 1948.

[26] "A Philosophy for the Atomic Age," *The Philosophical Review*, **55**:400, July, 1946. [27] *Ibid.*, p. 403.

[28] *Higher Education for American Democracy*, 1:12, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947.

nations is being sought by governments for their expansion or for the economic gain of monopolies and cartels.

Each nation can try to seek its own security by itself, but the atom bomb has made such an effort futile. Many leaders point to the necessity for each nation to seek its security in "a world system of collective offense against aggression." [29] However, to do this, each nation has to give some degree of authority, at the expense of its own, to a world organization of some effective type.

An editorial writer in a recent issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* declares: "Not until we ourselves believe that equal concern (for the well-being and peace of our people) with the well-being and peace of all mankind is the only possible moral basis for world leadership will we stand a chance of acquiring the leadership and breaking the vicious circle of power politics." [30]

Worldmindedness requires the integration of the major civilizations of the world. It is a long road by which the world reached the level of several regional civilizations, such as a Latin civilization in southern Europe and in Central and South America, an Anglo-American civilization in northern and western Europe and North America, a Russian-Oriental civilization, a Moslem-Oriental civilization, a Hindu civilization, a Chinese civilization, and so on. The integration of all these civilizations into two somewhat different civilizations has been going on very slowly for some time, and the results are still quite amorphous.

In the early decade of the twentieth century the world was reaching the place where thinking people were speaking of Western civilization or Eastern civilization, of Occidentalism or Orientalism, but where the differences between the two, not the likenesses, were emphasized by the chauvinists on both sides of the Pacific. The average members of the Western social order were widely proclaiming its superiority. They failed to understand or to study the worthy phases of Orientalism; they saw and magnified its defects. They often failed to acknowledge the weaknesses of Occidentalism, and went on their way boastfully blind. Likewise, many adherents of Eastern civilization were silently and politely feeling a sense of their own superiority. They pitied

[29] Ely Culbertson, *op. cit.*, p. 21. [30] For September, 1947.

Western chauvinists. Now and then someone such as Rabindranath Tagore openly expressed himself, calling Western society black and dwelling upon the many superiorities of the East.

On the constructive side an excellent analysis of Western civilization has been made by Charles A. Ellwood,[31] who has outlined the following attributes: (1) A set of ethical and religious values was derived from the Hebrews and early Christians. In the former the major concept is justice; in the latter, love. (2) Philosophical and ethical values were contributed by the Greeks. (3) Administrative and legal values stressing the rights of property originated with the Romans. (4) Personal liberty values were developed by the early Teutons and given concrete modern expression under the *laissez-faire* doctrine of the nineteenth century in western Europe and the United States. Within recent decades additional values have been produced by Occidentalism, namely, (5) scientific methods, (6) business and industrial techniques, (7) universal education, and (8) as an antidote to economic inhumanity, a set of humanitarian values.

Eastern civilization is distinguished by the following: (1) Its sacrifice values are so important to the Oriental that the Occident seems to him synonymous with organized selfishness. (2) There are contemplative values in Orientalism, culminating in mysticism. (3) In the East there is veneration for parents, for customs and traditions, for law, order, and stability. (4) There are important conventional standards expressing themselves in courtesy and in an appreciation of the finer values of life. (5) Orientalism is esthetic and mystic, not rational-philosophic. (6) Orientalism has a sense of social solidarity, and strong sentiments of patriotism. The social group past and present ranks far above the individual. (7) Family stability extending back into past generations is given prominence, whereas in the West the convenience of the individual is often put first. (8) The Oriental lives in generalizations rather than in particularizations. He glories in the abstract more than in the concrete.

When the positive elements in Western and Eastern civilizations are brought together apparent differences are present. We see the rationally versus the mystically philosophic, action versus contempla-

[31] *The Social Problem* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919), Ch. II.

tion, the physical versus the psychical, individualism versus solidarity, the individual over against the family unit, facts against concepts, utility versus estheticism, anxiety as opposed to tranquillity, and the means of life versus the sake of living. These apparent contrasts, vividly stated by Dr. Inazo Nitobe, upon reflection provide nothing less than adequate bases for building a world community that will be superior to either Western or Eastern civilization. Many of these seeming contrasts represent different poles of the same social axis.

Apparently the peoples of the world are growing psychically and culturally similar. Mankind had common origins but dispersed early in many directions over the earth. In various physical, climatic, and social environments mankind became widely differentiated into races and cultures. Whether one accepts a polygenetic theory or a monogenetic theory of the origin of man, the main point still obtains, namely, that a unity of culture patterns is developing.

World community is being built out of the values of the individual nations, but its development is being hindered by hypernationalism, provincialism, and chauvinism. It is balked today by balance of power practices, by secret treaties, by imperialism and territorial aggrandizement.

Some people believe that the civilizations of the world are being crystallized into two, but that the division is cutting across both the Eastern and Western civilizations. There is taking shape an individualistic-capitalistic civilization on one hand and a collectivistic-communistic civilization on the other in both Eastern and Western Hemispheres. According to the propagandists of both, the twain shall never meet, except in atomic conflict. However, many people are seriously asking: Is there any way where these two ideologies can learn to treat each other respectfully and fairly, and, if so, can they work out some form of an integrated world civilization, or must they fight an atomic war to the destruction of both?

Worldmindedness requires an integrating of the major ideologies of the world. Again, it has been a long road from tribal ideologies to city-state ideologies, to feudal ideologies, to national ideologies first of a monarchical nature and then of a democratic trend, and now to an individualistic-capitalistic ideology versus a collectivistic-communistic

ideology. Both these ideologies claim to be democratic, one in a political sense and the other in an economic sense. Both identify themselves with a vital interest in the welfare of the masses. Beneath both ideologies is human nature, a human nature which desires freedom, fair play, and a full life, and which will never be satisfied with any ideology that does not give it security, satisfaction of the urges for new experience, and status for the common man.

Many practical developments are taking place within the framework of worldmindedness. A few of these may be noted.[32] (1) Empire and imperialism are giving way to worldmindedness. (2) Isolationism and the living of each nation to itself alone are outdated. Let us join the human race, is a new slogan. (3) Economic democratization meets human needs; many people are still "maniac ants overthrowing our own storehouses," and even flirting with fascism instead of building more democracy into our national life.[33] (4) The ending of race discrimination is being called for by increasing numbers of people in many lands. Race discrimination is undemocratic and has no logical place in a democracy or in a world democratic order. (5) Supranational thinking in addition to international thinking will help to make world democracy a reality. (6) International systems of communication, including world-centered radio programs, international motion pictures illustrating different cultures, a world-minded press all are in the offing. (7) Freedom of travel between nations whose moral integrity is established is in keeping with a new world order. (8) Freedom of migration of law-abiding people naturally follows a program of freedom of travel. (9) A program of world-minded education is basic to most if not to all of the foregoing proposals. (10) World citizenship for all who can qualify in addition to national citizenship in a way similar to the manner that the latter has been added to provincial and local community citizenship may also be visualized for the future.

These procedures assume that behind different ideologies are common beliefs and ideas and social forces that can be utilized in putting the nations on a working-together basis. They suppose a higher, uni-

[32] See E. S. Bogardus, "Seven Keys to Enduring Peace," *Sociology and Social Research*, 29:388–96, May-June, 1945.

[33] G. A. Borgese, *Common Cause* (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, Chicago, 1943), p. 349.

versal aim toward which all can work. In so doing it may be that mutual trust would begin to develop and mutual mistrust be allayed and reduced. A world society requires that the leaders of the world work together and develop mutual dependability in word and deed, and in so doing lay the foundations for an enduring world group.

The unity of mankind is found by Morris Ginsberg in six connections: (1) "An underlying resemblance in physical and mental structure" between the groups of mankind. (2) Interconnections and interrelationships between the various groups of people. (3) An extension of the process of unification is found in human history. (4) Social processes hold good in all civilizations, due to an underlying similarity of mankind. (5) A rational order is conceivable that defines "a good common to all mankind." [34] (6) There is "no difference in principle between the moralities of different peoples regarding the subjects of moral judgments." [35] The differences that are in evidence arise out of differences in external environment, in knowledge, and in the strength and range of altruistic sentiments.[36]

Perspective is needed in order that worldmindedness may be achieved. The astronomer has a needed kind of perspective. Speaking at the dedication of the new 200-inch telescope on Palomar Mountain on June 3, 1948, Raymond B. Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, voiced the astronomical viewpoint when he expressed the hope that the Big Eye may aid man to realize his insignificance in the universe "and, thus learning, cease to war upon himself." Fosdick is reported to have said: "In the face of the supreme mysteries and against the majestic background of space and time, the petty squabbling of nations on this small planet is not only irrelevant but contemptible." He put the same thought in other words as follows: "Adrift in a cosmos, the scope of which he cannot even imagine, man spends his energies in fighting with his fellow man over issues which a single look through this telescope would show to be utterly inconsequential."

How long will it take to develop worldmindedness and one world in fact as well as in theory? Many decades. It will take a long time before the leaders and the peoples of the world will learn to think in terms

[34] Morris Ginsberg, *Reason and Unreason in Society* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1948), pp. 280, 281. [35] *Ibid.*, p. 73. [36] *Loc. cit.*

of the welfare of all national and international interests. It will require a longer time before all national groups will be able to trust one another. It will require many decades, and perhaps much suffering and destruction of human lives before people generally will identify the welfare of mankind with their own best personal and national interests.

The development of a hydrogen bomb that can kill 100,000 people in a single blast, of jet planes that can fly faster than sound, of guided missiles that can reach the stratosphere, of bacterial and virus warfare that can kill people half way around the world from the propelling forces—all such development is making the leaders of nations think in terms of world relations. The possibility that a third world war might destroy civilization on our earth compels leaders in 1954 to think in terms of the well-being of civilization itself.

How many worlds are there? The astronomer suggests that if every sun or star in the heavens has an earth like ours revolving around it, then there are many millions of inhabited worlds like ours. But suppose we confine ourselves just to one of these worlds—ours. A language authority could cite a thousand languages and dialects, and since languages are barriers, our earth represents a thousand different worlds of conversation and understanding. The political scientist thinks of each nation being a world of specific loyalties that citizens are willing to fight for, and mentions eighty nations or eighty loyalty worlds. The student of comparative religion will describe a dozen "world religions," each claiming itself to be the true religion, and hence a dozen worlds of religious loyalties. An authority in international affairs will report three worlds: fascist, communist, and liberal.[35] Another authority will name two worlds, East and West; another, two worlds, capitalism and communism; still another, two worlds, individualism and communism. The writings of a noted philosopher suggest the need for one world.[36] The history of civilization shows a very slow trend in the direction of one world.

[35] N. S. Timasheff, *Three Worlds* (The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1946).

[36] F. S. C. Northrop, *The Taming of the Nations* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1952).

PROBLEMS

1 In what sense is the human race a world group?
2 In what ways has the human race been evolving in the direction of a world group?
3 How many international organizations can you name?
4 What characteristic do they all have in common?
5 What are some of the shortcomings of international organizations?
6 Who was the earliest major leader of international law, and what did he contribute?
7 What proved to be the chief weaknesses of the League of Nations?
8 Why did the United States refuse to join the League of Nations and yet a couple of decades later become a leader in organizing the United Nations?
9 What is the nature of the major weakness of the Security Council of the UN?
10 In what ways is the UN more advanced as an international organization than the League of Nations?
11 What are the exact functions of the International Court of Justice?
12 Do we have international laws today?
13 How may nationalism be a help in the development of the UN?
14 How may nationalism hinder the development of the UN?
15 Distinguish between internationalism and world community.
16 How do you account for the fact that a paper hanger became "der Fuehrer" of a highly literate modern Germany?
17 How do you explain the downfall of a powerful dictator like Mussolini?
18 How did it happen that the military leaders of Japan thought that they could make a sneak attack upon Pearl Harbor and "get away with it"?
19 Why do the USA and USSR mutually distrust each other?
20 Are there any ways that this distrust can be overcome?
21 How is each of the "four freedoms" of sociological significance?
22 What is the gist of Wendell Willkie's *One World?*
23 In what ways would a federal world government differ from the UN?
24 Why did the atom bomb create a world crisis?
25 Why does the atom bomb play into the hands of dictators?
26 Why have the natural sciences advanced far ahead of the social sciences?
27 Why is so much more money available for research in the natural sciences than in the social sciences?
28 Why has the problem of genocide arisen?

29 What is the UNESCO?
30 What has the UNESCO accomplished?
31 How is a culture matrix essential to the development of a world organization?
32 What is worldmindedness?
33 Why will nationalisms always be necessary?
34 What is the ethical component in worldmindedness?
35 What are the major civilizations in the world today?
36 In what sense has the world not yet developed a world civilization?
37 Why is empire-building outmoded today?
38 Why is the ending of race discrimination needed in one world?
39 Under what conditions can there be freedom of international migration?
40 What would be some of the characteristics of a "one world" group?

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PART THREE

Group Organization

Chapter

11

Group Change

GROUP activities, group controls, even group organizations, are continually subject to change. Germany shifted within a score of years from monarchy to democracy and then to nazism. In 1919 the United States adopted the Eighteenth Amendment and in 1933 repudiated it.

Social change of a quantitative sort was illustrated some years ago by Glenn Frank in his syndicated newspaper column. His statements may be made timely as follows: We in the United States began with 3,000,000 people; we now have 148,000,000. We began with small business; we now have vast corporations with interlocking directorates. We began at an ox-cart pace; we now travel up to 300 miles an hour. We began largely as individuals; we now work through vast social organizations.

More important still, the culture traits, the prevailing ways of doing and thinking, are being modified, slowly in some groups, rapidly in others. Highly significant is the fact that change takes place more rapidly in certain phases of group life than at other points. As a result, group equilibrium is thrown out of balance. If the change is widespread in one whole section of a group and not elsewhere, the group may topple over, seeking a social equilibrium on a new and different basis.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION

Evolution is a process of gradual change. It is a descriptive term. It does not give causes, but describes the ways by which nature and man

and God work in the material and social and spiritual world. Ordinarily change takes place slowly, gradually, minutely. The plant evolves from the seed and the man from the infant so slowly that daily growth is not detected. It makes small adjustments more or less continually. In this way the need for revolution is met. Evolutionary change prevents the rise of revolutionary movements.

There is *cosmic* evolution or the development of the universe according to a process of origin, development, and decay. Planets and suns undergo transitions and pass away.

A phase of cosmic evolution is *organic* evolution with its cycle of birth, maturation, and death. The processes of organic evolution are accompanied by an infinite number of changes and modifications. Struggle for existence and survival of the fittest are terms which explain how animals and even human beings have developed.

In its more primitive expressions organic evolution is harsh and rigorous. With tooth and claw the prizes of life have often been seized by the physically strongest and the physically shrewdest. Although these primitive techniques operate today and although nature is reckless in the development of the human population, eugenic and scientific control is slowly but surely making headway.

In all organic life cooperation as well as conflict is a rule of nature. Cooperation increases as animal life grows more complex. It must increase or a large group would go to pieces. Among higher animals those who cooperate best have the best chance of survival.[1] Hence cooperation to produce a superior race is in line with natural tendencies even though such procedure means a large degree of social control.

As the general setting of life becomes more cooperative and less competitive, the fittest to survive become those who cooperate best, instead of those who are the most ruthless. On the least desirable planes, groups contend with one another in self-centered and destructive ways. They rely on shrewdness and deceit. They lie in ambush for each other; on occasion they openly rush at each other with murder in their heads and hands. On a more constructive level, groups

[1] A comprehensive treatment of this theme was given by P. Kropotkin in his *Mutual Aid* (Doubleday, Page and Company, New York, 1902).

learn to cooperate, to respect each other's virtues, and to heed an authority higher than themselves. Far-sighted national leaders today are struggling toward the establishment of a higher world authority, of laws of arbitration, and of a world community spirit.

In turn organic evolution has its most important expression in *mental* evolution, or the growth, functioning, and breakdown of thinking, feeling, and behaving. It is not at all clear that any mental evolution has occurred since Cro-Magnon days. All the present mental characteristics seem to have been possessed by primitive man. No advance in inhibition, perception, reasoning seems to have occurred. The intellectual possibilities of Cro-Magnon man were perhaps equal to those of modern man.

On the basis of mental evolution *social* and *group* evolution have developed. Associations of persons have no life cycle. One group may perish quickly and a similar group live on for a thousand years. A family group in China may continue practically without end; in the United States divorce may rend marriage asunder in a few months. There is no standard cycle. A nation may become disorganized and perish, or it may make the necessary adjustments and maintain a high level of activity indefinitely.

What is the main characteristic of social or group evolution? Perhaps it is an *unfolding*. Perhaps it is having a *direction*. There seems to be an increasing degree of complexity (up to a certain point), and a goal toward which social change is headed. As the word "evolution" implies, there is an evolving out of something into something else. Moreover, evolution has another key word, and that is "slowly." Evolution is gradual, slow, step by step. A plant evolves slowly from a seed; a nation is not built in a day.

Then there is *cultural* evolution, or the development of culture patterns from crude artifacts and a simple language of signs and cries to the complex inventions of a technological age and to the literatures of current civilizations.

Culture patterns do not possess standard life cycles. They may be passed on from generation to generation. They may find themselves antiquated and change their meanings or their forms to suit new conditions. Some are inflexible while others are supple, but their survival

depends neither on their inflexibility nor their suppleness but on their ability to meet both the changeless and the changing human needs.

The thesis is that the various parts of modern culture are not changing at the same rate; that some parts are changing much more rapidly than others; and that since there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part of our culture requires readjustments through other changes in the various correlated parts of culture.[2] Cultural change is a relative matter, with some cultural traits undergoing rapid modification and with others resisting successfully all modification. Cultural advance and cultural lag comprise cultural change.

Wherever some changes are made and other needed changes are belated, group maladjustment and disorganization result. Within recent centuries change usually occurs first in material culture. New inventions are made and changes in one phase of group life promptly take place. Those phases which adjust themselves first are called adaptive, and the rest, nonadaptive. Nonadaptive culture always lags behind the adaptive. Religion and law are outstanding phases of nonadaptive culture. Since science makes more changes than does religion, the more scientific members of a religious group or denomination or sect change more rapidly in their ideas about religion than do the other members, and hence religious controversies arise in the form of conflicts between modernism and fundamentalism. The industrially unsuccessful, the unemployed, the free thinkers change more rapidly than the economically successful, the wealthy, and those comfortably situated in their ideas concerning economic systems. If the latter groups "sit on the lid" too long, an explosion and a revolution are likely to occur.

Of course it may be well that some elements in a culture system are more adaptive than others, in order that complete change may not come suddenly. A real difficulty occurs when the distance between the adaptive and the nonadaptive cultural traits becomes so excessive that adjustments cannot be made. Another serious problem arises when material and psychical inventions develop faster than do inventions for their social control. As a result of this lag, nations today possess

[2] See W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York, 1922), pp. 200ff.

more powerful weapons for destroying each other than they possess constructive social techniques for settling disputes amicably or for building each other up.

In studying life in "Middletown" the Lynds found that different groups of activities changed at different speeds. The order is: first, technological factors; second, uses of leisure; third, educational methods; fourth, community activities; fifth, homemaking; and sixth, formal religion. Studies in other communities are needed for comparative purposes.

> Among the six major groups of activities a rough hierarchy of rates of change is apparent. Getting a living seemingly exhibits the most pervasive change, particularly in its technological and mechanical aspects; leisure time, again most markedly in material developments such as the automobile and motion picture, is almost as mobile; training the young in schools, community activities, and making a home would come third, fourth and fifth in varying order, depending upon which traits are scrutinized; while, finally, on the whole exhibiting least change, come the formal religious activities.[3]

Ten years after "Middletown" was studied in 1925, a second investigation was made. What has taken place in "Middletown" during these four years of prosperity and six years of depression? Not much change is noted, and the citizens have learned little from the depression. People held on to their automobiles through the depression. A literal belief in religion has diminished, and Sundays have grown more secularized. Wary cynicism as a philosophy of life increased; drinking liquor increased considerably. The community continued its responsibility "for the unable," but social planning on a large scale is avoided and prevented by a growth in "social wariness and defensiveness." "Middletown" is picturesquely described as walking "reluctantly backwards into the future." [4]

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Social revolution is an extensive or complete change that takes place suddenly. Revolutions, however, are a long time in coming about. Most

[3] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929), p. 497.

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

revolutions create a powerful upheaval, uprooting both good and bad values, taking place at the price of ill will and bloodshed, and calling for extensive social reorganization.

A specific analysis of the causes of revolution has been made by L. Gottschalk as follows: (1) There is a demand for change. This demand may come from provocations based for example on maladministration, by those in political and economic power or on carefully thought out and rationally developed public opinion directed toward needed new control procedures. (2) There is a hopefulness of success that grows out of leadership daring and leadership promises of success and also out of definite beliefs in the value of specific reform measures. (3) There is a belief in the weakness of the controlling groups, that is, that they are "rotten at the core," that they are divided among themselves, that they cannot meet a crisis situation.[5] The life history of any revolution gives the sequence of the factors that come out in the open during its progress. Three main stages have been given as (1) incubation, (2) action, and (3) adaptation.[6]

Social revolution results from a failure of evolution. If the latter is persistently blocked by special interests, then, like a stream that is dammed up, there will be a breaking out at some weak spot above the dam, with destruction immediately following and with reconstruction imperative.

The main cause of revolution is lack of adequate reforms. Autocracy, vested interests, and intolerant leaders hold social change back unduly. They fight to remain in power by denying needed changes. Sooner or later the lid blows off and the established regime goes with it.

The leaders of a successful revolution are likely to be as ruthless when they come into power as the persons were whom they overthrew. They ride roughshod over their erstwhile opponents. They organize campaigns of suppression and of extermination. They go to as unreasonable lengths in putting their views into operation as did their predecessors. Moreover, the rank and file of revolutionists want quick results. They are usually impatient and unwilling to wait for evolutionary develop-

[5] "Causes of Revolution," *The American Journal of Sociology*, L : 1ff., July, 1944.

[6] Paul Meadows, "Sequence in Revolution," *American Sociological Review*, 6:702–09, October, 1941.

ments. A real right-about-face is required when revolutionists come into power, for they must change their methods and build by slow evolutionary steps. They must change basic attitudes and habits of working.

Incipient revolution[7] is the process by which a revolution begins and comes to a head or reaches the actual point of occurrence. When we say that the Russian Revolution occurred in March, 1917, we mean that the dramatic climax of a long-drawn-out conflict occurred at that time. For decades the storm had been brewing. The autocratic methods of those in power had created opposition. Repression had been resorted to but no change in undemocratic methods had occurred. No redress was given the people. Their grievances were ignored until a widespread and subtle organization of opposing forces was able under the strain of war circumstances to topple the Czar and his regime from power. Whether the actual toppling occurred in one year or another is of small moment. The significant thing is the long brewing period, during which those who felt the pressure of injustice were slowly gaining power.

Incipient revolution has both preliminary and advanced symptoms, as pointed out by L. P. Edwards.[8] Among the premonitory signs are a general restlessness, an increase in crime, "balked dispositions," *rapport* among the repressed. Advanced symptoms are "transfer of the allegiance of the intellectuals," gradual concentration of dissatisfaction against some particular institution or class, a division among the repressors.

The actual outbreak of a revolution constitutes a reign of terror. Uncertainty prevails everywhere. Fear lurks around every corner. Sometimes a quick *coup d'état*, as in certain revolutions in South American Republics, may occur and the reign of terror ceases in a few days.

The aftereffects involve a number of problems, such as jealousies among the revolutionists. It is easier to stand together when opposing a common enemy than when dividing up the spoils after the enemy has been overthrown. There is the inexperience of the revolutionists in large-scale constructive government. They discover that many of their

[7] A term developed by B. V. Morkovin in a dissertation on that subject, 1930, University of Southern California.

[8] *The Natural History of Revolution* (The University of Chicago Press, 1927), Chs. III, IV.

ideas will not work. There is danger of insurrection at home among those who have been overthrown. There is the possibility of attack from aggressive neighbors who may not favor the new regime and who may decide that the time of disorganization after a reign of terror is the hour for them to strike.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND MOBILITY

A *social movement* is a well-defined gradual change in human affairs. It may arise out of ecological factors and inventions and thus originate as an unplanned phenomenon, or more likely it may represent a definitely planned series of adjustments extending over a period of time and possessing stages and phases.

The woman's suffrage movement in the United States is a good example of a representative social movement. The education of women caused them to develop a sense of political injustice. They felt that they were as entitled to vote as were men, but their suggestions to this end were repulsed. Thereupon certain women set out to organize a definite movement to secure the vote for the women of the country. Various self-centered political and economic interests governed by men feared the results if women acquired suffrage and hence they set up a counter movement. The movement for woman suffrage gained adherents and suffered setbacks. It started in 1848 but did not reach its goal until 1920, or 72 years later. Nearly all the main originators had passed away but their cause had been taken up by younger women.

> A movement, then, as the concept is employed in this report, is a series of events involving adjustments to a social situation; connected by a cause and effect relation; possessing an extension in time and space, and disclosing stages, transitions, tendencies, that are correlative with a changing concept of its function and indicative of its evolution.[9]

A social movement may be transformed in time into a social institution, or it may die out because its purpose has been accomplished, or because the social situation has changed and no longer requires it.[10]

[9] C. E. Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States* (The University of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 4.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 3. Also see National American Suffrage Association, *Victory, How Women Won It* (H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1940).

The play movement, for instance, was begun several decades ago in the provision of a few sand boxes and is forwarded today by public and private institutions for recreation in many countries.

Social mobility is any change in social position, such as occupational changes where persons move up or down the occupational scale, or election to office whereby a follower becomes a leader, or a leap from a low economic class to a high one, or *vice versa.* In a caste society where there is not much change in social position, mobility is far less than in a democratic society comprised of independent units free to climb socially or to move about at will on a large social plane.

Mobility is not movement but *change* of movement.[11] Movement may be doing the same things over and over every day; it may be meeting the same persons in the same relationships; it may be almost entirely routine. Mobility is change of movement which brings new social contacts and hence new stimuli, which in turn call forth new responses and changes in personality.

No social mobility means few new experiences. On the other hand, much social mobility may mean too much personality change or instability. Equally bad is social mobility when it creates an appetite for more stimulation, irrespective of what it does to personality. In this case the result is likely to be personality degeneration or disintegration.

The effects of social mobility depend on how far one responds readily to new stimuli. It also depends on the number and force of the new stimuli to which one is subjected.[12] These are two highly significant variables.

Social mobility is either horizontal or vertical.[13] Horizontal mobility is the process of making changes on the same status level, while vertical mobility is the process of changing from one status to another, either to a higher or to a lower level. If you withdraw from one literary society and join another of equal status, you have illustrated horizontal mobility. If you cannot change from one fraternity to another you have experienced how horizontal mobility may be restricted. When you are elected president of your college class you have been vertically

[11] E. W. Burgess, in R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *The City* (The University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 58. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[13] P. A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1927).

elevated, but if you are recalled from that office you will suffer vertical debasement.

TELIC CHANGE AND PROGRESS

Some changes occur without human attention, while others are the product of human direction. The first is natural; the second is telic.

Telic change is promoted by man in order to secure progress. Sociology is interested in telic change, that is, in what can be done to improve social relationships. While sociology maintains the scientific viewpoint of endeavoring to understand what is taking place and why changes occur, it also has an interest in what may take place under direction.

Several basic questions are raised by the concept of telic change: Is there such a phenomenon as progress? If not, why study sociology? If so, what are the evidences or criteria of it? How shall we know when social change is synonymous with progress? Is all evolution progressive or will it end in catastrophe? What procedures may be followed in order to promote constructive change?

A number of years ago a fivefold objective test of progress was set up by A. J. Todd. He suggested that increases in the wealth, the health, the population, the order and stability, and the opportunities of a group are evidences of its progress.[14]

By wealth is meant "real community wealth," that is, wealth used in a way to eliminate all poverty and to provide the necessities and an increasing number of the amenities or comforts of life for all. By health is meant not only a declining infant mortality rate and an increasing average length of life, but also the life that is more abundant, that is more friendly and more useful. To increase life that is mere human trash is retrogression.

By population augmentation is not meant increases in persons merely to be shot down in wars or to be ground up in machinery, but an increase in productive citizens. By order and stability is not meant stagnation, but that degree of system and organization essential for the development and conservation of new ideas. By opportunity is not

[14] *The Scientific Spirit and Social Work* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919), 196ff.

meant new occasions to do evil or to be antisocial, but to do many constructive things:

> By opportunity, I mean the chance to be well born, to be decently cared for in childhood, to be decently educated, to play; a chance to develop one's productive skill; a chance of getting into the place where one's abilities, native and acquired, can express themselves to their highest; access to all the great heritage of culture that the ages have compounded and sent down to us; and the chance to participate in every normal activity for which we are fitted.[15]

A somewhat similar list of objective tests of progress was also worked out several years ago by E. T. Devine.[16] The present writer has modified this analysis considerably. The revised test is fourteenfold.

(1) The conservation of natural resources and the increasing utilization of these for the benefit of all, not for the gain of a shrewd few. (2) An increasing degree of sound physical and mental heredity, and a decreasing percentage of degenerate children born of feeble-minded or alcoholic parents. (3) An environment increasingly favorable to health and a decreasing percentage of poor housing, inadequate sanitation, and contagious disease. (4) An increasing degree of wholesome recreation and a decreasing percentage of disintegrating amusements and a lessening of the nerve-wracking pace of urban life. (5) An increasing percentage of wholesome families and of well-trained children, and a decreasing percentage of children who are neglected by poor or by wealthy parents; a decreasing percentage of children exploited in industry. (6) More opportunities for creative effort for more people; an increasing percentage of people who find their greatest enjoyment in their work and who do not look forward to the end of the day so that they may begin to enjoy life; a decreasing percentage of workers worn out and thrown upon the scrap heap in middle life. (7) An increasing democratization of industry and business, with labor, capital, and the public all having a voice in the control of industry and business, and an increasing percentage of both workers and employers who act first in behalf of the common weal and second for themselves. (8) An

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

[16] *Misery and Its Causes* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1909), Ch. VI.

increasing degree of social insurance against accidents, sickness, old age, death, and unemployment, as guarantees to the honest and hard-working but lesser privileged workers against dependency and pauperism. (9) A developing standard of living for an increasing percentage of people, involving proper nourishment, refreshing recreation, creative opportunities. (10) A decreasing emphasis on What can I get out of the government? and an increasing emphasis on What can I do for the government? (11) A spreading of the finer appreciation of music, painting, poetry, sculpture, and the other arts, as well as of rhythm, harmony, balance, order, and movement. (12) The expansion of vocational, avocational, and public welfare education. (13) The development of the more deeply spiritual and religious phases of human nature of increasing numbers of people. (14) An increase in the cooperative way of life.

In these standards a wide variety of objective and subjective phases of life are catalogued and set up as moving goals to be sought. They imply something of a balance between the material and the spiritual, between social regulation and individual initiative.

Three subprocesses of social progress have been suggested by Clarence M. Case. He calls these utilization, equalization, and appreciation.[17] By *utilization* is meant making use of the resources of nature; making use of one's physical environment. It includes inventions and techniques whereby man may live more and more healthily with less and less routine. It means building a material civilization in a way to leave people increasingly free for the development of spiritual values.

Equalization is the distribution of economic and material goods and also of social values such as knowledge, art, wholesome human relationships. It involves "a fair distribution of the duties, opportunities, enjoyments, and honors coincident to the processes of production." [18]

Appreciation means "to estimate things in terms of worth or value, to apprehend experience from the standpoint of excellence, preciousness, and relative significance." [19] It refers to having and using values

[17] "What Is Social Progress?", *Journal of Applied Sociology*, X : 114–19, November-December, 1925. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 116. [19] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

discriminately. Appreciation obtains its highest satisfaction from creative work, from overcoming defeat with victory, from stimulating others to become socially useful personalities.

These various tests of progress have been modified and stated by the writer as (1) invention, (2) distribution, (3) evaluation, and (4) personalization. Invention is the development of new tools, symbols, and relationships; distribution is spreading the use of these tools and concepts to all persons competent to use them; evaluation is rating tools and concepts according to their social worth; and personalization is the growth of well-rounded, mutually responsible members of groups and society.

Telic change is *planned*. Social telesis is the process whereby groups accelerate their own development through first working out careful plans and then carrying these out in an orderly way.[20] Upon the basis of adequate and of correctly interpreted facts any group which is sufficiently interested to do so may enter upon a definite program of directing its own activities toward constructive goals. Both good will and social knowledge are essential.

Telic progress involves (1) securing data such as social facts and life histories of both persons and groups, (2) accurately interpreting the facts and their meanings in terms of group and personal needs, (3) carefully developing a set of desirable goals, and (4) going ahead to achieve and to modify these goals in the achieving.

Telic change has been very sporadic. If you accept the premises of fascism, you would say that Italy in 1922 set out upon a telic era. If you accept communism, then you would cite Russia's Five Year Plan inaugurated in 1928 as a large-scale example of telic change. If technocracy as proclaimed in the United States in the fall of 1932 were to be given an opportunity it would place the United States upon a telic basis. Democracy that has been chiefly a label for individualism in the United States has been slow to develop a real telic program. It has made attempts that have been sporadic and to a certain extent short-lived.

[20] Social telesis is a term coined by the dean of American sociologists, Lester F. Ward, *Pure Sociology* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1914), p. 463.

Social reform is telic change in action. It is planned mass procedure. It uses a tool, such as legislation, for changing the standards and values of an entire city, state, or nation. It ordinarily uses objective, compulsory methods. It also depends upon public opinion, for only when it is supported by a strong public opinion does it accomplish much.

Social reform is generally in a hurry. It seeks short cuts. It stirs up group opinion in its favor, but often forgets that such opinion is fickle. It neglects to maintain a thoroughgoing system of education. After the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect in 1918, its advocates rested their case chiefly on enforcement, forgetting to an extent to educate the rising generation of children in its support, and failing to re-educate adult immigrants and others whose culture patterns for past generations had included the drinking of wine and beer.[21]

Social reform is general, unmindful of individuals except as the latter defy the reform. By seeing the larger needs of groups social reformers develop wholesale schemes, big ideas, and are motivated to quick action. They are impatient with evolutionary change and the slow conditioning processes.

The reformer is an inadequate investigator. He thinks he sees so clearly what he wants to reform that he is often blind to many of the facts. He is in such a hurry that he neither reflects deeply nor builds thoroughly. He is so subject to wishful thinking that he overlooks major data. Sociology is not social reform; neither is it adverse to social reform; but it can furnish sound bases for reform.[22]

Morris Ginsberg finds moral progress in the history of mankind to be real. He locates moral progress "in the clarification of ideals, in obtaining a firmer grasp of the conditions of their realization, and in the widening of human sympathies through an extension of the power of imaginative identification." [23] Moral progress may be conceived as one of the most significant aspects of all progress, for it is closely related to personality motivation and to social dynamism.

[21] Constantine Panunzio, "Reactions of the Foreign Born to Prohibition," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVIII : 223–28, January-February, 1934.

[22] See *Social Reformers*, ed. Donald O. Wagner (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934).

[23] Morris Ginsberg, *Reason and Unreason in Society* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1948).

SOCIETAL PLANNING

A distinction may be made at this point between *social planning* and *societal planning*. The former is planning for any portion of a society, that is, for other persons as individual members of groups. Societal planning is the developing of methods of procedure for a whole society, not for a special section of a society. A society may be defined as a large number of persons having in common a complete set of universal human interests, including family interests, industrial interests, knowledge interests, governmental interests, art interests, religious interests, and so on. Any societal plan provides for all the vital interests, not for just one of them.

Planning is a distinctly human characteristic; animals do not plan. Human beings engage in all sorts of planning for their individual welfare. Some give attention to planning for small interest groups; a few plan for societies and for human society. Everyone enjoys planning for others provided his own ideas may be put into effect. Even societal planning is favored if one's own interests may be favored. The major objection to societal planning arises from those whose interests are thereby likely to be undermined.

In a broad sense *social planning* has been defined as "a conscious effort to direct human energy for the purpose of securing a rationally desirable end," [24] and *national planning* as "a process of purposeful action to attain ends which are conceived in the interests of the entire nation by means of coordinated policies which involve all groups of people and which are applied on a national scale." [25] Economic individualism rests on a highly organized system of planning by individuals and for the individuals themselves, while state socialism involves highly organized planning by a government for the people but involving bureaucratic measures. The main issue according to Charles E. Merriam is "who shall plan for what ends." The democratic concept of planning calls for "concrete mechanisms to guarantee the full participation of all in planning for the common good." [26]

[24] L. L. Lorwin, *Time for Planning* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1945), pp. 5ff. [25] *Loc. cit.*

[26] "The Possibilities of Planning," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX : 397, March, 1944.

The question has been raised: Is social planning compatible with democracy? [27] Democracy is supposedly an association of people in which the people by discussion do their own planning as they go along. There is no reason, however, why the representatives of a democratic state cannot plan for the future as well as for the present, providing it is understood that plans for the future are to be changed if the anticipated conditions do not materialize. Social planning need not be left to dictators. It is a social process with both the layman and the expert having a voice in the development of new procedures. The socially-educated layman can plan with reference to general policies and the expert can supply the details as well as criticize the general procedure.

Lester F. Ward in his *Dynamic Sociology*, published in 1883, presented the world with a brief for what he called social telesis or what we now call societal planning. He held that "the slow and imperceptible genetic progress which society has thus far made is barely sufficient to keep apace with the increase of population." He then goes on to say that there is "very little perceptible amelioration of the conditions of society at large. The world does, indeed, enjoy thousands of material blessings," but "despite the giddy heights, the moral or emotional condition of man has scarcely advanced at all." Consider the overworked millions and the unemployed millions. Consider all those in "the depths of ignorance, poverty, drudgery, and nameless misery."

Societal planning has been balked by several types of skeptics.

(1) Those who hold that the misery of mankind is due, in the words used by Ward to describe this position, to "the inherent depravity, the idleness, or the perversity of human nature in some of its phases, and that it is incurable." Hence societal planning is bound to fail.

(2) Those who see the world, physical and human, as a vast mechanism in which societal planners are as insignificant as a dozen ants would be in trying to move Mt. Everest from Asia to Africa. The extreme expression of these honest skeptics is this: "What does it matter what happens to civilization anyway?" That is to say, "What

[27] B. W. Allen, "Is Planning Compatible with Democracy?" *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII : 510–20, January, 1937.

does it matter what happens to civilization when we human beings are here today and tomorrow are gone forever?"

(3) Certain religious groups, which hold that since the world is essentially evil, and since life is so short, the only sensible thing to do is not to attempt the impossible here but rather to plan for a personal future life in a heaven of eternal bliss. Save yourself first and then others from this world of inevitable wickedness and sin, is the slogan.

(4) The skeptics who believe that it is actually unwise to plan for an improved society, for by so doing you are guilty of postponing the coming of the millennium. Since the millennium cannot come until things become intolerably bad, it is our duty therefore not only not to plan but deliberately to allow conditions to grow increasingly bad.

(5) Those who have tried in a small way in some local community to plan and to work for a better society, but who have seen all their good works go for naught. They honestly doubt whether the struggle is worth the candle, especially when it seems that the candle is so easily blown out.

(6) Communists who believe that the societal planners with their evolutionary programs are so slow that they will never arrive at a classless society. Organized force is the only way by which to get from here, a class-ridden society, to there, a classless society, so why fool around with evolutionary plans? Moreover, societal planning as represented, for example, by unemployment insurance is opposed by communists because these are merely plans that make tolerable and prolong the life of the capitalistic system.

(7) A seventh denial of the claims for societal planning arises with those who because of their fears identify all societal and social planning with communism. Since to them any such term as social planning means only one kind of planning, namely, communistic, the term is literally a red flag in their eyes. They are not aware how narrow and blind they are when they oppose all societal plans simply because they are fearful of one alleged type. They do not see that by opposing all societal planning they are thereby unwittingly helping to bring about the very social revolution which they fear. They do not recognize that change is historically universal and socially inevitable, and they do not perceive that by opposing all change and by closing all the floodgates

they are damming up the restless, surging social forces and thus causing a revolutionary outbreak.

Despite all the skeptics, a few isolated, partial, and piecemeal attempts at societal planning have been made.

(1) First, there is the type which has remained largely on paper, namely, utopian planning for society. Plato worked out what he considered an ideal plan for a society today. Sir Thomas More planned an ideal society, but he is credited with using this device as a clever method for criticizing the cheapness and the chicanery of English life in the days of Henry VIII. Edward Bellamy is the most widely read of recent contributors to utopian planning. Utopias have seemed so far removed from the conditions they are designed to correct that they have usually not been taken seriously by practical-minded persons. However, they do set goals and offer challenges to social injustices.

