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SOCIAL CONFLICT

Papers Presented at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, Held at Cleveland, Ohio, December 29–31, 1930

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

FOLK AND REGIONAL CONFLICT AS A FIELD OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

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ABSTRACT

The sociology of conflict, to some extent a neglected subject, offers an excellent field, peculiarly adapted to the sociologist, for the study of modern society. The comparative approach, through folk and regional aspects, affords a fruitful and, to some extent, a new medium for the search after fundamental principles involved in the changing societies of the world, especially in social conflict in a modern world of technology and in the breaking up of old cultures. The meaning of the term "folk" includes the usual usage applying to the primitive and unrecorded, but extends much further to include modern social processes which are extra-organizational, extra-technological, and transitional. Such processes constitute the definitive comparative society through which the study of changing cultures may be analyzed. The region is an extension of the folk concept and from the sociological viewpoint is contrasted with the technological or functional area concept utilized by the economists, geographers, or political scientists. Through these approaches delimitable fields may be attacked and the nature of society studied through the conflict of the individual or folk group with the culture pattern and forces, as well as through the older concept of conflict between groups and individuals Such a field of study emphasizes the importance of utilizing current social data as well as primitive and historical, and minimizes the distinctions between the primitive and "civilized" peoples. It stresses the importance of such study in the possible development of new methods and the training of students—tasks which confront sociology at the present time.

In an earlier period of the development of this modern society of the United States, there lived a family of ten children and a widowed mother, the first two of the children and the last two being boys, so that when the two oldest, Albert and Andrew, were nineteen and seventeen years of age and mighty sons of valor, wrestlers, and runners, challenging all comers, the two youngest, Floyd and Walker, were little fellows tramping the last long mile to the country schoolhouse. Now it so happened that there lived in the same community a big black boy of the cubits of a giant and the bearing of an African prince, but whose conditioned behavior was of great complexity. This big fellow was wont to pelt the two small boys with varied sizes and sorts of rocks as they wended their way to or from school, morning or afternoon, the motive whereof, whether mischief or meanness, not appearing to the older boys. So they lay in wait for

him and caught him, Albert holding his head and arms down, Andrew sitting on his legs, meanwhile exhorting Floyd and Walker to pelt him with stones to their heart's content. The records had it that this pelting was considerable, so that the big black boy ere long mumbled from swollen lips and bruised features, looking up as at four against one, "Look here, boys, look here, we better quit befo' we kills one 'nuther, we might kill one 'nuther." And the boys did quit, with perhaps some whooping sense of humor, and there was pleasant peace thereafter for many moons.

The father of these white boys was killed in a war of brothers peculiarly bitter, stranger than fiction, one product of which was to free the father of the colored boy from a superimposed slavery, which also reflected earlier conflicts of various sorts, and in freeing the slaves,

> They took the Old Marster, Lord,
> And fed him on pepper and gall.

And the conflict ramifications went on and on until in time a descendant of the black boy was mobbed by descendants of the white boys, but other descendants of the black boy went far beyond some descendants of the white boys in cultural achievement, and there were created still other areas and types of conflict.[1]

Another aftermath of this war was the development of a folk society for both races transcending state and national forms and reflecting frustration and defeat, conflict and pathology, far beyond the usual comprehension of scholar or publicist, and reflecting, besides, all the basic elements that go into the making of a modern society, transition and change, new forms for old.[2] Here was and is conflict not conforming to the generalized theories of the sociologists. For the explanations of Gumplowicz, Ratzenhofer, Ward, Tarde, Giddings, Cooley, Ross, the "culture conflict" theorists, and the others are not enough.[3] What was it that brought that conflict to full power. . . . .

[1] Cf. the author's *An American Epoch*, p. 11, chap. xviii

[2] *Ibid.*, chap. xxi; also William Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 90.

[3] I.e , the Gumplowicz process did not apply. The North conquered the South—it did not destroy the conquered people, it did not assimilate them, it did not make them slaves. The conflict was a folk cultural one, which, however, could easily have been analyzed and for the most part predicted.