An interesting distinction between *ideologies* and utopian thought has been made by Karl Mannheim. Ideologies are explained as systems or complexes of ideas that defend the existing social order and arouse favorable interest in the status quo. On the other hand, utopias are complexes of thought which direct thought and activity toward a new and different social order. Mannheim classifies five political ideologies, namely: bureaucratic conservatism, conservative historicism, liberal-democratic bourgeois thought, socialist-communist conceptions, and fascism.[28] Moreover, there are four classes of utopian thought, namely, orgiastic or ecstatic, liberal-humanitarian, conservative, and socialist.[29]

At this point Mannheim suggests the importance of the *sociology of knowledge,* which he defines as being "a purely empirical investigation through description and structural analysis of the ways in which social relationships" influence thought.[30] In other words, to understand thought itself one must know the social soil out of which it has developed.

(2) A second type of societal planning began in our country with the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The Constitution provided for a liberal democratic plan of government. In this new constitutional

[28] *Ideology and Utopia,* trans. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1936), pp. 104ff. [29] *Ibid.,* pp. 190ff.
[30] *Ibid.,* p. 239.

framework wide latitude was allowed to personal liberty, and a modicum of governmental control was postulated. Individual initiative has been put at a premium. Inventions have been fostered. Prosperity interspersed with depressions has come. However, the personal liberty of millions has been curtailed. By 1929 the personal liberty of many people had been supplanted by powerful monopolistic liberty exercised by large-scale industry, and by March 4, 1933, a collapse of the banking system of the country had occurred. At this time, as indicated later in a public address by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, personal liberty had been turned into self-centered individualism, and there was a lack of genuine interest in public welfare. In 1929, in the words of President Roosevelt, our personal liberty philosophy had degenerated into the practice of "every man for himself; the devil take the hindmost." The "social point of view was ignored." Personal liberty had allowed "a handful of individuals" to seek to retain in their hands "the business and financial control over the economic and social structure of the nation."

To the extent that people, big and little, fail to participate in a democratic and national welfare plan placed ahead of plans in behalf of individuals and of special groups of individuals, they seem to be hastening the day of a dictatorship of some type or other. To the degree that special interests hold back in subordinating those interests to a national welfare plan, it would appear that they are assisting intentionally or unwittingly to bring about fascism or communism. In the words of General Hugh S. Johnson, quoted in Associated Press dispatches on January 15, 1935:

> Here are 125,000,000 people, granaries full, factories shut, but with millions of workers idle and hungry and shabby and afraid of the future. There is no more vital and fundamental issue before the country than whether we are going to control modern scientific and industrial development to our use or suffer it to our destruction.

Excellent as is the "American Plan," it is endangered by its own friends. If its evils are merely winked at and if positive action to root out these evils is not taken, then it may collapse from weakness within its own structure, and democracy may give way to dictatorship.

(3) A third variety of societal planning emerged in a large-scale

applied form in the late autumn of 1917 in Russia. By 1922 a group of states then numbering seven and known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) established a powerful socialist state. Through the use of organized force 170,000,000 people are being hurtled through social space and time into a state of so-called communistic freedom for all individuals in the USSR. In 1928 there was inaugurated a transitional Five Year Plan, the first of a series of five-year plans whereby a competitive society is to be transformed into a nonprofit, welfare-guided society. Force is directed against all those who oppose the five-year plans, and education in socialistic thinking and living is being given to all children. Once upon a communistic basis, freedom is to be restored to all who live communistically. Most critics of the five-year plans give credit to the promoters of these plans for possessing a seriousness of purpose, unflinching determination, a belief in realism and opportunism, and a confident faith in the social validity of their ultimate goal. On the other hand, the critics point out that the methods of organized violence now being used as a means of reaching a condition of peaceful collective living, and the almost fanatical efforts to root out all religion, are likely to create a bias in the personality patterns of those involved that will be fatal to the general plan. Such drastic means can hardly be justified by the end. In fact, such means may so warp the leaders that the end may be prevented from being realized. They may partially explain the recent return to a more capitalistic organization of the economic life.

(4) In 1922 Benito Mussolini, a reformed socialist, brought into being in Italy a fourth type of societal planning. This reached a major expression in 1926 when the corporative program was undertaken. By this plan parliamentary government was supplanted by government conducted by the corporations, chiefly of employers and employees, which were organized into gigantic national corporations with representatives in the National Council of Corporations. The head of this National Council was the Minister of Corporations, who exercised dictatorial powers and who was none other than Il Duce. The corporative plan of Fascism was a form of state capitalism; in fact, in the judgment of many, it was the last stand of capitalism against communism.

While the Fascist-Corporative Plan under the direction of Mussolini brought order out of chaos in Italy, and placed Italy on the level of a respected and feared nation, it did so at a great price. As an American observer said to the writer in Rome in 1932: "Fascism secures the welfare of the state at the expense of all the political liberties that our fathers fought and died for."

(5) A fifth expression of societal planning was announced in Mexico in 1933. It was a Six-Year Plan, which in contradistinction to the communistic plan of Russia and the corporative plan of Italy has been called the "co-operatistic" plan. One unique phase of this co-operatistic plan was that it was worked out in many details and submitted to the electorate of Mexico at the same time that a new president was to be elected. In this way, Mexicans voted at the same election for a president and a societal plan. The Six-Year Plan was also unique in that specific budget expenditures for education and for public health were denominated in increasing percentages for each year.

It was President Abelardo Rodriguez, speaking in Mexico City in September, 1933, who called Mexico's Six-Year Plan a "co-operatistic" program. By this he meant that it is to combine the best features of both individualism as worked out in the United States and of communism as projected in Russia, and thereby it is to achieve an ultimate goal that will be superior to the economic system of the United States and also to that of Russia. Judging by statements made by responsible officials of Mexico, it is clear that the co-operatistic plan is being built on the capitalistic system of wages, profits, and private property. For example, arid lands are being opened by irrigation to cultivation and sold by the government in limited areas to individuals. On the other hand, the nationalization of many natural resources is going on. The movement from private to collective ownership will continue as long as it seems necessary in order to root out the grosser evils of large-scale private ownership. Since it is in large-scale private enterprise that great evils arise, state action in Mexico will proceed farthest in this connection, although at the same time it will stimulate the spread of private ownership among the rank and file so as to increase the number of small holdings throughout the nation.

(6) An interesting example of social planning has been illustrated in the Netherlands. The government has been "diking off the sea and draining out the water," thus adding greatly to the fertile areas of the nation.[31] By this reclamation of the former Zeiderzee, an area equal to "seven per cent of the total area of the country and ten per cent of the cultivated arable land" will be added to the resources of the Netherlands. Then, the problem arose of how the new territory should be settled. Careful social planning was under way when abruptly interrupted in 1940 by war conditions.

From the experience of social planners in Holland three major conclusions have been drawn. (a) It would appear that there are "patterns of relationship among individuals and institutions" which are normal and yet which are not "envisaged and deliberately created by the individuals involved." (b) These patterns are important in the population development of any area and in allowing for new technological advances. (c) These factors must take into consideration the future changing balance "between economic activities and the size and composition of the population." Therefore, the development of society, new or old, calls for foresight and skills that no real estate promotion group would likely incorporate into their plans. Social planning is a set of skills based upon a highly developed scientific knowledge that is utilized in the direction of the welfare of all in both the present and the future.

(7) A seventh and larger field in which societal planning has received some attention is the international. The Covenant of the League of Nations laid the basis for a partial societal plan for the world. It did not work well because of its close relationship with the ill-fated Versailles Treaty, its entanglement in European politics, and its defeat by a defensive hypernationalism the world around. The Charter of the United Nations has a general plan for the world, but is lacking in adequate provisions for carrying out all its implications.

The need for a societal plan for the world is clear in the light of the growing tendency of all nations, in an economic sense, to rise or fall together, of the increasing acceptance and use of the same material

[31] Ralph H. Danhoff, "New Zeiderzee Lands: Planned Settlement in The Netherlands," *American Sociological Review*, 4 : 505, August, 1939.

inventions the world over, and of the common need for personal and social security everywhere.

After planning for persons and planning for groups of persons the next logical step is planning for societies. Societal planning normally does not have to stimulate change, for change is omnipresent and imminent. The function of societal planning is to guide change, so that security, justice, cooperation, and creativeness may be the characteristics of society, rather than chicanery, injustice, war, and chaos.

Social planning as defined by Bessie A. McClenahan is "that planning which affects the activities and institutions of social groups and the functioning of human beings in relation to each other and thus ultimately tends to provide a mold for the shaping of personality through limiting or enlarging opportunities." [32] Lorwin defines planning in its broadest sense as "a conscious effort to direct human energy for the purpose of securing a rationally desirable end," and in an institutional sense as developing goals and methods for securing institutional growth.[33] Presumably the goals or objectives will be worked out by experts and adopted by the group's representatives, and "the specific activities of life may be left to the initiative and decision of individuals." [34] Complexity of social functioning requires as much social planning as is consistent with conserving a definite measure of individual freedom.

The need for world planning was never greater than now. People the world around are awake regarding many problems. They are restless. They have basic unsatisfied needs and longings. They will respond to leaders of their own people who make promises that are in line with their unsatisfied longings. They want individual freedom and they want individual and social security. If the attainment of both seems impossible, then they will give up their freedom to that leader and that ideology which will at least give them security.

Change is in the air today the world around. "The secure people, North and South, hang on to things as they are. The insecure do the

[32] "The Sociology of Planning," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVIII : 184, January-February, 1944.

[33] L. L. Lorwin, *Time for Planning* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1945), Chs. I, II. [34] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

prodding for change, and given enough nuisance value, bit by bit, they force concessions." [35] If not bit by bit, then by revolution under leaders who advocate violence in order to secure change.

The democratic method of securing change is by parliamentary procedure, by discussion, by compromise, by majority voting. The resultant change is gradual. It gives time for all the people to make the necessary adjustments to change. At least a majority is necessary for democratic action. If no majority obtains, then a coalition government comes into being, but the coalition being composed of persons with different ideologies cannot agree and cannot obtain the necessary action to meet the people's needs. So the people may turn to a dictator for assistance to get them out of inaction or chaos.

An autocratic leader needs to have only a plurality of votes in order to take charge, not a majority. Then by putting a few key men in key positions of power, by controlling the press and radio, by the use of propaganda, by threats and intimidation, and dramatic action he can bring about change in line with the ideology of himself and of his henchmen.

But change inaugurated by dictators is unsound, for it proceeds by violence and it is overthrown generally by violence. It defies for a time the desires of human beings for freedom, which democracy alone affords. It makes slaves out of men, instead of making heroes out of them. Lasting social change comes from the people and ultimately its nature rests with the people, not with the dictators.

Social change involves (1) a new idea or set of ideas and (2) an acceptance of such an innovation by the controlling members of a social group. The appearance of a new idea seems to occur vicariously. It is an aspect of an invention, discovery, inspiration. The acceptance of a new idea comes close to the heart of social change.[36] It involves a degree of dissatisfaction with some phase of life on the part of the members of a group. Its acceptance also depends on the nature of the new idea's appeal, on how well it is advocated, and by whom it is advocated. Further, its acceptance depends on whether the group

[35] Malcolm Ross, *All Manner of Men* (Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1948), p. 223.

[36] H. G. Barnett, *Innovation, the Basis of Cultural Change* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1953), Ch. XIV.

leaders are open-minded or close-minded, and whether the times are forward-looking or backward-looking. The afore-mentioned factors determine to a large extent where and when gradual and democratic social change will take place.

PROBLEMS

1 What is social change?
2 Do groups traverse the same life cycles as do persons? Why?
3 What is the relation of social evolution to cultural evolution?
4 What causes cultural lag?
5 When is social revolution necessary?
6 What is the chief weakness of revolution?
7 What hinders normal social evolution most?
8 What is incipient revolution?
9 What brings about a social movement?
10 Are social movements and social reforms the same?
11 How do you account for the changes reported in *Middletown in Transition?*
12 What is social mobility?
13 Distinguish between horizontal and vertical mobility by illustrations.
14 What is social telesis?
15 When is social telesis most successful?
16 How may a reformer know when a reform is needed?
17 What criteria of progress would you personally suggest?
18 What is social planning?
19 Why do some people object to social planning?
20 Can all social change be planned? Why?
21 In what ways is social planning necessary?
22 What kind of social planning will most likely capture the support of the people of the world?

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Chapter

12

Group Disorganization

GROUP disorganization is one aspect of social change. Generally it is an intermediate stage between social stability and social reorganization. A certain amount of group disorganization is to be expected and even favored. However, some disorganization may lead to a complete breakdown of organization and result in at least temporary chaos. A certain degree of group disorganization is necessary in order to provide for new and needed group changes.

Group organization may become so fixed and static that it does not provide for needed changes. Group disorganization as a result may come about suddenly and violently and destroy constructive values as well as outmoded values.

Social disorganization may be thought of as "a breaking down of the cultural compulsives in their hold on the individual."[1] It is likely to be accompanied by "a breakdown in the life organization of particular individuals." It involves problems of disorganization that are due to "the breakdown of the influence of traditional groups, institutions, and agencies which form the authoritative culture."[2] Not only is personal disorganization due to social disorganization, but it may result when an individual becomes stranded between two socially well-organized groups. This individual is the "marginal man," the person who is not fully accepted in either his home community or in the new

[1] R. C. Fuller, in *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, editor R. E. Park (Barnes and Noble, Inc., New York, 1939), p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

community in which he seeks to establish himself. The immigrant, the rural person in the city, the hobo, and the transient furnish examples of this type of personality disorganization.[3]

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

A social problem has been defined as arising "when there is an awareness among a given people that a particular social situation is a threat to certain group values which they cherish and that this situation can be removed or corrected only by collective action." [4] It was further suggested by Richard Fuller that a social problem has a multiple causation, that it is interlocked with other social problems, and that it is relative in time and space, being more serious at some times and in some places than at other times and places.

Among the major social problems today are poverty and unemployment, crime, delinquency, and behavior maladjustments of all sorts of both children and adults. Social problems include such maladjustments as occur in connection with the family, the community, occupation, play, religion, race, the world. Many of these have already been considered. Special attention will now be given to poverty, unemployment, crime, and delinquency, to their treatment, and to their possible reduction.

On the whole, group unadjustment is harmful, for it leads to disorganization. A well-regulated group strives continually to reorganize itself whenever disorganization occurs. It seeks out the factors which bring about disorganization in order to meet the situation adequately. (Group life may break down because of too much or too little control. If group organization is too hard and fast, adverse reactions occur, and sooner or later break out in revolutionary behavior. If organization is too free and easy, individuals prey upon each other.)

In Italy under fascism, in Germany under the nazi regime, and in Russia under both czarism and communism, group organization was everything and the individual was nothing if he got in the way of the group. In the United States, which has carried the individualistic philosophy of pioneer days into the complicated social life of today, situa-

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 13. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

tions have developed in recent decades where many persons are accused of having a "racket" and where shrewd persons, including gangsters in both the upper and the lower classes of society, have exploited honest hard-working people.

Group disorganization may follow inadequate distribution of income and antisocial behavior of persons in high or low position. Economic injustice and a resultant social misbehavior are often interchangeable terms in the story of group disorganization.

Current social disorganization has been traced back to the cave man by Clarence M. Case.[5] He uses the depression which began in 1929 as an outstanding evidence of disorganization affecting all groups in society from the poorest to the wealthiest. The technological process is charged with being a large factor in creating the depression and all of the accompanying disorganization. It is a process that keeps the working man from owning the materials upon which he works, then from owning the tools with which he works, and finally "from the chance to work at all." This process was greatly accelerated when it was found to be more economical to mass machines driven by steam engines together. The workshop now became a factory and the worker began to be separated from ownership and ultimately from work itself. Technological processes have come to dominate in society, overproduction has resulted, unemployment has mounted, and disorganization reigns. The machine has out-maneuvered man.

> In these complex, power-driven, automatic, self-tending, "almost human" machines, we see the final work of a race of beings who have intelligence enough to invent their way from clubs and chipped flints to automatic factories, but not enough intelligence, so far as yet shown, to create social inventions that would make the machine the servant of all the members of the society which alone made it possible.[6]

Another interpretation of the large-scale group disorganization that the world experiences today is in the growth of social parasitism. Not that there have not always been parasites, but today it may be contended that social parasitism has become a system, a "racket," a vicious octopus with its tentacles everywhere.

[5] "The Cave-Man Started This Depression," *Sociology and Social Research*, XX: 8–17, September-October, 1935. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

> We not only tolerate but foster in our midst whole parasitic trades, institutions, castes and nations, hordes of bureaucrats, grafting politicians, middlemen, profiteers and usurers, a vast and varied assortment of criminals, hoboes, defectives, prostitutes, white slavers and other purveyors to anti-social proclivities, in a word so many non-producing, food-consuming, and space-occupying parasites that their support absorbs nearly all the energy activity of the independent members of society. This condition is of course responsible for the small amount of free creative activity in many nations.[7]

The social disservices that worthy institutions foster have been suggested as causal factors in group disorganization. A social disservice, as defined by E. F. Bamford, is "any act, or series of acts, which results in increased social disorganization as statically conceived, or which facilitates social disorganization conceived as a process." [8]

Examples are numerous. The automobile, useful as it is, renders a great deal of disservice. It kills men, women, and children; it enables criminals to escape capture; it promotes nonattendance at church services; it disorganizes families.[9] The school, in inadequately preparing youth for life, is rendering a disservice, for time, money, and effort are wasted, and failure is fostered. The school's failure to train youth for democratic living together is another disservice. The modern city promotes slums, bad housing, sickness, jaded nerves, crime. The large corporation and technology are used "to make the work-life of the worker more mechanical, to prevent him from personal enrichment through his work, to make the cost of living increase for the poor when that is unnecessary, to prevent workers and their families from securing a normal satisfaction of their wishes, to discourage workers and impel them toward antisocial acts, to increase in any way the quantity of discontent and unrest, to make it unnecessarily difficult for poor people to secure adequate housing, clothing, food, and recreation." [10] War, however, creates more disservice than any other phase of life, for it kills and maims and creates hatred as does no other social institution.

[7] W. W. Wheeler, *Social Life Among the Insects* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1923), p. 198.

[8] E. F. Bamford, "Social Disservice," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, X : 435–46, May-June, 1926. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 439. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 442.

UNEMPLOYMENT

One of the serious phases of group disorganization is unemployment. Workers who are subject to the hiring and firing system never know when they are going to be "fired," which is an autocratic and not a democratic practice. Employees dread the receipt of the little envelope or the word of the boss that says: "You will not be needed tomorrow." The laborer's wages cease at once; and if there is sickness in the family scanty savings do not last long, and fear strikes deep, unrest mounts, and personal and family disorganization soon become widespread group disorganization.

Unemployment strikes those hardest who are poor. It turns the poor into the poverty-stricken and becomes a psychological and social problem as well as an economic one. It is related to the inefficient distribution of incomes in normal times.

Inefficient distribution of income from labor is a far-reaching factor in group disorganization. Some occupations pay too low wages, judged by the contributions their members make to group welfare; others are paid several times what they are socially worth. There is at present little scientific relation between income and occupation. Moreover, within occupations incomes are distributed unjustly, for workers are paid on the basis of what they are financially worth to their employers instead of according to what they are socially worth to human society.

It is not surprising therefore that we find some people very wealthy and others very poor, with no good reason to be found for such a wide chasm. A small percentage of the people own a large percentage of the wealth; a large percentage possess little property in addition to furniture, clothes, and personal belongings, plus a few dollars. Between are the upper middle class, many of whom are unhappily engaged in aping the wealthy; and the lower middle class, who are keenly sensitive to the injustices suffered by the poor.[11]

Unemployment for long or short periods of time leads to poverty. There are two classes of the unemployed: those who would work but

[11] A splendid analysis of the extremes of wealth and poverty in the United States two decades ago may be found in Willford I. King, *The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1915).

cannot find it; and those who have no desire to work. The fluctuations in the demand for economic goods, the changes in the seasons, the dull seasons, throw many persons out of employment annually and into a state of poverty.[12]

The causes of poverty are many. They may be given as (1) poor *heredity*, which involves the inheritance of subnormal physical or mental traits or both. It means that many individuals are hardly capable of being trained to be self-supporting.

(2) A second set of causes is found in poor habits and *attitudes.* Shiftlessness, or the I-should-worry spirit (meaning "I shouldn't worry"), is sometimes to blame. Poor attitudes toward one's work may explain a great deal. Poor judgment in spending is a real problem, when the stimuli to spend are numerous and powerful. The gambling spirit destroys one's earnings. Intemperance wastes economic resources. Sexual vice creates illness and inefficiency.

(3) A third set of causes of poverty is *social.* They include changes in methods of work, new inventions, competition among business houses. Illness cuts off the pay check and runs up the expenses. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few prevents many persons from being paid adequately for their labor, and hence is a cause of poverty. When someone without working at all receives large sums of money, and other persons of equal ability who work for long hours receive less than living wages, the economic system is an accomplice of poverty.

A permanent unemployed class is coming to be the rule in civilized countries. In the depression year of 1932 people began to talk of a permanently unemployed class in the United States for the first time in its history. It is a bad state of affairs when any nation has within its worthy citizens a group of one million or five million who want work but who cannot find it.

Then there are the persons who do not want work regularly or who do not want to work at all. Many of these are themselves responsible

[12] In many industries there are rush and slack seasons. During the latter, many workers are laid off for several weeks at a time. In the mining industry, for example, the mines are often closed more than one-fifth of the time because of accidents, breaking of machinery, and the dull season. Trade union statistics show that skilled workers are unemployed sometimes as high as 30 per cent of a given year.

for such attitudes; others only partly so. Many men start out in life with a keen desire to work and earn money, but become temporarily unemployed, begin to live from hand to mouth, and then acquire habits of idleness.

The unemployed or part-time employed person sometimes becomes a hobo, a tramp, or a bum. Dr. Ben L. Reitman of Chicago says: "The hobo works and wanders, the tramp dreams and wanders, and the bum drinks and wanders." [13] St. John Tucker, one-time president of the "Hobo College" in Chicago, gives a somewhat similar definition: "A hobo is a migratory worker. A tramp is a migratory non-worker. A bum is a stationary non-worker." [14] Today, however, the hobo is giving way to transient families.

A permanent unemployed class is a national calamity. It calls for national action, a national program, a national employment commission. Governments are giving special attention to large national construction projects in times of widespread depression. When states, counties, and cities do likewise a portion of unemployment is alleviated. Since every month of the year has its busy seasons for some industries and its dull seasons for others, a rotation might be devised in certain communities for shifting employees in the dull seasons of certain industries to industries which are experiencing rush orders. A large degree of public control is needed not only in times of depression but in normal times so as to avoid depressions and periods of widespread unemployment.

Another group of the unemployed are the idle rich. These have sometimes been called a nation's biggest social problem. Many of the idle rich feel themselves superior to the man who works for a living; some of them comprise an aristocracy of snobs and spendthrifts. They set wasteful examples to the less wealthy. They arouse the spirit of communism in the minds of those who work but who cannot afford the luxuries that these idle rich parade before the public. They often set questionable standards of conduct for the less fortunate to follow. They often defy law, feeling themselves above the rules and regula-

[13] Quoted by Nels Anderson, *The Hobo* (The University of Chicago Press, 1923), p. 87. Also see Nels Anderson, *Men on the Move* (The University of Chicago Press, 1940). [14] *Loc. cit.*

tions that are needed, as they say, to govern the rabble. Their prominent position at one pole of extreme economic inequality makes them partly responsible for the poverty of those at the other pole. There is less social disorganization in a society without extremes in wealth and poverty than in one characterized by a wide range of class levels.

Free national and state employment bureaus are a logical part of any socially wise plan. If it is to the basic interest of the nation to keep its subjects employed as far as possible, then such employment service may well be furnished free of cost. It is less expensive for the nation to operate such bureaus than to have large numbers of persons needlessly idle. It is less expensive for the individual taxpayer, too.

The causes of unemployment, which may be defined as being out of gainful work for a certain length of time, are: (1) individual, (2) seasonal, (3) cyclical, and (4) technological.

(1) The individual causes range from hereditary defects to sheer laziness, from unemployment due to accident to that brought about by soldiering on the job, and so on. The solutions are to be found through social case work processes. Social case work helps individuals to help themselves.

(2) The seasonal causes are usually to be found in varying demands of consumers, in climatic factors, in variations in the planting and harvesting of crops, in one-crop farming, and so on. Many of the problems could be met by careful employment planning under government direction.

(3) Cyclical unemployment is connected, as the term suggests, with the business cycle, that is, it is found in the long depressions that follow short periods of prosperity. A reorganization of business methods and government regulation are the two commonly mentioned ways of meeting this widespread and disastrous form of unemployment.

(4) Technological unemployment originates in the fact that new inventions in machinery and new developments in industrial organization throw people out of work faster than increased demands call for the products of mechanized industry. When business depressions and technological unemployment occur together they are more than doubly disorganizing. A shorter work day and more opportunities for

creative work in the handicrafts and the arts are among the remedies suggested.

All these forms of unemployment call for national industrial planning. A major program would include several items: (1) jobs in private industry for as many as possible, and as steadily as possible; (2) unemployment and related types of insurance to tide people over short periods of unemployment; (3) government-made work, as was once provided by the WPA, for the longer periods of unemployment; (4) pensions for those too old to work; (5) public and private assistance for other classes of unemployed.

Each of these measures has its weaknesses, but progress in perfecting them is going forward. The dole, as such, is being eliminated, and its psychology of pauperizing people is being offset by better methods. The WPA was a great improvement over the dole system. It extended its encouragement to the creative field of the arts.

The foregoing fivefold program makes a far-reaching assumption. It implies that the present economic system in the United States "is capable of giving to all its workers those things which are now the expectations of a comparatively few: a warm, decent place to live in; a balanced diet; suitable clothes; travel, vacations, automobiles, radios, and college educations for those who want them." [15]

The Works Progress Administration which was organized in 1935 became the Work Projects Administration in 1939, and operated on the assumption (1) that work, even "made" work, is better than idleness, and (2) that it is the "responsibility of the government to furnish work when and if private enterprise is incapable of doing so." Specific assumptions are: (1) that "existing skills among the unemployed should be conserved"; (2) that "new skills should be developed among the unemployed when the acquired skills become obsolete"; and (3) that "projects utilizing labor of unemployed should serve a public interest." [16]

Adult education for the unemployed that fits them for the trades or

[15] Harry L. Hopkins, *Spending to Save* (W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1936), p. 180.

[16] E. C. Lindeman, *Leisure—A National Issue* (Association Press, New York, 1939), pp. 9, 10.

for better work than they have known previously is a natural accompaniment of a system of national employment agencies. For the persons whom the employment bureau cannot place, an educational program of some kind or other is desirable, enabling the temporarily unemployed to be busy, to improve in skill and become master of more than one trade. Any nation can ill afford to have a large unemployed class, whether the individuals be rich or poor. By education a percentage of the unemployed problem would be solved. Everybody would either be working, or if out of work, would not be lying around idle acquiring dangerous habits.[17]

Security is furthered by the guaranteed *annual wage*. The plan is supported by such manufacturers as Hormel, Procter and Gamble, and Nunn-Bush. Inasmuch as salaried persons receive a guaranteed annual wage, why should not other reliable workers, especially those who need this security greatly, receive equal consideration? is a frequently asked question. Not only wage security is involved, but to guarantee wages is about the same as guaranteeing regular employment that high salaried workers now enjoy. Other arguments favoring such a procedure are that volume of production per employee will be increased, that unit cost of production to employer will be reduced, that a better type of workman can be secured, that turnover will be cut down, and that better cooperation between labor and management will result. The annual wage is most feasible in the area of standard consumers' goods, but not where demands fluctuate easily and greatly. It will help meet the dissatisfaction due to "freedom without security." [18]

Is full employment feasible? is a question asked by Dr. George B. Mangold.[19] Full employment does not mean the gainful employment of everyone, not of the aged or of the ill, not of children, and not of those in college, but of practically all adults who want employment. There are many obstacles to full employment, due to technological changes, to sudden curtailment of markets for goods, to seasonal

[17] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The Prevention of Destitution* (Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1912), Chs. V, VI.

[18] E. S. Bogardus, "Security and the Annual Wage," *Sociology and Social Research*, 30 : 303ff., March-April, 1946.

[19] "Is Full Employment Feasible?" *Sociology and Social Research*, 30 : 185–95, January-February, 1946.

changes in employment, to maldistribution of workers in jobs, to personal disabilities, or to incompetence of many workers.

When the Congress of the United States abolished the National Resources Planning Board in 1945 it missed a great opportunity to help the workers. Monopolies are not always interested in the maximum production. Small stores and factories cannot always meet the competition of big business and may be obliged to close down. Stabilization of the price structure would make for stabilization of working conditions. Better use of savings would increase production demands. The lag of production caused by shutdowns of factories, strikes, restriction of output all hinder full employment.

SOCIAL INSECURITY

Formerly, social insecurity in industry was met by welfare work. Today this is not considered adequate, and social insurances of various sorts are being developed. Welfare work has furnished employees with some of the recreational and social essentials of life. The provision in a business establishment for organized recreation, social clubs, restaurants, rest rooms, baths, and free dental service, illustrates welfare work in its simplest forms. As a result the employer is usually repaid in the form of the increased efficiency of and improved personal relations with his employees. For him welfare work is a paying proposition.

The American workman, however, has been peculiarly sensitive to anything that suggests charity. It has been well pointed out that persons who understand workmen at all realize that they do not want to receive that type of charity which would place them under lasting servile obligations. Welfare work is either a natural claim or a charity. If the former, the workman should have it as a basic condition of work; if the latter, he is put under questionable obligation. It is being urged that the benevolent works of employers in the form of welfare activities, which at first seemed to be gracious and liberal gifts, should be required by law. Real welfare is fair wages, shorter hours of labor, a larger voice in management, better conditions of working and living, more certainty of work, and more guarantees against old age dependency.

Social insurance is the insurance of the working classes through state action. The funds are furnished in part by the employer, in part some-

times by the employee, and in part sometimes by the state. There are several types of social insurance, such as accident insurance or workman's compensation, sickness and old age insurance, and unemployment insurance.

In the case of *accident insurance* or *workman's compensation*, the employer usually pays all the cost of an accident, on the theory that the workman who is injured is paying his share through his suffering. Moreover, when a $5000 machine in a factory wears out, its loss is charged to the costs of production; when a $5000 employee suffers death as the result of an accident while at work, this loss is also charged to the cost of production, and the sum of $5000 is paid in installments to the widow or children, or both.

Compulsory *unemployment insurance*, which was introduced, for example, in England in 1912, in two leading trades, was greatly extended in 1921. Although this insurance fund was deeply in the red in England in 1932, many persons from various walks of life were saying that unemployment insurance was the only thing that stood between England and revolution. The communists were opposing it on the ground that it kept the working people contented and thus postponed a revolution. Employers and Tory members of Parliament were viewing unemployment insurance as a necessary evil; they could suggest nothing better. The plan in Europe is for the state, the employer, and the employee to contribute approximately equal amounts per labor unit. If an unemployment insurance fund is started on a large scale at the beginning of a period of prosperity, it is likely to be built up to a level where it can meet all payments in case of widespread unemployment, providing the unemployment period does not last too long. Unemployment insurance in the United States will be discussed presently as a phase of the Social Security Act.

Although the Beveridge Plan for Great Britain was not adopted as proposed by Sir William Beveridge yet modifications were added to the social insurance laws and its indirect influence has doubtless been significant.[20] The Plan was "an elaborate proposal for social security which embodies a scheme of social insurance aimed to prevent the de-

[20] Sir William Beveridge, *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1942).

struction of earning power and to insure individuals against the expenditures incident to birth, marriage, and death." [21] The Plan has three guiding principles: (1) all proposals must subordinate sectional to national interests, (2) social insurance is one part only of a comprehensive policy of social progress, and (3) social security must be achieved by means of cooperation between individuals and the state.[22]

Sickness insurance, or *health insurance,* is a blessing to the workingman. When he is ill his wages cease, unlike the situation of the temporarily disabled salaried person. Moreover, his scanty savings are soon consumed. Many European countries have provided sickness insurance for workingmen in many types of production. It is estimated that the earnings lost annually in the United States due to sickness exceed five billion dollars. Only a few workingmen have savings adequate to meet this need. Moreover, "this enormous burden is not distributed evenly." [23]

Blue Cross hospitalization plans are a voluntary form of insurance against sickness requiring hospital care. On payment of a small monthly or quarterly fee, the insured receives hospital care for a limited period of time with most of the standard expenses covered for that period. About twenty per cent of the population of the United States was covered in 1948 against hospitalization by the Blue Cross plans.

Voluntary medical service plans aside from hospitalization plans are developing slowly in the United States. On an insurance prepayment basis the individual pays a small sum per month and receives medical attention for standard sickness needs. Some of these plans are called proprietary in the sense that the physicians are in complete control. If the patient does not like the service he can withdraw, but he has no voice in the operation of such plans.

Cooperative health plans are under the control of the consumer-members, who as in the case of the Group Health Association of Washington, D.C., or the Farmers Union Community Hospital Association of Elk City, Oklahoma, founded by Dr. M. A. Shadid, join together in an organization, employ a medical director and a business executive.

[21] George B. Mangold, "The Beveridge Plan for Social Security," *Sociology and Social Research,* XXVII : 423–32, July-August, 1943. [22] *Loc. cit.*

[23] See H. A. Gray on "Health Insurance" in the *Social Work Year Book,* 1937 (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1937).

The medical director selects the staff and is in complete charge of the medical policies. For a small sum per month the members furnish themselves with medical, hospital, and in some cases dental care. If there are any savings the sum usually goes into an improvement of the services.

Compulsory health insurance which is now the rule in about 30 countries was inaugurated in Germany in 1883. Compulsory insurance against sickness has been supplanting voluntary insurance. The insured and their employers usually finance the insurance, which is limited to people of lower incomes.

Germany again led the way with reference to compulsory *old age insurance*. Many countries now make such insurance compulsory. Old age insurance has developed because industry throws people out of employment at an increasingly younger age. Through no fault of their own, able-bodied men and women lose their jobs. Once out of work an old person finds great difficulty in securing permanent employment. Modern industry is so speeded up that only the quickest and those with most endurance can maintain the pace.

Many employing firms have a pension system for their employees who have been with them many years, but this procedure ties up a workman with a given firm, and leaves him unprotected in case he should change employers. State old age insurance gives the workman more freedom and at the same time the needed security.

The *Townsend Plan* was proposed in 1934 by F. E. Townsend, M.D., of Long Beach, California, as a means of assisting old people to become self-sufficient economically. It proposed to make a payment of $200 a month to all persons above the age of 60 who are unemployed, are without an unearned income of $2400 a year, and have not been convicted of a crime. A vital condition was that the $200 must be spent within a month after its receipt. The cost was to be covered by a federal tax of two cents upon every transaction in the business world. The plan secured the support of many old people everywhere and numerous Townsend Clubs were organized, but the Congress of the United States turned the idea down in 1939. These clubs served a useful purpose in that they gave old people a gathering place and an interesting social diversion aside from discussions of the economic purpose involved. The

plan, however, was opposed on the ground that it was economically unsound and would destroy business confidence. The proposals are still being advocated but in modified forms.

Belatedly the United States entered upon a social insurance program in 1935. The passage of the Social Security Act in that year meant that the United States had departed from its traditional policies and was going to guarantee a measure of economic security to the individual. It was the depression which brought about this change. In 1934 President Roosevelt asked Congress to study the needs and to pass a law that would meet a difficult situation. The Social Security Act, a momentous document in the history of the United States, was signed by the President on August 14, 1935.

Old age and unemployment are the two main contingencies of life for which the Social Security Act makes provisions. Old age annuities were supplemented by survivors insurance in 1939 (referring to children who survive). Old age annuities vary according to the total earnings of the worker. The costs are met jointly by employers and employees. Most employers and employees are entitled to old age benefits, with the exception of self-employed farmers, certain professional persons, and some non-profit farm and domestic workers.

The Social Security Act of 1935 also provides for the needy blind and for children who are deprived of parental support. Further, the Act provides unemployment compensation for a limited number of weeks under given conditions. In 1950 the Act was amended to provide financial aid to permanently disabled persons in need. In 1952, further amendments were added which increased social security benefits to the aged by twelve and one-half per cent and which permitted pensioners to earn up to seventy-five dollars a month instead of the previous up-to-fifty dollars limit.

The Social Security Act is a long step forward in providing government aid to needy subjects. It is a gigantic enterprise. Its friends claim that it is only a beginning and that it does not go far enough. Its critics deplore the great expense involved, the weaknesses in its administration, and its alleged tendencies to create a population that will grow increasingly dependent on the government for support.

The Social Security Act does not include several important measures,

such as health insurance. Health insurance plans have developed extensively in Europe but slowly in the United States. There are voluntary health insurance groups in the United States but they are not adequate to meet the health needs. Compulsory health insurance that follows a modification of the British system is being urged with increasing persistence. The private-fee procedure is too expensive for large numbers of people, and a development either of cooperative plans or of a nation-wide system is in the offing, especially if another extensive depression should come.

A nation-wide plan would include a number of features.[24] (1) Every wage-earner would contribute a percentage, perhaps one and one-half per cent, of his income and the employers would contribute an equal amount. (2) A given amount of hospital care would be given in addition to regular medical care. (3) Dental care may or may not be included. (4) Any qualified physician may participate. (5) Patients may select their physicians. (6) Physicians shall be paid either on the basis of fees for services rendered or on a per capita basis. (7) The physician retains his freedom to use his medical knowledge as he wishes and to reject patients. (8) Persons having incomes over $3000 or $4000 a year may or may not join the plan.

Physicians have many objections to a universal plan of health insurance, but the health of the people of the nation under the present procedures has been greatly neglected as evidenced by the large numbers of rejections for military service during World War II. Health of its people is as important to a nation as is education. If one has to be handled by a compulsory system it may be necessary to meet the other need similarly although it would be better in terms of personality initiative and responsibility if voluntary and cooperative health groups would develop extensively enough to cover the needs of the whole population.

National planning is already in operation in behalf of security for veterans. Many times the Congress has responded more or less generously in behalf of the soldiers and their dependents. The close of World War II was followed by an educational gesture as well as a

[24] *Cf.* George B. Mangold, "Compulsory Health Insurance," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXIX : 343–54, May-June, 1945.

security one in behalf of veterans. Not only was education provided for veterans as a program for rehabilitation cases, but a regular college and professional education with expenses for tuition and supplies and a monthly allowance was inaugurated. As a result the enrollment in nearly all colleges, universities, evening schools, was greatly increased and in certain schools doubled or perhaps trebled. Thus is social security furthered in a fundamental sense. A nation cannot let its subjects suffer and long endure. It must do something. Either it must pay the bills or eradicate the factors that lead to unemployment and inability to earn a livelihood.

Social insurance in its main forms as discussed in the foregoing paragraphs has the merit of providing industrial workers with a degree of freedom from anxiety in normal times, and of increasing their happiness and efficiency. It keeps them self-respecting. Social insurance is sometimes criticized as being an opening wedge for socialism, a point that is exaggerated in the minds of the fearful. A more serious objection is the danger to individual initiative. It may undermine a full sense of personal responsibility.

A new attitude is developing toward industrial problems and particularly toward unemployment. This attitude is insisting first of all upon facts. It is not enough to know how many bushels of corn or how many head of cattle are in the nation; it is more important to know how many unemployed there are, for example according to age groups. To say that there are four or five million young people in the United States who are unemployed without indicating their ages sounds too much like a guess when accurate knowledge is needed.

A shift in responsibility for untoward industrial conditions is also called for by the new attitude. Franklin D. Roosevelt, as President, insisted some time ago that "those who get the profits when industry gets the volume must bear the risk of price reductions to restore volume." In other words, industry must no more "throw the burden of recession on the workers than on the bondholders."

The new attitude insists on some kind of extensive planning so that the present condition of short periods of employment during prosperous times and of long periods of unemployment during depression eras may be changed. It is no longer satisfactory to have a few fat years with

an overemphasis on installment buying and other unwise expenditures, and many lean years characterized by low production, limited purchasing power, indecent living standards, and "actual hunger for millions." The tendency is developing in the direction of national planning, not by one group of people but by a permanent board composed of representatives of "business, labor, agriculture, consumers" and employing a staff of capable experts, with their proposals requiring ratification by elected representatives of the people.

ALCOHOLISM

Alcoholism not only represents a misuse of leisure time, as indicated in Chapter 6 on "The Play Group," but plays a role in group disorganization. So serious had this social problem become that at the beginning of the present century well-organized movements were in operation against the organized liquor traffic. By its opponents some of whom had organized in the United States the Women's Christian Temperance Union it was known as "the traffic in human souls." In 1893 the Anti-Saloon League was organized in Oberlin, Ohio, and the movement to outlaw the legalized liquor business went into full swing.

In the United States the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution and the Volstead Act, prohibiting more than one-half of 1 per cent of alcohol in drinks of any kind, were bitterly opposed as soon as they were passed although prohibition as a social movement developed slowly in the United States over several decades. Prohibition was fought by the liquor interests and their friends; it was defied by many people of wealth, aided and abetted by some immigrants and others as "bootleggers." Within ten years after prohibition went into effect, it had become a failure in many urban centers; and between the presidential elections of 1928 and 1932 public opinion swung measurably toward repeal. An interesting problem arises, namely: What factor or factors operated to bring about this change in public opinion? Was it the depression? Was it a breakdown in moral control throughout the nation? Was it a decline in religious influence? Was it a rise in materialistic, mechanistic behaviorism? Was it all of these?

Alcohol is a turbulent and intractable element in society. From the Whiskey Rebellion which Washington had to suppress in his first ad-

ministration, to the criminal gangsters of New York and other American cities in the middle nineteenth century, and down to the first decade of the administration of the Eighteenth Amendment in the United States we have witnessed one long history, not of violence in the attempt to improve the lot of men through eliminating alcohol, but primarily and consistently of schemes to circumvent the reform.[25]

In 1933 the Twenty-first Amendment to the Constitution was passed. It repealed the Eighteenth Amendment and on December 5, 1933, the sale of alcoholic liquors again became legal. Thus, the prohibition experiment extending over thirteen years had failed. The explanation is found in a number of factors. (1) During prohibition there had been a complete letdown in the educational program that normally should accompany so far-reaching a reform. (2) Violations of prohibition, bootlegging, and parasitic crimes greatly increased. (3) Prominent individuals flaunted prohibition. (4) Vast sums of money were spent by liquor interests to undermine prohibition. (5) Many immigrant groups resisted prohibition because it contradicted their mores. (6) It became apparent that prohibition bore no basic relation to prosperity. (7) A postwar letdown in moral standards found expression in the repeal. (8) A popular verging away from Puritanic idealism turned into a hedonistic realism.

Repeal, however, has brought its own problems. (1) It lessened but did not stop bootlegging. (2) It played no appreciable role in bringing back a lost prosperity. (3) The drinking of alcoholic liquor by youth became an increasingly serious problem. The consequent dissipation of youth is serious. (4) Automobile accidents caused by drunken or drinking drivers have increased until they have become a social problem of major importance. (5) The effects of parental drinking upon home life are serious. (6) The economic waste that is felt in the families of the poor is tremendous.

Excessive drinkers in the United States in 1953 are estimated by reliable authorities at 4,000,000 and desperate alcoholics at 800,000. The number of women alcoholics is on the increase and adds to the serious effects of drinking on the family as a social institution. The in-

[25] Arthur J. Todd, *Industry and Society* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1933), p. 560.

crease in the number of taverns with the many unescorted women patrons and minors who are patrons is helping to give the tavern as bad a reputation as its predecessor, the saloon, formerly had. The numbers of drinking and drunken drivers and the accompanying numbers of resultant deaths of drivers, passengers, and pedestrians are arousing many people to action. Citizens who abstain are paying a large proportion of the liquor accident costs. Insurance premiums for all are going up as a result of the drinking driver.

The woman alcoholic is drawing increasing attention to herself. A columnist for a large metropolitan newspaper quotes from a letter by a sixteen-year-old girl in one of the best high schools in the given city who once had a happy home that became wrecked by liquor. Here is the daughter's account of the process.

> My mother and her friends would go shopping and drop into a nice bar for a drink or two. After a while she was drinking more and more. I didn't know what was the matter with her at first, and it was an awful sight to realize she was "tight."
>
> Every night after dinner she wants to go out to a cocktail parlor. Then she reforms for a week or two and swears she will never touch a drop again. Then she goes out and it all happens again. We have talked to her all we could but she gets mad. She says she has a right to drink if she wants to. My dad stopped giving her money but she even sold her wedding ring to get money for drinks.

The *local option* procedure, so effective in bringing about the 18th amendment, is again being favored by many people. Local option gives the people in a local area the vote on whether liquor is to be sold in their community. Alcoholics Anonymous claims to have helped several thousand alcoholics to overcome the disease, but the procedure comes almost too late as far as the personal and social damage is concerned. Education on alcoholism and its effects is slowly spreading.

A survey of the facts over a period of time seems to show that intemperance produces destitution among the poor, increases insanity, adds to delinquency and crime, increases the frequency of automobile accidents. Excessive use of alcohol produces harmful effects upon heredity, causes degeneracy, destroys happiness in the home, breaks down personal control, and is economically wasteful.

WAR

One of the most disorganizing factors in society is *war*, which has been defined as "a simultaneous conflict of armed forces, popular feelings, jural dogmas, and national cultures so nearly equal as to lead to an extreme intensification of each." [26] War is an attempt to settle a dispute by physical force and might and violence. It represents at one and the same time the brutal methods of preliterate tribes and of animals and also the astutest degrees of trickery, subterfuge, and falsehood. It belies the finest elements in human nature. It multiplies hate. It engenders feelings which persist for generations, as illustrated by the fact that in the South of the United States in 1948, over eighty years after the Civil War many people still refer to Northerners as "those damn Yankees."

A significant remark about the origins of war was made by B. Malinowski when he noted that aggression like charity begins at home. In other words one may say that war begins in the attitudes of people. Of course these attitudes may be engendered in people by war propaganda on the part of authoritarian leaders.

The sequence in the development of war as suggested by B. Malinowski has merit but requires considerable modification. His sixfold classification may be restated as follows: (1) An elementary procedure is that of fighting with fists by individuals. Pugnacious feelings are galvanized into action by experiencing real or fancied wrongs. (2) Organized fighting groups engage in armed contests. (3) Armed raids into outside territory by privately organized groups takes place. (4) Governments organize military forces with which to threaten enemy people and make an occasional attack. Politics finds a strong arm in the military. (5) Two nations may fly at the throats of each other using well trained and equipped armed forces. (6) The world becomes involved in a disastrous death struggle between whole nations highly organized and using mechanized means of destruction at great distances from home bases.[27]

[26] Quincy Wright, A *Study of War* (The University of Chicago Press, 1942), II : 698.

[27] B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science, and Religion* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1948), pp. 285, 299.

Morris Ginsberg finds the cause of war not in any one single factor, but in an interwoven set of factors which may be summarized as follows. (1) Imperialistic rivalries mainly arising out of opportunities for expansion and exploitation. (2) Fear that nations have of one another which is based partly on resentment holding over from past wars. (3) The existence of vast national armaments heighten the fear that nations feel toward one another. (4) The unwillingness of nations to give up their right of self-defense and the resulting lack of effective international organization. (5) Psychological factors such as widespread anxiety, insecurity, and hate. (6) The lack of a general public opinion demanding the conditions of peace.[28] While not complete this exhibit of interwoven causes of war suggests important questions for further study.

In a study by Francis E. Merrill of social changes that occurred in the United States during World War II, a number of conclusions were reached, for example: (1) The rate of social change was increased, (2) the rate of social mobility was also increased, (3) social congestion was intensified in industrial and military centers, (4) the decline in the generally accepted functions of the family was speeded up, (5) the divorce rate was increased, (6) the trend toward sexual freedom was accelerated, (7) the numbers of both illegitimate births and of legitimate ones were increased, (8) the emotional deprivation of children caused by the employment of mothers was increased, (9) juvenile delinquency particularly among girls increased sharply, (10) mental diseases of various kinds among both soldiers and civilians were greatly augmented.[29] It will be noted that while some of these changes involve constructive elements most of them put a heavy strain upon the adjustment facilities of persons and groups.

War never settles conflicts. It decides which side has the greater might. It appears that might is as likely to be on the side of injustice as on the side of justice. Perhaps war and injustice are more than likely to be joined. Wherever this happens then the conflict continues and

[28] Morris Ginsberg, *Reason and Unreason in Society* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1948), pp. 193ff.

[29] Francis E. Merrill, *Social Problems on the Home Front* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948).

has to be settled all over again later but under not only the original difficulties but in the face of new hatreds and ill will.

Many people took part in World War I in order to make "the world safe for democracy," but as a matter of fact the war was followed by totalitarian developments in many countries. World War II was fought in part for the four freedoms, one of which was freedom from fear, but in defeating the Axis, Germany, Japan, and Italy, the fear-creating nations, the war brought the atomic bomb into action and created a new fear the like of which has never been known, because of the terrible destructiveness of the bomb and the impotence of the world in matters of defense against it.

It has been estimated that the United States alone spent 325 billions of dollars for war purposes during World War II, a stupendous figure which does not include postwar expenses. Add to this the money spent in other countries, add the suffering of people and destruction of lives around the world, and the social dislocation everywhere. It would seem that the intellectual abilities of man would enable him to devise a less destructive method of making social adjustments. It is clear that frankness, honesty, and fair dealing on the part of nations with each other are needed. It is also certain that developments in the direction of a world point of view, as discussed in Chapter 10, are needed if civilization is not to blow itself to bits in fratricidal wars.

CRIME

Crime is another evidence of group disorganization. It is violation either of laws or of social welfare. It is so extensive in many countries at the present time that it constitutes a serious blot upon national well-being. An important question is: What accounts for crime?

The causal factors in antigroup conduct are exceedingly complex. They are found (1) in the physical environment, (2) in the social environment, and (3) in the individual's reactions to his social and physical environment.

(1) The physical environment affects a person through climate, seasons, temperature, food. A hot climate produces an unusually high percentage of offenses against the person; and a cold climate an undue proportion of offenses against property. The winter season results in

more suffering from cold and hunger than does summer and ranks high in thefts. Spring and summer are noted for an undue proportion of sex offenses.

(2) The social environment collects its toll of antisocial behavior. A higher ratio of criminality is found among the unmarried and divorced than among those living a normal family life. This fact may be explained by the greater temptations of the homeless, or by another fact, namely, that the temper and habits which render a man unfavorable to the requirements of marriage are the tendencies which manifest themselves in crime.

Concentration of population in a large city is frequently accompanied by a proportional increase in antisocial behavior. The large city is the hiding place of people with a dark record. It flaunts the allurements of wealth and luxury in the face of poverty; it excites envy; and it harbors the solicitors of vice. It allows delinquency areas to flourish.

Not many people realize the way in which graft and vice can hide out in a large city. Graft regarding nation-wide "deals" centers in the big cities. Thus, a large city "has its own plus the nation's graft too."

A larger framework for the study of crime in American life is suggested by D. R. Taft, who develops the idea that a materialistic culture in which people admire the winners of a bitter, competitive struggle and which allows some of those who are defeated in the strife to collect in slums, tends to produce just about the criminals that are to be found in a nation at any given time. In other words, where premiums are put upon gambling and tricky schemes to get something for nothing and to rob large numbers of people a disastrous harvest of criminals may be expected. Taft discusses the extent to which crime in the United States is the result of the culture of the United States. When we deserve less crime we shall have less crime, is Taft's conclusion.[30]

Customs such as the public whipping of offenders, torture, lynching, night-riding tend to provoke criminal impulses. Public executions do not always repress crime but may increase it by the example which the

[30] *Criminology* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1942), Ch. XV. Also see L. I. Perrigo, "The Community Background of Denver Criminality," *Social Forces*, 17:232–39, December, 1938.

state sets in taking life. Some newspapers publish melodramatic descriptions of crime, and human life loses its sacredness.

Poverty may be a cause of crime. There are many who are constrained to steal, as was Jean Valjean, rather than see the members of their own families starve and die. In a day of ostentatious display of wealth the poor man who is diligent and honest, but whose family cannot obtain all the necessities of life, sometimes concludes that "property is robbery." He sees the wealthy man enjoying leisure hours with pay, and the wife of the wealthy man riding about in a limousine without doing any work at all for a living; and he concludes that "the system is all wrong."

There is a conviction honestly held by multitudes that many of the wealthy have obtained their wealth at the expense of the poor and without contributing much of value to the community. The workingman pinched by need feels no special sense of wrong in "taking" a small portion of what he considers "immorally acquired wealth." The sense of having been wronged, combined with underprivileged conditions, urges a person to justify antisocial acts. When big business men and financiers make millions out of speculation or gambling, when their high finance causes thousands to lose hard-earned savings, and when some men of wealth run away from their country in order to escape trial and punishment because of questionable methods of acquiring wealth, the average man is likely to feel that such examples justify him in almost any antisocial conduct. The slogan which developed in the United States a few years ago, "You cannot convict a million dollars," represented a belief that law is not to be obeyed by the rich, and hence need not be respected by anyone.

The corruption of partisan politics favors the increase of crime. "When the unscrupulous agents of city railways, railroads, and other powerful corporations," says one authority, "control the elections of aldermen in their own interest and against the public, crime is fostered through the very institutions of justice and law."

Certain suggestions stimulate antisocial behavior. Pictures and dramatic descriptions of prize fights set boys to fighting in alleys and back yards. A film showing a spectacular robbery suggests similar behavior

to youthful spectators.[31] Sensational accounts of burglaries and of trials in newspapers, and pictures in the "police gazettes" that are found in many pool halls and similar hangouts, arouse antisocial impulses. Gangs of boys are frequently led into crime by the "dare" of some reckless leader.

Occupations may promote antisocial conduct. Employment in dishonest kinds of business, in gambling dens, in "liquor joints," in "houses of ill fame," furthers evil deeds. Promotors of all types are now and then drawn into fraud, embezzlement, and forgery. Even some public officials find the temptations placed before them too strong and they betray the public trust in them.

(3) A person's reactions to all these and other environmental factors actually place a portion of the responsibility for his behavior directly upon himself. Of course some individuals are moral imbeciles by birth, and are never able to distinguish between right and wrong. Others are born mentally defective so that by the time they reach the age of eighteen, for example, they have the mental development and the inhibitions of children of six, ten, or twelve years of age. Since they possess the feelings, emotions, and passions of an eighteen-year-old, but perhaps the self-control of a ten-year-old child, they easily become delinquent in an environment filled with high-powered temptations.

Unregulated sexual impulses result in antisocial activities. There have been far more male offenders than female offenders in sex relations. As women become emancipated, however, their behavior record approaches that of men. Moreover, when women once succumb to sexual offenses they are not so easily restored to normal life as are men, partly because of the breaking down of a more sensitive organism, and of a greater cynicism which comes over them, and partly because many of the gates to respectable life are closed to them, although not to men who are similar offenders.

A person's control over his behavior varies with his age. In his earliest years he may not be held accountable for his acts. Young children are easily conditioned by the attitudes of their peers or their elders to behave in all sorts of ways. In adolescence strong surges of energy may lead

[31] For concrete data, see Herbert Blumer and Philip M. Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency and Crime* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933).

a youth into conflict with his environment. Sex impulses easily draw the individual into trouble. Ambition to succeed and to win likewise carries persons beyond the bounds of fair play. The bulk of offenses against society seems to come between the ages of eighteen and forty, with crimes of cold calculation, fraud, bankruptcy, and political intrigue coming chiefly in the middle and later years. Antisocial behavior results when the individual resists the social codes of behavior. When the individual is lacking in social responsibility or when the social codes are too rigid or inadequate, antisocial conduct may be expected.

In so far as alcohol lessens self-control and dulls a sense of social responsibility, it is a cause of crime. It easily leads to breakdowns of personal control, to vice, and to crime. Alcohol weakens "the inhibitory power of the higher nerve centers, confuses the intellect, dulls the conscience, and sets anger and lust free without rein or bridle." Alcoholism has led to brutal treatment of wives and children, has broken down woman's finest controls, and debauched otherwise competent persons. Persons under the influence of liquor may play the role of idiots. In high-powered automobiles they drive recklessly; with firearms they shoot those whom they love.

In order that people may protect themselves against the antisocial behavior of other people, a special agency has been set up known as the *police*. It is the function of the police to be on the watch for antisocial conduct and to apprehend the offender as soon as possible (compare Ch. 13). Often they have been physical giants and some have used their physical strength to browbeat. In the United States they, as a class, have been inadequately educated. In England, however, they represent a higher type of person. They are known as "bobbies" and carry neither clubs nor guns but exercise control through their superior personal qualities; they are well-informed and intelligent.[32] The traffic squad performs the interesting function of helping citizens not to get in each other's way. In the United States they are more courteous than the regular police as a rule.

It is the function of every policeman to be an extremely valuable public servant. According to Joseph Fels, the police may be thought of

[32] The term "bobby" comes from the name of Sir Robert Peel who originated the system. For a time the police of this system were called "Peelers."

as a group of social workers, knowing personally every home and all the inhabitants in their respective districts. They might be neighborhood guardians, aiding social workers, and helping to make personal adjustments wherever needed. They might inspect street cleaning, the collection of garbage, act as deputies of the assessor, and as representatives of schools in maintaining attendance.

The *policewoman* is another factor in preventing disorganization. She supervises conditions at public dance halls, vaudeville theaters, and cheap motion picture shows, and attempts to safeguard girls and women from demoralization. The procedure has resulted in an increasing freedom with which girls and women appeal to the police department for advice and protection, in the better handling of those situations where a woman's sympathetic understanding may be more effective than a man's power, and in the care of girls and women who are brought to police stations.

Antisocial behavior and the resultant social disorganization have made necessary the *public prosecutor*, or district attorney, whose business it is to see that persons guilty of antisocial behavior are punished. He needs not only a legal background but also training in criminology and sociology in order that he may know the requirements of social defense.

Corresponding to public prosecution there is developing *public defense*, or more accurately, defense of offenders. If offenders have wealth they are able to defend themselves often to the point of defeating law and justice; they defeat the just efforts of public prosecutors, and go free. On the other hand, if the offender is without money he is often helpless in a trial where he faces an organized legal staff of trained prosecutors. Defendants with ample means are able to employ such shrewd counsel that public prosecution is blocked, that a trial is prolonged over months and even years, and that group disorganization is increased.

Public defense, thus, has led to the creation of the office of a public defender and of *legal aid societies* composed of citizens interested in seeing that justice is guaranteed to the poor. The public defender and the legal aid society are supplementary, for the office of the former is

created by the county to provide legal service at public expense for the poor, and the latter comprises citizens banded together voluntarily to assist persons who are in legal difficulty but are financially unable to defend themselves. The legal aid society usually develops first and serves until an adequate public defender's office is established.

The *jury system* is a device to safeguard the interests of the common man when charged with antisocial behavior. If he can be tried by his peers, that is, by other common people, it is thought that justice will be more certain. These peers, however, are subject to prejudices, biases, and intolerant attitudes. Moreover, their feelings are continually being played upon by unscrupulous lawyers. Hence trial by judges rather than by juries is being advocated, because many lawyers resort to "grandstand" plays or emotional appeals when arguing directly before a jury. On the other hand, the judge is only one person. Perhaps it would be better to have a joint system, with offenders tried, for example, before three persons, one of whom is a judge, and the other two, private citizens, with each of the three having an equal vote.

E. H. Sutherland has developed the theory of *differential association*. The groups that a person associates with have different culture patterns and approve different values. A person who associates with shoplifters will learn shoplifting. The acceptable practices of the groups one associates with influence his behavior. The differences in association help to explain "the development of systematic criminal behavior." [33] In this way Sutherland explained "white collar crime," that is, the offenses against society of middle and upper class people, such as corruption among government officials, business men, or professional persons. Likewise, Sutherland believed that it is impossible to understand a professional thief without a knowledge "of the group to which he belongs."

DELINQUENCY CONTROL

A large percentage of adult offenses and of social disorganization begins in childhood and adolescence. If children and adolescents

[33] E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1939); *White Collar Crime*, same publisher, 1949; *The Professional Thief* (The University of Chicago Press, 1937).

could be conditioned constructively, if their feelings and emotions could be conditioned into attitudes of social responsibility, then delinquency, crime, and disorganization would be largely prevented.

It may be estimated that 40 per cent of criminals and delinquents are not yet 18 years old, and that the cost of delinquency in a single state, such as New Jersey, for a single year is over $500,000,000, or more than $100 a person or five times the cost of public education in New Jersey. While estimates of numbers and costs may vary, it is evident that serious problems are to be found here.

The *overprivileged boy* is often a boy problem. In many cases sudden wealth in an unstable home leads to delinquency. Some wealthy parents have little control over their children. In the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles the writer found that some boys of wealthy parents wrote letters to their fathers at the business offices of the latter even though the boys lived at home. In other words father and son rarely saw each other at home. Contacts were few and the boy lived in a world all his own in which he did more or less as he pleased. The father is sometimes so busy with acquiring control over material things that he may lose control over his boys. The six-foot father who complains that he cannot do anything with his six-foot son because the latter won't mind him has somehow failed in understanding an important responsibility. The mother who goes into court and swears that her son has always been "such a good boy," but who is lying to the court in the presence of the boy, loses what respect her son may have for her. Upon being released he may commit a still greater offense.[34]

Studies show that about one-half of the juvenile delinquents come from homes broken by death, divorce, separation.[35] Troublesome behavior of adolescents that is connected with broken homes is manifold, but chiefly it includes ungovernability, running away from home, truancy, and stealing.[36]

A far-reaching summary of the factors involved in juvenile delin-

[34] E. S. Bogardus, *The Boy in the City* (Rotary Club of Los Angeles, 1926), pp. 26, 27.

[35] M. C. Elmer, *Family Adjustment and Social Change* (Long and Smith Company, New York, 1932), pp. 174ff.

[36] Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Marriage and the Family* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1947), pp. 644ff.

quency has been made by Lowell J. Carr.[37] Four factors are given: (1) Because adults are too selfish, ignorant, unskillful, vicious, or indifferent to take the measures necessary to prevent delinquency, (2) because adults permit antisocial behavior patterns to be thrust upon millions of children who cannot help themselves, (3) because adults permit millions to grow up in wish-thwarting environments, and (4) because adults have allowed the complexities and inconsistencies of our culture to outrun our institutional modes of adjustment.

The lack of a stable family life figures in a great deal of juvenile delinquency. The lack of stability may be due to a wide variety of factors.[38] It has been suggested that parents of delinquent children might well take a course in child-training, or better still that all prospective parents might take such courses.

In considering the situation relative to a number of *migrant* boys who had been apprehended by the police, Wayne R. Davidson offers a number of tentative conclusions. He found that such boys probably would not have migrated if family and community conditions had been better, that school attendance laws were lax, that most of them "arrived" with little money, that some picked up odd jobs, that child labor laws are not well enforced, that the boys do not seek the services of any of the social service agencies for obvious reasons, and that they live unsupervised "in socially deteriorated sections of cities." [39]

Until a few decades ago in the United States, child offenders were arrested and if unable to furnish bail were placed in the regular cells of police stations. If convicted they were fined, and then sent to the city jail or prison to "pay out" their fine at a rate, for example, of fifty cents a day. They were isolated as individuals.

About 1900 there came a turning point in the treatment of youthful offenders.[40] Many changes have been inaugurated, and new attitudes developed.

[37] Lowell J. Carr, *Delinquency Control* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941), pp. 95, 96.

[38] Harriet L. Goldberg, *Child Offenders* (Grune and Stratton, New York, 1948), p. 180.

[39] Wayne R. Davidson, "Problems of Fifty Migrant Boys," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32:527–34, September-October, 1947.

[40] Judge Ben Lindsey was one of the leading originators of this new procedure.

(1) The juvenile offender is treated as a ward of the court, and not as an accused or convicted criminal.[41]

(2) Separate courts have been established for children's cases; they are unlike the regular court chambers, and resemble a private conference room. Women acting as referees or judges in girls' cases have been markedly successful. It has been urged that a large percentage of juvenile court cases do not represent children's guilt so much as parental neglect and guilt. Hence not the child but the parents in certain cases are being brought into the domestic relations court, which handles a considerable percentage of the cases that formerly went to the juvenile court.[42]

(3) The self-government idea that has developed in institutions for the reform of youthful offenders is meritorious. To as great an extent as possible it puts youth in institutions on their own responsibility. They hold their own court and mete out punishment, chiefly in terms of deprivation of privileges. Those who live according to the rules have special opportunities, which constitute stimuli to all to act in socially responsible ways. They learn social self-control through personal experiences in wholesome group life.[43]

(4) Better than institutions is *juvenile probation* under wholesome circumstances. The first offender and others who have committed minor offenses are returned to their homes or to the care of other responsible persons, and kept there under the supervision of probation officers. Youth thus is not treated as an isolated unit or as an institutional inmate but as a member of family and neighborhood groups.

It sometimes has become the rule to place on probation adolescents who have become "repeaters," that is, who are offenders for two, three, or four times. This practice constitutes undue leniency, and is taken advantage of by youth. Moreover, the police lose interest in arresting young culprits who repeatedly steal automobiles or burglarize houses. The police report that it does no good to apprehend such offenders,

[41] The system of fines has been abolished.

[42] T. D. Eliot in his *Juvenile Court and the Community* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1918) discusses clearly the strong and weak points of the juvenile court.

[43] For an initial account of the self-government principle in operation, see W. R. George, *The Junior Republic* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1910).

for in a few days they are at liberty again, ready to commit new offenses. In reply, the probation officers point out that at present the alternative is the dubious procedure of sending adolescent boys into city jails to companion idly with mature and hardened criminals, and to come out more dangerous to society than when they entered. A partial solution to the problem might come from increasing sufficiently the number and pay of thoroughly trained and competent probation officers.

(5) It is evident that the public schools are in a position to segregate all mentally defective adolescents and keep them under institutional supervision. Such a procedure would be better than to allow them to be released from school supervision at fifteen or sixteen years of age and to drift into delinquency. If the public schools would keep the mentally deficient and all behavior problem youths under proper supervision until such time as they show themselves capable of social self-control, delinquency and crime could be cut down. Thus the school might take care of a percentage of cases that now find their way into the juvenile courts.

The public schools are expected to train children who come under their supervision in the practice of social self-control. If a child does not maintain a prosocial behavior standard, the schools are not justified in releasing him from its care. What does it profit a boy if he acquires knowledge but fails to develop prosocial behavior? Moreover, such a procedure plays directly into the hands of group disorganization.

(6) Rapid strides have been made since 1925 by *child guidance clinics*. They receive "problem children" and give them medical, psychological, psychiatric, and social case work attention. The child is studied chiefly in terms of his reactions to his experiences. His longings, impulses, thwarted desires, inherited tendencies are all considered in relation to the impingements of his group environments upon him.

It has been found that a high percentage of problem children have "problem parents," that is, the parents have been failing to meet the needs of their children. "Treatment" has to be prescribed for the parents to the end that they change their ways in their relationships with their children. Since the child guidance clinic gives a thorough diagnosis of behavior problems in their early stages, much value must be attached to it.

(7) The unfit or broken home and inadequate parents are receiving increasing attention. The inadequate home may be classified under several headings: (*a*) the home broken by death; (*b*) the home rent asunder by divorce, separation, or desertion; (*c*) the home entered by chronic poverty; (*d*) the home in which wealth and luxury have made the children irresponsible puppets; (*e*) the home in which the parents are too busy with business or bridge and tea parties to give adequate attention to the welfare of their children; (*f*) the home in which parents are antisocial and vice-ridden; (*g*) the home in which the parents are shiftless; (*h*) the immigrant home in which the parents in trying to become adjusted to modern complex life lose control over their children; (*i*) the home in which the parents, otherwise fine people, have had no training in parenthood and in the scientific principles of child guidance, and (*j*) the home broken in vital ways when both parents are employed full time away from the home.[44]

It has been found that delinquency and crime rates vary according to the nature of the areas of the city in which they occur. After taking into account the main factors which would cause variations in delinquency rates, Clifford R. Shaw has concluded that "rates of truancy, delinquency, and adult crime tend to vary inversely in proportion to the distance from the center of the city." [45] The highest rates are found in and near the center of a city; the lowest, out on the periphery. Delinquency rates are "closely related to certain community situations which arise in the process of city growth." In the centers of cities and the adjoining areas where business is pushing out into what were once residential areas, community conditions are most disorganized and upset and here it is that delinquency and crime rates are at their peak. When business invades a residential region, social control declines. Moreover, disorganization "is intensified by the influx of foreign national and racial groups whose old cultural and social controls break down in the new cultural and racial situation of the city." [46] In time these delinquency patterns acquire a certain dominance in these

[44] World War II with its three daily shifts of workers in war industries and its extensive employment of women as well as men created especially difficult problems for thousands of children.

[45] *Delinquency Areas* (The University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 202.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

areas and hence influence the behavior of those who live therein. Moreover they draw delinquency-minded persons into them.

The next to the last mentioned type of inadequate home is widespread. Every child, even of the most respectable parents, needs to be conditioned in prosocial directions. He needs to be trained, controlled, and conditioned into ways of social cooperation. Even the children of refined, generous, sacrificial parents may become intensely self-centered. Even the "noblest youths" must sooner or later gain control over their emotions and passions and develop new and better types of prosocial attitudes if they are to become worth-while citizens.

(8) Public neglect and indifference is a causal factor in delinquency. The presence of harmful amusements operated for profit is an illustration in point. The social injustice which permits the extremes of poverty and wealth is another causal element. Public ignorance of delinquency areas is unfortunate. The practice of releasing youth from the public schools and allowing them to drift during the years of later adolescence is fraught with danger.

(9) *Lack of community organization* is a negative factor in the rise of delinquency. Nearly every community contains a number of character-building agencies, such as schools, churches, playgrounds, libraries, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., Campfire Girls, or Woodcraft Rangers. But as would be logical in an individualistic country, each of these organizations has worked independently of the others, and as a result the activities have been "spotty," with large areas of social life in a community receiving little constructive attention.

For two decades community councils have been working at this neglected situation.[47] In 1932 the "co-ordinating council" movement arose. It gives special attention to the whole community so that all the character-building agencies may work together in establishing constructive activities all the year for all the youth in the given community.[48] Regional councils have followed and then a nation-wide organization has developed.

[47] Clarence E. Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States* (The University of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 150.

[48] M. H. Neumeyer, "The Los Angeles County Plan of Co-ordinating Councils," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIX : 460–71, May-June, 1935.

The work of these co-ordinating councils, as summarized by Kenneth S. Beam, is threefold:

1. Study of the community to discover the major needs, problems, and conditions affecting the lives, particularly, of children and youth.
2. Analysis of each of these situations to discover a solution or to make a definite recommendation.
3. Placing responsibility for action in the hands of the agency, organization, or committee equipped to accomplish the results desired.[49]

Best of all, the coordinating council obtains community change without setting up any new institutions. As a result of a "co-ordinated interest" the community surprises itself by what it can achieve in behalf of its own welfare. The community demonstrates what can be done "with the institutions already existing when a co-ordinated interest is manifested." Delinquency sometimes occurs not because boys are delinquent but because "the community is delinquent." When the community ceases to be delinquent, the delinquency rate among boys tends to fall.

(10) The absence of prosocial attitudes leads to delinquency. Attitudes which give a balanced self-control, a wholesome religious outlook, a cooperative family life, and a prosocial configuration to personality are powerful antidotes to delinquency.

In attempting to predict juvenile delinquency H. Ashley Weeks used two groups of 420 delinquents and 421 nondelinquents respectively and found that there was a significant difference between the two groups in connection with two factors, namely, nonbroken homes, and divorce and separation. It was found that 59.5 per cent of the delinquents came from nonbroken homes while 72.7 per cent of the nondelinquents represented nonbroken homes. Further, 22.9 per cent of the delinquents came from homes broken by divorce and separation and only 11.9 per cent of the nondelinquents came from such homes.[50]

During World War II Teen Centers sprang up with seeming spontaneity in various parts of the United States. Teen-agers appeared to be the main leaders. The chief activities were social, and involved Teen

[49] From pamphlet, "Co-ordinating Councils" (National Probation Association, New York, n. d.).

[50] H. Ashley Weeks, "Predicting Juvenile Delinquency," *American Sociological Review*, 8:40–46, February, 1943.

Canteens and Teen Centers under private auspices, such as men's service clubs, or as a part of municipal recreation programs. Some Teen Centers developed "right under the noses of more staid groups that assumed they already had a sound youth program." [51] As Louise D. Yuill stated: "Young people are breaking away from the type of program that comes all tied up in a neat little bundle, the planning of which is dominated by adults." They want something they can plan and for which they can be responsible. Teen Centers are demonstrating "the desirability of greater participation by youth in the planning of their programs." [52] Moreover, Teen Centers are changing in nature, for some at least are moving from a purely fun program to one that also includes opportunities for service in the community.

Another approach to the problems of delinquency is represented by the movement to co-ordinate old agencies in a community in behalf of building a complete community program for the development of youth. Community councils are not enough for there is a need for cooperation on at least a metropolitan area basis. Public and private agencies, schools and churches, playground directors and probation officers are developing here and there a common and united strategy for delinquency control.[53]

One of the aspects of the crime and delinquency situation is what has been called "the prevalence of lawlessness of respectable people." Another phrase that conveys the same idea is "our law-abiding lawbreakers." The absence of a police record for such persons "arises not from their individual virtue but from sheer accident" or by being overlooked by the law.[54]

SOCIAL TREATMENT

Constructive treatment of group offenders is needed first for the sake of the offenders themselves and second as protection for the group. The offender presumably is an individual whose personality is an important

[51] Louise D. Yuill, "Teen Centers and the Adult Community," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32:519–26, September-October, 1947. [52] *Ibid.*, p. 520.

[53] Philip M. Smith, "The Prevention of Delinquency," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXIX : 442ff., July-August, 1945.

[54] J. S. Wallenstein and C. J. Wyle, "Our Law-abiding Law-breakers," *Probation*, 25:107–112 and 118, April, 1947.

desideratum. The state also has much at stake, for it cannot afford to suffer too much disorganization.

Retaliation, repression, and reformation have been called "the three r's" in treating offenders. *Retaliation* gives an equivalent for what has been received. If you are to return benefits, why should you not return injuries upon the same basis of give-and-take? The impulse to "get even" is one of the oldest in human nature. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is the motto of retaliation. Retaliation is common among primitive people and children; it is also resorted to by most civilized adults under great provocation.

Repression uses fear. To intimidate and to torture is the procedure of repression. Kings and autocrats have been prone to try to suppress crime by measures designed to intimidate and to torture. This method "held humanity in its grasp for thousands of years." [55]

Reformation as a technique for treating antisocial behavior first received serious consideration when Beccaria, an Italian, published his *Crimes and Punishment* in Milan in 1764. His book was the sensation of the day. It openly challenged repression and with equal frankness championed reformation. The book was widely translated, and the author lived to see his ideas extensively adopted.

Another successful early advocate of reformation was John Howard of England. In 1773 he was made sheriff of Bedford and placed in charge of the jail in which one hundred years previously John Bunyan had written *Pilgrim's Progress*. During the sixteen years of his public service, almost all at private expense, he visited nearly every country accessible to European travelers. In describing his journeying in behalf of prison reform the poet has said:

> Onward he moves; disease and retire;
> While murmuring demons hate they still admire.[56]

On John Howard's tomb are these words: "He took an open but unfrequented path to immortality." Giving his life for the unfortunates of society was his sacrificial achievement.

[55] See Frederick H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation* (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1919), for a splendid historical analysis.

[56] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 128.

The ideas of Beccaria and John Howard concerning reformation have been carried out in part in both Europe and America. William Penn, who had been jailed in England, was one of the first persons in America to show an interest in reforming criminals. As a result of his influence the Philadelphia Society for Relieving Distressed Prisoners was organized in 1776. It became the parent of prison associations in the United States.[57]

The penitentiary in Philadelphia that was ordered in 1817 has served "as a model which has been copied in all parts of the world, with variations." [58] It has radiating wings, with cells next to the outer wall and the corridor in the center, an arrangement which gives light in all cells and some sunshine in most of them. The confining of prisoners in individual cells, isolated from each other, was a reaction against the method of allowing prisoners of all degrees of criminality to associate together.

The Auburn State Prison, established about 1816 in New York, was designed to separate prisoners at night only. The convicts were employed during the day in large workshops. While at labor the prisoners had to observe the rule of absolute silence, which was enforced with exacting sternness. Silence in itself constituted a separation of prisoners and a fundamental isolation.[59]

The Elmira Reformatory in New York received its first prisoners in 1876, with Z. R. Brockway as its first superintendent. Under Brockway's direction the following principles of dealing with persons convicted of antisocial behavior were put into operation with marked success. (1) The prisoner can be reformed. (2) Reformation is the need of the individual and the duty of the state. (3) The prisoner's reformation is facilitated by his own cooperation. (4) The supreme agency for securing this desirable cooperation is power lodged in the administration of the prison to lengthen or shorten the duration of

[57] In 1776 the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia was a place of intimidation. The first time that a clergyman attempted to conduct religious services in the yard, the jailer, as a precaution against riot and to insure the preacher's personal safety, had a cannon brought into the yard and had stationed beside it a man with a lighted match. (*Ibid.*, pp. 147, 148.) [58] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[59] In 1825 a state prison at Sing Sing was built with convict labor following the Auburn rules; the achievement surprised the world, for it had not been considered possible to use criminals in constructing a large public building. (*Ibid.*)

the offender's term of imprisonment. (5) Very important is the principle that reformation must be educational. (6) Trade training is a basic need of prisoners. The aim of Elmira was to send no man out who was not prepared to do something well enough to be independent of the temptation to lie or to steal. (7) The treatment of every prisoner must be individualized and care must be given him which he needs in order to reorganize his personality. If the question is asked: Where does the punishment enter in? the answer is: In the disciplinary control which is unremitting and exacting.[60]

A new development was inaugurated when T. M. Osborne was warden of Sing Sing. He undertook, among other things, to encourage the prisoners to assume responsibility for their own behavior. Under his supervision the prisoners formed a welfare league among and for themselves. Within limits they were allowed to make their own rules of conduct and to punish violators. The plan worked well among those types of offenders who at heart were more prosocial than antisocial. It stimulated prisoners to develop the social and self-governing spirit that is needed in ordinary group life.[61]

Special problems in the reformation of offenders will now be considered.

(1) The *indeterminate sentence* provides that an offender may be sentenced, for example, for not less than one year or more than ten years. Until recently it was the policy to prescribe a definite period of punishment for each crime committed. The indeterminate sentence indicates that the object of imprisonment is not for punishment primarily but for the reformation of the offender and for his return to normal society as soon as he is able to lead a socially responsible life. To give this principle a fair chance to operate, it is necessary that prisons be so administered that the offenders will have an opportunity to demonstrate their fitness "to work out their salvation under reformative conditions." Individualization of treatment is the current scientific method,[62] and a real indeterminate sentence is one in which the

[60] F. H. Wines, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

[61] D. E. Clemmer, *The Prison Community* (Christopher Publishing House, Boston, 1940), pp. 298ff.

[62] See William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent* (Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1915), for an early elaboration of this method.

offender is kept under reformatory conditions until he develops socially responsible attitudes, a full occupational training, and an abiding sense of self-respect.[63]

(2) *Prison labor* was first introduced as "an aid to religious administrations," although it does not necessarily produce penitence. It may prove more of a boon than a punishment. Its basic value is that of reconditioning prisoners not simply physically but in their mental and social outlook on life.

The prison farm affords the discipline of hard work, the advantages of outdoor employment, of contacts with nature, of a wholesome relief from oppressive urban conditions, and the stimuli that come from working with living things. Although it lacks in not being able to train persons for urban positions, it offers other advantages vastly superior to life in jails and penitentiaries; moreover, it can be combined with any advantages in occupational training that reformatories may afford. It may also be largely self-supporting and in some instances it can afford a small allowance for the family of the offender in pay for his work.[64]

(3) The *parole system* recognizes the fact that prisons do not afford a good opportunity for developing a normal group life. Parole combined with the indeterminate sentence gives an offender a chance to "make good" in normal society under supervision. E. W. Burgess has shown how by studying about twenty factors concerning the life of the offenders and the conditions of offense it is possible to judge what percentage of paroled persons will make good, and what any particular person's probabilities will be of making good under parole.[65] Case work training for the parole officer is vital.

(4) *Adult probation* is a system "not for letting people off, but of providing correctional treatment outside of prison walls." In many cases imprisonment carries with it unwholesome contacts with "toughs"; it also involves life-long disgrace, loss of status, and dis-

[63] W. C. Reckless, *Criminal Behavior* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1940), Chs. XX–XXII.

[64] An excellent basis for a comparative study of prison systems will be found in John L. Gillin, *Taming the Criminal* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931).

[65] "Factors Determining Success or Failure on Parole," in *Parole and the Indeterminate Sentence* (Parole Board of Illinois, Chicago, 1928).

couragement. Adult probation is intended for first offenders, for those not truly antisocial, for those who have broken minor regulations. The person on probation makes monthly reports, pays the fine against him in installments, and makes restitution in whole or in part to the person or persons injured by him. If he can "learn his lesson" in this way, why punish him further?

(5) The *county jail* system such as has existed widely in the United States has been characterized as "a relic of barbarism." Its chief advocates are those who are dependent upon it for salaries or fees, or those who are unthinking regarding the proper treatment of antisocial behavior.

It causes or furthers physical deterioration. It is a sad sight to behold strong men herded in a county jail like cattle in stalls, or walking the narrow confines of a county jail "to relieve cramping limbs." Jails ordinarily do not have even a crude gymnasium in which trustworthy prisoners can exercise weakening muscles. The physical condition of prisoners is also undermined by unsanitary factors such as impure air, dirty bedding, and dark cells. Darkness, dampness, and dirt often combine to make the strong weak, and the weak still weaker.