. . . . It wasn't slavery
. . . . . .
Nor even states rights, at least not solely,
But something so dim it must be holy,
A voice, a fragrance, a taste of wine,
A face half-seen in old candleshine,
A yellow river, a blowing dust,
Something beyond you that you must trust,
Something so shrouded it must be great,
The dead men building the living state. . . . .[4]

However this may be, the absence of any adequate social analysis of that particular example of war and conflict, with their cultural processes and products, may be considered as only one example in a very large list, such as the World War and its aftermath, or the multiplying processes of social conflict in the modern world, which might be offered in favor of the late Russell G. Smith's assertion that "social conflict is sociologically an unexplored field. . . . . In short, the sociology of conflict has yet to be written."[5] Whether, because this is true, or whether, because of the significance and character of conflict processes in modern technological society, or in the breaking-up of old cultures in the new world, it would seem quite important for sociology to attack the problem as one peculiarly within its own domain; for instance, the Cooley concept of sociology as a means of interpreting life situations,[6] or Ogburn's adaptive culture in social change,[7] or Giddings' equilibrium between folk society and state society.[8] Yet the problem of social conflict in a modern world of technology is different from that in an old world of primary conflict, and the developments of social science have been considerable, outgrowing, to some extent, old theories, so that it becomes necessary to attack the problem from various new approaches. One of these is through the study of folk and regional conflict, new in so far as these concepts acquire new meanings and applications, and in so far as it offers new materials and new methods and new media for study.

[4] *John Brown's Body*, p. 77.

[5] From unpublished MS, *Sociological Theories of Conflict*.

[6] Cf. Arthur Evans Wood, "Charles Horton Cooley: An Appreciation," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1930.

[7] W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, pp. 203 ff.

[8] Cf. "An Intensive Sociology: A Project," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1930.

The meanings of the terms *folk, regional,* and *conflict,* must naturally indicate the definitive nature of such a hypothesis for sociological study. For instance, the concept of *folk* as used in this discussion does not accord with Wundt's assumption of the reality of collective minds[9] nor Sumner's mass-developed instincts. It is opposed to Sumner's concept that folkways take on the character of a social force when they become regulative for succeeding generations in that it assumes a folk process and folk society which regulate current generations more powerfully than formally organized society.[10] The term as used here is in nowise limited to ethnological or primitive characterization but on the other hand might apply equally well to the synergy of social forces and processes in New York City;[11] and it is so far contrary to the Keller-Sumner thesis that contemporary social phenomena are not valid for the scientific study of society that it assumes they are among the most valid.[12] It may be distinguished again by contrasting the Sumner concept in folkways which "arise no one knows whence or why," "all origin lost in mystery,"[13] with the present assumption of a folk society which develops and evolves as a natural society through normal constant societal processes which may be known and classified; or Sumner's folkways as belonging to a "superorganic system of relations," that is, not organic or material, or Freud's "cultural superego,"[14] compared with a folk society essentially organic and natural;[15] or Sumner's folkways as made unconsciously, compared with a folk society essentially a directive process between different stages of society.

[9] Wilhelm M. Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology.* See especially pages 2--10 and chap. iv, Part 3.

[10] See William S. Sumner, *op. cit.,* pp. iii–iv.

[11] Cf. Edward Sapir's comment on the future of a sociology in which primitive peoples will constitute a far smaller emphasis than at present. It will be current society that is important because "civilized" and "primitive" peoples will be increasingly nearer together. Address at annual dinner of the American Sociological Society, December 31, 1930.

[12] Sumner and Keller, *The Science of Society,* especially Vol. I.

[13] *Op. cit.,* pp. 3, 5, 7, 8, 45, 71, 76.

[14] Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents,* chap. viii.

[15] By "natural" we do not mean analogous to the "natural" sciences but rather what Giddings describes as "a human conduct part of the normal order of nature. . . . . Explainable . . . . in terms of 'natural' causation."