Nervous energy is wasted. Barring a few exceptions there is little offered in the way of systematic education. With little to occupy the mind but reflections on the past, many prisoners leave jail more disorganized than when they entered. They are not reformed. The county jail is blind to its responsibility to society of making offenders into better men and women while serving their sentences. Presumably merely a place for the confinement of offenders, it turns out to be "a school for crime."

First offenders and hardened offenders are thrown together. Exchange of antisocial experiences is a major diversion. The wise and experienced in crime teach the beginner "the tricks of the art" of crime. The narratives of the tough "jail-bird" impress the plastic minds of youthful offenders, and tempt them to new acts of crime upon release. The criminal atmosphere in a jail is very serious because so many of the prisoners are comparatively young; the jail tears down rather than builds up ethical character. It does not compare with the state

the social service of all agencies which are doing social work in the given community.[67]

Social work administration has been developing very extensively in the public welfare field. City, county, state, and particularly federal welfare work have the advantage of the support of tax money. Private welfare institutions often operate on very limited funds and accomplish amazing results with small staffs. The private welfare agency is known best for the personal relationships which are maintained between staff workers and clients, while public welfare agencies are well known for the extensive and comprehensive nature of their activities. There is a tendency for the government "to take over" various welfare activities, which thus secure support from all the taxpayers, whereas the private agencies depend largely on the generosity of a relatively small number of citizens.

Social group work is conducting or directing clubs and classes in social settlements, recreation centers, character-building agencies. It involves indirect leadership activities in small groups and specific playground activities for larger groups.

The person who directs a club or other small social group needs to know the psychology of the individual and the sociology of the group. He works through the *group process*. In every group there is a give-and-take between the members, a continual becoming something different in personality and in group nature. It is in the promoting of the group process and in enabling it to function freely that the group worker does his best work. It is in using the methods of informal education that the group worker finds his best techniques.

Group work is expressed in three types of situations: (1) There is the ordinary informal club, where a dozen or more individuals of the same or similar ages meet perhaps once a week under the direction of a volunteer or a paid leader. (2) There is a group which is usually conducted on a more informal basis than classes in the public schools. The program varies from creative handicraft activities to studying special subjects. (3) Then there is the mass or large-scale group, such as that

[67] *Cf.* "Councils in Social Work" by M. F. Krughoff, in *Social Work Yearbook*, 1947 (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1947).

found in the gymnasium or on the playground. A leader is very prominent, and followership is implicit.

Group work always takes place within the framework of what the late Charles H. Cooley defined as the primary group. It is the primary group in which human beings develop their primary or basic ideals of life and character in natural, unconscious ways, and without outside direction (see Chapter 1). It is in the normal give-and-take of primary group activities that leadership and followership emerge and that personality development occurs. The group worker functions best when he promotes most the group as its own self-directing force. The greater the variety of stimulating experiences that an individual can be offered in a group, the greater the personality development of each member. The greater the variety of stimulating groups that the group worker can offer youth in underprivileged communities, the greater the personality growth and enrichment.

Group work involves the functioning of the group process and of the democratic process. It also includes the socialization, the creative development, and the therapeutic reorganization of individuals. Thus group work throws intensive light on the nature of the sociology of the group, which is the central theme of this book.

The philosophy of group work includes the promotion of *the group process*. By group process is meant the free interaction of all the individuals in association for a given purpose or set of purposes. That is to say, each individual in each association of persons freely stimulates all the others according to his abilities and level of mental development. In turn, each is freely stimulated by all the others according to their degrees of development. This does not mean equality of stimulation, for no two individuals represent the same level of mental development. It means gradations of stimulation, but freedom within these variations. In this way everyone experiences the maximum of personality growth, on the one hand, and contributes a maximum influence to the development of all his associates, on the other. Moreover, the group develops a maximum of self-direction and makes its decisions in terms of its own needs.

To guarantee to a group this freedom of interaction within itself means protecting it from outside interference as far as compatible with

the needs of the larger groups within which it functions. The members of the interacting group must also be protected from the idiosyncrasies and intolerant attitudes of its new members. This freedom of interaction is hampered and prevented to the extent that the members are not educated for it. Hence, the first tenet in the philosophy of group work calls for a preparatory education whereby people will safeguard freedom of interaction.

It is vital that member-leaders and group work leaders refrain from domination in any way even by emotional reactions, by tone of voice, by facial gestures, by insinuation, or by haughty responses. It is necessary that group workers be educated in the home, the school, the church, on the playground, or in the neighborhood to think in terms and in behalf of the entire group.

The philosophy of group work includes the socializing of the individual. This purpose involves the conditioning of each individual member so that his attitudes are centered not in any individual, not in himself, and not necessarily in the particular group as such, but in the welfare of the members of the particular group and of persons outside the group as well. Here is a purpose that is deep-seated and that sometimes runs counter to many of the impulses of human nature. Here group work finds its most difficult purpose to achieve.

The group tends to center the behavior of its members in itself and its own welfare. But the philosophy of group work goes one step further, organizing human attitudes in terms of the welfare of all human beings.

An indescribable thrill accompanies behavior that is centered in others and that does not raise the question: "What will I get out of it?" Experience that is genuine and sincere in this direction is a most significant conditioning factor in life. Discussion that sets up the welfare of all other human beings not as group members but as personalities is a milder instrument and one not to be ignored.

The philosophy of group work includes the development of the creative capacities of each individual. In a simple way this basic aim may be achieved in the training of the individual through joint participation in handicrafts and the arts so as to bring into operation all his latent creative abilities. It is not worth while to promote handi-

crafts and the arts if the club members learn merely to copy. A skillful group leader looks for the latent art and craft (and other) abilities of his pupils and uses various stimuli to arouse these hidden talents. Self-made comparisons of the efforts of different individuals arouse in some of them brilliant ideas and original designs. The stimulus that comes from working at similar craft undertakings with others arouses originality. An unconscious competition is sufficient to arouse individuals to do better than they have ever done before.[68]

Carry this plan of developing the creative abilities of individual members into the fields of mental and social organization, and the results are superior achievement. Give each group member suitable and encouraging opportunities to lead in group activities, and many persons discover new and latent abilities. With each individual producing his artistic and mental best, the social achievement of the whole rises to new levels.

The philosophy of group work includes a therapeutic reorganization of the personalities of unadjusted club members. Some of the results of failures in family groups, in school groups, in church groups, in neighborhood groups are being corrected by "group therapy." Through therapy, group opportunities for doing things that have been denied a boy or girl elsewhere are being provided. Still more important, recognition and status are accorded which previously had been lacking. In this way a distorted personality develops into a better-balanced type. The therapeutic purpose of group work lies deeply imbedded in everyday activities, for example, in creative handicraft and artcraft work, in club participation and discussion, in being a functioning member of a democratically operating association, in being conditioned in terms of human welfare.

Since group work deals directly with primary groups, it is in a strategic position to contribute to sociology. On the other hand, sociology has developed a body of knowledge that gives a fresh understanding of the problems of group work and social planning.

Social disorganization refers to the failure of institutions to function well and to "the disintegration of the bonds and controls which make

[68] The awarding of prizes or badges of merit is in general to be avoided, lest many persons work for the honors rather than for the joy of creating beautiful objects.

social teamwork carry out its functions." [69] Extreme social disorganization now threatens and there is the possibility that man in his corporate relation or group relation to others "may bring things to an end through either destruction or neglect." [70] Among the leading forms of social disorganization as seen by Faris are these: criminal behavior, mental disorders, family breakdown, suicide, breakdown of the market system, corruption in government. Causes of these expressions of social disorganization are found in rapid population increase and city growth, many and rapid technological changes, increasing disregard for the mores and for morals, and the impersonalization of religious beliefs and controls. Social reorganization is also taking place by small and unnoticed adjustments to new conditions through welfare measures, social work, personal helpfulness, and by "sudden, episodic, and dramatic" measures such as "revivals, reform crusades, social movements, and revolutions." [71] At the same time, new forms of social disorganization and reorganization are doubtless on the way.

Social disorganization naturally involves social reorganization. In fact social disorganization may be but one aspect of social reorganization that is taking place. Hence social disorganization may be a negative aspect of a reorganization process that is under way.[72] In the changes that normally occur some disorganization of old ways and institutions naturally occur. At the same time new ways that normally take place constitute the reorganization aspect of social change. Of course natural catastrophes may cause temporary disorganization; violent outbreaks, such as riots, may not only create disorganization but start reorganization. At any rate disorganization and reorganization are different components in social change.

PROBLEMS

1 Distinguish between poverty and pauperism.
2 Is it true that "abnormally large incomes make abnormally small ones"?

[69] Robert E. L. Faris, "Contemporary and Prospective Social Disorganization," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32:679, January-February, 1948.
[70] *Loc. cit.* [71] *Ibid.*, p. 683.
[72] J. F. Cuber, *Sociology* (D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1947), Ch. XXVII.

3 Why do some people do charity work as a kind of sport?
4 Which constitutes the greater social problem, the idle rich or the idle poor? Why?
5 How may the Social Security Act be improved?
6 What is economic democracy?
7 Is there a social problem in a community that is maladjusted if the people there are not aware that anything is wrong?
8 How does it happen that current social disorganization can be traced back to the cave man?
9 What distinctive kind of social disservice have you noticed recently?
10 Illustrate social parasitism from your own observations.
11 Distinguish by illustration between cyclical and seasonal unemployment.
12 What can be done to solve the technological unemployment problem?
13 Why is social insurance sometimes called a method of prolonging the life of capitalism?
14 Why has the Townsend Plan had so large a hearing?
15 Instead of Townsend Plan campaigns, would it be better to create more respect for old age in our country?
16 Does it ever pay to be antisocial?
17 Which is more difficult: to be prosocial or antisocial ?
18 Explain the statement: "Societies have the criminals they deserve."
19 Do groups sometimes become disorganized when the individual members maintain well-organized personalities?
20 Does the presence of a large number of antisocial members always mean a degree of group disorganization?
21 What is criminology?
22 Are there "born criminals"?
23 Write out five questions for a civil service examination for policemen.
24 Explain: Labor has a reformatory influence.
25 Why is time usually necessary for the reformatory process to function?
26 Distinguish between probation and parole.
27 Why does the jail system, despite its serious weakness, exist so extensively?
28 Why does the rate of juvenile delinquency in the United States increase despite our educational and other efforts to lower it?
29 What is your comment on the assertion: "There is no difference between the delinquent and nondelinquent during 95 per cent of the time."
30 What are the causes of war today?
31 On the basis of your answer to the preceding question, name three procedures for preventing war.

32 What procedures are involved in peace-making?
33 What are the marks of a constructive group organization?

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Chapter

13

Group Controls

GROUP CONTROL is the way in which a group regulates the behavior of its members. It is a process that is continuously in operation in any group. It may be direct, as in the case of written laws, or indirect, as in a generally accepted unwritten custom or tradition.

A *group control* is any stimulus sponsored or approved by a group which results in regulating the behavior of the group members. The sight of a motorcycle policeman on a highway acts as a group control to many autoists. A parent's comment that leads a son to enlist in war is another example of group control. Perhaps the influence of other boys who are enlisting and who are feted and praised before they leave for training is a better example.

Some group controls are positive—for instance, promotions, honors, prizes, grades. Other controls are negative—for example, physical punishment, taboos, sneers.

Group controls reveal the nature of group values.

Organization is the technique whereby a group controls its members. Organization gives configuration to a group. It sets limits and keeps human energies from spreading out in all directions and from being dissipated. It gives boundaries to human behavior and channels this behavior toward helpful or harmful ends.

Group control in its larger aspect is social control, which has been referred to as a collective term "for those primary processes, planned or unplanned by which individuals are taught, persuaded, or com-

pelled to conform to the usages and life-values of groups." [1] Its general purposes have been given by Brearley as threefold: (1) regulatory, that is, to keep the behavior of individuals within the limits of rules, regulations, customs; (2) exploitative, that is, to take advantage of the masses for the sake of a few in control; and (3) creative, that is, directed toward social change that is believed to be generally beneficial. Kimball Young asserts that the aims of social control are "to bring about conformity, solidarity, and continuity of a particular group or society." [2] Perhaps it would be clearer to say that the aim of social control is to regulate the individual members of a group so that their behavior will conform to group-determined patterns. Of course it is individuals who determine the group-determined patterns. Sometimes these individuals are democratically elected persons, sometimes they are lobbyists or others who bring pressure upon the elected leaders and persuade them to make the control rules to favor a special few, and sometimes they are individuals who have risen to power by force or autocratic means. Hence, perhaps Charles W. Coulter is correct when he indicates that social control, whatever its source, is ultimately the action of one personality upon another.[3]

Social control operates through social pressures on the one hand and constructive stimuli on the other. The group easily accentuates the use of pressures. It often represses blindly and is suspicious of individual variations from the established order.[4] Social control also operates through the use of rewards, honors, and prizes. It may stimulate individuals to act courageously, but it is chary with its rewards to those whose ideas contradict traditional ideas. It may emphasize rewards so much that individuals serve the group not for the sake of the group but of the rewards.

CONTROL OF INDIVIDUALS

The need for group controls arises from the conflict between the group and the individual. A human being is born into a group which

[1] H. C. Brearley in J. S. Roucek and Associates, *Social Control* (D. Van Nostrand Company, New York, 1947), p. 3.

[2] Kimball Young, *Sociology* (American Book Company, New York, 1942), p. 894. [3] Charles W. Coulter in J. S. Roucek, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[4] E. A. Ross, *Social Control*, (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1901), is a pioneer work in its field; it still retains a high rank.

has standardized rules and regulations. An infant, however, possesses countless unorganized impulses. He is "a little anarchist," whose anarchistic impulses conflict with group standards. He lacks social vision and does not perceive the value of standards.[5]

In his earliest activities a child is usually unsocial; he seeks the satisfaction of his own inherent impulses. This elemental behavior soon becomes conditioned to social ends through personal experiences. The best social control is that which operates through the normal experiences of the individual and which conditions him in group welfare ways. After once slamming a door shut on his finger, a child is generally cautious in handling doors; and after acting contrary to the judgment of a calm, self-controlled parent, and suffering bitterly from his own misbehavior, he learns to have some consideration for the judgment of his elders.

The individual feels control first as a member of the *family* group. Parents sometimes exercise control over the child through force and sometimes through love. The child full of energy and without experience wants so many things which are likely to be harmful to him that parents find themselves saying "don't" more often than "do," and hence using negative instead of positive controls. The more active the child, the larger is the number of "do" situations that parental control must provide. If parents resort to anger as a control they arouse angry feelings in the child, and the control problem grows worse. The child is likely to grow defiant when controlled by angry parents, and if anger is shown many times, the child first loses all respect for parental control and then develops hatred for the parents.

The social significance of exercising parental control with a combination of love and firmness cannot be overestimated, for thereby children are conditioned in terms of group participation and responsibility. That type of control which secures wholesome participation by the children in the life of the family conditions the children against self-centered lives, against yielding to impulses for mere personal pleasure, against establishing antisocial attitudes. More important, it conditions

[5] For a pertinent discussion read the chapter on "What the American Citizen Values" in James H. Tufts, *America's Social Morality* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1933), Ch. II.

them in terms of sympathy, of give-and-take, of group responsibility, and of seeking pleasure in the advancement and enjoyment of other persons. By the use of wise controls the family is probably better fitted than any other group for the training of children, because the family is a miniature society with varied opportunities and problems.

Each of us has felt the control influence of *play* groups. By virtue of play controls, the child is conditioned to submerge his desires, and gladly so, to the welfare of other children. In the case of boys this lesson sometimes is learned from the fists of other boys; girls have less overt but equally effective ways of regulating the irregular member. In the play group a child will sometimes take severe punishment from other and older children without whimpering, whereas slight punishment from a parent may produce sullenness or anger. In a play group children will often obey a leader of their own selection more readily than they will a parent, for there is not the disparity in viewpoints. In other words, the play group is an excellent support to the family group in conditioning children in a sense of group responsibility.

We have all experienced social control in *school*. Perhaps that control has been felt in regular and routine assignments, in standard hours of work, or in a formal seating arrangement. Perhaps it has come from the teacher's encouraging remarks or from his disciplinary rules; perhaps from the derisive laughter of the classroom group. The loud guffaws of boys or the scornful glances of girls may be more effective in bringing a recalcitrant student into line than a teacher's stern remarks.

Then there is community control exercised through the *police*. As long as a person keeps within the law and the customs he does not experience this form of control, but let him violate a traffic law, for instance, and control begins to operate. Let the laws be repeatedly flaunted and control is felt.

A *religious* group exercises control through its dogmas and beliefs. To many persons the eye of God, which penetrates everywhere and watches when there are no human observers, which penetrates the secret places of a person's inmost thought, is a powerful control. A person thus may regulate his behavior according to the concept of God held by his religious group.

Group control and personal initiative are two poles of social life.

Both are essential, yet either in an extreme form can destroy the other and wreck the group itself. Both must operate with due consideration of the other. Group control is usually sound if it has for its main standard the criterion of personality emergence and richness. In turn, personal initiative is well founded if it operates within the limits of social welfare.

By stimulating certain impulses of the individual, the group may condition a person to a broad type of self-control; or by stimulating other impulses it may arouse antisocial behavior. The group may develop self-respect in its members or stimulate destructive tendencies.

As a result of his experiences within group life a person develops two general standards. One standard is used for judging self and friends; the other, for judging mere acquaintances and strangers. Each person has both an "in-group" and an "out-group" ethics. He excuses unworthy behavior by himself and by members of his in-group that he despises when exhibited by the out-group. That which is lying when perceived in the out-group is mere "stretching the truth" if indulged in by the in-group. That which is vicious when countenanced by the French is justifiable when practiced by the Germans, if one is a German; and *vice versa.*

A group of 105 students were once asked this question by the writer: "Is your personal ethical standard higher in your dealing with your instructors or with your fellow students?" Sixty-six replied that they exercised higher standards of personal control in dealing with their fellow students; twenty-eight declared that they held themselves to a higher standard of behavior in dealing with instructors than with their fellow students; while eleven asserted that personally they behaved according to the same standard in their relations with their instructors and their fellow students. The explanation of the reaction of the majority is that there is a more personal relationship between student and student than between student and professor. The group with the greater fellow-feeling exercises the greater control over its members. Even a gang of thieves may exhibit a fine type of social control among themselves at the very time that they are engaged in robbery and in victimizing others.

Ethical pluralism involves a great many ethical standards. A person

may have one standard of control for himself, another for his nearest friends, still another for other friends, and yet another for strangers. It is possible for a person to have a different standard for each group and each person whom he contacts. These varied standards mean that a person is in conflict within himself. Since different groups have different standards of right and wrong, a person wholly subject to group control may have as many standards of right and wrong as there are groups to which he belongs.

Since there is a close relation between a person's behavior standards and the controls exercised by his groups, an excellent way to study group control is by considering the behavior of persons as group members. In one class no student cheats in examination; in another class composed of similar persons, cheating is common. In the first class group control is constructive and helpful; in the other, loose and demoralizing. In the first instance the class may be small and the instructor fair; in the other, the class may be large and the instructor judged to be unfair.

Everyone finds his personality being modified by the control exercised by his in-groups, that is, by his family group, play groups, social club groups, and business associates, although now and then someone modifies the group controls. Occasionally a person goes to prison because he refuses to abide by group demands. The difference between such a courageous soul, or conscientious objector, and a criminal, is that the former is striving to improve his group's standards, while the latter is endeavoring to lower group standards.[6]

Fashion is an autocratic ruler. Often it represents control by the ephemeral, the unessential, the superficial, and yet from fashion come now and then some elements of lasting value. Fashion control is as often irrational as is custom control, hence the need for critical examination of it by its devotees.

If I act in line with group demands merely in order to succeed, I am living on a relatively low behavior plane. If I act in line with group standards merely in order to maintain personal status, I am still living on a low level. If I act socially because of having thought through my behavior in terms of human welfare, I have attained a higher plane. In

[6] Of course the conscientious objector may at times be mistaken.

the last instance I am likely to start new currents of constructive group opinion and to create new and better social controls.

In an interesting study of fashion and its operation in Hawaii, Margaret Lam illustrates the propositions that fashion is a mode of life, and that the introduction of a new fashion does not create serious social disorganization. And yet it may bring into daily life new and strange ideas. Almost any new idea can be introduced into the behavior of a whole people and be tried out by them under the guise of fashion. Social change itself is thus controlled, and in that way the prevailing culture patterns of Hawaii have been changed from Polynesian and Oriental to Occidental.

> In this wise, then, fashion aids in the development of the present cultural organization of modern Hawaiian society and in the selection of the content of its culture. In this manner, also, fashion acts as an agent of acculturation, facilitating rather than retarding the cultural assimilation of the increasing second and third generations of Hawaii.[7]

CONTROL BY MORES AND INSTITUTIONS

A large part of group control is found in custom and tradition, or in the ways of doing and believing by which persons are conditioned chiefly in their childhood. Customs and traditions are group-accepted techniques of control that have become well established, that are taken for granted, and that are passed along from generation to generation. They represent methods of doing and thinking that have been successful, and hence have acquired prestige. They are group-sanctioned, and the individual members of the group are constrained to conduct themselves according to the dictates of these customs and traditions.

The real authority behind the *mores*, or those customs and traditions that are proclaimed essential to group welfare, is the group itself. It includes not simply the living members, for the memory of those who have departed from this life may exert a powerful influence. The group develops "collective representations" [8] or symbols. It may create a flag which becomes sacred. It promotes group songs; it confers honors and assigns rank, or position, to the faithful.

[7] Margaret Lam, "Fashion: Its Role in Hawaii," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXIII : 55–61, September-October, 1938.

[8] "Collective representations" is one of the main concepts contributed to sociological thought by Emile Durkheim, one of the most eminent French sociologists.

The group enforces its will sometimes through ridicule, which is so powerful that most persons cannot long withstand it. In their overt behavior many persons live on higher planes than they would if they were not afraid of inviting group contempt.

Negative control includes the use of *taboo*. Taboo is a "don't" with a penalty attached to it. In order, for example, to protect a cocoanut crop, a primitive chieftain may place a taboo upon it, and in consequence, whoever violates the taboo will presumably be stricken to death by unseen beings. More significant is the fact that some of the group's members take the taboo so seriously that if they violate it they actually die from fear. The use of taboo as a religious force has been indicated in Chapter 8.

Among civilized peoples group control is often exercised through a modern form of taboo, which includes both threat and penalty, although the latter is inflicted directly rather than by invisible powers. For example, intermarriage of whites and Negroes is taboo in the United States.

Every group organization contains some degree of *ritual*, which is a positive control. Ritual is crystallized custom and tradition. It operates by "the charm of orderly movements," by "the impressiveness of ordered masses in processions," by the appeal to mystery.[9] Ritual secures the actual doing and also at the same time the formation of habits. Ritual conditions persons to the actual carrying out of certain group-desired customs and traditions.

Someone has suggested that every community has its totems and its taboos. It has its centers and objects of worship, which become forces of group control. They influence people to behave in certain ways. Their social value depends, of course, on their relation to human welfare. They are often mellowing forces; they tone people down; they standardize.

The taboos exercise a dual control influence. They are forceful because they are either sacred or else unclean. They arouse respect and

[9] John Dewey and James H. Tufts, *Social Ethics* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1908), p. 56. Several interesting comparisons may be made by the analytical student between this volume and the later one by James H. Tufts entitled *America's Social Morality, op. cit.*

fear. They keep people from acting; they inhibit. They control the behavior of people by their appeal not to reason but to the deep-seated sentiments.[10]

The college freshman or sophomore who joins a fraternity must submit to a set of initiation ceremonies, that is, to ritual. The ritualistic ceremonies, partly formal and partly informal, are sometimes arranged so as to humiliate the individual and to make him feel as weak as possible. At an appointed time the more formal ritual begins, which magnifies the ideals and standards and glories of the group as much as possible. The contrast is exaggerated, for the weakened individual is set over against the glorified group. In the name of group ritual many irrational jokes are perpetrated upon innocent blindfolded initiates, and thus a worthy social institution is sometimes debased by its well-meaning but stupid members.

To a surprising degree people live according to *custom control.* If they live up to the level of the generally accepted group standards they feel at ease. If one's group endorses automobile speeding, cheating in examinations, midnight carousals, or lying to the assessor, the guilty person feels no pangs of conscience but may even boast of his antisocial actions. If drinking liquor is considered smart in a given group, then the members boast of getting drunk; if drinking is considered asinine by the group, the member who gets intoxicated later feels ashamed.

Group control is often found in what is called "the rules of the game," unwritten to be sure, but powerful. If the rules do not seem fair to a person he may grumble and comply, openly challenge them, or keep still and try to "get by" without observing them. These are the three major types of unfavorable reaction to group control.

Custom control may be entirely irrational; it may be injurious but nevertheless maintained by an unscrupulous or intolerant leader or minority. The merely trivial may become the group standard and demand obeisance from the many. The truly worth-while may be submerged among group values. Group control may crush worth-while personal initiative.

[10] Daniel Katz and R. L. Schanck, *Social Psychology* (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1938), p. 62.

For his own sake as well as for the sake of the group, a person cannot always accept group control uncritically. It is fortunate for any group that some members keep their minds open to the defects of existing customs and traditions, and that they are courageous enough to speak out against the group. A democracy encourages such criticism, but in an autocracy woe to the critic of the *status quo*.

Certain types of group control are useful for the age in which they originated, but are carried over to a succeeding age where they are no longer sufficient because new group and personal needs have arisen. The socially more alert members recognize the inefficiency of ancient controls and strive to change them for better controls.

Social control is directed from vantage points known as social institutions. A *social institution* is a standardized set of rules and the machinery and authority for putting the rules into action. A social institution tends to become inflexible and rigid, and to rule with an iron hand. It is slow to adopt new methods and hence sometimes rules with a "dead hand." As an agent of social control it easily becomes a tool of social repression. Undue and prolonged institutional pressure causes a virile sub-group to remonstrate and to start a revolution.

Customs and traditions are best preserved through institutions. A social institution is a structure of society that is organized to meet the needs of people chiefly through well-established procedures. E. T. Hiller refers to a social institution as "a relatively elaborate organization of norm-regulated social relations directed toward interest or need." [11] A social institution in the judgment of E. C. Hughes is "formally integrated behavior" and is based on the persistence of an effective want.[12]

Robert M. MacIver defines an institution as a "definite organization pursuing some specific interest or pursuing general interests in a specific way." [13] It is a means that is created by a group for carrying out its specific and general purposes. To MacIver the family is a group

[11] E. T. Hiller, *Social Relations and Structures* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1947), p. 74.

[12] E. C. Hughes, "The Ecological Aspects of Institutions," *American Sociological Review*, I : 181, April, 1936.

[13] *Community* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928), Ch. IV; see also his *Society* (Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1937), pp. 143, 144, 156.

or association possessing a number of institutions for putting its purposes into action. Likewise a religious group is an association which has a number of institutions of worship, such as baptism, that enable it to carry forward its aims. The family is an association, and marriage is one of the institutions that assist the family in carrying out its functions.

Because of the authority that social control invests in social institutions they tend to become vested interests. A *vested interest* is any authority-endowed social procedure or organized set of procedures, such as institutions, which rules by falling back on its past glories or its present prestige rather than on its current ability to meet human needs. A vested interest is one of the most dangerous agents of social control, for it grows haughty with power and age, and permits little reform within itself.

In another sense the study of social institutions is a major aspect of sociology, for it is in social institutions that the tried and tested behavior patterns of people are salvaged, kept intact, and continued in operation. All else is ephemeral.

The leading social groups today which have developed institutional authority are the family, the community (including the city and nation), occupational groups, play groups, educational and school groups, religious and church groups. In and through these the social processes function. In and through these control operates. These groups are objective integrations of personal attitudes. They hold persons steady, sometimes too steady. They furnish stimuli or at least the environment in which stimuli play upon personality, enrich it, and arouse it to creative insight.

CONTROL BY LAW

Law is organized group control. It is composed of the laws on the statute books and of the attitudes of the people toward these laws. It is the attitudes that count the more.

Social control has strong support in written laws. A *law* is a rule laid down officially by a group for its members to observe. It is adjudged to contribute to the welfare of the group. By forceful, objective means it brings group standards before the attention of careless or

antisocial members. By compelling the individual to live according to regulation, the group is protected and the individual may learn to develop behavior patterns built upon group welfare. The process is often painful to the individual and costly to the group.

Laws begin as unwritten rules operating as group opinion. Preliterate groups lived largely by unwritten rules or laws. Among civilized people a written law may begin as an unwritten rule among a minority. It later achieves a majority recognition and may become a written law. The force of group support is more important for a law than its written or unwritten form, although of course written laws are usually more precise than unwritten laws.

Laws are not designed for the persons who have lawful attitudes. They are needed for those whose behavior is against group welfare. The exercise by the state of restraint of individuals becomes increasingly necessary in an increasingly complex collective life. When people traveled in ox carts, traffic ordinances, for example, were not necessary. But in an age of automobiles laws restricting persons must be made and enforced for two reasons: first, to protect the lawful against the reckless; and second, to keep each person from getting in the way of other persons.

The coercive character of law is justified by the need to control behavior in behalf of group standards. If everyone honestly behaved in behalf of group safety and development, few coercive laws would be needed. The law aims to maintain minimum standards of behavior as determined by group needs.

Law has been called the most specialized and highly finished engine of control employed by society. E. A. Ross has presented the twofold function of law as follows: law treats persons repressively because of certain of their aggressive acts; and it treats persons compulsively because of their neglect with regard to other phases of life. It is generally easier to prevent individuals from aggressiveness than to secure positive cooperation.[14]

Law secures respect for itself through a system of punishments. It commonly uses both physical and financial punishment. Either it

[14] E. A. Ross, *Social Control* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1901), Ch. XI.

incarcerates a convicted person or else takes money from him. The more serious the offense, the more likely is physical punishment to be meted out.

Social control varies according to size of area. It is most personal in a small, closely knit rural community; it is less personal in a small urban community; it is least in a giant city. Hence, as the personal elements decrease in force, the problem of creating adequate substitutes grows more serious.

The civil and the criminal law are the main pillars which sustain the social structure in any national group. Since these are the main structural props of group order, it is the lawyer's function to help preserve the social order and to secure justice. In theory the legal profession has been pronounced as much a social welfare profession as teaching or the ministry. If this view be correct, the commercialized conception of the profession, namely, of having personal services to sell to persons and to corporations who can pay, is false. Those lawyers who are out to win for their clients irrespective of where justice lies are betraying their high calling. The best members of the profession consider themselves as social servants, guardians of order and justice, rather than as hired servants of people who can pay and who want to "get around the law" at any cost.

Laws originated in a need for justice and for order. In primitive groups a body of customs and traditions grew into written rules and laws. A main source of the growth of these laws was the power of the chieftain to decide new cases. His decisions were accepted as absolute authority. Later a more adequate method of legal procedure developed in the form of courts of justice, presided over by persons specially selected for adjudicative work. Until recent decades the adjudication of new and particular cases was the chief source of additions to law; while today nearly all new expressions of law have their origins in legislative bodies, which have been created for the purpose of making laws. Unfortunately, under democracy, where the people make laws, many persons feel themselves superior to the laws which they help make and hence violate them freely. Moreover, there is no end to the making of laws, with the result that unscrupulous lawyers can defeat justice by playing laws and interpretations of laws and legal technicalities of

law against justice. Still further, lawmaking bodies are often subject to endless discussion and to the influence of pernicious lobbies. In most highly complex societies built on individualism, people are not yet ready or trained for lawmaking, and hence the expert is developing. Early in 1933 the Congress of the United States turned over temporarily to the Chief Executive wide discretionary powers that ordinarily are held as the prerogative of Congress only. The President thus became for a time a benevolent dictator.

Law has been based on some theory of human society.[15] Earliest Roman law, for instance, assumed the religious view of group organization inherent in ancestor worship. Later Roman law considered that the group was a matter of "contract" between independent individuals.[16] Through the influence of the church during the Middle Ages, the conception of law as a divine command dominated. Today the foundation of law is proclaimed as being the welfare of the people. There is now, as a rule, less blind adherence to precedents often antiquated or ill-founded and more consideration of human welfare.

During wartime, laws and regulations are put into effect in a democratic country that would not be permitted in peacetime. The reason of course is that the life of the group is considered to be at stake. In order that the group itself may survive, the members submit to rigorous laws. But when the war is over and the crisis is past then a democratic people demand that the restrictions and controls be rescinded at once, as did the people of the United States after World War II was ended. In an autocratic government the people generally are conditioned to obey the fiat of the dictator. They are trained to accept rules "from above" without question at all times on the ground that the "leader" knows more about the conditions and also because of his superior ability.

Price control is a form of social control, put into operation by the members of a society by law in order to protect the many from being taken advantage of by a few. It is designed to safeguard the rank and file from being subjected to unnecessary living costs. It implies that the pecuniarily-minded cannot be appealed to successfully in terms of

[15] Charles A. Ellwood, *Methods in Sociology* (Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1933), p. 151. [16] *Loc. cit.*

their patriotism, interest in human welfare, commendable citizenship, sense of justice, defense of free enterprise, or respect for their neighbors. Hence, the strong arm of government must be invoked to restrain their profit-seeking designs.

Price control suggests that the ethical standards of some individuals have broken down under a system of free enterprise. It represents an attempt of government in a democracy to prolong the free enterprise system, instead of adopting government ownership. If some producers, manufacturers, and middle men persist in taking advantage of free enterprise to their own financial gain, they must expect social control to develop in terms of price control under democratic auspices, or lose free enterprise entirely or at least be partly responsible for bringing on totalitarianism.[17]

An efficient method of price control calls for an adequate rationing control system. If it is not accompanied by rationing control, "the inevitable result is that the supplier holds life and death power over distribution." [18] Rationing control is "the superimposing of a permit system for the distribution of goods or privileges." [19] The control by law through rationing keeps people with money from getting food, for example, from people who can buy only in small quantities and from day to day. Individualists are likely to be shortsighted if not greedy unless rationing holds in check their desire to obtain goods for themselves without regard for the needs of fellow citizens who are less able to buy.

These same individualists will attempt to circumvent the laws that govern rationing. The result is the *black market*, which is buying and selling of larger quantities of goods to given persons than rationing allows and at prices above the ceilings that the price control law permits. The black market is sustained as a rule by people who put self above social welfare—for a price.

It makes a great difference whether government and law view rationing as a negative or a positive form of social control. The former

[17] E. S. Bogardus, "Price Control and Social Control," *Sociology and Social Research*, 31:297–305, March-April, 1947.

[18] "What Price Price Control?" *Fortune*, 33:100, May, 1946.

[19] C. Arnold Anderson, "Food Rationing and Morale," *American Sociological Review*, 8:23, March, 1943.

clamps rules upon people in the form of prohibitions. Negative control stimulates resentment and black markets arise. Positive control gives rationing an educational setting. A democratic procedure can stimulate people to want to observe the requirements of rationing by showing how rationing properly administered functions for the good of all.[20]

CONTROL BY PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion is a source of law; it is the force upon which law depends for its support. When crystallized, public opinion becomes law, either written or unwritten. Long before there were any written laws group opinion operated. On the other hand, if group opinion ceases to support a law, the latter becomes a dead letter. Public opinion is seen as a main agent of social control and as the undefined force that gives group organization its content.

Public opinion is composed of personal opinions playing upon one another. A *personal opinion* in the ordinary sense is more than an impression but not as reliable as definite knowledge. It is a judgment based upon inadequate information. However, it is not always simple. It may be the product of (1) the specific stimulus-event that elicits it, (2) the individual's cultural background as it relates to the stimulus-event and as it is affected by (3) the current situation and (4) the individual's experiences to the degree that they differ from his usual experiences.[21] By comparison public opinion or the opinion of a public is the product of (1) the stimulus-event that arouses the opinion, (2) the public's common culture system as it relates to the stimulus-event and as it is affected by (3) the current situation, and (4) the culture systems of dynamic subgroups and the interests of their leaders.[22]

Public opinion is a term used in various ways. First, there is *preponderant* or *general opinion*.[23] It is an expression of the mores. It is developed partly in the conditioning processes of childhood and adoles-

[20] E. S. Bogardus, "Rationing and Social Control," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVII : 472–79, July-August, 1943.

[21] Alfred M. Lee in J. S. Roucek, *Social Control* (D. Van Nostrand Company, New York, 1947), p. 391. [22] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

[23] W. Brooke Graves, *Readings in Public Opinion* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1928), p. xxvi.

cence. It comes through indirect suggestion. It contains many elements which have never reached the level of discussion. In a scientific sense it is not public opinion at all, but it is often popularly referred to as public opinion.

Public opinion is ordinarily used in the sense of *majority opinion*. It implies that debate and discussion and a decision of some sort have occurred. As a result a majority and a minority opinion are recorded. Often there is a majority opinion and several *minority opinions*. Occasionally, as in Germany in the years immediately preceding the appointment of Hitler as chancellor, there were several minority opinions but no majority opinion or party on political matters. When we say that public opinion favors or opposes a given procedure, we usually mean that we have reason to believe that a majority of the group concerned favor or oppose it.

Public opinion (majority opinion) acts more quickly than does law. As E. A. Ross has well pointed out, public opinion is less mechanical than law, and penetrates the hidden regions of life; it passes judgments upon purely private acts. It is an inexpensive means of control. The inexpensiveness of praise or blame is marvelous.[24] Human behavior is continually influenced by the fact that public opinion will be ruthlessly expressed.

Public opinion (majority opinion) has its defects. It is not clear, or precise, or codified. It has "a short wrath and a poor memory." [25] It is rarely unanimous; an offender against society can escape the condemnation of public opinion by taking refuge among a group of friends where his fault is condoned or even praised. If responsibility can be shifted, for example, when a corporation has committed an offense, public opinion is confused. Public opinion is primitive in its methods, driven by emotions and passions.

A bare majority on an issue fraught with emotion is rarely sufficient. The negative 49 per cent are likely to multiply their strength through organization. They may resist vigorously and surreptitiously. The 51 per cent are likely to "let down." Their attention may be diverted in many directions. They break up and each goes his own way on the assumption that the cause had been won. Hence on all social questions

[24] Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 95. [25] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

where deep-seated feelings are involved at least a two-thirds majority in each community is necessary in order that enforcement may not be defeated.

Public opinion may be *consensus opinion*, that is, it may be reached not by partisan discussion but by scientific investigation. No one wants to win for his side or to promote or defeat a cause, but everyone strives to win for the truth. Each seeks to make a correct diagnosis and contributes whatever facts he has at his command, irrespective of what the findings will show. A consensus of opinion results from a pooling of data; the product may be a new idea.[26]

Group opinion sometimes takes strange turns. The group may constrain a person to act below his own sense of values, as in the case, already mentioned in an earlier chapter, of the physician who must keep wholly silent concerning venereal diseases even though such silence subjects some women to certain contagion. A traveler may find himself entertained in a group whose standards are lower than his own, and he must decide whether to offend his hosts or to stand by his own ideals.

Propaganda as defined in Chapter 7 is both an agent of public opinion and a process of spreading a part of the truth as though it were the whole truth or the main truth. It is partial misrepresentation. It appears in newspapers in the form of news coloration. It influences elections through misrepresentation. It is practiced by advocates in court and by salesmen in business. Nearly all large institutions have publicity agents whose business it is to put their institution before the public in the best possible light.

Since many youth do not enter college it is important that propaganda analysis receive considerable attention in the upper high school years. The aims for such a study as summarized by Sarah W. Talbot are: (1) To help students recognize propaganda in all its forms and

[26] A. D. Sheffield, *Joining in Public Discussion* (George H. Doran Company, New York, 1922), Introducton. Also see Harrison S. Elliott, *The Process of Group Thinking* (Association Press, New York, 1928); and H. L. Childs, *An Introduction to Public Opinion* (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1940); E. S. Bogardus, *Democracy by Discussion* (American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, 1942); C. L. Miller, *The Process of Persuasion* (Crown Publishers, New York, 1946); L. W. Doob, *Public Opinion and Propaganda* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1948).

thus be able to protect themselves against its insidious influences. (2) To help students to be alert for the truth.[27] It is worth while that the student be familiar with the seven much-discussed propaganda devices and be able to recognize each one under its various forms: name-calling, glittering generalities, transfer, testimonial, plain folks appeal, card stacking, and band-wagon.

Every individual needs to be acquainted with the earmarks of propaganda, which also indicate propaganda devices. These include: (1) Giving the impression of general acceptance, (2) wholesale condemnation of competing ideas or people, (3) an intolerant air, (4) a sentimental bias, (5) wild enthusiasm for something, (6) the use of pressure or threat, (7) insinuation, (8) concealing the sources, (9) presenting both sides of a question from one side, (10) the use of a non sequitur argument, (11) the use of art to advertise something that is antisocial in nature, (12) the doctoring of facts and the coloring of the report, (13) using a reputable mouthpiece, (14) putting the opposition in a compromising position, and (15) suppression of vital facts that would be harmful to the propagandist's interests.[28]

CONTROL BY ART

Art is a subtle and effective form of social control because it is so *pleasing*. By its use of rhythm and symmetry it captures the attention and arouses favorable responses. It soothes troubled people. It pulls people out of themselves and centers their attention upon the larger aspects of social reality. To the extent, for example, that a pleasing atmosphere is created in the classroom teaching becomes easy. To the degree that art gives an attractive setting it shapes attitudes.

Art does not moralize; it presents beauty. It does not preach; it induces and at times seduces. Leaders with sinister aims sometimes don artistic guises and win the multitude. They dress up harmful ideas or conduct so attractively that people succumb without realizing that they are being misled. It is doubtless possible to depict any evil scheme in such pleasing art forms that it will be widely adopted.

[27] Sarah W. Talbot, "Propaganda Analysis in the High School," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVIII : 290–95, March-April, 1944.

[28] E. S. Bogardus, "Earmarks of Propaganda," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVI : 272–82, January-February, 1942.

The social power of art is often neglected by good people. In ignoring the beautiful and the pleasing, they fail to reach their worthy goals. The question arises: How far is it justifiable to use the beautiful as a means of social control?

Art stimulates the *imagination.* It leads people into the world of make believe, of wishful thinking, of utopias. Its appeal is made more often in the direction of imagination than of reason. Through artful appeals to the imagination it is possible to swing elections and change political ideologies.

Art exercises social control by its command of *indirect suggestion.* It rivets the attention of people so definitely on one truth or on a part of the truth that the whole picture is never perceived. It prevents the appearance of critical reactions. It gains its ends by flankwise approaches.

By creating *enthusiasms* art leads to action. It puts people in tune with great causes. It may invoke angry emotions and resentment, or it may result in reform. Folk songs, martial music, group dancing and singing, public speaking are examples of art that arouse enthusiasm and produce social unity.

Folk songs as a means of social control have been recognized by many students. The technique involves the repetition of ideas stated in simple verse forms that are sung by the group members from time to time.[29] These folk songs praise certain customs of the group and ridicule the practices of opposing or oppressive neighbors. They become a real social force. They create habits in individuals and maintain old customs or establish new ones in the life of the group.

The role of folk songs in the life of American Negroes is found in the fact that these songs carried a tone that pacified the Negro's upset feelings, soothed him in his distressing slave conditions, helped to make him contented in an environment unfavorable to him, and kept him at work while preparing for a Heaven in the hereafter.[30] These songs were art forms that carried moral standards into action. They maintained faithfulness and obedience in the hearts of an enslaved people as a means of achieving a happy life in the next life.

[29] Betty Wang, "Folk Songs as a Means of Social Control," *Sociology and Social Research,* XIX : 64–69, September-October, 1934. [30] *Ibid.,* p. 66.

In old China, folk songs were common agents for carrying forward traditional practices and beliefs. Betty Wang cites examples of folk songs that created a public opinion favorable to foot-binding (and later against the practice), and a public opinion unfavorable to the remarriage of young widows.

In another study Miss Wang points out how folk songs are regulators of politics.[31] When the Chinese were endeavoring to overthrow the foreign Manchu dynasty that was imposing its oppressive rule upon them, particularly in the years immediately prior to 1911, the folk song came into play. As the Chinese revolutionary forces gained strength they developed songs of contempt for the Manchu overlords. For example:

> Manchu men, Manchu men, where is your face?
> Who says you are big and who says you are strong?
> You find now all affairs in a maze,
> Soon you will leave this white mountain and royal town,
> Give back our water and land,
> We shall keep our own precious sand.[32]

Following up the idea of this folk song, the Chinese went further and cut off their cues as a symbol of their scorn for the Manchu rulers. As the cue was being cut off, they sang:

> Long cues, short cues,
> There will be no more cues,
> No more slaves to the Manchus,
> We shall keep our heads bald
> as members of the Han Tribe.[33]

Through its influence over the feelings *music* is a powerful social control. It is a language which speaks to all mankind; it knows no racial and national boundaries. The spontaneous singing together of a group of people unites them. At the various co-operative recreation schools held in the United States each year, the central point of emphasis is that singing and playing together is conducive to the development of cooperative thinking and cooperative working. Inhibitions are overcome by cooperative play.

[31] Betty Wang, "Folk Songs as Regulators of Politics," *Sociology and Social Research*, XX : 161–166, November-December, 1935.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 165. [33] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

Choral singing of the nonprofessional type promotes the spirit of brotherhood. It is a stimulating type of group communication. In a religious gathering group singing promotes a common spirit of worship and brings all participants to a united acceptance of spiritual controls. National songs bring millions to their feet in enthusiastic and united acclaim.

The *fiesta* is a festivity in which singing and dancing and feasting are used as a means of celebrating an important historical event or honoring a personage. In Mexico, for example, the fiesta is ubiquitous. There it is a widespread form of religious control, for usually the life of a saint is celebrated. Thus the noble deeds of the past are moved into the present and influence behavior patterns.[34]

Drawing is an early form of control through art. Sometimes it relives the past and builds up group morale. Sometimes it is believed possible to exercise control over the enemy by drawing pictures of him and by mutilating these. Sometimes it is possible to caricature your opponent and thus hold him up to ridicule. The cartoon whether in the hands of a Thomas Nast or a living artist is able to turn thousands against a new proposal or an outworn tradition that still persists.

Supplementing the art of drawing, *painting* may be a significant social control. It may deliver "the whole force of a historic event" or of a life-long biography in a moment of time; it may give the observer at a glance an interpretation of vast currents of affection and emotion "as they surge on in full volume." [35] The power and force of painting lie in the method of presenting fundamental truth, current and historical, so as to influence social conditions or countless human beings. In recent years some painters, such as Herman Heyenbrock, have presented social and industrial conditions in a way that brings important principles home to people who would otherwise be unaffected. The mural paintings of Diego Rivera are credited with revealing to the world "the profound dignity of the Mexican people."

Architecture exercises a peculiar force on mankind. Although often indirect as a control factor, it (1) safeguards human activities, (2) directs the channels of human travel, and (3) keeps the past alive and

[34] Erna Fergusson, *Fiesta in Mexico* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1934).
[35] John Bascom, *Aesthetics* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1908), p. 279.

vivid. The major forms of architecture through which these functions operate are: (1) structures for protection, (2) structures for transit (bridges, aqueducts, tunnels), and (3) structures for memorial purposes (for the commemoration of departed persons and of historic events).[36]

Sculpture gives expression to the most prized personality traits; it puts them into forms more permanent than paintings, prose, poetry, or music. When the vital elements of human life are presented in silent sculptural patterns, they influence people of all times, races, languages.[37] No one can study the Winged Victory, the Venus de Milo, Michelangelo's Moses, his David, or his unfinished statues in the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, and not be affected in some way.

The *dance* has always had wide social significance. The dances of primitive peoples were usually mass dances, and were used to celebrate group victories or to arouse the courage of the group before any serious undertaking, especially a battle. The dancing group felt and acted as a single organism. The event accustomed men who in their precarious conditions of life were driven hither and thither by different individual needs to act together with united feelings for a single object; it was a powerful element of control.

The square dances are socially stimulating, and recently have been recovering some of their lost popularity. Democratic in backgrounds, the folk dances are historically significant. Only in recent years have they been fully appreciated. The renaissance of folk dancing now current in the United States promotes group morale.

Poetry expresses the feelings as tempered by intelligence. A single great poet or epic poem has helped to shape the configuration of a generation. Poetry unites people whom the interests of life separate, for it invokes "the same feelings in all." Through constantly repeating its patterns, it produces a lasting mood. Poetry not only unites people, but it may also elevate them by awakening in them a more refined and a richer emotional life than that growing out of harsh, daily experiences. Many groups such as organized labor and church groups are now utiliz-

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 185. [37] *Loc. cit.*

ing social poetry. By setting an industrial or social need to poetry and to music and using it in song, whole groups develop a common purpose and undertake tremendous tasks.

Social hymns combine the force of art and religion in behalf of an improved group life and socialized behavior. Religious spirit and social idealism when combined are powerful. While social hymns now represent only a fraction of all hymns, they may be expected to increase in number and influence.

Social drama and *fiction* carry significant concepts to multitudes because of the wide reading and hearing which drama and fiction receive. Because of the principle of indirect suggestion upon which they are based, they may yet become leading forces in social control.

As a means of discovering the effects of drama as a control agency Dr. Melvin J. Vincent has interviewed 200 play-going adults and offered pertinent conclusions.[38] He makes the novel observation that the showing of the most reviled phases of our social life "may have a tendency to elevate—an elevation through disgust!" [39] The investigator does not contend that those who emerge from a theater are ready to act, but he does indicate how the theater audience may have their attitudes definitely remolded and that these remolded attitudes "will furnish the motor power for action in the real world." [40]

In the study of fiction and social control as cited in Chapter 7, Ruth A. Inglis attempts to determine how far fiction is a reflection of social life and how far it shapes society.[41] After analyzing both the "reflection theory" and the "social control theory," in the light of specific studies the research author concludes that the "reflection" role is the greater although not consistent. Sufficient objective evidence was found to cause Miss Inglis to say that the social control theory "is partially justified."

Public speaking is a persuasive form of social control. To speak to an assembly of people of various callings, views, prejudices and gain their support in behalf of an important cause is to illustrate the social power

[38] "Drama and Human Attitudes," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII : 142–152, November-December, 1932. [39] *Ibid.*, p. 151. [40] *Loc. cit.*

[41] "An Objective Approach to the Relationship between Fiction and Society," *American Sociological Review*, III : 526–533, August, 1938.

of public speaking. Whether used to spread truth and justice or to manipulate thousands in behalf of evil ends, public speaking is a control force still potent in the world. Today it is the radio voice that is perhaps the most socially potent of all the public expressions of the human voice, although pulpit and platform and stage still yield far-reaching social results.

In summary it may be said that art as social control has changed its course many times. Among primitive peoples the dance and music inflamed and inspired the warriors, who were the bulwark of the group against hostile attacks. The most powerful social influence among primitives was vested in the dance.[42] The folk song and drama added their strength to primitive art controls.

To the Greeks sculpture incorporated social ideals at their best. In the Middle Ages architecture united bodies and souls in halls of magnificent cathedrals. During the Renaissance painting spoke a language that was heeded by all the cultivated peoples of Europe. More recently poetry and music have predominated. Still more recently it would seem that the newspaper, the "movies," and the radio in forms many of which are far from esthetic, have been taking the place of the older art controls.[43]

"Art for art's sake is a mere affectation," contends Melvin J. Vincent.[44] One argument when put rhetorically is: "Is it not true that despite any inherent purpose on the part of the artists, his work may convey powerful ideas capable of swaying the actions of other people?" Do they not also possess limitless power in the feelings that they arouse and the sentiments that they create? Moreover, when there is deliberate purpose in the mind of the artist may he not produce equally dynamic social effects?

Today art joins with science in determining the spirit of social organization. As science through formal and informal educational processes enlarges the intellectual outlook, so art enriches the emotional life. Among primitives art exercised its control through group

[42] Ernst Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1897), p. 51. [43] *Ibid.*, p. 314.

[44] "Drama and Human Attitudes," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII : 144, November-December, 1932.

unification. For many civilized persons art has overcome the humdrum of everyday life. By being accepted as a part of the mores, the customs, and the rituals, and by setting pleasing behavior patterns, art becomes a deeply influential and often unsuspected form of social control.

> From a social point of view, as contrasted with art for art's sake, the problem of art, like that of religion and recreation, turns today on its service to man in his inner adjustment to an environment which shifts and changes with unexampled rapidity. It appears to be one of the three great forces which stand between man and his breakdown. Each serves in its own way to bring him comfort, serenity, and joy. It is conceivable, but by no means proved, that the development of these forces in American life would reduce the terrible decimations made by mental disorders.[45]

The sociology of art may be viewed from another angle, that is, in terms of the social determination of art, or of the ways in which the art patterns of any particular social group are an expression of the culture life of that group. It may be claimed that the prevailing occupational and other values of a group at any particular time promulgate or encourage certain art forms and allow others to die out through lack of attention. It has been said that social stimuli are powerful factors in building up or in tearing down art expressions. Undoubtedly there is an active give-and-take between society and art with each exercising some control over the other.[46]

Group controls are as numerous as social stimuli. They operate directly, as in the form of laws, and indirectly, as in the arts. A look, a gesture, a tune, a picture, all may be group controls. The other side of the story is the way in which group members are conditioned to respond to direct and indirect controls. The controls and the responses to them determine the course of group change.

Group controls function widely through customs and traditions which are handed down from parents and elders to children during the

[45] From *The Arts in American Life*, by Frederick P. Keppell and R. L. Duffus, one of a series of monographs published under the direction of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends; by permission of the publishers, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. (New York, 1933), p. 207.

[46] *Cf.* Paul Meadows, "Social Determination of Art," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVI : 310–13, March-April, 1942.

uncritical years of the latter. This informal type of education is very far-reaching in space, time, and influence. The controls also operate through leaders who are official representatives of the group. An officer with the authority of the group behind him may be a powerful control force. His word and the law may be synonymous.

The choice in the politico-economic world is often between different kinds of control, such as: (1) self-discipline by as many persons as possible, which will keep control by government at a minimum; (2) control through cooperative organization of production, distribution, and finance; (3) government controls of individual enterprise that tend toward bureaucratic organization; (4) totalitarian government control. The first is desirable but seems to be partly out of the question in a large society. The second has made a remarkable record wherever it has developed. The third has powerful opposition and serious weaknesses. The fourth is only a court of last resort and is the worst if judged by democratic standards.

The best forms of social control are those which train individuals in exercising control voluntarily through self-discipline, control from the individual citizens upward, and not from government downward by legislation or by fist. As a society grows in size and complexity, some kind of social control is increasingly necessary; otherwise, through highly paid propaganda, advertising, lobbies, and "pressuring," a few well-organized and shrewd persons can control the many to their own pecuniary gain.

Group controls are set in motion and maintained by the group itself through discussion and legislation. They may be originated by one who sets himself up as the group's spokesman—for instance, by a dictator—and may be carried out in a totalitarian way if the dictator can get the people to give up their liberties in favor of the deification of the state. Controls so promulgated have to be supported by an army.

In a democracy controls are often flaunted by the citizenry, because some of the citizens may feel that since they helped to make the laws, they can violate them if they wish to do so. A citizenry that is socially minded and educated to the responsibilities of democratic government, will develop and observe democratic controls.

PROBLEMS

1 What is group control?
2 What are group controls?
3 What is a custom? Name one.
4 What is a tradition? Illustrate.
5 Why are customs and traditions so powerful in social life?
6 What is the difference between a totem and a taboo?
7 Can you illustrate a totem and a taboo in the United States today?
8 What types of personality are most subject to fashion as a form of social control?
9 How is ritual a form of social control?
10 What is law?
11 What are the different types of public opinion?
12 Is law a basis of public opinion or public opinion for law?
13 Why was sculpture more effective among the Greeks than earlier or since?
14 Why did architecture reach the zenith of its power in the Middle Ages?
15 How do the interior decorations or the lack of them in a home reflect the type of home values?
16 Why did painting exert a greater force in the Renaissance than at any other time?
17 Why has art been so generally depreciated in the United States?
18 Do you see any signs of an increasing appreciation of art in the United States?
19 Why is art a powerful element in social control?
20 What is the nature of the basic conflict between an individual and society?
21 What is the relation of personal ethics to social control?
22 How can the state as a controlling agency itself be controlled?
23 How have you experienced social control?
24 What is the relation of social control to leadership?
25 Who controls the social controllers in a given nation?

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Chapter

14

Group Leadership

LEADERSHIP is a function of group activities. It is the group expressing its recognized needs through different persons who possess initiative and appropriate ability. It is a process of solving recognized group needs, and of directing the activities of the group in group-approved directions. It produces increased group stability, or group change, or both.

Leadership may ably defend the traditions and customs of a group, or it may successfully challenge intrenched but outworn folkways and mores. It may be the complement of followership. It may be direct or indirect; it may be partisan or scientific. It may be mental, social, or executive; it may be autocratic, paternalistic, or democratic. Leadership may be radical, liberal, compromising, conservative, or reactionary.

Leadership may originate in energy, in intelligence, or in character, or in combinations of all three. Sometimes it is due to the focalization of ordinary ability, and again it is the expression of margins of uniqueness and innate superior ability. It may be due to personal magnetism; it may come from flashes of insight. It may originate in defeats. It may be accounted for by a balanced integration of many traits. It may occur at the conjuncture of ability, crisis, and opportunity.

TYPES OF LEADERS

Leadership is direct or indirect. *Direct* leadership operates in person. It is represented by the individual who directs by word of mouth the activities of other persons. *Indirect* leadership relates to making inven-

tions which by their adoption indicate the large-scale influence of one person over the many. The former deals directly with persons; the latter with persons through intermediary objects.

Leadership may be either *conservative* or *liberal*. The conservative leader defends the past. He would hold fast to that which has proved its worth. The liberal leader fights his battles in behalf of new ideas and social change. The conservative "stands pat"; the liberal urges emancipation from the past. The conservative leader may be blind to serious evils, and the liberal leader may underestimate the significance of established values.

Leadership is social, mental, and executive. While no sharp dividing line can be made, yet distinguishing characteristics are common. *Social* leadership is direct performance in the presence of groups. It calls for extrovertive qualities more than for introvertive ones.

Mental leadership rules more definitely by ideas. It is likely to be indirect. It exercises control through the products of reason. It produces new ideas, works of art, ideals, patterns, which ultimately may be widely accepted. An Edison, a Shakespeare, a Raphael illustrate some of the different types of mental leadership.

Executive leadership is a combination of both the social and the mental. It must know people; it manipulates people; it organizes them. On the other hand, it develops new plans, ideas, schemes, organizations. It rarely appears before large groups, choosing rather a small group of lieutenants to do its bidding. It spends much time in reflection. It is more highly paid than are the other types. Its activities and responsibilities are strenuous and energy-consuming.

The executive is one who: (1) plans and defines policies, and procedures for carrying these policies into action; (2) organizes the activities of others, fitting the abilities of each into a large and total picture, meanwhile keeping each reasonably satisfied with his role; (3) delegates responsibility to carefully selected lieutenants, and in this way multiplies himself, while at the same time saving his own energy for creative efforts; (4) stimulates everyone and vitalizes the whole procedure.[1]

[1] Ordway Tead, *The Art of Leadership* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1935), pp. 14, 15.

Leadership is autocratic, paternalistic, or democratic. *Autocratic* leadership is largely its own boss. It dominates and it drives. It is a law unto itself. Autocratic leadership, however, has limitations, for it cannot go beyond certain points in its arbitrariness. It must be continually on guard because of the enemies which it naturally makes. The autocrat must protect himself against both personal attack and group revolution.

Paternalistic leadership is a cross between autocratic and democratic procedure. It is its own boss but it consults. It takes the needs and wishes of others into consideration, but it reserves the final decision to itself. It feels that by its superior position and experience it knows best.

Democratic leadership in its fullest sense directs in helping a group to arrive at a consensus of opinion and as a spokesman of this consensus. It manifests limitless patience. It brings out initiative and responsibility in the many. In times of crisis, however, it is likely to break down if people are untrained in societary matters.

In modern society democratic leadership has been contending with dictatorship. Kings have been overthrown and democratic governments set up too suddenly, that is, before people were trained in democratic life. Democracy in practice has been synonymous with individualism, with most persons looking for private gain or advantage. Democracy has often existed chiefly in name, and hence a recrudescence has been natural. Dictatorships of the fascist or communist variety naturally follow the breakdown of too much individualism. When the common people are educated to the point of habitually putting the welfare of the public ahead of their own personal advantage, democratic leadership will come into its own for the first time on a large scale.

Leadership is either partisan or scientific. *Partisan* leadership takes sides. It favors or opposes a cause. It is on the firing line. It is represented by the debater, the lawyer, the legislator, the politician. It sees one side larger than the other and therefore is propagandistic.

Scientific leadership is impartial. It does not take sides. It looks for truth no matter which side it may be on. It favors no cause except the cause of truth. It is calm, deliberate, reasoned. It represents that phase

of mental leadership which is unhurried, unprejudiced, uncommitted. It does not seek to prove or disprove, but to find out. It investigates and leads the way against the powers of ignorance and intolerance. However, it is widely used in highly partisan ways by partisans against each other and against the larger welfare.

The *superimposed* leader is the person who directs the activities of a group to which he does not belong as in the case of an adult leader of a boys' club or a girls' club. Some superimposed leaders dominate the activities of the clubs while others stimulate the members to work out their own program along lines of the interests of the members. Such a club has a leader chosen by itself from its members and a superimposed leader whose function it is to be an indirect leader as much as possible and thus enable the members and their own leader to develop their own originality and to assume as much responsibility as their capabilities will permit.[2]

Another approach to the study of leadership may be made in functional terms. In what ways do some persons exert considerable influence over other persons. (1) There is the advertiser who builds up a large business by presenting his wares to the public in attractive headlines, slogans, and pictures in newspapers, over the radio, on billboards, in posters. (2) There is the publicizer who announces the virtues of some institution or agency, and thereby seeks to build up the good will and support of the public. (3) There is the indoctrinator who presents certain ideas in as favorable a light as possible and who suppresses all ideas that negate those in which the indoctrinator is interested in spreading. (4) There is the propagandist who gives a one-sided presentation of the truth as though it were the whole truth. Seven devices of the propagandist and fifteen earmarks of propaganda have been indicated in the preceding chapter.

(5) The lobbyist is the paid representative of a special interest who brings pressure or threat to bear upon legislators. (6) The disseminator spreads or distributes facts freely. (7) The teacher trains individuals in developing skills, in doing things, in acquiring information. (8) The educator does not pour truths or untruths into the minds of others,

2 David De Marche, "The Superimposed Leader," *Sociology and Social Research*, 31:454–57, July-August, 1947.

but draws out of others their latent abilities and stimulates them to be original and creative.[3]

ORIGINS OF LEADERSHIP

A person may become a leader by *good fortune*. He may accidentally walk across the stage of life into the spotlight. If he has stamina and common sense, he may lead well. Calvin Coolidge came into the presidency of the United States accidentally but received recognition for being "silent Cal" and for not allowing himself to be stampeded out of the beaten paths.

Another person of undeveloped abilities may walk into the spotlight not in the time of calm but of crisis. The crisis stimulates him to measure up to a great need. He leaps out of his former average self into superiority. In responding to the urgent call of the hour he may surprise not only his friends but himself. There are undoubtedly countless persons who would measure up to important group responsibilities, if an emergency should make its demands upon them.

A person may become a leader by *defending* conventional group control. He may courageously defend the established faith. He tries to keep time-honored institutions intact and to uphold venerated customs that are under attack. His ultimate place in history will depend upon whether the values he is defending are outworn and no longer useful or whether they are vital and eternal.

One may reach leadership by *challenging* the established order, especially in its outworn aspects. He may organize a movement to established a new order. He favors change. He pioneers, and leads into the unknown. He may be called a rebel or a heretic. His future rating depends upon whether his new venture was sound, timely, well executed, and successful.

Leaders thus are thrown against each other, with the defenders and the revolutionists organizing their followers into hostile camps. A group which is dominated by leaders of traditional ideas tends to fall behind in the march of progress, while a movement in which the leaders

[3] E. S. Bogardus, "Methods of Influencing People," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXI : 458–65, July-August, 1947.

favoring change are untrained, self-centered, or temperamental is likely to disintegrate.

Followership is a source of leadership. There can be no leaders without followers. To be a good leader one must know his followers. He must also know the secret of following well. To follow well and to lead well, one must possess control over self. The Wisdom writer long ago said that he who ruleth his spirit is greater than he who taketh a city. Ruling one's own impulses is essential to ruling the impulses of others. Nothing inspires followers more than a courageous, well-controlled person, unless it be sympathetic understanding of followers. Self-control leads to control of followers.

Energy goes a long way in creating leadership. (1) Energy expended in thoroughness affords a quality of work that sooner or later attracts attention to itself and wins recognition. (2) Energy expressed in endurance keeps a person in a contest or at the front longer than his associates are able to continue, and gives him a leadership rank. (3) Energy translated into determination and persistence likewise keeps one going while others are dropping out. Persistence wins over ordinary efforts. (4) Energy that spells courage leads the way when danger is imminent. By its very nature courage commands that respect and admiration which creates followers. (5) Energy that is used in standing by one's convictions arouses widespread support. It is synonymous with that independence which proceeds undaunted when most persons would falter and quail. If one's convictions further social welfare, then sooner or later a leadership rank will be attained. (6) Sometimes energy spreads itself out into successful versatility. A person who can do several things better than others can do them is in especial demand.

Versatility may be either tandem or simultaneous, correlate or uncorrelate. *Tandem* versatility is specialization which pursues one line for a term of years and then turns to another line. *Simultaneous* versatility is specialization in two or more types of activity at once, as in the case of a Theodore Roosevelt. *Correlate* versatility is specialization in two or more related fields, as illustrated by Michelangelo's achievements in painting, sculpture, and design. *Uncorrelate versatility* is specialization in unrelated fields, as in the case of Leonardo da Vinci's

ability in painting, his mechanical inventions, and his anticipation of the Copernican theory.

Intelligence plays a large role in leadership. Intelligence is energy at work in solving problems, and problem-solving is perhaps two-thirds of leadership. It involves several important factors such as: (1) observation, which signifies a careful noticing of both details and underlying tendencies. (2) Questioning enlarges one's store of information; it gives insight; it makes one better informed than are other persons. It indicates an inquiring mind and leads to scientific achievements. (3) Intelligence often means prevision or looking ahead. It affords the best known basis for prediction. He who can see further ahead than his fellows or who can make more accurate predictions than his fellows is in a strategic position to lead them. (4) Intelligence may mean either an intensive command of knowledge or a wide mental range. In either case it gives a person a distinct advantage over others less intelligent.

Character is vital to leadership. First, there is strength of character or sheer integration of personality traits. Second, there is ethical character, or an organization of personality traits toward what is judged to be the good. In the first sense character is either strong or weak; in the second, it is either good or bad. It is the strong character, or the good character well integrated, that often accounts for leadership. Character refers to the ends toward which energy and intelligence are directed.

Sincerity and *dependability* are the essence of character. These traits must be present, or all the energy and intelligence in the world sooner or later will go into the discard. Personal integrity is a minimum essential to long-term, large-scale leadership. Anything less may "get by" for a time, but not for long. "Honest Abe" is a cognomen that carries a far-reaching lesson for leaders everywhere.

Sympathy is important in social leadership, for it enables one to put himself in the place of his fellows and to understand them. Without this understanding of one's fellows, social leadership can hardly get under way. Disciplined sympathy enables a leader to keep in touch with his followers and their needs and at the same time prevents him from being victimized. It keeps one from becoming "hard-boiled." It leads a person to identify himself rationally with human welfare.

Character involves a *faith* that is necessary to leadership. Pessimism,

cynicism, and hopelessness do not inspire followers. Faith in one's own powers, faith in associates, faith in humanity, faith in a cause, faith in the future, faith in the universe—all these help to give personality a leadership mien.

The ways in which persons become leaders have been put a little more directly by Ordway Tead. He defines (1) the self-constituted leader as a person who "pushes his way up" as a result of "a vigorous, assertive ego and a steady determination to accomplish" what he thinks is important.[4] (2) There is the group-selected leader. In the operation of democratic processes, the group votes on and chooses its leaders. The campaigning element, often indirect and subtle, offsets the role of group-selection. (3) There is the leader who is appointed by some constituted authority, as in the case of the President of the United States, who appoints the members of his cabinet who in turn become the leaders of far-reaching departments of government.

For purposes of comparison, Tead's list of qualities necessary in leaders may be studied. He cites ten qualities, as follows: (1) physical and nervous energy, (2) a sense of purpose and direction, (3) enthusiasm, (4) friendliness and affection, (5) integrity, (6) technical mastery, (7) decisiveness, (8) intelligence, (9) teaching skill, and (10) faith. Each of the qualities is in itself a composite of several factors and forces. These qualities of leadership vary according to the situation in which leadership is needed. Moreover, the personal secret of leadership may be found not so much in a particular combination of personal qualities as in the relationship that exists between the qualities themselves. In other words, it is in the interplay between qualities that leadership may be achieved or prevented from arising.

THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

1. The theory of *balance* in leadership means that one personality trait highly developed by itself is not sufficient to guarantee leadership. For example, aggressiveness would need to be tempered by inhibition. Although energy and action are essential to social leadership, they might produce an unbearable obtrusiveness that would defeat leadership. They would need to be held back at times not only to keep a

[4] *The Art of Leadership, op. cit.*, pp. 25ff.

person from becoming a social pest but also to enable him to conserve seemingly unlimited energies. There is a limit to human strength; even the strongest are not immune to wearing themselves out by tireless activities.

Another needed balance is represented by versatility and specialization. Versatility is a prized characteristic in most social groups. It puts a person in an enviable position in one situation after another. Versatility by itself may run riot; it may spread itself out so far that it grows thin and superficial. Capable versatility transforms a person into a multiple-burdened Atlas. It needs to be balanced by concentration on a few things and by a specialization that will guarantee thoroughness. Specialization by itself, on the other hand, may mean intolerance, but when coupled with versatility gives a balance of personality that spells leadership.

A balance of optimism and pessimism is a personality combination basic to leadership. By itself optimism does not inspire prolonged followership. He who is always optimistic about everything is partially blind or stupid. He is led by an unsafe guide, namely, wishful thinking. On the other hand, the pessimistic person fails to inspire confidence. He doubts too much. When integrated, optimism and pessimism give a person a controlled forward look. They push one ahead, but not with undue rapidity. They undertake difficult but not foolhardy tasks. They grin and bear obstacles. They keep a person's face turned skyward and his feet on the ground.

Balance in leadership is complex, for it includes more than a happy combination of two personality traits. It means an organization of many different traits, supporting now one, and now another, but giving to all a superstrength which comes from unity. Balance does not mean a deadlocking or a warring of opposite traits, but a moving equilibrium of such traits, integrated and invincible as a working unit.

2. *Focalization of psychic energy* means that a person with standard abilities may concentrate his efforts so as to create superior results and become a leader. A person with average ability may by concentrated hard work and persistence attain the heights. He drives ahead in season and out, overcoming handicaps and defeating obstacles. He may be born in poverty and followed in his early years by discouragement, but

he grimly sets his face in a given direction and never turns back. He is what Lester F. Ward has called the "genius by hard work." He accomplishes the seemingly impossible by dogged determination. By "focalization of psychic energy" he develops superior results, and masters a part of the unknown. He is admired because he has come up from the ranks largely through his own sheer efforts. He is to be distinguished from the "born genius."

Focalization of psychic energy has several aspects. (1) There is the focalization of spare moments, whereby a person by devoting a few minutes daily to a specific activity may perfect himself and lead his fellows in that field. (2) There is intensive focalization for a short period, as in the case of the football star, the winner of an endurance contest, or the person who rises to superhuman heights in a serious crisis of life. (3) Partial-life focalization refers to devoting one's self in some particular to acquiring a special skill, so that in one field he leads all competitors while in other connections he makes a creditable but not a superior record. (4) Whole-life focalization means the dedication of most of one's energies to a given program over a long span of years. One's life is so thoroughly devoted to a special activity that he attains an outstanding pinnacle of recognition. (5) Dual-life focalization is the joint concentration of efforts, as in the case of Pierre and Marie Curie, husband and wife, with the husband setting many of the problems and the wife carrying on experiments which led to the discovery of radium. Doctors William and Charles Mayo, famous surgeons of Rochester, Minnesota, gave each other all the credit for the success of their well-known clinic. Wilbur and Orville Wright worked together so closely that it is difficult to say who deserves the greater credit in developing the airplane.

3. The *marginal uniqueness* theory of leadership means that some persons are able to lead by their unique traits and abilities. There are different degrees of uniqueness, such as differences in aptitudes, that is, in the inheritance of artistic, mathematical, mechanical, remembering, reasoning, or sympathetic response abilities. Superior uniqueness is genius that does things in markedly new ways. It sees relationships not before recognized. It creates new relationships of special merit. If genius expresses itself in ways that social groups feel a need for and

appreciate, then genius may become leadership. If the group does not sense a need for what genius does, then genius is considered strange, peculiar, insane, or even criminal.

Of course the highly talented person is likely to rest on his inherited ability and not train himself sufficiently. He may fail to conserve his precious talents. He may become a "crank" and never develop a balanced, well-rounded personality. He may cut off his efficiency by becoming conceited and cocksure.

The brilliant leader owes much to superior inherited ability. Every person possesses some unique characteristics but not to a sufficient degree to make him a leader. It is estimated that the total population of the world would have to be multiplied forty times before the lines on the tips of the forefinger of the right hands of two persons would be identical. Every individual by birth is unique; also by cultural background he is unique; and likewise by his daily experiences. The integration of these three unique verses produces another, or fourth, expression of uniqueness. This four-fold uniqueness is the stuff out of which great achievements are often made.

Personal magnetism is a special form of marginal uniqueness. It sets one person off from his fellows by its unusual appeal, and enhances whatever other leadership abilities he may have. By itself it may count for little in a leadership way, but it magnifies other abilities manyfold.

Enthusiasm is often a large part of magnetism. Enthusiasm gives that sparkle to the human eye which is captivating. Enthusiasm is "catching"; it puts a new spring into tired steps, and arouses lethargic souls. It is forward-looking; it is sunny.

Since magnetism and enthusiasm are youthful traits, they are attractive. They are exuberant, overflowing with energy. They are dangerous because they may lead astray by their very freedom from restraint, but this freedom makes them enticing. Hence, while they are not leadership traits *per se*, they make almost any other personality trait a leadership trait.

4. The *flashes-of-insight* theory of leadership means that a person suddenly sees the connection between two previously disconnected ideas, or sees the needed solution to a problem, and thereby is enabled to direct his associates wisely. A person who possesses deeper insight

than his fellows regarding a social problem is in a position to point the way to solving that problem and to become a leader. Either insight before others attain it or deeper insight than others possess is essential to directive or creative leadership. It may spring forth from either genius or hard work.

Insight comes in flashes. Whether one be a poet awakening at three in the morning and jotting down fast fleeting verses or a plodding scientist working away laboriously in the laboratory day after day, insight comes like a sudden ray of light. In fact it appears that learning is largely a process of patient studying enlightened by sudden apprehension of connections between the known and the unknown.

Insight may be "wholesight." It may be seeing a situation in all of its aspects instead of in one of them only. Insight often comes when major relationships are understood. Most persons see only that part of a situation which is visible from their own narrow slant on life. It is the person who encompasses a situation, who walks clear around it, who gets out of his shell and sees life from the viewpoints of other people, who often has the most insight and hence is in the best position to lead.

Insight comes out of experience and knowledge. The inventor has usually built up a large storehouse of information through experimentation, so that his flashes of insight occur in a well-cultivated field. Likewise the flashes of insight of the poet are products of numerous deep-seated experiences. If we knew all we would be able to explain most flashes of insight, but without adequate data many of them are mysterious, intuitive, or accidental.

5. The *ability-in-disability* theory of leadership was suggested to the writer by Alfred Adler's discussion of compensation. Talent and genius are the result of nature's efforts to compensate for weakness and inferiority. She goes to an extreme and endows certain individuals with special ability as a compensation for certain weaknesses in them and they become known as geniuses.

We may modify this initial statement in terms of the conflict between the human organism at birth and the environment. In its earliest contacts with its environment the infant sooner or later meets with opposition. It is blocked. The environment is old, tough, and powerful.

The child may recoil and resist, and in so doing develop unusual ability, even to the point of becoming superior to his peers.

Where achievement is easy, no special strength is developed. Where one succumbs weakly to obstacles and defeats, his ability remains undeveloped. Where one falls into brooding over defeats, inferiority complexes develop and personal deterioration sets in.

However, there are two other ways of meeting defeats. Both represent highways to leadership. One of these highways may be reached by reorganizing one's forces after failing to overcome an obstacle and by coming back with redoubled force and skill at the very point of previous defeat. In overcoming obstacles in this way one builds up special ability out of which leadership may emerge. Thus, in disability to meet certain situations, a person may find the very stimuli for achievement and leadership.

A classic illustration is that of Demosthenes and his boyhood stuttering. An ordinary reaction would have been to accept defeat. Not so with Demosthenes, for it is reported that he went down to the seashore, filled his mouth with pebbles, and talked to the waves until he could enunciate clearly. In making such efforts he moved on beyond merely overcoming a handicap, and achieved such public speaking ability that today he is widely recognized as having been the world's greatest orator.

Further, a person may tackle a hard task and fail with no possibility of ever overcoming the specific obstacle. The defeat is final, but leadership may be around the corner. How? A person may turn his balked energy into larger channels, that is, sublimate it. A person defeated in love may dedicate his life to a public cause and achieve leadership. Balked in his North Polar expeditions, Amundsen turned in the opposite direction and became the discoverer of the South Pole. A defeat on one level may be turned into a victory on a higher level, and outstanding achievements may be substituted for what might have been a mediocre outcome. Hence far-reaching leadership foundations may be laid. In this way sublimation of energy may be a cause of leadership.

6. The *conjuncture* theory of leadership means that various factors occur simultaneously.[5] The first factor to be mentioned is personal

[5] Suggested by my late colleague, Clarence M. Case.

ability, either inherited or ordinary ability that is concentrated. The next factor is a problem or a crisis of some kind. The third element is opportunity for special ability to solve the problem or meet the crisis. Sometimes one of the factors or even two are present, but unless all three come together there is no leadership. In the words of Clarence M. Case, "the present hypothesis is that the conjuncture, or falling together, of personality traits, social situation, and event determines leadership from hour to hour in the relations of obscure persons, and from time to time in the affairs of the world." [6]

7. The *group-process* theory of leadership implies that persons as group members function freely. They express themselves with freedom but learn to work together in small groups, with leadership arising out of the process of interaction. Freedom of action expresses itself in interaction in the direction of group goals and of goals implicit in the larger social whole of which the small group clearly sees itself as an integral part. Leadership within the group arises and is selected in keeping with intragroup needs and the larger social needs.

(1) In the long run the leader who is appreciated least of all is he who uses his superior abilities for purely individual glorification. He may seek to dominate for his own gain. He may lead merely for the exultation of exercising power. Such forms of leadership, however, are usually short-lived or else they ultimately come to a disastrous end. To the degree that Napoleon was vainglorious his exile was explainable and justifiable.

(2) Another type of leader who is evaluated favorably, even highly by some persons, but rather low by many, is he who leads in behalf of vested interests, of the outworn past, or of blind prejudices. Such persons as defenders of the established order deserve credit, although they often hinder the coming of needed innovations.

(3) The leader who acts as a compromiser is often praised highly as a savior and criticized severely as being two-faced, or as one who "straddles the fence." He pleases neither party to the controversy, although he may make progress possible.

(4) The judge and arbitrator often is accorded a great deal of

[6] "Leadership and Conjuncture, a Sociological Hypothesis," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII : 510–13, July-August, 1927.

prestige, especially if his ability and training are superior and if his decisions are noted for their fairness. His is an exceedingly difficult role.

(5) Then there is the progressive leader, the one who appreciates the values originating in the past but who leads in behalf of rationalized and needed changes, who courageously faces the future even though importuned to defend the past.

(6) A person may use his superior ability to solve a highly problematic situation in behalf of a group. He may give his life to secure needed group changes. He may exercise control for no narrow purpose, spending his energy, affection, and life freely that other persons may have larger opportunities to live and to be useful. He may ask nothing for himself or for his special friends.

(7) Nondirective leadership sometimes secures expression under group guidance. E. W. DuVall has referred to the function of the adult leader of boys' club or girls' club as that of *group guidance*. He stands not at the head of the group but at the side and makes suggestions now and then to individual members which may become expressed in activities by the group functioning immediately under leadership from one or another of its own members.[7]

The nondirective leader is one who stimulates the members of his group to come to the front and to develop their own leadership abilities. He sees the hidden leadership aptitudes of his group and transforms these into leadership traits. He keeps himself in the background. A famous and internationally known track and field meet coach on being honored made a laconic and memorable speech of one sentence: "My thanks to Troy's great athletes who have given me the opportunity to coach them and who have made me known."

The most appreciated leader appears to be the person who most freely and sincerely promotes the welfare of his fellows. Possessing views which are humanity-wide, he is one with the common people. His moral courage knows no bounds. He combines in himself the endurance of the trained soldier, the sagacity of the captain of industry, indomitable energy, and prosocial attitudes guided by vision and reason. The greatest problem-solvers become the world's greatest leaders.

[7] E. W. DuVall, *Personality and Social Group Work* (Association Press, New York, 1943), p. 159.

All leaders of all types are not only self-made but to a greater degree they are group-made. They are products of heredity coming under the influence of group heritage. They reach adulthood through the nurture of parental and other groups. Groups not only stimulate them but give them their opportunity. Group needs as well as group dimensions shape the nature, the direction and scope that their leadership takes. Since their groups have their life and function within a field of underlying social forces, an adequate theory of leadership will include personality development, group nature and dimensions, and fields of social forces. Leadership is basically an expression of group dynamics.

PROBLEMS

1 What is leadership?
2 How is leadership related to followership?
3 How are both leadership and followership related to group needs?
4 Why do some able persons fail to become leaders?
5 Why do some able persons fail as leaders?
6 Distinguish between dominance and executive leadership.
7 Under what conditions is authoritarian leadership at a premium?
8 When does democratic leadership succeed best?
9 When is non-directive leadership needed?
10 How may a leader create a democratic atmosphere in a group?
11 What is a democratic atmosphere?
12 How can a democratic leader keep some authoritarian members from defeating democratic procedures?
13 Why are there more partisan than non-partisan leaders?
14 Under what conditions is leadership easy?
15 When does energy fail to become a leadership trait?
16 When does intelligence likewise fail?
17 How is character in the psychological sense a leadership trait?
18 How is character in the ethical sense a leadership trait?
19 What is the chief significance of the focalization of psychic energy theory of leadership?
20 What was the marginal uniqueness of Woodrow Wilson, of Ghandi, of Jane Addams?
21 What is personal magnetism?
22 Can personal magnetism be developed?
23 When does personal magnetism fail to help a person become a leader?

24 What conditions favor an expression of a flash of insight?
25 When is disability such as a physical handicap a leadership factor?
26 Why is one outstanding personality trait rarely enough to give leadership?
27 Cite an illustration of the conjunctive theory of leadership that you have noted.
28 Select a person who has been one of your leaders and analyze leadership in his or her case.
29 What is meant by "the art of leadership"?
30 Why are outstanding international leaders relatively scarce?
31 In terms of the total situation how do you explain President Truman's successful campaign, waged almost singlehandedly, for the presidency in 1948?
32 State in your own words as far as possible the personality-group-social forces theory of leadership advanced in this chapter.

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Chapter

15

Group Process

INTERACTION is the inclusive group process. It is basic to all other social processes. It is the origin of specific social processes. Its central nature is interstimulation, and for most purposes the terms may be used interchangeably.

INTERACTION

An infant could not possibly mature without social interaction with at least one other person. He can develop best as an interacting member of a number of constructively-operating groups. An adult cannot long maintain a normal personality outside of social situations and social groups. The association of a person with just one other person for a period of time is not enough. Arctic explorers have refused to go on an expedition and be associated closely with only one other person for even a few months. The reason is implied in the popular statement: "He would get on my nerves and drive me frantic."

Groups likewise thrive through interaction with other groups, but disintegrate without some stimulation from the outside. Interaction draws out, accelerates, and discovers unsuspected potentialities. It increases mental activity, fosters comparison of ideas, sets new tasks, and electrifies life.

Interaction depends on what are called *spatial relationships* by the human ecologist.[1] When human beings live far apart from one another, and have few means of communication the resultant influences

[1] See Chapter 4 on "The Community Group."

that they exert upon one another are necessarily very limited. When they live close together they are likely to influence one another greatly. However, in urban life many people live near one another but pay little attention to one another. They may not even speak or know one another. Thus, while interstimulation usually involves physical nearness, yet some other factors are of vital importance.

If it is proved that spatial relationships do affect human relationships, then the question arises: Can the varying effects of different spatial relationships be measured? If standards of measurement can be set up, their practical value becomes exceedingly great. While such measurements in commonly accepted units are not yet available, yet experimental social psychology is at work and may be expected to produce significant results.

When human beings live far apart from one another the resultant social influences upon human attitudes are limited. When people live close together, however, persons are likely to influence each other greatly. In one case attitudes will reflect the physical environment, while in the other they will be socially made.

In the early days of the United States the people were widely scattered and hence developed deeply ingrained individualistic attitudes. Today the United States has become largely an urban people living close together. The extent of the present breakdown in social functioning in the United States is partially explained by the fact that individualistic attitudes developed by a sparsely settled people are still being used to solve problems arising out of closely settled urban areas. It is not democracy which is failing in the United States so much as it is an *anti-social individualism* born of an era when spatial distances were extensive.

As spatial distances decrease, a sense of population pressure arises. Population pressure leads to a demand for more territory, and national aggressiveness develops. In Japan, for example, a high birth rate operating in a land of limited natural resources cut down spatial distances to a point where population pressure sent the Japanese armies into Manchuria so that the Japanese people might spread out. Crowded social conditions throughout a nation give strength to militant attitudes, sometimes expressed in war.

In the meantime general postulates for examination and testing are being developed. For illustrative purposes sample hypotheses may be stated: (1) The closer the spatial relationships of a people, the more intense become the attitudes of good will, of ill will, or of indifference, or of all three.[2]

Another vital question naturally results: When do spatial relationships lead to friendly, to unfriendly, and to indifferent interaction? While research materials cannot be presented here in answer to these queries, another hypothesis may be suggested. (2) Close spatial relationships lead mutually to friendly attitudes when such relationships advance the welfare and meet the needs of all concerned. People can live peaceably when close together if each individual feels that he has a distinct personal advantage in doing so. People can and do put up with a great many inconveniences and personally distasteful conditions when each feels that there is a tremendous advantage to be gained. Moreover, people live close together peaceably when they have somewhat similar temperaments, likes and dislikes, and tastes. They live close together amicably when they have similar culture patterns, such as similar religious beliefs, similar notions of government, and so on.

In Hawaii there are many races with several different cultures living close together but in the main in friendly ways. The native Hawaiians, the basic race, are friendly people, and the other races do not engage in strenuous competitive struggles; hence, despite physical nearness and cultural differences, all maintain harmonious relationships for the most part, somewhat after a symbiotic pattern. *Symbiotic* is a term which is well illustrated when animals and plants of widely different species grow close together, for example, in desert regions. Each offers or receives some protection from all the others. Circumstances lead to curious combinations on the part of nature.

Symbiosis is a spatial relationship involving mutual benefit. The classic illustration is a lichen, which is "a composite organism consisting of a fungus living symbiotically with an alga." This integrated life of fungus and alga is so complete that lichens have long passed for

[2] For illustrations from the field of race relations see E. S. Bogardus, *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1928).

single organisms.[3] The relationship of mutuality is well illustrated in the case of clover and nitrogen-fixing bacteria. It appears that a clover plant furnishes carbohydrates for the bacteria that live in its root nodules and in return the bacteria fixate and furnish nitrogen for the clover.

Sometimes this close spatial relationship is parasitic, with one form of life living off another form. Parasitism even goes so far as to destroy the cells of the life form that gives a home to the parasite. Parallels in the social life of human beings are of course numerous.

Social symbiosis is common under special circumstances. It refers to the working together of different types of people, or better, of people of different interests. It is illustrated by the saying, "Politics makes strange bedfellows." A better example is found in a city like Honolulu, with its co-ordinated activities of diverse races. In fact, any city with its widely divergent economic levels of people suggests a form of social symbiosis. Any agglomeration of peoples with different cultures who are living in the same area provides a laboratory for the study of social symbiosis.

Another hypothesis is: (3) Close spatial relationships lead to unfriendly attitudes when such relationships create competition and defeat personal desires. When people are widely different in temperament they are unable to get along well together under the same roof. When they have different tastes, ideals, ambitions, coupled with different culture patterns, conflict is almost certain. In *Main Street*, by Sinclair Lewis, the marriage of an idealistic college woman from the city with a staid, self-satisfied doctor of the town of Gopher Prairie ends in separation because of a double set of differences in both temperament and culture patterns. One house has not room enough for differences so divergent.

In the southern states of the United States white and colored people live close together in peace so long as the Negroes "keep in their place," that is, do not try to mix socially with white people. But whenever a Negro steps over the social boundaries he gets into trouble, and if

[3] *Cf.* F. E. Clements, "Social Origins and Processes Among Plants," in *A Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Carl Murchison (Clark University Press, Worcester, 1935), Ch. II.

many do so, ill will against the Negroes at once bursts into flames. Likewise in India, where a caste system exists, people of different castes get along well living in close proximity to each other so long as a member of one caste does not step out of his caste or invade the prerogatives of a higher caste.

One more hypothesis is: (4) Close spatial relationships eventuate in indifference when individuals can meet their desires in mutually exclusive groups. The modern city is an illustration. People get along well with many of their neighbors simply by not having anything to do with them. Most city people do not know by name all the other people who live in the same city block or in the same large apartment house. Each person in the city has several friends and is a member of a few social groups, but passes by all the other people in the city whom he meets from day to day. As long as a person can meet his needs in association with a few people and is not bothered or disturbed by other people, he views with indifference the many although they reside near him. It was not so in the rural area in which the present writer grew up in the state of Illinois. In that district, although people lived a mile or two apart, each person knew all the others by name and considerable about the personal affairs of all the others. Although spatial distances were greater than in the city we were not indifferent to each other. When numbers increase, indifference develops although spatial relationships are closer.[4]

There seems to be an irresistible pull that stimulates most persons to live near other persons. This tendency has been called the process of concentration.[5] The hermit and the pioneer are exceptions that prove the rule. The result of concentration is that many population centers of various sizes have developed over the face of the earth and have manifested endless drawing power. They give position or status and they shape human interaction.

The setting for the location of population centers, already presented in terms of natural areas, climatic areas, and natural barriers, is being

[4] For illustrative materials see H. W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (The University of Chicago Press, 1929).

[5] See R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, X : 319, for a discussion of "centralization" and of the other ecological processes that are presented in the remainder of this chapter.

modified by the inventive ability of man. Telic or purposeful activity has begun its work only recently. An airplane view of a flattened-out earth would show a few gigantic population centers sprawled out amoeba-like; a greater number of good-sized cities, and many more small urban communities, with the largest centers and particularly those next to the largest growing the fastest, and with the small groupings standing still or shrinking. The general social product is the urbanization of the world.

Within larger concentrations occur smaller ones. Similar businesses locate in the same vicinity. "People work according to occupational centralizations." "Birds of a feather flock together." Girls of a type join the same sorority. Athletes hobnob together.

The formation of housing and occupational concentrations creates *segregation*, a pre-social process, or an ecological process. Between concentrations are physical and social spaces or barriers that account for segregation. Segregation, a natural result of concentration, is often accompanied by personal misunderstandings and social conflicts.

Segregation is the process of separating groups of people who are related to each other and of preventing interaction. It may be either natural or artificial and forced. Natural segregation is found wherever cliques form. Unintentionally the members of a clique segregate themselves from others. Popularly those who are outside or are ignored by the clique are the ones who are considered to be segregated. Any group that is deliberately shoved aside or made to live "beyond the tracks" or in certain undesirable sections of a city illustrates the results of forced segregation.

Since segregation sets people off from each other, they easily grow jealous of each other. They fold their arms as it were and regard each other Napoleon-like, if they do not make actual grimaces. Segregation often keeps people from seeing each other in the best light. Segregated groups magnify each other's weaknesses; they exalt themselves unduly.

Persons object to segregation when it creates a loss of status. They remonstrate when it is imposed on them. Persons are forever protesting against segregation and forever seeking it. They protest against that which is imposed, for it usually means a decreased status. They seek

segregation, for it enables them to assume superior attitudes. Poor people object to being segregated in the lowest, worst parts of a city; wealthy people seek segregation in the heights, building high walls around their domiciles, holding themselves aloof from "the madding crowd."

Persons are forever invading someone else's segregated area. People do not stay segregated. A group or some of its members grow restless, dissatisfied, and seek to improve their condition. They move to a better location, but in so doing they "invade" an area already occupied. *Invasion*, another pre-social process, or an ecological process, means that someone is entering the residential area, the occupation, or the social level of someone else.

Many social problems arise from invasion. Competition for status is the most serious. Prejudices develop and will not be easily downed. An immigrant is criticized for living in a "slum" area, but if he moves into a better neighborhood he is viewed as an invader, and is met by prejudice and hatred from the very persons who criticized him for living under low standards. Invasion by large numbers of strangers, especially by strangers of peculiar appearance or with queer customs, or by strangers of relatively low culture traits arouses ill will. Improvement of one's condition may come at the expense of invasion, but invasion is paid for in terms of prejudice.

If people cannot keep invaders out, they may invade some other area, occupation, or social level, and thus *succession*, another pre-social process, or ecological process, is inaugurated. In a large city an expansion of a business area means that certain business houses must invade residence property. The "residents" move into another residential area. Fine residences are followed by apartment houses and flats, then by rooming houses, which in turn give way to a business block. An urban community is continually experiencing such a succession of the uses of land. Succession of this type is characterized by a period of social disorganization. During the process, residential property becomes dilapidated and slums are created. Succession thus is the process of migration of one type of people after another into a given area, or the migration of one type of land usage after another into a particular area. Immigrant people settle near the center of a city and later move

into a suburban area, that is, from a less stable section to a more stable area. Thus, there is a succession of different immigrant people in a given near-the-center area of a city.[6]

The foregoing pre-social processes, ecological in character, constitute a milieu in which the fundamental social process of interaction functions.[7] Interaction finds expression in many social processes. A few of the more important of these will now be discussed in more detail than is given in Chapter 1 where an introductory statement concerning them appears.

Over a period of decades a particular occupation, such as the clothing industry, may experience a succession of races or classes of people. Domestic service in the United States has undergone a racial succession in the past century. The succession of given persons up through a series of graded occupations may be called vertical occupational mobility. Invasion and succession are both dynamic and disorganizing elements in social life.

COMMUNICATION

Almost synonymous with the term interaction is another, communication. Communication is first and all the time nothing if it is not interaction. Communication is interaction particularized. It is interaction in terms of particular stimuli and counter-stimuli. It is interaction through the specific use of symbols and their meanings, that is, of symbols that are stimuli and that are responded to according to their meanings for the observers and listeners. In turn these meanings are new stimuli, and thus the process of interaction goes on.

Communication is the use by one individual of symbols whose meanings are understood by other persons. The essence of language is a symbol and its meaning. The sentinel members of a flock of wild geese give warning cries which secure automatic responses of flight. If these cries were not followed by quick, automatic flight, the group would not long survive. Among higher animals a set of cries, calls, and

[6] Robert E. Park, "Succession, An Ecological Concept," *American Sociological Review*, 1:171–79, April, 1936.

[7] A brief but clear summary of the ecological processes is given by R. D. McKenzie in his article on "The Scope of Human Ecology," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, X: 316–23, March-April, 1926.

similar symbols together with appropriate responses guarantee group life. With human beings these symbols and their meanings result in elaborate languages and varied literatures.

A common means of communication enables individuals to work together advantageously. It is essential for cooperative action, but its presence does not necessarily guarantee cooperation. Communication multiplies both cooperation and conflict.

Communication between parent and offspring is a generic form of language. The human mother can easily recognize a half dozen different cries on the part of her infant. From these simple sounds a complicated language develops, so that at maturity a person may have acquired a vocabulary ranging from two thousand to ten thousand words.[8] In addition he has acquired a large number of significant inflections of the voice and numerous silent symbols, such as facial gestures and pantomimic gestures of the hands, arms, shoulders, and of the body as a whole.

In its simplest form communication is characterized by feeling-symbols. The angry tone of voice is a symbol boiling over with meaning. It speaks far louder than words. Only under careful personal control are individuals able to keep their communicative behavior from sinking at times to uncontrolled animal levels. It is the way in which a person says a thing rather than the words spoken that carries the meaning. It is the pantomimic and facial gestures which accompany a statement that indicate the degree of conviction.

Language is a conversation of attitudes and appropriate responses.[9] It is "a conversation of gestures" of the hands, shoulders, face, and vocal apparatus. *Gestures* are either pantomimic (chiefly of the hands and shoulders), facial (centering about the eyes and mouth), or vocal (including spoken language). A gesture is the beginning of an act. Each gesture stands for a whole act. As soon as the meaning is clear and an appropriate response is forthcoming, the gesture is discontin-

[8] It is reported that a recent tabulation of 10,000 words heard over the telephone in a considerable number of conversations by different persons showed that 80 per cent of the total number of words used was confined to only 155 different words.

[9] G. H. Mead, "Social Consciousness and the Consciousness of Meaning," *Psychological Bulletin*, VII : 397ff. Also see Floyd H. Allport, *Social Psychology* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1924), Ch. VI.

ued. Sometimes we are obliged to act out the whole meaning that we have in mind. Again, the merest hint of a gesture conveys the total meaning.

A great deal of trouble arises at the point of misunderstanding of gestures. A person says one thing but his meaning is misconstrued. His gesture is taken out of the setting in which he conceives it, and is lifted bodily over into a different situation as experienced by another person. If we would understand one another, we must understand the social situations which generate and give meaning to gestures. Groups, as well as persons, fall into similar misunderstandings, but they may protect themselves from such grievous results by securing a comprehension of the social situations which lie behind the gestures of other groups.

As long as communication is pantomimic, facial, and vocal, its range is limited. When it takes the form of *writing* it expands its range in both space and time. "A drop of ink can make millions think." Writing is a form of communication that has undergone an interesting evolution. It began in putting very simple pictures and symbols on crude materials, and it has reached the level of hand-decorated tomes.

Writing was first (1) mnemonic, or memory-aiding. Some tangible object was used for a record between people who were separated. This object was used as a remembering device. It "carried" the voice of a friend beyond the time and place of its immediate expression. (2) The pictorial phase was that in which a picture of the object under consideration was reproduced. At a glance its story is revealed. (3) The ideographic phase, as the name implies, was that in which pictures were used as symbols, and written communication fell into line with all language with its symbols and meanings. (4) The phonetic phase is that in which sound signs are created, such as the letters of the alphabet, and are put together in the form of words. The alphabetic phase of written communication is characterized by signs or symbols for the basic sounds of the human voice. It was very long after man appeared on earth before he realized that all the words which he utters are expressed by a few sounds and that each of these sounds may be given a sign. When constant signs were used to represent constant sounds there occurred the invention of the alphabet, one of the mo-

mentous triumphs of the human mind. The alphabet was built on the principle that the sign of an eye picture suggests the sound, independent of the meaning of the sound.[10]

Over two hundred alphabets have been invented, but less than fifty have survived. India was the center of alphabet manufacture.[11] The chief alphabets today are the Chinese, Arabic, and Roman. The latter is the vehicle of the culture of Western civilization, and its proteges the English and French languages have become the main official languages of many countries in different parts of the world. Only through the invention of the alphabet was the preservation of all that is worth while in group and personal experiences made possible. Only so could educational systems develop.

As a special means of insuring accuracy to communication, *numbers* were invented. A debt of inexpressible magnitude is due those unknown and unhonored persons who first made the cipher and the nine strange looking marks known as the numerals of the Arabic system. These symbols represented a great advance over the Roman numerals, although the latter were truly remarkable. Special thanks are due him who invented the cipher, for without it modern banking, large-scale credit transactions, and the like, would be impossible.

Communication thus originated in the need to meet problems arising in social situations. It arose in inarticulate cries, which in turn took the form of symbols and meanings. As communication developed, the growth of group life became possible. As a result of group history elaborate literatures have been built up gradually and have become an outstanding testimony to the permanent values in language.

The prevalence of the telephone is an index to communication between home and home, and in the business and professional world. A large increase in this type of communication has come in the United States between 1900 and 1930. Social and business contacts have multiplied as a result. In 1900 there were 2,800,000 miles of telephone wires in the United States; in 1937, 90,500,000 miles.

Communication is also the essence of a science of meanings. It is a process that involves symbols as used by one person and meanings

[10] Edward Clodd, *The Story of the Alphabet* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1901), Chs. II, III. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

TABLE VIII

TELEPHONES IN THE UNITED STATES[12]

Year	*Numbers*	*Year*	*Numbers*
1895	339,500	1920	13,329,400
1900	1,335,900	1930	15,187,000
1905	4,126,900	1935	17,424,000
1910	7,635,400	1940	19,500,000
1915	10,523,500	1950	35,300,000

that another may have for those same symbols. Communication is the processual element in semantics, or the science of meanings. Countless words have a great many different meanings. Each person uses many words with distinctive meanings. This variety in meanings springs from differences in human experiences.

Semantics is to be distinguished from the science of general semantics, which in the words of Arthur Korzybski is the study of "symbol-fact-value relationships" of life. A person's actions or his responses to stimuli depend on what these stimuli mean to him. Not only do most words have more than one generally accepted meaning, but each has a specific meaning to each person according to the latter's particular experiences. Out of these variations in meanings come many of the misunderstandings between persons and groups and also many of the conflicts of social life. When the content of a symbol is measurably identical in the experiences of different individuals it becomes a reliable means of communication;[13] and general semantics becomes the study of the process of human evaluation as related to the correct use and interpretation of symbols and their meanings.

In the same category with interaction and communication as basic social processes is association which overlaps extensively with the other two. *Association* is usually a working together of people to achieve some purpose. Human association occurs in all groups from small to large, from voluntary to large. As a result of being in association people find themselves in competition and conflict, in cooperation or accommodation, and they may achieve assimilation and socialization.

[12] From *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1952), p. 350.

[13] See Charles Morris, *Signs, Language, and Behavior* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1946).

A contradiction in terms is isolation in association.[14] Persons who are in regular association avoid some areas of thought in conversation. Two friends may never talk about politics for their viewpoints are in violent disagreement and so they are isolated from each other in this area. Two members of a family go their respective ways every morning and spend their evening with different sets of friends. Thus, they are extensively isolated from each other. Every person has certain reserves, certain feelings which he keeps to himself, and thus he isolates himself from those with whom he daily associates. The shy person likewise lives somewhat isolated in most of his associations. If isolation is imposed on a person, he suffers frustration. Every person needs social group life in which he is free to be natural and does not experience the negative effects of isolation.

CONFLICT

Interaction naturally involves conflict and cooperation. It generates competition first of all wherever the supply does not equal the demand. *Competition* is a contest to obtain something which does not exist in a quantity sufficient to meet the demand.

Competition may be destructive or constructive. If one of two or more competitors wins only at the expense of the others, it is destructive. If one man undersells his competitors in business and thus wins the bulk of the trade, his competitors sooner or later go bankrupt.

In destructive competition the aim is to get ahead by trampling someone down. The path to achievement is believed to lie over the defeat of adversaries. If anyone challenges an individual's or a group's march he will be bowled over; if he challenges again, then deliver him a death blow.

Fortunately there is constructive competition, as, for instance, when farmers compete to raise the best corn or when golfers seek to lower their respective scores. When two trained debaters meet, each is likely to surpass his previous record. When graduate students and teacher freely question each other the truth is promulgated.

Constructive competition spurs each contestant to a maximum of

[14] A term developed by Pearl E. Clark in an article, "Isolation in Association," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVIII : 118–22, November-December, 1943.

effort and as a result there is a maximum of gain for each. They compete in constructive enterprises, not in destroying each other. They are mutually stimulating and helpful. Neighborhoods may compete on "Clean Up" days to the advantage of all concerned. Welfare agencies may outdo each other in rendering social service, and the best interests of everyone may be advanced.

This type of constructive competition, although it develops skills and offers sufficient distinctions to go around, has a serious weakness. The competitors seek to reach a certain level of achievement ahead of their fellows and to capture the initial glory. Too often they work for the awards rather than for the welfare of their associates or for the sheer satisfaction that comes when one has achieved something worth while. Competition often resolves itself into a conflict for recognition, standing, or status. It occurs between students seeking scholarship ranking, and between people of leisure seeking social rating. It takes place within and between all groups, and on all levels of personal and social development.

Competition logically develops into *conflict*. When each of two or several competitors, or each of two or more competing groups, decides to win and to throw his (or its) strength in an organized way into the competition, a conflict is in process. Conflict is that form of competition in which there is an intensification of "attention and effort."

Conflict is the most striking form of interaction: a clash of social forces. A conflict may be overt, as in the case of two fist fighters. Persons in conflict may fight viciously in broad daylight and feel no compunctions about it.

Conflict may be subtle, as when opponents contend surreptitiously against each other, seeking by calumny and chicanery to undermine one another. In the neighborhood group, families may gossip about each other to the destruction of each other's reputation. In politics whispering campaigns may be inaugurated to defeat a rival. In business, competitors may resort to pernicious underselling, and to steamroller methods of crushing one another. Nations likewise may resort to trickery in diplomacy.

A conflict may take place between a small group and a large group of which the small is a part. Greater intensity of feeling may balance

the numerical weakness of the small group. A small committee may struggle vigorously in a college class meeting in behalf of a change in traditions. A lobby in Congress may work year in and year out in behalf of a new measure or to support an endangered special interest. Any propaganda within a large association of people strives against the inertia or active opposition of the larger body.[15]

Group conflicts may be *equal* or *unequal*.[16] Conflict that is equal (primary conflict) is usually a give-and-take process in which each side learns something from the other. Even tolerance may result, and later cooperation.

Unequal (secondary) conflict occurs between unequal forces and means that the stronger force swallows up or rides roughshod over the weaker, without learning anything or acquiring new skills. The weaker contestants do not gain, for they are crushed. Neither do the stronger, for they are not stimulated sufficiently. Equal conflict might be illustrated by a game between two championship football teams, while a contest between a college team and a kindergarten team would represent an extreme form of unequal conflict which in reality is no conflict at all.

COOPERATION

Another sequence of social processes centers in cooperation. *Cooperation* is a mutual working together for the attainment of a common goal. People may cooperate for self-centered gain, or for self-protection, or to do good to others. Groups, likewise, may cooperate for self-advancement, as in the case of a monopoly; or for mutual protection, as, for instance, in the alliance of England and France; or for the welfare of all groups.

Persons who cooperate may generate unbounded enthusiasm. There is almost no limit to the achievements of a thoroughly cooperating group. Cooperation not only stimulates morale but promulgates effi-

[15] Conflict between equals may bring out the best efforts of both. If it does not end in a helpless deadlock, it will effect a compromise or possibly a new and advanced agreement.

[16] It was Franklin H. Giddings who drew the distinction between what he called primary and secondary conflict in his *Principles of Sociology* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1896), pp. 101ff.

ciency. In order that specialization may operate constructively there must be cooperation among the specialists.

An extension of the cooperative elements in human history is a very noteworthy aspect of social change. Not spectacular or melodramatic as is often the case with conflict, cooperation functions quietly and unostentatiously. It is manifested "in the increase in size of political aggregates, in the growth of political and economic interdependence, and possibly, despite cultural diversity, in an underlying assimilation or convergence in science, art, religion, and culture generally." [17] The growth of the role of cooperation is seen in the increase in the size of communities, in the developing organization of relations between communities, in the increasing sense of unity and of the need for developing some kind of a world order.[18]

Cooperation has a long history. It has origins on the biological level. Equal to or surpassing in importance the principle of struggle for survival is the principle of cooperation. In fact cooperation may have played a larger role in the struggle for existence than has competition. Cooperation gives strength in union. It builds. It conserves.

According to Alfred E. Emerson, a biologist of the University of Chicago, the course of biological evolution shows that the principle of evolution, in the sense of a life process, is found functioning in all living organisms and is far more important in the evolution of human society than is the bitter competition that is found everywhere. Struggle would exhaust all living things were it not for the increasing and concomitant strength of cooperation.[19]

Cooperation has developed from instinctive and defensive levels to the highly refined behavior of democratic cooperation. It has gradually expanded its fields of expression from small social groups to larger ones, and according to the tendency through the ages it normally will continue its widening and deepening spheres of control until human activities generally will be carried on subordinate to the vital cooperative process and until the whole world of people is brought together in one grand functioning unit.

[17] Morris Ginsberg, *Reason and Unreason in Society* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1948), p. 30. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[19] *Science*, 155:38, February 6, 1942; also *Biological Abstracts*, No. 21423, Vol. 16, December, 1942.

Five levels of cooperative activities may be discerned.[20] These are (1) activities that result in the survival of individuals and groups. (2) A second level is where individuals and groups by cooperation obtain advantages for themselves at the expense of other people and are able "to get ahead" of others. (3) A third level consists of activities that directly enable individuals and groups to improve their own well-being and incidentally to benefit others. (4) A fourth level of activities are those in which persons are developing their own wellbeing as a means of increasing the wellbeing of mankind. (5) A fifth level is illustrated by those persons and groups whose purposes are devoted first of all to the welfare of other persons and groups, and in so losing their lives in other persons and groups attain to their richest development and greatest service. "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

Sorokin develops a threefold sequence of social relationships as follows: compulsory, contractual, and cooperative. The first involves the coercion of the weaker party by the stronger. The second represents "voluntary agreements of the parties for their common advantage," with both parties remaining self-centered and seeking their own advantages, respectively. The third is exemplified by the members of a devoted family in which each member gladly gives and receives help without attention being directed to what is mine and what is thine.[21]

Cooperative activities may begin in *marginal cooperation*, which is partly competitive and partly cooperative. In fact groups characterized by marginal cooperation may be highly antagonistic toward other groups. *Intermediate cooperation* is found in the majority of cooperative groups; these manifest competition in many ways and their members as a rule do not fully comprehend the meaning of cooperation. Then there is *full cooperation* by which the altruistic spirit permeates all the activities, and in which cooperation becomes the commonly expressed way of life.[22]

Mutual aid is a special name for cooperation.[23] Kropotkin developed

[20] E. S. Bogardus, "The Long Trail of Cooperation," *Sociology and Social Research*, 31:54–62, September-October, 1946.

[21] Pitirim A. Sorokin, *The Reconstruction of Humanity* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1948), p. 140. [22] *Ibid.*, pp. 64ff.

[23] P. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid; a Factor in Evolution* (Doubleday, Page and Company, New York, 1902).

the theory that mutual aid has made evolution possible. Mutual aid is a powerful survival trait. Animals destroy one another through fighting and conflict, but they survive and grow in numbers through mutual aid. Primitive and modern people alike kill one another off through prolonged warfare but survive, multiply, and grow strong through mutual aid.

Cooperation may go too far; it may result in a cog-in-the-wheel organization. It may take away the identity of persons; it may degenerate into routine. Highly organized cooperation tends to crush creative effort and all the joy that goes along with creative activity.

Overorganization is a deadening form of cooperation. So standardized are the "social" wasps, bees, and ants that they cannot be said to have any social life at all. They are almost robots.

Overorganization means that there are too many groups. Student bodies are often overorganized. Modern city life may be so organized that many persons spend their entire time in going from committee meeting to committee meeting. Social life may become organized to the point where life is a matter of going to one bridge party after another until the devotees suffer a "nervous breakdown" and must "go away for a rest."

On the rational plane cooperation is an acting together, but not so completely that the individuals become mere cogs, or slaves. It produces social morale, personal enthusiasm, and group efficiency.

Accommodation is the process of friendly give and take—of conscious adjustment by toleration, arbitration, and compromise. After contending for a time with few gains, each side in a conflict learns to tolerate the other and perhaps to recede from earlier demands. It is the only feasible social process where both contending parties represent a worthy measure of truth and justice.

An introductory phase of cooperation is *accommodation,* which is a process whereby a number of people who are in potential conflict make adjustments to the desires of one another. Accommodation may be expressed merely in tolerance, which involves a formal adjustment because someone in authority has demanded it or because an individual himself recognizes that tolerance is wise in the long run as a means of

gaining his ends.[24] Oft-repeated accommodation, however, may develop constructive habits and lead to genuine, not formal, cooperation.

Often the representatives of long-established classes fail to compromise, and hence go down in defeat. The leaders of economic, political, and other groups must be alert to social changes, and be willing to accommodate themselves to human needs. By such accommodation they may maintain themselves in positions of leadership indefinitely. When Bismarck inaugurated measures of social insurance he appeased the socialists; by such accommodation he continued in power.

A privileged class always tends to avoid accommodation. They become reactionary and in so doing provoke the liberal to turn radical. The result is generally conflict and revolution. Accommodation is the method of evolution. To block it leads to revolution. Accommodation may make assimilation and amalgamation possible.

Assimilation is a process whereby the attitudes of many persons are united and thus develop into a unified group. It is the process of being conditioned to think as a unit. It is the integration of dissimilar attitudes and values, and it usually takes place without the knowledge of those most affected. When assimilation has occurred, amalgamation, as described in Chapter 9, naturally follows. Without assimilation the amalgamation of races markedly different from each other is opposed strenuously and penalized by exhibitions of prejudice and ostracism.

SOCIALIZATION

Socialization is the process of working together, of developing group responsibility, of being guided by the welfare needs of others. Each individual begins life in a self-centered way, as a little anarchist, but slowly and surely first his sense of social awareness, then his sense of social responsibility grows. In the early years of life the narrow and egoistic impulses dominate; in some cases they control throughout life. In fact their inherited force is so strong that life becomes a process of controlling and socializing them. In a sense discipline is a system of controlling the self-assertive impulses.

Clarence M. Case analyzes what he calls "social age" in three main

[24] See Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (The University of Chicago Press, 1921).

levels of development.[25] The first and earliest is that of "social awareness," the second is that of "social enjoyment," and the third that of "social responsibility." Each individual tends to climb up this scale with reference to different phases of his behavior. He does not maintain an even development for all the phases of his life. Hence he experiences what may be called "personal lag." That is to say, some aspects of his life are less socialized than others at any given time.

A child's gregarious and group nature also asserts itself early. The child seeks playmates. If he cannot do otherwise, he will imagine playmates; he will personify the material objects of his environment and talk to them, scold them, and love them.

While deeply grounded in inherited tendencies, both social nature and self-centered nature are developed in and through group life. Environmental stimuli often determine whether the social or the self-centered forces will become supreme.

As a person matures, as he faces one harsh experience after another, as he sometimes loses that which he values highly, he grows more sympathetic and wholesomely interested in the welfare of others. Providing it be not overwhelming, suffering socializes.

As a rule socialization develops first toward one or two or a few persons only. With an increase in far-reaching experiences a person may come to identify himself with a whole university, a community, or a nation. This identification of one's self with a large group may be propelled by self-centered impulses, that is, a person may identify himself with a group in order to become a hero, to secure election to office, or to promote his business. How many men, for example, join a national fraternal organization, a church, a golf club, in order to secure clients or customers.

A person may be socialized toward certain groups but not toward others. He may be a kind and sacrificial husband and father, but anti-social in dealing with employees, in his racial contacts, or wherever his prejudices may direct. On the other hand, some persons are arbitrary and unjust in the family circle, or toward certain neighbors, but at the same time they treat clients or customers with fine consideration.

[25] "Social Imbecility and Social Age," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII : 218ff., January-February, 1928.

In one sense socialization is participation; it may be identification without any expectation of reward.[26] It participates but does not ask: "What am I going to gain?" Socialization is a genuine and wholesome identification of a person with the welfare of other persons, of his own groups, and of other groups.[27]

A plea for socialized attitudes is made indirectly by John Galsworthy in his drama entitled *Strife*, where it is shown how the bitter struggles between capital and labor are perpetuated because neither side is broad-minded enough to recognize the problems and needs of the opponent. When each contender through suffering reaches a position where with unbiased eyes he perceives the other's point of view, misunderstanding is eliminated and conciliation is in order. If both the opponents in the destructive struggle between labor and capital had socialized attitudes, each would see that employers and employees fundamentally have nearly everything in common, that their primary aim should be to meet the needs of consumers as efficiently and inexpensively as possible, and that cooperation should dominate competition in all human relationships.

A person with socialized attitudes would not engage in any business which is socially nonproductive or which depends for its maintenance upon destructive competition or upon gambling. A socialized lawyer would not assist clients for pay to violate the laws of the community. A socialized citizen would place community welfare, national welfare, and even world welfare ahead of his own individual gain. A person with socialized attitudes puts human values above all else.

Another approach to the nature of socialization may be found in the social distance scale. *Social distance* is the sympathetic understanding that exists between persons, between groups, and between a person and each of his groups. It may take the form of either farness or nearness. Where there is little sympathetic understanding, social farness exists. Where sympathetic understanding is great, nearness obtains. Socialization produces nearness.

[26] E. S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology, op. cit.*, Ch. XXIII.

[27] For a discussion of moralization as a phase of socialization see C. A. Ellwood, *Christianity and Social Science* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923), Ch. III.

Human relationships are dynamic, not static. Nearness may turn into farness at any moment. If one person finds he can no longer trust a friend, social coldness is at once experienced. If a stranger manifests dependable and likable traits, then nearness develops.

In general we keep strangers at a distance. Only gradually does the change from farness to nearness occur. "Love at first sight" is an exception. Once nearness is established it may gradually or suddenly shift to farness. Too much nearness causes some persons to grow tired of each other and to move gradually into a farness relationship. When a friend proves false, nearness is changed as quick as lightning into farness.

Every social distance relationship has a twofold aspect. It may be viewed from A's point of view or from B's. A may feel near to B, whereas B may feel far from A. At any rate there is almost always a *social distance differential*, that is, A feels a little closer to B or farther from B than B feels with reference to A. The differential is the difference in the distance reactions of each of two parties toward each other.[28]

The *social distance scale* is a technique for measuring the distance between persons or between a person and his social groups. It is not perfected but is more accurate than the popular procedure of judging human relationships, which is largely guesswork. It includes a series of graded social reactions against which a person checks his own reactions.[29]

Underlying the processes of accommodation and assimilation and widely overlapping with cooperation is the *democratic process*. By it is meant human association in which no one person dominates others and in which the leaders are chosen. The democratic process is social interaction in which no one is controlled by anyone else except as he has freely accepted leadership and has developed a goodly measure of social self-control. The greater the individual freedom in a democratic society, the greater the need for an enlarged *social self-control*,

[28] E. S. Bogardus, "Social Distance and Its Implications," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXII : 462–76, May-June, 1938, and "The Social Distance Differential," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32:882–87, May-June, 1948.

[29] E. S. Bogardus, "Scales in Social Research," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXIV : 69–75, September-October, 1939.

that is, self-control in keeping with the general welfare as judged by the largest group involved.

The democratic process is promoted (1) through members of the group who present ideas and plans to be discussed and to be accepted only after extensive and free discussion. It is advanced (2) through the democratic attitudes of its own members. It is encouraged (3) by the proposals and methods of group leaders. The democratic process is not furthered if a leader professes to believe in it and then shows signs of being hurt or even disappointed and chagrined if his own wishes are not accepted. It does not operate if members accept ideas because their own leader or the group leader asks them to do so as an accommodation to him. It does not function if the members ignorantly or indolently accept programs and propositions that are presented to them. "The democratic process," says Stella Hartman, "goes on within a group to the degree to which the members think for themselves and act in behalf of the entire group." [30] It functions best through informal education techniques. The democratic process works best when it stimulates everyone to develop his latent abilities in behalf of the common weal.

The study of social processes is the essence of sociology. More knowledge is needed as to what are the main processes and how each functions. On the basis of an understanding of how the social processes operate, it will be possible to formulate laws of social change, social disorganization, and social reorganization. When social laws are better known, social prediction will assume new possibilities. When social predictions can be made reliably, sociology may lay claim to being scientific.

PROBLEMS

1 What is a process?
2 What is a social process?
3 How is an ecological process different from a social process?
4 Why are ecological processes significant in the study of sociology?
5 How are human attitudes affected by changes in the spatial relationship of persons?

[30] In a written communication.

6 What accounts for "centralization" when living conditions are less wholesome in centralized areas than in noncentralized areas?
7 In what ways is segregation an entirely natural tendency?
8 When is segregation unnatural?
9 When is segregation undesirable?
10 What are the positive values in invasion?
11 Describe the negative effects of invasion.
12 Cite a concrete case of "succession" that you have observed or read about.
13 What is the relation of interaction to interstimulation?
14 What factors account for competition?
15 When is competition desirable?
16 When is competition undesirable?
17 What is the relation of competition to conflict?
18 What are the different kinds of conflict?
19 What are the different end-results of conflict?
20 Are conflict and cooperation opposite or complementary in character?
21 For what reasons do people cooperate?
22 What is the relation of conflict to accommodation?
23 How are accommodation and cooperation related?
24 Distinguish between passive and active accommodation.
25 What is tolerance?
26 What is the purpose of tolerance?
27 What is assimilation?
28 How are assimilation and acculturation related?
29 What are the connections between assimilation and amalgamation?
30 In what different ways is the term socialization used?
31 What does the social distance scale measure?
32 Can one be both personally near to and far from another person at the same time?
33 Can one be both personally near and socially far from another person at the same time?
34 Illustrate the social distance differential.
35 Illustrate from your own observation each of Case's three levels of "social age."

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PART FOUR

Research

Chapter

16

Group Research

SOCIOLOGY as the study of group life and processes is intensely interested in group research. By research it lives and develops. Research is a scientific inquiry into the nature of phenomena and of the laws governing them; social research is the investigation of the underlying processes operative in the lives of persons who are in association; group research is the study of people living in groups.

There has been and is a great deal of superficial speculation regarding the nature of human society and its problems. In fact, every person indulges at times in common-sense observations about social life. Something more is needed, namely, data that are scientifically derived, classified, analyzed, and interpreted. To meet this need social surveys and statistics have developed; social case analysis is in process of developing. Sociological research uses social surveys, social statistics and controlled experiments, interview and life history methods, and case analysis. It uses all reliable methods. In a particular piece of research it uses such research methods as are appropriate.

SOCIAL SURVEYS

A social survey is the collecting of data concerning the living and working conditions, broadly speaking, of the people in a given community. Social surveys had their origin centuries ago. Piecemeal and isolated work in collecting social data may be found as early perhaps as 3000 B.C., when, according to Herodotus, data were collected concerning the population and wealth of Egypt. William the Conqueror in England in the middle of the eleventh century prepared the *Domesday*

Book, which mentions the names of landlords, treats of the customs of the realm, describes the towns and cities, lists the occupations, and gives a census of the people together with references to their economic and social conditions.

More recently Frederick William I of Prussia instituted a systematic collection of facts relating to population, occupations, and the like. The technique was developed further by Frederick the Great, who was instrumental in developing a system for the gathering of facts about nationality, age, deaths, agriculture, and manufacture. In 1790 the United States originated the modern census, which through the succeeding decades has steadily grown in extent and importance.

More intensive social studies were begun with the work of Captain John Graunt of London, who made the first recorded analysis of vital statistics, that is, of birth rates, death rates, marriage rates, and so on. Quetelet, a Belgian astronomer and statistician, included in his investigations social, moral, and physical characteristics of man, and arrived at conclusions which indicated that all types of human acts, especially crime, suicides, and accidents, occur with significant regularity.

Frederic le Play in the middle of the nineteenth century became the originator of the modern social survey. He began with the family as a definite unit for sociological study, and analyzed income and outlay. He made the family budget the center of his study, holding that the income and outgo factors would explain a great deal about the nature of specific families. If you would know a family, ask to see its budget and the interests of its members will be revealed. In his best known treatise [1] he presents monographic studies of thirty-six families and gives data on property, religion, family organization, occupations; he also contributes to the methodology of the social survey.

Ernst Engel, using some of Le Play's materials and other data, applied quantitative methods still further and evolved laws concerning the income and expenditures of workingmen's families. He supplemented the social survey with basic interpretations of survey data. His main induction was that as the income of a workingman increases there is about the same increase in expenditures for clothing, rent, fuel, and light; an excess increase in expenditures for education, recreation,

[1] *Ouvriers européens* (Paris, 1864).

and health; and a lesser increase in expenditures for food. He made other generalizations, for example, that the higher the ratio of expenditures for food, the lower the status of the family. Engel applied statistics to social facts and founded one of the first seminars in social statistics.[2]

In England in the latter part of the nineteenth century Charles Booth produced his monumental survey in ten volumes, of the living and laboring conditions of working people in East London.[3] In these volumes he gave to the world "a veritable storehouse" of social and economic facts. They show "the numerical relation which poverty, misery, and depravity bear to regular earnings and comparative comfort, and describe the general conditions under which each class lives." Booth's treatise is also a study in cartography, being noteworthy for its colored maps showing the variations in poverty, street by street.

In the United States the "Pittsburgh Survey," which was made in 1907–1908 under the direction of the Russell Sage Foundation, inaugurated the *social survey movement* in this country. It appeared in six volumes and covered nearly all the main phases of social and economic life. It was followed by surveys of many cities. It represents what is known as the general survey, which includes data concerning housing, health, amusements and recreation, industry, immigrants, schools, churches, welfare institutions, delinquency, and crime.

In contrast with the general survey there is the special social survey, which is usually confined to some one special problem, such as housing, health, or welfare agencies. It is possible for a group of citizens to conduct a special survey to good advantage at a small cost, whereas such a group would be unable to complete a general survey. In either case there are four major problems: (1) to secure adequate finances, (2) to plan a proper investigation of the given community, (3) to conduct the survey in a scientific, fearless way without antagonizing weak agencies or antisocial persons to the point where defeat is invited, and (4) to put into effect the findings of the survey.

A survey is made for the same purpose that a business house takes

[2] In Berlin, 1852.

[3] *Life and Labor of the People in London* (Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1902–1903).

an inventory at stated intervals. In the case of the inventory, the factors leading to losses can be discovered and prevented and factors leading to gains can be noted and emphasized. In much the same way a community can discover its disintegrating factors and work out plans of prevention and of increasing the efficiency and number of its constructive elements. More important, upon the basis of extensive social data, sound and far-reaching principles of social advance can be determined.[4]

A wise community will plan to take an inventory of itself not once, but at stated intervals, perhaps every five years. By so doing, a community can determine its various tendencies and the nature of its underlying processes.

The literature on social surveys is twofold: (1) manuals explaining how to conduct surveys, and (2) reports giving the results of actual surveys. The latter type of document has become extensive in scope and volume. It furnishes quantities of information for sociological analysis as well as for public distribution and consideration.

SOCIAL STATISTICS

Sociology is interested in quantitative measurement and requires at least an elementary knowledge of social statistics. August Comte, the founder of sociology, insisted at the outset upon a mathematical foundation for sociology. Sociology can go as far as the tools of social research will carry it, particularly those of social statistics and of social case analysis based on the life history applied to human facts.

Social statistics is mathematics applied to human facts. Statistical methods call for objective data that can be counted or measured in some way. Statistics means that facts when measured by different observers using the same methods will always yield the same results. Social statistics ranges from the use of simple formulae to an understanding of the theories by which these formulae are derived. It includes comprehension of the strong and weak points of various formulae for handling particular types of data.

[4] For an account of how to conduct a community survey inexpensively see James A. Hodgson, "A Low-Cost Community Survey," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVIII : 318–25, March-April, 1934.

Social statistics as a basis of sociological research begins with a knowledge of *means*, such as the arithmetic means, or ordinary average, and the weighted means designed to give different values to different units in a series.

There is the *mode*, or prevailing fashion or type; and the *median* or middle item in a series. The *range* is the spread of the items in a series, and the *frequency* is the number of items that appears in each class of items in a series. *Quartiles* refer to dividing all the items into four equal sections, and *quintiles* into five equal parts.

Any series of social items may be *discrete* or *continuous*, according to the data that are being measured. Money in the form of dollars and cents represents a discrete series; the height of persons represents a continuous series. Wages paid to employees, the population of a community, the birth rate, and the like, furnish discrete series of data. In each case the base is a definite unit. On the other hand, the heights or weights of a number of persons can never be given with complete accuracy in exact units. The base is continuous.

Measures of *dispersion* are important for they show how much the units deviate from the mean, the mode, or the medium. There is the mean variation or deviation which shows what the average deviation of all the items is, for example, from the mean. The *standard deviation* is a refinement of the mean deviation; it gives greater weight to extreme deviations from the norm.

The *normal frequency curve* [5] depicts the balanced way in which a large number of correlated items ordinarily group themselves. At either side the curve drops down to the horizontal base line, indicating that at either extreme of a group of data the number of items is very few. In the middle the curve rises to a rounded height, depicting the average and the items nearest the average as being most numerous.

Skewness is the degree that a group of items vary from a normal frequency curve. A frequency curve may be skewed either to the right or to the left, showing not only that the number of items on one side of the mode, for instance, are more numerous than on the other side, but also the degree to which the abnormality takes place.

Correlation is the comparison of two groups of data. One group is

[5] Sometimes called the biological curve.

measured in terms of the other. If they vary together in the same direction, positive correlation exists. If the prices of wheat and of potatoes vary in opposite directions step by step, a negative correlation exists. If one varies without similar or an opposite variation in the other then no correlation exists. Perfect correlation is represented by 1.00, while positive or negative correlation is indicated by a plus or a minus number respectively; both are less than 1.00 and both may approach 0. These numbers are known as the *coefficients of correlation.* The variable that is used as a measure is called the standard variable and the other the relative variable. If variables vary together either in the same or opposite directions it is often assumed that a causal relationship exists between them, but this is sometimes a debatable issue.

The *probable error* means that in sampling data some error is bound to occur. If one could measure all the items of a large series such as the total population of the earth, there would be no probable error. If one could measure three-fourths of the population a small error would probably occur, but if one measured only every fifth person, the probable error would be greater. The probable error, therefore, refers to the difference in measurement found between the results for a sample and the results that would occur if a complete canvass were made. It is expressed in terms of both plus and minus, denoting both a plus and minus variation from the ascertained norm. It makes unnecessary the measurement of all the items in a given series.

Sampling is the selection of a certain percentage of a group of items according to a predetermined plan. The common statistical procedure is called *random sampling,* that is, choosing not according to personal interest or convenience but impersonally at random. Choosing every fifth item, for example, is random sampling. It is representative sampling.

Index numbers are base numbers against which to measure changes. The index number serves as a basis for giving at a glance a story of relative values. Wages and prices are often treated in terms of index numbers.

A *questionnaire* is a list of questions given to a number of persons for them to answer. It secures standardized results that can be tabulated and treated statistically. A questionnaire must be worded very

carefully, otherwise different persons will interpret it differently and give answers that are not comparable or classifiable. The number of questions on a questionnaire must be kept small, for many people have been surfeited with questionnaires. The questionnaire is a useful device for gathering considerable data quickly.

A *schedule* is a form of abbreviated questions which the investigator usually keeps himself and fills out as he proceeds with his inquiry. A great deal of classifiable data can be collected on schedules. Their use is one of the best known techniques for gathering data.

A *scale* is a standard against which to measure unmeasured factors. It is composed of specimens being measured that have been arranged in an ascending or descending order. The distance between these specimens is equally spaced as determined by a considerable number of data of judgments. The items measured are given values according to the items of the standard against which they are measured.

A *test*, such as the well-known intelligence tests, is a quantitative rather than a qualitative measure. The question is: How many problems can a person solve correctly in a given time period? A test must be so difficult that no one can solve all the problems in the allotted time, and yet easy enough so that each person can solve some of the problems. One purpose of a test is to compare the ability of different persons; another, to measure one person's ability at successive intervals in order to determine whether or not any changes have occurred.

CONTROL-GROUP RESEARCH

Research methods in sociology depend on the kind of social situation that is to be studied. Naturally the choice of methods will vary or a combination of methods will be used according to the kind of problem concerning which research is to be done.

Of the various methods in sociological research the *control-group* method appears the most exact and reliable. It gives at least fairly dependable bases for accurate prediction, which is a fundamental test regarding the significance of a research method. Of the various control-group methods, the projected control group provides the most rigorous treatment of data and gives the most significant results.

At this point, however, the question can be asked: Can there be an

experimental sociology in the sense of controlled experiments? Some sociologists answer in the affirmative, and suggest that everything which is going on in human relationships is experimental. It has been pointed out that numerous social experiments are taking place all the time.[6] This comment indicates the difficulties that are involved by virtue of the numerous variables concerned and of the interacting of these variables. If the ingenuity of the sociologist is great enough, he can study the natural experiments going on all about him, and by tracing current variations to earlier differences and by accounting for other factors he can achieve reliable findings. The cross-sectional method of selective control[7] and the ex post facto method have unexplored possibilities.[8]

Since the *projected control* method goes further in experimental research than the other methods, it is given the main attention at this point. It makes measurements at a given time according to a specific and appropriate scale of behavior of an experimental group whose individuals are matched for as many important factors as possible with the members of a control group. The experimental group is submitted to a special program or set of stimuli for a given period of time and the control group is not given such a program but experiences all other factors that the experimental group experiences in as constant a way as possible. At the end of a given time period, both groups are again measured against the same scale as at the beginning to see which group has changed more during the experimental period and whether there is a significant difference in the changes. In other words, the groups are selected first and then a stimulus is given one group for a length of time and not to the other, in order that the effects on the experimental group may be measured along with the reactions of the control group, which in the meantime was presumably experiencing about the same set of circumstances as was the experimental group except for the one especially introduced factor. This is probably the most rigorously scientific method known in sociology. It uses social groups as its subject matter. It seeks to match the members of the two groups

[6] See F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Design in Sociological Research* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1947). [7] *Ibid.*, Chapter III.

[8] Discussed at some length by Ernest Greenwood, *Experimental Sociology* (Kings Crown Press, New York, 1945), pp. 49ff.

with reference to many basic factors, applies a stimulus to one but not the other, measures the resultant actions against a common scale of reference, and compares the results.

The projected control method of sociological research involves several steps or stages, which will now be briefly analyzed.

1. The statement of a problem naturally comes first. This exercise sounds easy, but usually is very difficult. Generally the first attempt covers too much ground. Often the statement has to be made over, perhaps more than once, because the further it is considered the more precise the statement can be made.

The exercise also involves several questions in semantics, for every word or term in the statement of a problem is likely to have more than one meaning. Hence the most accurate term for a given meaning is necessary. A part of this difficulty can be met if operational terms are used. If each term accurately states an operation or a part of an operation that is performed clarity will be furthered.

2. Closely related to the wording of the problem is the statement of a hypothesis or hypotheses regarding the nature of the problem or of some aspect of it. A hypothesis is sometimes misconceived as something to be proved. Unconsciously a research person may direct his efforts toward obtaining proof and not remain unbiased. A hypothesis is a proposition to be tested. The results may go one way or the other. There is much to be said in favor of the null hypothesis, which is stated negatively. For example, instead of declaring that "improved housing conditions lower the delinquency rate," the null hypothesis would read, "a change in the housing conditions does not change the delinquency rate." It will be noted in the null hypothesis that the psychological tendency to be under obligations to prove something positive is lessened if not eliminated. Furthermore the null hypothesis as stated avoids the use of a value judgment (a subjective reaction) that is included and even emphasized in the positively worded statement, namely, the term "improved."

3. The selection of an experimental group comes next. If it includes all the members in its particular classification of the population, then no question of sampling arises. If it is not feasible to consider all the members, then random sampling may be used, by choosing, for ex-

ample, every fifth or tenth name on an alphabetical list. The aim of random sampling is to guarantee that the sample may be as representative as possible of the total group that is being considered. But the total group may not be homogeneous and hence controlled or stratified sampling will be used. The group under study may contain dissimilar elements unevenly distributed. In other words the group may be heterogeneous as to attitudes and interests. In order to take these factors into consideration the Gallup and Roper polls, as examples, interview people according to their numerical distribution as to "geography, occupation, age, sex, political affiliation, race, religion, and general cultural backgrounds." [9] If the people are twice as numerous in one occupation as in another then the sample will include twice as many persons in the one occupation as in the other, and so on.

4. The selection of a control group naturally follows. The control group is so secured that it will be as representative as the experimental group. In addition, care will be taken to have the control group experience all the major stimuli to which the experimental group is subjected with the exception of the one factor to which the experimental group is subjected.

5. In order that as much similarity may be had as possible between the experimental group and the control group the device of identical individual matching is used here, as in all controlled group experimentation, with reference to as many important factors as possible, such as age, sex, racial backgrounds, educational status, economic status, religious affiliation, and so forth. For every factor that identical individual matching is obtained, the number of persons in each group will be decreased. For instance, in an experiment conducted by Helen F. Christensen all the boys and girls were considered first who either graduated from the high schools of St. Paul in 1926 or dropped out during that year.[10] They constituted a total of 2,117 subjects of which

[9] George Gallup and Saul F. Rae, *The Pulse of Democracy* (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1940), p. 60; also, George Gallup, *A Guide to Public Opinion Polls* (Princeton University Press, 1948).

[10] Helen F. Christensen, "The Relation of School Progress Measured in Terms of the Total Amount of School Attendance or Course Completion, to Subsequent Economic Adjustment," Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1938, quoted by F. S. Chapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 99ff.

1,130 were graduated and 897 dropped out that year. The former were treated as the experimental group for they had had the additional experience of schooling represented by graduation, and the latter were the control group. In considering the effects of graduation nine years later in 1935, Mrs. Christensen matched the members of one group against the members of the other on one significant item after another. She then had only 145 in each group.

Thus, although Mrs. Christensen started out with all the individuals who were immediately involved in the problem studied she arrived at so small a sample that the question may be raised: Is the sample representative? At this point the distinction between a representative sample and a pure sample may be made. The aim is not merely to report on the activities of all the graduates or on all the activities of those who dropped out of school, or to compare nine years later in 1935 the activities of all the graduates with the activities of all the dropped-outs. In these instances representative samples would have been needed. An aim in Mrs. Christensen's study was to find out what change in status came about in the lives of the youth who were graduated in 1926 from the St. Paul high schools when all other important differences in their status were counted out. When the aim is to find out what happens as a result of the operation of one factor alone, it is necessary to obtain samples that are as comparable as possible with reference to that particular factor, in other words, to obtain pure samples of the presence and of the absence of a given type of experience.[11]

If identical individual matching is not feasible then the research person may resort to obtaining an equated frequency distribution. Instead of matching individual by individual, the matching is done by subgroups. That is to say, the matching is that of an equal number of persons of a given classification, such as economic status in both the experimental and control groups. The results are not as exact as in the case of identical individual matching but oftentimes more feasible.

6. When the experimental and control groups have been matched so that all factors except the one to be studied have been eliminated as far as possible, then the reactions of each group are measured against a particular scale of reference that is designed to determine the effects

[11] *Cf.* Chapin, *ibid.*, p. 103.

in some pertinent way of the factor being studied. In the Locke-Klausner study of the effects of divorce upon a subsequent marriage, a scale that would measure success in marriage was used,[12] namely, the Burgess-Cottrell Marital Adjustment Scale.[13]

The use of a correctly developed scale eliminates guess work, subjective reactions of the experimenters, and varied value judgments. The procedure is one that can be followed by other experimenters elsewhere, or at a later date with other experimental and control groups. The development of an appropriate scale for objective measurements in a given controlled experiment, if one is not already available, is in itself an extensive and difficult undertaking.

7. In the next place the experimental group is submitted to a particular program or set of stimuli to which the control group is not admitted. If definite psychological factors are involved as little attention as possible is called to the experiment. Otherwise, the members of the experimental group will begin to rationalize, and a factor in addition to the one that is to be measured will enter into the experimental situation which may distort the results.

Any announcement where psychological factors are concerned may have inhibitory effects on some persons and exhibitionist effects on others. Natural reactions may not be expressed because of arousal on one hand of negative desires or on the other hand of the desire "to show off" or to help make "a good record for our group."

To the experimental group is submitted the factor whose influence it is desired to measure for a predetermined length of time, perhaps six months or a year. The time-length is important because it is difficult to keep all the controlled factors constant for too long a time. In this connection the ex post facto type of controlled experiment has an advantage, for it may include a period of years, although in this connection too, the longer the time element the greater the difficulty of taking into account the operations of all the variables which are so characteristic of social situations.

[12] Harvey J. Locke and William J. Klausner, "Marital Adjustment of Divorced Persons in Subsequent Marriages," *Sociology and Social Research*, September-October, 1948.

[13] E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (Prentice-Hall, 1939), pp. 64ff.

The set of stimuli which the experimental group is to react to is carefully planned beforehand and objectively administered. It is so framed that the results of it will test the reliability of the hypothesis as stated at the beginning of the experiment. If for instance, it is an educational program of some sort, the method of presentation will be as natural as possible, or else it will not be feasible to distinguish between the reactions of the members of the experimental group to the method used and their reactions to the content that is presented.

8. At the conclusion of the experimental period the reactions of both the experimental and the control group are measured once more against the scale of reference used at the beginning. Both groups may have changed equally, the control group may have changed more than the experimental group, or the experimental group may have changed more than the control group. At this point the social statistician is called on to determine whether the differences in the reactions of the experimental and the control groups are statistically significant. He does this by the use of such statistical devices as chi square and critical ratio. These methods help to determine, for instance, how far the differences in the reactions of the two groups are due to the experimental factor and how far to chance, or to inadequacies in the samples that were selected.

If the change in reaction to the experimental factor is statistically significant, then a conclusion may be drawn as to whether the original hypothesis is supported or not. If supported the research worker can set up a hypothesis concerning some other aspect of the given problem, but if not supported then a new hypothesis may be made regarding the original aspect of the given problem. Of course no one controlled experiment is adequate. The reliability rises when a similar controlled experiment is conducted in many different localities and by a number of different experimenters. The results of any one rigorously controlled group experiment can lead to no dogmatic social conclusion.

9. The statistically significant findings of controlled group experiment may be followed not only by the statement of further hypotheses and the conducting of other experiments, but also by obtaining interview and life history data. Considerable refinement has been achieved

in interviewing methods. One of these refinements refers to adequate sampling in selecting persons to be interviewed. Another refinement involves checking interviews with a given person with the life history of that person. Much interviewing turns out to be fugitive and superficial when examined in the light of a life history of the person interviewed. The life history gives a basis for interpretation of meanings involved in the interviewee's statements made in an interview.[14] The findings of interviews and life histories often give significant meanings to the statistical conclusions. Sometimes they can be framed in the form of hypotheses which may be tested by new controlled group experiments.

The foregoing ninefold steps or stages in controlled group experiments lead to the formulation of new factual social theory or to the modification of previously stated factual social theory.

Thus far in this analysis the method has followed somewhat closely that developed in the natural sciences. The latter are interested in factual theory, not in normative theory. They are concerned in finding out what is, not what ought to be. They deal with nature, and their problems are factual not normative. The physical scientist, for example, works long and laboriously in finding out how fission takes place. Moreover, on the basis of his factual knowledge he makes reliable predictions which are universally valid not only now but in the future. As a scientist he does not concern himself with value judgments, for nature is entirely impersonal. No ethical factors enter in the action and reactions of the electrons, protons, and neutrons.

Likewise the sociologist is interested in what is the nature of social situations and in how they operate so that he too can make predictions that will be universally valid now and in the future providing the conditions remain the same. He has a great deal of work cut out for him in this connection for years and decades to come.

However, the social philosopher and the social reformer are interested in what ought to be, that is, in what will improve social welfare. They often jump to conclusions and subjectively manufacture their own normative social theory. But social theory created out of individual

[14] *Cf.* Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhorn, and Robert Angell, *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology* (Social Science Research Council, New York, 1945).

wishing or conviction may have little reliability and hence cannot be used for prediction purposes.[15]

The sociologist who is interested in controlled experiments does not see how the scientific methods that are familiar to him in developing factual social theory can be used to develop normative social theory. Factual social theory deals with what is, while normative social theory involves what ought to be; factual social theory is concerned with what is, normative social theory with what isn't.[16] Scientific methods that are reliable in developing factual social theory cannot be used in establishing normative social theory. The physical sciences have developed methods for studying what is true about nature but have not developed methods for determining how atoms, for example, ought to act and therefore their methods are not applicable for determining what ought to be in social situations. In the developing or creating of normative social theory the sociologist finds that the usual scientific methods fail him and that new methods are called for, perhaps those involving deductive reasoning from the basic principles of factual social theory.

Perhaps when sociological principles are derived from factual social theory it will be possible deductively to derive normative social theory from these principles.[17] Also, it may be possible to test the reliability of their deductively derived normative social theory by controlled group experiments. There is no reason why the sociologist cannot test value judgments (once they have been derived) by controlled experiments. Like any other subject matter they may be treated experimentally in order to determine their nature and what the effects may be of putting them in operation in a given group.

INTERVIEWS AND LIFE HISTORIES

Sociology is seeking new tools of research. Social surveys have not penetrated social problems deeply enough; and social statistics have

[15] *Cf.* Hornell Hart, "Value-Judgments in Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 3:862–67, December, 1938.

[16] F. S. C. Northrop, *The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1947), p. 256 and Chs. XVI, XVII.

[17] On the other hand Professor Northrop argues that a normative social theory can be reached through the empirical philosophy of the natural sciences, *ibid.*, p. 277.

remained somewhat formal. Sociology seeks to know attitudes and values, the favorable and unfavorable feeling responses, the nature of social situations, of social conflicts, of assimilation, of adjustments, and of reorganization both of personalities and of groups. It investigates subjective materials and tries to make them objective so that they may be scientifically interpreted. It begins with personal experiences and ends in social processes.

Sociology is more interested in the *meanings* of social facts than in social facts themselves. It traces all social data back to human experiences and the reactions to these. It seeks out meanings in order to understand the reasons for social conflicts, the nature of personality, and valid ways of securing personal and social reorganization. Why is an experience defined or interpreted in one way by one person and reacted to in an entirely different fashion by another person? If these contradictory results are due to differences in the configurations of personalities, then what factors account for the differences in personality configurations? These are but samples of some of the problems with which sociology is concerning itself today. Sociology has a special interest in problems such as these: Why is it that one person reacts in one way to a certain event and another person in the opposite way to the same event?

Hence, the research student adds the *interview* method to his repertoire, and secures life histories and similar materials, which are analyzed and classified. The sociologist uses the interview, life history, and case analysis technique in connection with the survey-statistical method. He views the latter as a means of securing as accurate a statement of his problem as possible, and then searches for the meanings of his statistical findings by interviews, life histories, case analyses. He views statistical analysis and social case analysis as complementary. One is an essential aid to the other. The statistical procedure helps him to locate representative items or units for control-group purposes and for case analyses, and gives his findings reliability and predictive importance.

The student learns to interview by interviewing, as well as by studying the procedures of the research interview. He may also learn much from other types of interviewers, such as the doctor, the lawyer, the detective, the psychiatrist, the social worker, and the newspaper re-

porter. He takes time, and he moves painstakingly. He does not ask the person interviewed for casual explanations but seeks as many antecedent happenings and experiences as possible. The interviewee's explanations are often significant because of the biases and prejudices which they disclose. Sequences and coexistences of experiences are sought first, and interpretations are worked out later.

Experiences are usual or unusual. Of the usual a few representative ones [18] are sufficient. They throw light on what is standard and generally understood. The unusual experiences are often very significant, for they may represent new trends, origins, explanations of different reactions to a given social situation, the bases of misunderstandings, and the like. All unusual experiences throw new light on life.

Non-directive interviewing may be used extensively. It developed partly as a diagnostic method and partly as a research procedure. Non-directive interviewing stimulates the interviewee to be free as possible in reporting his experiences. Non-directive interviewing keeps the influence of the interviewer out of the picture as much as possible. The therapeutic element is significant for the non-directive interview operates on the assumption "that each normal person has within himself the necessary resources for his own psychological guidance." [19]

The *life history* is a full account of a person's significant experiences and of his reactions to them in terms of attitudes, given by the person himself. It is a complete document freely stated. Though it be inaccurate at points or warped by faulty remembering, it is still valuable, providing it be a bona fide document. The way that a person remembers an experience even though he recalls it inaccurately is highly significant, for his distorted remembrance rather than the event as it actually happened explains his present reactions. Not many persons give their life histories accurately, but nearly everyone can be trained.

Letters are often valuable research documents. In a letter to a close friend one is likely to pour out his experiences and his feelings. He is more likely to say what he thinks than when he fills out a questionnaire.

[18] Whether they are representative or not may be determined by statistical criteria.

[19] J. F. Cuber, *Marriage Counselling and Practice* (Appleton, Century, and Crofts, New York, 1948).

He may not make the reservations that he does when being interviewed.[20]

It is important to distinguish between the *opinions* and the *attitudes* of an interviewee. Opinions are less reliable than attitudes, for a person ordinarily expresses opinions freely, but under a test he will act differently and reveal unexpected attitudes. His sequences of acts disclose his attitudes and the processes of their operation, which are the goals that a research person seeks.

Classification and the *formation of new categories* are important sequels to social case analysis. In sociological research one takes each important datum and classifies it, that is, he fits it in at the proper place with the classified knowledge already in stock. He pigeonholes it at the appropriate spot. If, however, a datum does not lend itself to such classification, then it is set aside by itself. If other unique data of the same type of uniqueness are found, a new category of knowledge may be instituted. By classifying a datum it becomes understood; and likewise by building a new category of data it in turn develops a meaning.

Participant observation is a special method of gathering data.[21] According to it the research student takes part in a specific situation or he lives and functions in a given community. In this way he gets the feel of what is going on. He becomes an insider and is admitted to the secrets of the community life.[22] He then retires from the situation and writes out his observations as objectively as possible. There are of course varying degrees of participant observation; moreover, the observer plays a dual role.

There is also *non-participant observation*. The non-participant observant remains aloof, and describes the behavior by time intervals of the observees.[23] The behavior of children has been treated in this way to good advantage. In observing a group of children some are seen

[20] E. S. Bogardus, *Introduction to Social Research* (Suttonhouse, Los Angeles, 1936), Ch. XI.

[21] See George Lundberg, *Social Research* (Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1942), Ch. I.

[22] See Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929).

[23] Dorothy S. Thomas and Associates, *Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior* (Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1920).

to play day after day by themselves, some always seek the company of others, some regularly dominate, others regularly follow, and so on. After a period of observation of this type it is possible to give a significant picture of the attitudes of the observees.[24]

SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENTIFIC STUDY

Sociology begins its research by choosing its problems carefully. It studies these with as few prejudices and biases as possible; it endeavors to eliminate all wishful thinking. At the outset it enters upon a period of exploration, that is, of seeking the best sources of data. The student confers with as many persons as possible who might have had interesting experiences regarding some phase of the specific problem. He inhibits the popular desire to get results quickly, knowing that such a plan will bring superficial findings, and that someone else will be obliged later to do his work all over again. He resists the temptation to go straightway in the most promising direction. In sociological research a period of exploration is required during which the student holds in abeyance the logical procedure and turns aside from beaten paths. He searches for hidden clues, inquiring of chance individuals as well as of selected persons, seeking openings to pertinent materials. Exploration thus is both irregular and systematic, traversing unbeaten paths and uncharted regions as well as the usual channels.

After the preliminary exploration for data is made, the real search begins, and interesting personal experiences are pursued skillfully. Personal experiences are emphasized above all else, for it is experience which gives meaning to anything that we understand or know. Experiences are more than events; they include reactions to events. Experiences determine attitudes of life, and give configuration or shape to personality. They help to determine what a person's reactions will be to all succeeding experiences. They explain why personal disorganization occurs, and how personal reorganization may take place. They make clear why social conflicts arise and continue; they elucidate the processes of social cooperation. They tell the story of how a person

[24] For a valid critique of methods of social research see Charles A. Ellwood, *Methods in Sociology* (Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1933).

defines or interprets any social situation, and why one person defines a situation in one way and another person in an entirely different fashion. To get at the experiences, however, which lie "in the back of people's heads," and to get them out "upon the table" where they can be studied objectively, is not easy.

The sociology student may make a survey of a portion of some community or area in which he is interested and treat the results statistically, or he may examine a social situation where conflict or cooperation or both occur, and learn the origins and nature of the underlying social processes. If he chooses the latter method he develops the interviewing and life history techniques as tools.

Sociology as the science of human association in groups has had a century-long history. August Comte, a French scholar, led the way by developing what he called "a positive philosophy." He coined the term, sociology, about 1838. The name of the new discipline came from the Greek, *logos*, meaning originally, the word, and later, science, and the Latin word for associate, *socius*. Thus, sociology began as the science of associates or of association. Comte gave the study of human association a scientific impetus by the name he developed for it, if by no other means.[25]

The second half of the nineteenth century saw more activity of a sociological nature. In England, Herbert Spencer developed what he called "principles of sociology," which was a well-intentioned move in the direction of making sociology a science. In this connection Spencer collected a great mass of data of an objective nature about people and primitive societies and classified his materials, in an attempt to put sociology on a scholarly basis.

Lester F. Ward, an American paleontologist, published his *Dynamic Sociology*[26] in 1883 and as a result achieved the title of dean of American sociologists. He emphasized the human desires as dynamic forces in human life and education as the directive agent. He stressed *social telesis*, or the procedure of directing the human desires in such directions as society or human groups might choose. According to him

[25] See his *Positive Philosophy*, trans. Martineau (Bell and Sons, London, 1913).
[26] Reprinted by D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1915.

sociology is the last and highest landing on the staircase of knowledge, or the cap and crown of any true organization of the sciences.[27]

Numerous European sociologists have made vital contributions to the science of sociology. In France outstanding contributors besides Comte have been Durkheim, Tarde, and Levy-Bruhl. Durkheim emphasized, for example, the importance of "collective representations." These are "symbols" which have "an identical meaning to all members of the group." The flag is a collective representation of a national group. Tarde described the laws of imitation. It was his work that stimulated Professor Edward A. Ross to write his *Social Psychology*, which was published in 1908. Levy-Bruhl has contended that there is a primitive mentality which is more mystical and less cognitive than is the mentality of civilized man.

In Germany noteworthy names are those of Max Weber, Simmel, and Von Wiese. Weber developed the concept of "meaningful phenomena." It refers to behavior that has a meaning with reference to the conduct of other persons. Behavior is understandable only as its intention with reference to others is comprehended. Simmel generalized the process of change and of becoming. To him sociology analyzes the recurring "forms" of social processes, those of approaching and of withdrawing. Von Wiese gave particular attention to the processes of association and dissociation.

The Italian, Pareto, has attracted attention because of his analysis of "residues" and "derivations." A residue is a set of "nonlogical actions" derived from an "underlying sentiment" that is common to mankind. A derivation is a rationalization of the nonlogical actions from which residues are derived. Most actions are illogical and the expression of sentiments. Logico-experimental behavior is defensible, for it is based on generalizations derived from uniformities observed through experimentation.

The closing decade of the nineteenth century witnessed the introduction of courses in sociology into American universities. Franklin H. Giddings at Columbia University, Albion W. Small at the Univer-

[27] L. F. Ward, *Outlines of Sociology* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1898), p. 20.

sity of Chicago, Frank W. Blackmar at the University of Kansas were among the first to inaugurate university courses in sociology.[28]

Sociology is one of the several social sciences, and it holds a relation to the others paralleling that of psychology. As psychology analyzes mental processes, so sociology analyzes social processes. All the special social sciences rest on an understanding of both mental and social processes, hence upon both psychology and sociology.

Sociology thus has its own territory of research. As psychology in its study of mental behavior processes contributes to all the specific social sciences, so sociology in its study of social processes likewise contributes to all social sciences.

Clinical sociology is beginning to be developed. The clinical approach as pointed out by E. C. McDonagh is essentially a group way of studying and solving problems.[29] Medicine, psychology, child welfare have led the way. In medicine, for example, "the interaction and interstimulation among physicians have made possible a better quality of care than can be rendered by the individual physician." [30] Professional personnel and scientific equipment are pooled, thus bringing to bear in a cooperative way all the resources of science in diagnosing human ills. Clinical research in community problems has excellent possibilities. People in the community bring the problems of their respective agencies to the clinic. Ideally, suggests Dr. McDonagh, the clinical staff is composed of the representatives from the various social sciences with a person trained in sociology as the director. Advanced graduate students serve as field investigators and secure firsthand materials for theses and dissertations, and more important, they come to grips face to face with actual social situations of a conflict nature.

Clinical sociology functions best in conjunction with the *sociological laboratory,* which is a set of rooms possessing special equipment such as calculators, map-making devices, and conference tables, where field materials are examined, analyzed, classified, where findings are reached, and reports with graphic and cartographic illustrations are prepared

[28] Dr. Small deserves special mention because of his distinction as the founder and for many years the editor of the *American Journal of Sociology.*

[29] Edward C. McDonagh, "An Approach to Clinical Sociology," *Sociology and Social Research,* XXVIII : 377ff., May-June, 1944.

[30] *Loc. cit.*

and made ready for public distribution, and where interviewing is done. A fuller description of a sociological laboratory is given in the appendix of this book.

Current sociological development is taking a sixfold trend:

(1) There is the ecological approach, according to which spatial position and relationships are considered of great importance. Changes in spatial positions and relationships of persons are even more significant.

(2) The cultural approach is also enjoying widespread attention. The culture elements in group life are basic to any other phase of life. They often explain attitudes and conflicts between attitudes. They account for the slowness of real social change; they are the essence of group organization.

(3) The psycho-social phases of group life are perhaps the heart of sociology. They are composed on one hand of personality factors such as attitudes and values, and on the other hand of group factors, such as social processes and organization. Because of their subjective phases they are especially difficult to study objectively.

(4) Social technology takes sociological data and deductions and works out programs of social reorganization. It originated years ago in charitable and philanthropic work which had been based on common sense rather than on scientific sense. It began with ancient and simple methods of helping one's neighbor, and extends today to current scientific efforts to solve human problems. It includes modern social work, social reform, and social amelioration.

(5) Then there is sociological research, which is concerned with better methods for securing and interpreting data. It seeks sharper tools for diagnosing personal experiences and social conflicts. It demands a more thoroughgoing technique for analyzing social processes.

(6) Social philosophy, the first phase of sociology to develop, consists of far-swung interpretations of personality and society on the basis of scientifically derived data about these phenomena. It is supported by those sociologists who insist that sociology is more than a mere science, and who are quite dissatisfied with the analytical and piecemeal findings of sociology.

Current sociology is the product of these six lines of development,

which are now being merged and which are creating a new, distinctive morale along the whole sociological front. Sociology is becoming a tangible, dynamic, scientific study of personal experiences, group phenomena, and social processes.

Sociology is growing more scientific. It is moving away from metaphysics on one hand and from social reform on the other, and concentrating on concrete studies and better methods of research. It is now taking hold of concrete sections of human relationships and analyzing their meanings. It is growing weary of the dogmatism of rationalization and skeptical of that reform which does not first have an adequate comprehension of underlying social processes. There are hundreds of persons ready to turn their hands to reform to one who is able to analyze the deep-seated social processes.[31]

The different social sciences are beginning to throw their research resources together in the direction of a cooperative attack upon social problems. A current example is that of the juvenile delinquency control movement in Los Angeles. According to this development, sociology, government, social work, economics, psychology are furnishing research persons to work together upon finding out what is involved in the control and reduction of delinquency. A considerable development of joint research activities is at hand. The day of the sociologist working alone at research is passing.

Another development that is getting under way is the co-ordinating of interview methods of research, participant observation methods of research, and statistical research. It is becoming evident that no one of these sets of techniques is sufficient unto itself alone, but that each takes on importance as its exponents work with the representatives of the other two. Sociometric research has been showing interview research how the latter can make its subjective studies more reliable and the parallel development known as operational research is being extensively developed by sociologists in the last half dozen years. While its teachability has not been fully demonstrated, operational sociology has possibilities of helping sociologists to get away from unverifiable

[31] "The University of Chicago Series" represents an unusually valuable set of research books. Each of the volumes presents a thoroughgoing piece of research, usually of some phase of community life.

subjective judgments. The various approaches to social research are beginning to recognize the importance of working together in making studies of an understanding of human life and social processes.

Outstanding in the development of sociology is its growth in the last twenty-five years as a *teaching subject*. It is being accorded an important place in the curriculum of colleges and universities. The teaching of sociology is becoming highly diversified.

(1) The teaching of sociology began in the advanced field of post-graduate university work. It originated in courses in social philosophy and general sociology for mature students. It dealt with theory. It had little unity, for each teacher developed his own system.

(2) In recent years the number of specialized undergraduate courses in sociology, such as those dealing with poverty, delinquency, the family, eugenics, has increased with amazing rapidity. The college is rare indeed which has no course in sociology, some offering ten or twenty, even fifty or sixty courses in those institutions where sociology has been developed extensively. The organization of departments of sociology either as separate units or as a part of a large social science division has gone ahead widely in the United States.

(3) The teaching of the introductory course in college sociology has been developed further than has any other course in the field. More textbooks for this course have been written than for several others combined. Until recently there has not been a great deal of uniformity in these, but now a consensus of treatment is developing.

(4) The high school is slowly being recognized as a field for teaching sociology, although not necessarily under that name. An already overcrowded curriculum has opposed the introduction of sociology courses, but sooner or later the need of high school students for sociology, whether they go on to college or not, will be recognized. Being at an age when individuality asserts itself and when group readjustments are many, high school students especially need to study group life.[32]

(5) Sociology in teachers' colleges is developing belatedly. The teacher needs not only to know subject matter and to know her pupils

[32] See Read Bain, "High School Sociology," *The High School Teacher*, VII: 134–37, 152–55, April, 1931.

as individuals, but also to understand the group life of which her pupils are a product and the nature of the group life for which she is fitting them. Primarily the teacher does not simply teach a child one certain subject; she teaches subjects, so that her pupils may succeed in group life, not in self-centered ways but for the good of other persons and of groups, and thus for their own highest personality development. Teaching is a process of fitting pupils to become socialized group members in their vocations and in their daily social relationships.

(6) Social studies are being introduced in the grades, especially in the upper grades. The need for them in the lower grades is also great. The teaching of them in the grades is no more difficult than the teaching of elementary mathematics or any other subject. The presentation of social ideas and the development of group responsibility, normally begun in the home during the first year of the child's life, may well be continued in an organized way by the school when it is entered by the child at the age of five or six years.

By teaching sociology the leaven of socialized thinking can work out into and through all group life. In consequence socialized behavior may develop; social planning can be furthered and a new social order be evolved. Individualized thinking and behaving by itself will ruin society; it needs to be balanced by prosocial procedures.

In seeking answers to the question, Why major in sociology? the writer has gathered data from two groups, (1) 360 students majoring in sociology in several different colleges and universities in different regions of the United States and (2) 485 persons who had majored in sociology at the University of Southern California and who had been graduated from college for periods of from two to twenty-four years. The occupational activities of these former majors were examined with a view to ascertaining what sociology majors actually do occupationally after completing their college courses. Of the reasons given for majoring in sociology by group one, the profession of social work in its various aspects came first, teaching sociology in college came second, teaching social studies in secondary schools came third, other occupational fields such as library work, church work, journalism, law, followed. Of the occupations of former majors as given by group two, social work was first, teaching sociology second, school counseling third. Useful

in marriage and family relations and in making personality adjustments were factors mentioned by many majors and former majors.[33]

(7) At long last sociology is beginning to receive recognition as a scientific discipline. The attention that many sociologists are giving to controlled experiments is the largest single factor in bringing about a recognition of sociology as a social science. Further refinements of sociological research and increased predictive value of its findings are immediately ahead.

Sociology as a science is developing a real body of concepts. If there can be no science without tools and if concepts are tools, it is important that sociology pay close attention to concepts. Sociological concepts already mount upward into the hundreds. While many of these are of minor importance all lend themselves to the following classification:

(a) Ecological (position, natural area, invasion, segregation, succession);
(b) Cultural (mores, diffusion, acculturation);
(c) Societal (group, community, social situation);
(d) Personality (attitudes, values, status);
(e) Processual (conflict, accommodation, assimilation, socialization);
(f) Organizational (organization, disorganization, reorganization);
(g) Change (mobility, evolution, revolution, progress);
(h) Methodological (social surveys, social statistics, participant observation, interview, life history, social case analysis, control group).

In 1946 the results of a survey by the present writer, of the various exhibits of sociological concepts was published.[34] It included lists by Albion W. Small (1905), Bogardus (1931), Eubank (1932), North (1933), Kimball Young (1934), Phelps (1936), Zeleny (1937), Panunzio (1937), and Reuter (1942). In 1944 an extensive *Dictionary of Sociology* under the general editorship of Henry P. Fairchild, assisted by about 100 sociologists, appeared. It gave definitions of about 3,600

[33] E. S. Bogardus, "Why Major in Sociology," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVI : 154–63, November-December, 1941.

[34] E. S. Bogardus, "Concepts in Sociology," *Sociology and Social Research*, 30:217–26, January-February, 1946.

terms. In the meantime the writer's list of fifty concepts (1931) was revised and extended to 100 as used by teachers of sociology. An examination of all these lists shows that some concepts have remained constant, such as, conflict, group, social control, social process, social situation. New terms appear, for example, those of ecological and cultural import.

Many sociological journals bear testimony to the activity of sociologists and to the extensive nature of sociological research. *The American Journal of Sociology*, published at the University of Chicago, has been a pathfinder for many years. Its founding in 1894 was followed twenty or more years later by the establishment of *Social Forces* and of *Sociology and Social Research*. Recently the *American Sociological Review* was established and journals in special fields have appeared, such as *Rural Sociology*. In England the *Sociological Review* has well represented English sociological thought. Edited by René Worms, the *Revue de sociologique internationale* in France was a pioneer journal.

Sociology has much of value to offer the student.

(1) Sociology suggests permanently significant concepts regarding human life. It deals with concepts that are the largest dependable terms known to mankind, that pertain to the deepest elements of human nature, and that explain the diversified activities of human beings.

(2) Sociology presents a point of view which is both comprehensive and penetrating. The sociological attitude is that of viewing every social problem objectively and without bias. It seeks neither to prove nor to disprove, but to find out. It is the scientific attitude applied to personal and social problems.

The sociological attitude gives unbiased attention to all sides of any social problem. To meet this standard is not easy, even when a person is simply an impartial spectator and has no personal interests involved in the situation; but when one's attitudes and welfare are located on one side or the other of the struggle, it is exceedingly difficult to view all phases of the situation impartially.

(3) Sociology points the way to prosocial personalities. It defines both a rich and balanced personality and a dynamic and stimulating

group life. It defines standards for a constructive society. It explains the essence of a genuine democracy where a person rules others not primarily for his own gain but for the common weal. Sociology indicates the necessity of overcoming narrow personal prejudices, egoistic ambitions, and class hatreds. Its findings stimulate every person to render a full measure of service to every other person and to the common good.

(4) Sociology balances the age-long emphasis on self-development with concepts of social development; it balances self-culture with social culture. Self-development and self-culture are essential, but without the controlling influence of socialized attitudes, civilization wobbles. Sociology gives to troubled persons as effective a key to the problems of personal and associative life as has yet been made. It lays bare personal chicanery and group trickery; at the same time it depicts the constructive elements of wholesome living.

The development of sociology as a science is reflected in the history of the American Sociological Society.[35] In 1930 this organization rounded out a remarkable quarter-century of history. A study of the annual reports of the Society shows that during its first quarter-century (1) it turned from subjective generalizations toward objective, concrete studies; (2) it has seen general philosophizing give way to specific inquiry; (3) it has shifted from reform to research; (4) it has turned from emphasis on applied sociology to ecological, cultural, and psychosocial approaches; (5) it has penetrated beneath social pathology to social process; and (6) it has discarded crude tools, such as analogies, for the sharp instruments of statistical precision, and for meaningful case analyses. All together, the results have been worthy of sturdy pioneers.[36]

[35] While sociology originated in Europe, and has made progress in China, India, Argentina, Canada, and other parts of the world, its greatest advancement has occurred in the United States.

[36] Adapted from a "Note" by the author in the *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXV : 1, 2. For an interesting statement of the changes taking place in sociology, see C. H. Cooley, "Now and Then," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII : 259–63, May-June, 1924. Also see Edward A. Ross, "Watchman, What of the Night?" *Sociology and Social Research*, XVIII : 110–14, November-December, 1933, and M. J. Vincent, "Trends in Sociology: 1939–1948," *Sociology and Social Research*, March-April, 1949.

Sociology today is engaged chiefly in the study of social processes. It is making concrete studies of significant social situations and analyzing the changes that are taking place in human relationships. It is discovering the modes of these changes, that is, processes. It searches for the processes that bring about organization, disorganization, and reorganization of both persons and groups. On the bases of these studies, it formulates social hypotheses and laws.

Sociology is working industriously at the problem of predicting human behavior. The studies that show how behavior can be predicted not only in the mass but even with reference to individual persons are making headway. After all, the measure of any science is the degree to which it can predict what is going to happen in its field of research, and the measure of sociology depends upon how far sociology can predict human behavior under given conditions.

PROBLEMS

1 What is the difference between a census and a social survey?
2 How would you go about starting a social survey?
3 Contrast a social survey and a community case history.
4 What is the strength of social statistics?
5 Why is social statistics inadequate?
6 What are the distinctive characteristics of sociological research?
7 Why do personal experience materials have research value?
8 What is an interview guide?
9 How does the interview guide differ from the questionnaire?
10 How does a questionnaire differ from a schedule?
11 What are the merits of a life history?
12 In what ways is sociology a science, and in what ways not?
13 Why has sociology been one of the latest sciences to develop?
14 Point out noteworthy traits of four or five leading sociological journals.
15 Select one leading European sociologist and indicate some of his most important ideas.
16 Do the same for an American sociologist.
17 Can you distinguish in any way between European and American sociology?
18 Why has sociology developed further in the United States than in any other country?
19 Why has sociology developed so rapidly as a college study?

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Chapter

17

Principles of Sociology

AS THE result of sociological research certain principles of sociology are beginning to emerge. A *principle* is a generalization about anything that is established as being universally true, and a *sociological principle* is a generalization about any aspect of human relations which on the basis of investigation appears to be universally dependable.

It is too soon to proclaim full-fledged sociological principles because no important aspect of human relations has been studied by controlled experimentation under sufficiently varied circumstances to be described in terms of universals. The best that can be done at present is to select some of those generalizations which have been tested to a degree and which, as far as experimentation has gone, appear to be reliable.

Because of the incomplete degree to which so-called sociological principles have been established, it might be well to call them sociological generalizations. But many of these generalizations are better established than others and hence perhaps some of these may be selected as sociological principles in the making, providing it is understood that they may be restated at any time that scientific experiments throw new light on them.

Inasmuch as these principles are still in the process of being tested, it would not be inaccurate to view them as sociological hypotheses. If after further controlled experimentation these hypotheses have been established as correct statements, then their claim to being called principles may be accepted.

A sociological principle may take the form of a social law, which may be interpreted as a statement of a sequence of related events which always occur in the same order in the functioning of human relations, providing the conditions remain the same. In other words if certain social conditions function, certain social results may be predicted.

A great deal of social prediction is taking place today. One of its weaknesses arises out of the fact that not all the predicters have formulated and stated the social laws on the basis of which they are making their predictions.

A sociological principle is most reliable when based on a number of related social laws that have been thoroughly tested under manifold conditions. In an introductory textbook, such as this for undergraduate college students, it is not expected that a fully developed treatment of sociological principles will be given. When the time comes for such an enterprise, a volume of size will be required. The present aim is to introduce the beginning student in sociology to the nature of sociological principles and to present two tentative statements for each chapter, based on the subject matter of the respective chapters. A brief explanation of each of these broad generalizations will also be given. If the reader prefers to view each generalization as a hypothesis to be tested further, the author will have no objections, for sociology is a developing discipline.

1 (Ch. 1). *Principle of Group Priority.*[1] The individual human being is born into a group and receives his initial stimuli when in a mentally uncritical stage from that group which is an organized and functioning social force. The group has more or less definite beliefs and standards which each newborn member is expected to adopt as soon as possible. The group into which an infant is born has a head start over the young child in the give-and-take of stimuli.[2] It influences the infant or child long before he has developed to the point where he can influence the group's beliefs and standards very much. Moreover, when he has acquired ideas "of his own," they turn out

[1] The principles that follow for each chapter are merely representative of a larger number that might be advanced.

[2] The writer first developed the principle of group priority in 1922 (*Journal of Applied Sociology*, VII: 84–87, November, 1922).

on scrutiny to be ideas which in large part he has acquired in one way or another from his elders or peers who compose his groups. It is difficult for any individual to think of any of his ideas as having been developed entirely free from his groups' ideas and beliefs. Even the structures of his groups and the field of social forces within which his groups function have played a role in the shaping of his ideas.[3] The structures of the groups, whether they be conservative or liberal, into which a child is born and within which he develops, will have a definite bearing on his patterns of life.

2 (Ch. 1). *Principle of Natural Response to Group Stimulation.* As a result of group priority, the principle of natural response to group stimulation follows. A child has capacity to respond to and to develop according to the stimuli that come from the various social groups which are engaged in protecting and nourishing him. Hence, he responds naturally to group stimulation. His young life tends to become organized by and around the prevailing group stimuli and, in general, in accordance with their main directions. He responds, for example, to the language stimuli of his family group and becomes fluent in the use of its vocabulary, which in turn influences the directions of his thinking. He accepts the food patterns, clothing patterns, housing patterns of his groups. These and other culture patterns of his groups are the media in whose terms most of his thinking is done. At birth he becomes a continuing subject of group stimulation.

3 (Ch. 2). *Principle of Cultural Lag.* Inasmuch as some cultural patterns change sooner than others, the others illustrate the principle of cultural lag.[4] This lag produces resultant social conflicts involving confusion, misunderstandings, and adjustments. Technological inventions, for instance, may outstrip methods of socially controlling them in keeping with the general well-being. The speed of automobile driving increases faster than the controls for preventing automobile accidents. The developments in hydrogen bomb construction find the world's leading nations without adequate means of preventing their

[3] Here is where the sociology of knowledge as developed by Karl Mannheim and others is illustrated.

[4] Developed by W. G. Ogburn, *Social Change* (B. W. Huebsch, Indianapolis, 1922); and *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature* (The Viking Press, New York, 1950).

major populations concentrated in cities from being annihilated. All these cultural lags involve all phases of life and hence become serious social problems.

Stated in another form, the principle of cultural lag may be illustrated by the fact that social age usually lags behind mental age. Social responsibility in the use of money generally lags behind the sheer accumulation of money. Sociocentric standards of conduct, in the case of most people, lag behind egocentric standards. Democratic ways lag behind authoritarian behavior. After the development of a new invention, a majority lag behind the first persons who adopt it.

4 (Ch. 2). *Principle of the Universal Culture Pattern.* The members of the human race in all parts of the world function according to the same underlying, all-compelling, and omnipresent culture pattern.[5] This humanly common pattern is everywhere expressed as a unity composed of several overlapping sectors. (1) While human groups have different kinds of family life, yet they all live according to a family pattern, which is an integral part of the universal culture pattern. (2) While social groups have different languages, yet these languages all illustrate the same basic communication pattern of the human race. (3) While groups have different ways of obtaining their livelihood, these ways are all part of a universal occupational pattern. (4) Each group has a form of social control of its own somewhat different from the others; yet these are aspects of a universal government pattern. (5) Property rights vary from group to group but the concept of property regardless of its form is an expression of a universal pattern of ownership. (6) Groups vary with reference to forms of worship; yet the widespread practice of worshipping a Higher Power is part of a universal pattern. (7) Art in the form of music, dancing, drawing is found in different expressions from crude to highly beautiful, which illustrate a universal pattern of human activity. (8) Discussion groups vary from "gabfests" to institutionalized political, economic, religious, and other social councils. These eight types of culture patterns are all aspects of the universal culture pattern.

[5] See Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1923).

5 (Ch. 3). *Principle of the Family Cycle.* The family runs a gamut of marriage, procreating, child rearing, establishing new families. By means of this gamut, countless and vital culture patterns are passed along inconspicuously day by day from one generation to the next generation. As a major social procedure whereby culture patterns involving language, family life, property rights, forms of worship, art and recreation forms are quietly passed on from older generation to younger generation, the family cycle has no equal. The process is one of informal education. Examples are repeatedly expressed, emotions voiced over and over, table talk occurs one or more times daily, and as a result, the growing generation reflects many of the family reactions to life. Through the medium of the family cycle, the stream of numberless culture patterns flows from generation to generation with modifications being occasionally made.[6]

6 (Ch. 3). *Principle of Marriage Adjustment Differential.* Following marriage a double adjustment process takes place. Sometimes the husband makes more and greater adjustments than does the wife, and sometimes the wife makes more and greater changes in her activities and views. These two adjustment procedures begin during courtship days, and justify a courtship period, for during it both parties are highly responsive to the other's wishes. The adjustments of one party are likely to be made in different ways from the other's adjustments. One may adjust more than the other or make harder adjustments than the other does. Thus the marriage adjustment differential arises. Each party needs to be appreciative of the adjustments that the other is making or is having difficulty in making. Nagging is an evidence of minor culture differences where one party is not making the adjustments that the other desires.

As husband and wife "grow alike," the need for adjustments grows less and the adjustment differential diminishes. In a democratic marriage each party seeks to come halfway or more in making needed adjustments and the adjustment differential becomes a negligible factor. If quarrels become permanent conflicts and both parties refuse

[6] Since defining the principle of the family cycle the writer has found an aspect of this principle discussed by Karl Mannheim in his paper on "The Problem of Generations" (1927) in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (Oxford University Press, N. Y., 1952). Also see P. C. Glick, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 12:164.

to make adjustments, then the marriage vows are broken, the marriage does not exist in spirit, and the differential no longer functions.

7 (Ch. 4). *Principle of Communality.* The cutting down of spatial distances through the use of rapid means of travel and communication leads to the formation of more and more friendships that are scattered widely instead of being limited to the neighborhood in which the given person's home is located.[7] The local neighborhood is being occupied less and less by neighbors and more and more by "nigh-dwellers." In urban neighborhoods many people do not know the names of most of their "neighbors." [8] By the use of the automobile and the telephone it becomes feasible to be neighborly with people living miles away. The people of different interests who live in the same neighborhood are tending to "neighbor" more and more with friends of similar interests who live far apart. Hence, communality with a far-flung community develops with the advent of the automobile, good roads, telephones, and supplants neighboring in the local sense to a considerable degree. In large modern cities communality is extensive.

8 (Ch. 4). *Principle of Regionalism.* A geographic area whose economic resources permit the development of a distinctive economy provides the basis for developing a community of interests on the part of the residents, and hence, a regional ideology. Regionalism may develop as an integration of local units of activity and as an aspect of a national unity. Regionalism is the working together of several local unities of thought and action; it is oriented in its functioning toward the larger nationalism of which it is a part. When the people of a region become self-centered and neglect their relation to the larger national unity, they suffer from sectionalism or from provincialism, which are to be distinguished from regionalism.

In a more extended sense, regionalism may be represented by an integration of a number of nations, especially small ones, which are located contiguously, whose economic resources are similar, who

[7] The basic idea in the principle of communality was developed by Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, 1929).

[8] Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (The University of Chicago Press, 1929).

have the same language and religion, and whose other interests are similar. Since world community is as yet nebulous, the loyalty of a regional group of nations to a larger entity is not great. In all cases of regionalism it is important that there be no serious subdividing barriers, physical or ideological.

9 (Ch. 5). *Principle of Occupational Dominance.* When a person engages successfully and enjoyably in a given occupation over a period of years, he develops attitudes peculiar to that occupation. These play a prominent role in his life, dominating the use of a considerable part of his time, a portion of his thinking, and in turn, his philosophy of life. These dominating occupational attitudes are acquired by a person without awareness by him of what is occurring. They may become subtle and sometimes overwhelming factors in the structuring of his personality. When the head of a large corporation is asked, What is a man worth? he is likely to answer in terms of financial worth. When a minister is asked the same question, he will reply in terms of character worth. Personality may come to be made up extensively of occupational attitudes which tend to dominate a person's daily thinking.

10 (Ch. 5). *Principle of Residential Blighting.* As business houses and industrial plants move into a residential area, the homes are subjected to deterioration and residential blighting. Land values rise in anticipation of business or industrial developments, and minimum expenditures are made on upkeep of residences in anticipation of selling them and having them torn down and replaced by skyscrapers or factories. Residential blight develops in the advancing shadows of tall business structures or of far-flung factories and warehouses. The blighted areas are occupied by people with scanty means who wish to live near the places where they work and who cannot afford to pay rent for high-priced flats or apartments. In order to cut down on rent they crowd together in once fine dwellings but now dilapidated structures. The blighted area experiences a minimum social life. It furnishes stimuli for more than the usual number of cases of delinquency. It may become a hideout for crooks and criminals because of a certain amount of anonymity that prevails. The effects of the blighted area extend far beyond the area itself.

11 (Ch. 6). *Principle of Avocational Balance.* The concentration of mental effort required by vocations calling for highly specialized and often routine activities may be balanced by avocational activities that call for activities of a widely different nature from the occupational specialization. A high concentration of indoor mental effort in one's work may be balanced by avocations calling for outdoor, physical activities. An occupation that involves working alone or in silence may be balanced by sociability avocations. An occupation accompanied by continuous and wearing noises may be balanced by avocations representing peace and quiet.

Since an avocation calls for only a fraction of time required by a vocation, more than one avocation gives a better balance. A selected variety of avocations increases the possibilities of giving an adequate balance to the concentration required by a strenuous job.

The principle of avocational balance enables one to develop a richer personality than one would otherwise maintain. It also suggests a personality more interesting and more stimulating to one's associates.

12 (Ch. 6). *Principle of Recreational Conditioning.* Because of the pleasing, agreeable effects to a person of recreational activity, these effects expedite the learning of associated activities. It engages conditioning processes in ways that are stimulative to the human organism and that are followed through with alacrity and repeated with pleasurable sensations. Pupils averse to mathematics may enter into mathematical games willingly and enjoyably on the elementary levels. If some types of work may be put into forms of a contest or a game people will "work like fun" at them. As a result of the pleasing effects of recreational conditioning, children may learn with relative ease that which they rebel against when presented to them in routine work procedures. Learning occurs with greater felicity when given a recreational frame of reference. Moreover, recreational conditioning is conducive to arousing democratic responses.

13 (Ch. 7). *Principle of Propaganda Dominance.* The devices developed by propagandists have become so subtle and powerful that the average person is dominated by a certain amount of propaganda. The propagandist has at least two major ways of securing dominance.

First, he makes a detailed study of the field in which he wishes to exercise dominance and acquires a better comprehension of that field than the average citizen possesses. Second, he masters the techniques of indirect suggestion, of name-calling, and so on, to a degree that enables him to mislead his subjects into accepting erroneous conclusions and into making false judgments. The antidote seems to be found (a) in educating the public regarding propaganda devices and how they are used to dominate people's thinking, and (b) in training the public to arrive at judgments of their own by objective, scientific standards. Until that time arrives many people will continue to be dominated on many matters by propaganda.

14 (Ch. 7). *Principle of Fear-Controlled Education.* Fear plays a role in authoritarian education. Under an authoritarian government the fear of the so-called masses has caused educational procedures to be set into operation whereby the masses are taught to accept without questioning the education that is provided for them. They are taught that unquestioning loyalty to their masters is for their best good. If some object, "purges" are instituted as a means of securing loyalty through fear. Vested interests through fear of losing these interests try to control the press, the schools, the movies, radio, and television. In times of hysteria in any country, even in a democratic one, some of the leaders resort to the use of fear in preventing subversiveness more than to the use of scientifically-based procedures of bringing about needed social changes. This use of fear sometimes keeps teachers from being other than automatons in the classroom and from being constructive inspirers of youth. Thought-control wherever it is used by authoritarians is usually an expression of a fear complex. Fear-induced loyalty to a nation is intrinsically weak; there are better methods of developing national loyalty.

15 (Ch. 8). *Principle of Interactive Worshipping.* In worshipping God, or gods, people participate in a form of social interaction. Worshipping is a giving of one's self to the Being, or beings, which is or are worshipped. It usually implies that some kind of response is expected, perhaps recognition or some kind of help. It may involve a promise on the part of the worshipper, or a willingness to do something in exchange for the aid one seeks. It may include a prom-

ise to change one's behavior patterns in return for the favors sought. Worship is a social act, including stimuli and a recognition of their meanings. The worshipper and his God may be said to be an interacting group, and worshipping to be an interacting process.

When a number of persons worship together, the sense of interacting with a Higher Power may be greatly stimulated and sometimes take on highly demonstrative expressions. On the other hand, the principle of interactive worshipping may be expressed in elaborate rituals and rites which give special meanings to the worshipper in interacting with his God.

16 (Ch. 8). *Principle of Socio-Religious Integration.* In religions in which a personal God is worshipped, the social relationship of a human being to his God is extended to include other human beings. God is conceived of as the Father of all mankind and His Fatherhood is interpreted to mean a universal brotherhood. The worshipper is inconsistent if he tries to maintain an attitude of holiness toward God while hating or sinning against his fellow human beings. Before a worshipper can enter into an interactive relationship with his God he must establish a brotherly relationship with his fellow men.

Among many people the principle of socio-religious integration involves the responsibility of worshippers for the harmful social conditions that any of the worshipper's groups permit or profit by. As a result, the righting of social wrongs is considered to be an integral aspect of religious activity. The taking of lives in war is claimed by some to violate a person's socio-religious relationships. Albert Schweitzer's principle of "reverence for life" [9] may bear a relation to the principle of socio-religious integration.

17 (Ch. 9). *Principle of Racial Unity.* All peoples are members of one race, the human race, and as such have equitable rights. The differences are chiefly cultural and hence are learned by each individual in his lifetime. Physical differences between so-called racial groups are largely superficial, being less than skin deep. Intelligence tests reveal no great mental differences between Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid groups when their cultural differences are taken

[9] Albert Schweitzer, *Out of My Life and Thought* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1937), pp. 185–90.

into consideration. Blood tests of these groups show that the members of all mankind are "blood relatives." The principle of the universal culture pattern lends support to the principle of racial unity. Racism, or the claim that some races are biologically condemned to inferiority and others are biologically ordained to superiority, lacks scientific support. It reveals the weakness of an ethnocentric ideology. The principle of racial unity suggests possibilities of a development some day of a world community of spirit.

18 (Ch. 9). *Principle of Cultural Pluralism.* With the increase in new means of communication and transportation, peoples of different cultures are brought into closer and closer contact. The need is vital for divergent cultures to live together according to democratic and peaceful interaction. This can be done if each culture acts honestly and fairly in interacting with other cultures and if a mutual respect prevails. The principle of culture pluralism as interpreted here means that culture patterns be allowed to compete on their merits and not on the basis of either aggression or propaganda. In this way culture patterns may be stimulated to reach their best development on their intrinsic merits and on fair-minded interstimulation. Cultural pluralism not only fosters a full development of cultural patterns, but also an atmosphere within which an integration of the best tried and true patterns may gradually occur and thus play a role in forming a superior culture system that works to the advantage of all peoples concerned.

19 (Ch. 10). *Principle of Human Unity.* Despite all the evidences to the contrary the world is shrinking into an evident unity of human needs. Everywhere people are asking for a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." In all countries people want freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of expression, and freedom of religion—the "four freedoms." Around the world today the cry for peace is common. The evidences of these needs among all nations support the principle of human unity.

The development of international organizations wherever people are free are attempts of people in different lands to work together. The sequential development of clan, tribe, tribal confederacy, nation, international organization leads logically to the role of possible

worldwide unified action to meet common human needs. It may take natural catastrophes, bacteria warfare, hydrogen-bomb destruction to enable mankind to recognize its underlying human unity. It may require a third World War to bring man to a sense of oneness of need, although the goal could be reached peaceably if the leaders of half a dozen of the major nations would recognize the import of the principle of human unity and act accordingly.

20 (Ch. 10). *Principle of Essential Nationalism.* National organization and loyalty constitute essential aspects of the principle of human unity. As small groups are necessary to the ongoing of a larger one, as the county or equivalent is needed by the state, as the state or province is needed by the nation, so the nation is vital to a larger international or world type of organization. Nations may be viewed as so many necessary pillars holding up the larger over-all social and political structure and performing related functions. Without them there is no adequate support for worldwide functioning.

Democracy is the functioning of individual persons upward—from the individual to the small group, to the delegated larger group, to the nation group, to the larger federated world organization. No level of responsibility in this upward-moving sequence can be omitted if democracy is to have its necessary opportunities.

In an undeveloped, untrustworthy, or authoritarian world it is both logical and necessary that each nation be oriented in terms of its own sovereignty, but as the democratic spirit develops upward from individuals to small groups and then to large groups, the orientation of nation groups gradually moves toward a central recognition of human needs.

21 (Ch. 11). *Principle of Institutional Conservation.* The institutional forms of group life conserve the values that emerge from the interactions within and between groups. Without social institutions group values would be dissipated through the processes of social change. Institutions guard the ripe fruit of many repeated personal-group experiences. They are the storehouses of all that survive the test of the years. They preserve group values in rites and rituals of the tried and true. In conserving the best of the present they may neglect the fact that the present becomes the past and hence they tend to

create vested interests and to preserve some beliefs and practices long after their usefulness has expired. Institutions obtain for themselves a status and sometimes a sanctity that may not be consistent with the real value of conservation. They may resist change and defeat the constructive aims that conservation is expected to maintain.

22 (Ch. 11). *Principle of Sequential Group Change.* Groups change according to a sequence of organization, disorganization, and reorganization. To achieve results a number of people begin to act together and to form some kind of organization. But the form of organization may cripple its spirit. In time social structure unless changed results in conflict within its boundaries. Subgroups begin to disagree when structure dominates function and needs. Disorganized attitudes result when needed changes in structure are prevented. Conflicting elements may defeat common group action and disorganization may set in for a time. When new ideas are not allowed to be tested on their merits, disorganization follows. The group that would survive and grow stimulates reorganization to take place. It provides continually for a reorganization that gives new ideas and methods a chance to be tried out on their merits, while at the same time retaining the old patterns until new ones prove their superior worth. Organization, disorganization, reorganization is a natural sequence of group survival and growth. Groups that do not reorganize their forces from time to time fall behind the times, and come to an unnecessary end. The principle of sequential change means that groups keep social structure flexible enough to meet adequately the rising needs of new days.

23 (Ch. 12). *Principle of Median Social Control.* Too much or too little, too sudden or too slow social control leads to disorganization. Too much control means a stifling of personal drives, longings, frustrations. Too little social control permits the personal drives to run riot and to engender disruptive conflicts. It allows anarchistic tendencies to gain momentum and pressure groups to dominate the majority. Too sudden application of social control arouses a sense of injustice on the part of those who require time to make adjustments. A sudden clamping down of controls long unexercised creates feelings of inconsistency and undependability. Too slow applications of con-

trol allow violators of social welfare opportunity to escape their just punishment. In ordinary times the representatives of social control need to exercise a median degree of control and a median speed in exercising control, while at the same time encouraging the educational forces to train people in exercising as much personal control in line with public well-being as possible.

24 (Ch. 12). *Principle of Median Personal Freedom.* The urge for a measure of personal freedom is universal. The universal appeal of the "four freedoms" is easily comprehended, for who does not want freedom from want, who does not want to escape from fear, who does not want to be free from thought-control and free to express his own honest doubts about social controls, who does not want to be free to worship as he chooses? In addition what normal person does not want to be free to have adventure, to be recognized, to be somebody, to do some things in his own way, and in some cases to be creative?

Most people recognize that complete personal freedom would be anarchy and that too much control would stifle human initiative. Most understand that the guaranteeing of a measure of freedom to the individual by the group means that the individual in turn owes the group a measure of responsibility for group well-being. Some persons are prone to use their freedom to take advantage of their fellows or even to act contrary to their group's needs, and thus endanger the freedom of all the members of their group. Others in return for their freedom give their all to the best interests of the group.

25 (Ch. 13). *Principle of Inverse Relations of Controls.* The more that personal controls are developed in accord with group well-being, the less the need for social controls; the less that such personal controls are developed, the greater the need for social controls. The principle of inverse relations of controls raises the question: Can personal controls that are in harmony with group well-being be developed without the use of social controls? A part of the answer centers in the human organism which varies with every individual. Some persons seem to acquire well organized personalities with greater ease than others, and to develop attitudes favorable to group well-being easier than others do. Some persons seem to be exposed to attitudes

in the family, play, and other small groups which condition them to respond favorably to group well-being, whereas other persons meet with attitudes that turn them away from the best interests of the group. Some are exposed to wide social vision and others have few such experiences. Social controls come to the group's rescue when individuals do not develop socially adequate personal controls. Since personal controls are internalized and social controls rely on external compulsion, it is more efficient for a group to work educationally toward as extensive a development of socialized personal controls as possible.

26 (Ch. 13). *Principle of Indirect Origins of Group Loyalty.* Loyalty like love cannot be forced. In its essence loyalty is love for a person, a group, a cause. It arises out of subtle factors. It can be encouraged in the individual by supplying a pleasing atmosphere, release from anxiety and worry, adequate living and working conditions, a sense of security and also of freedom. Group loyalty cannot be obtained by force, but group disloyalty can be restrained by force. A group is wise if by the use of adequate constructive, expansive controls it needs to resort only occasionally to the use of negative and repressive controls.

The principle of indirect origins of group loyalty implies a working together but not necessarily alike of different elements. Too much heterogeneity in group components hinders the rise of group cohesiveness and loyalty. Too much homogeneity and loyalty encourages a dead center of inactivity if not a subservient inbreeding of ideas.

27 (Ch. 14). *Principle of Leadership Persistence.* Persons who achieve leadership go on from one leadership position to another leadership role. Barring some exceptions, student leaders in high school become leaders in college, and then after graduation in community life. The principle of leadership persistence holds true where group structure and ideology are fairly stable. Exceptions to the principle occur when the group changes its structure and ideology suddenly or rapidly. Under conditions of rapid change leadership persists if the leaders have considerable personal adaptability. But an adaptable leader may be charged with inconsistency or even with disloyalty to the past.

Leadership persistence gives stability to group life and obviates those lulls in group performance due to a change in leaders and to the necessity of taking time out to train new leaders who must of necessity make mistakes due to lack of experience. The principle of leadership persistence may mean that some persons hold on to leadership roles long after their usefulness has begun to decrease. It may account to a degree for bureaucracy. However, it probably has more advantages than disadvantages.

28 (Ch. 14). *Principle of Leadership Focalization.* A person who achieves leadership in one field of group activity is likely to be called on to perform as a leader in related fields if not in fields somewhat unrelated. In this way leadership responsibilities become concentrated or focalized in a few persons. Leadership responsibilities may fall upon a leader so repeatedly and relentlessly that sooner or later he is overwhelmed with more work than he can do. As a result, to avoid risking a breakdown, he turns over a part of his work to assistants, and he leaves a part undone.

The principle of leadership focalization is socially useful, but not when it undermines a leader's health and efficiency, and not when it means work poorly done or undone. It may be undemocratic if it does not allow for an appropriate spreading out of leadership opportunities or if it does not permit a helpful rotation of leadership responsibilities.

29 (Ch. 15). *Principle of Interacting Social Processes.* It appears that no social process acts alone. It may secure support from another process or it may be given balance by an opposing process. Competition acts only where cooperation holds the units together sufficiently so that they can compete. Competition functioning alone would lead to total conflict and destruction. Cooperation would not function if there were no differentiating tendencies. Assimilation by itself would bring all ideas to an inactive center, and acculturation alone would put all culture patterns into a colorless mediocrity.

The principle of interacting social processes means that the student of sociology needs to know, first, the nature of each major social process, and second, how each process interacts with the others. It may be that the interacting of social processes is more important than

their nature. It may mean that their nature cannot be comprehended unless their interactions are understood.

30 (Ch. 15). *Principle of Process-Group-Person Integration.* All that groups do and all that persons achieve take place with the field of social processes.[10] Since these processes taken together function as a powerful field of social forces, any person who would live as intelligently as possible will seek to study his relation to the totality of social processes as well as to group expressions of these processes.

A person is not only partly self-made, but he is partly group made, and partly social-process made. While he is clearly an expression of certain social processes more than of others, he seeks to know the relation between each process as it affects him and the groups of which he is a member. He considers the relations between the social-process-making, the group-making, and the self-making forces. Within the field of social processes groups acquire distinctive characteristics or "groupalities" and individuals acquire personalities.

31 (Ch. 16). *Principle of Integrated Research Patterns.* As a result of the complicated nature of social problems, the greater the variety of research methods and techniques that can be used, the more reliable will be the results. Not only does there need to be a variety of methods, but these need to be used in conjunction with one another. Human relations have not only objectively measurable aspects, but also subtly illusive and subjective aspects, namely, human meanings. The meanings of group pressure on a person, for example may be so indirect that they do not come to the surface until long after they have functioned. Some of the meanings of human experiences may never have been recognized by the person experiencing them, and hence research has a difficult but not insuperable task. An exhibit of research methods applicable in a given research project may run a wide gamut from methods of obtaining life history materials to statistical methods for analyzing objective data. A social research project normally calls for a comprehensive research design, in which the efforts of not only differently trained sociologists, but of people trained in the many different social sciences and the other sciences as

[10] Related to the gestalt theory, to the field theory of social forces, and to the *Weltanschauung* theory.

well are integrated according to well-conceived research ideas to carry out the design.

32 (Ch. 16). *Principle of Longitudinal Social Research.* Social research is not complete unless it deals in trends, in developments in human meanings over a period of time: years, or decades, or generations; in other words, unless it is longitudinal. Much social research today is piecemeal and cross sectional. Cross-sectional research increases in importance if it is repeated from time to time, at intervals of a year, three years, five years. By this method it can give some idea concerning changes that have taken place.

If the processes involved in a trend are to be understood, then longitudinal research will take on a continuous nature over a period of years. The processes will be followed along day by day.

Longitudinal social research requires institutional sponsorship. It calls for a staff which will be continuous even though its members may so change that at the end of a given project the staff will be entirely different from its original personnel. Such research calls for large sums of money administered by a foundation.

PROBLEMS

1 Criticize any one of the foregoing generalizations or tentative principles.
2 Rephrase any one of the foregoing principles.
3 Suggest a series of experiments or experimental designs for testing any one of these principles as an acceptable addition to current sociological theory.
4 Reread any chapter and formulate an additional generalization or principle of your own.
5 How would you define a sociological principle?
6 How would you distinguish between a sociological principle and a social law?
7 What factors make it difficult to define a sociological principle?
8 Choose a sociological principle from those given in this chapter and rephrase in the form of a hypothesis for testing empirically.
9 Compare the use of the term, principles of sociology, in any three of the books cited in the Readings for this chapter.
10 Which three of the "sociological principles" described in this chapter do you think are the most important, and give reasons?

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* This list illustrates the various ways in which the concept of principles of sociology has been used.

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A Sociological Laboratory

EVER since sociologists have been referring to their discipline as having scientific pretensions, the subject of a sociological laboratory has received increasing attention. For some time many sociologists referred to their laboratory as the community itself. Even in beginning courses, students have been sent into the community to gather data, sometimes to the annoyance of the people of the community and sometimes to the discredit of sociology.

Although in the full sense of the term the sociologist's laboratory is where people are interacting in the varied activities of life, yet most students are not ready to "experiment" with people in their associations of life. While field studies for small groups of college sophomores have been organized under skillful guidance,[1] yet experience is making clear the point that most undergraduate "majors" in sociology and some graduate "majors" lack the backgrounds in theory and the skills to do real research in a community of people of all ages and types of personalities whose interactions are complicated beyond ordinary comprehension. It is generally not fair to a community even though it be large to throw hundreds of young and untrained students with pens and notebooks into it semester after semester. Most of the students gain only a superficial knowledge. It is no longer considered sociological research to ask students to measure window space in sleeping rooms in the "slums." It is only a person of wide human experience with a thorough knowledge of interviewing technique who can conduct a series of sociologically significant interviews with a person or obtain a valuable life history.

[1] As illustrated by Vivien M. Palmer in her important work, *Field Studies in Sociology, A Student's Manual* (The University of Chicago Press, 1928).

Therefore, sociologists are turning more and more to the development of "sociological laboratories" on college campuses. All the larger departments of sociology in American universities have made a start in this direction and a few have made considerable progress extending back over a term of years. Sometimes a number of related social science departments have joined in establishing a social science research laboratory, as in the case of the University of Chicago.

Two different functions are being served. Undergraduate majors in sociology need to learn the "feel" of laboratory research and to have space in which to chart data from annual and other reports dealing with social conditions, to make graphs of such data, to reduce data of local nature to cartographic form, to work as assistants with advanced research persons, to prepare ecological maps of local communities, and to learn how to use calculators and other laboratory machines.

To meet these requirements a sociological laboratory needs to be roomy, to be located aside from the main campus halls, and to have numerous working desks and appropriate equipment. Considerable progress can be made in giving the qualified undergraduate insight into scientific methods of research in sociology. The expense need not be great.

The other function is of an advanced order. (a) The sociological laboratory meets the needs of advanced graduate students and of faculty members who are engaged in making special statistical analyses of sociological data. Hence, typewriters, adding machines, calculating machines, and so forth, are required. (b) It meets the needs of advanced research persons in the field of interview and life history materials. This program calls for specially built filing cabinets as well as for a regular filing system. Small rooms for interview purposes are also important. (c) It meets the needs of advanced research persons in human ecology. Drawing tables, materials, and special cabinets are necessary.

Any sociological laboratory calls for a special research library. The shelves need to include space for books on research, for monographs giving the results of research in many human fields, for annual and other reports from various welfare agencies, private and public, for classified local studies in typewritten form by advanced students and

faculty, and for well-organized files of life history and interview materials dealing with many different aspects of human relationships. The library may also contain files for sets of newspaper clippings in several different fields.

The laboratory may become a depository for all kinds of local documents and studies. It need not be limited to studies made by advanced students and faculty of the given Department of Sociology. It may well become a place to which staff members and officials of local community organizations, both private and public, will naturally turn for reliable information. This feature suggests a small reading room as a part of the laboratory and a student attendant, for much of the research material in the laboratory cannot be easily duplicated and hence cannot be taken out of the laboratory.

The laboratory includes not only small conference rooms but a room for the director, and also a seminar room (with a table and chairs) for the giving of seminar reports and the holding of group discussions without interruptions. Sociological research calls for frequent group comparisons of notes and ideas.

The laboratory needs ample wall space for exhibits of maps and charts dealing with local community conditions. These will be changed from time to time. Special exhibits may be given with the students from other social science fields and even the public being invited to inspect the studies that have been put in visible and perhaps striking form.

The director of the laboratory is naturally an expert if not an enthusiast in doing research work. He is also a skillful leader in directing and stimulating the research work of others. Moreover, he may have some ability in obtaining funds for research from both local and remote sources. He needs to have a limited teaching schedule, and time and freedom to attend sociological and research meetings and to visit headquarters of foundations which have research funds at their disposal. He also needs to collaborate with other social science departments and with the science departments in his university.

The sociological laboratory favors no one type of research method to the exclusion of other methods. In most cases it is equipped to bring to bear several methods upon a research problem. It utilizes statistical

methods of gathering and analyzing data. It encourages wherever feasible the use of interview and life history methods. It emphasizes the use of experimental and control groups. It stresses bibliographical criticism as well as analytic and synthetic logic. It urges the stating and testing of hypotheses.

The sociological laboratory stimulates cooperative research. In fact there is a strong indirect influence which functions in the direction of a continuous exchange of data, experiences, and ideas. The laboratory effects critical comparisons of methods of research and brings about new experiments in obtaining exactness in scientific procedures. Moreover, the sociological laboratory tends to develop a research feeling and even a fellow feeling among research workers.

The sociological laboratory is a place into which research data are more or less continually being brought by student and staff members and being sent by social agencies. It is a place in which these data are being analyzed, classified, interpreted, and made available for use whenever a demand arises. It is a place for processing social data and putting reliable research materials into the form of available knowledge.

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