The folk society is, however, of course, an extension of the Sumner folkways as dominating societal life and of the mores as "a phenomenon of society and not of the state."[16] Or, again, folk process as here used includes not only the usual definitive concepts, so well put in Redfield's "general type of change, whereby primitive man becomes civilized man, the rustic becomes the urbanite,"[17] but also a constant process which gains power in the form of the gradual development of conditioned, comparative society, evolving from one stage to another, merging now into formal or organized society, now gradually being transformed, as old cultures break up, into another folk society which again transcends organized social control. The folk concept here also includes Redfield's excellent characterizations of "ways largely unwritten and unremarked"; of groups which have folk lore and folk songs; of "primitive tribes or peasant peoples enclaved within the borders of civilized nations"; of "country peoples"; of "self sufficient folk communities"; of changes in type of culture with common elements in various societies with respect to the "widening influence of modern western industrial civilization"; of the fusion of elements of different cultures. But it goes beyond his concept that "the world of cultivated classes . . . . is a world apart from that of the folk,"[18] holding rather that folk society may abound in any stage of culture or civilization whenever the major conditioning factors are extra-organizational or when a synergy of conflicting forces and processes results in an integrated transitional society, the transition featuring change from one stage of culture to another; from individual and primary group development to social organization; or from the "paths of individual development" to "the processes of cultural evolution."

The folk concept may be stated in other ways. Folk lore and folk song are commonly defined as elemental processes and carriers of culture growing out of a common stock of tradition but unwritten and unrecorded. On the other hand folk society arises from those

[16] Stuart Rice, *Methods in Social Science,* pp 157–58. Cf. Professor Park's discussion of the Sumner concepts.

[17] Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlán: A Mexican Village,* p. 14.

[18] *Ibid.,* pp. 1–13. For other current but more popular meanings of "folk," see *Folk-Say: A Regional Miscellany,* edited by B. A. Botkin. Especially Part VII, *Folk Backgrounds and American Folk* by Mary Austin, pp 287 ff.

social processes and products which, created and developed by what Wundt calls a community of human life, are extraorganizational and extratechnological. Such folk society offers a medium for isolating constant processes in the development of, for instance, the Cooley concept of culture as the human and social side of society as opposed to the technical.[19] These social processes and products may relate to conditioning factors which control the individual or the group, as illustrated, for instance, through the conflict, accommodation, and renewal process of Park; through the interaction of personality and environment of Thomas; or through the stratification of groups of Burgess, Steiner, and McKenzie; or through institutional and non-institutional conflict, as studied by Queen, Thrasher, and others.[20] If the development of the individual coincides largely with the evolution of culture, the folk society would tend to be united and homogeneous, such as would commonly be called a peaceful and happy group. If, on the other hand, the paths of individual development were quite divergent from the lines of social evolution, such as for instance in modern societies created by centralized industry, or in societies with dual biological and social inheritance, or in powerful backward nations in conflict with modern technology, there would tend to be heterogeneity and conflict. The stages of transition between the pioneer society and the co-operative modern organizations which exceed the power and intelligence of the individual,[21] or between the various stages of adaptive culture in biracial civilizations, would constitute a folk society in which elemental folk processes of conflict and cultural transition could be observed admirably. Indeed, for sociology to neglect so great an opportunity for basic study of transitional society in the modern world is unthinkable.

Again, folk society, as the hypothesis for such special study, while including what Professor Giddings terms minor societies, is itself an integrated comparative society; and folk sociology is more than his comparative study of societies. The folk society compre-

[19] See his presidential address in 1918, "A Primary Culture for Democracy," *Papers and Proceedings of The American Sociological Society*, XIII, 1-10 (March, 1919).

[20] See *Social Attitudes*, edited by Kimball Young, to be published in March, 1931, by Henry Holt & Co.

[21] Compare Dewey's hypotheses in *Individualism Old and New*.

hends, not only his minor societies as units, but also the definite constant social processes of his major or natural society conceived as a phenomenon of evolution. And folk sociology becomes rather the study of comparative society, in which comparative societies are natural units of study just as primitive societies and ethnic groups are natural units in the study of social evolution. Thus folk sociology as the study of comparative society naturally includes the comparative study of societies. And just as Professor Giddings[22] has called the equilibrium which is worked out and maintained between folk society and the state "seemingly the definitive trait of normal society," the hypothesis here is that the folk society, the normal transitional, extra-organizational, and non-technological social process is the definitive, comparative society itself.

Illustrations of such folk society, properly described, analyzed, and studied, would constitute a great mass of materials for sociology which in turn must utilize them for the scientific study of society. The scientist, of course, would know enough to distinguish between the materials of science and the science itself, the various usages that might be made of the materials, or the potentiality of various data.[23] Illustrations of the folk society would seem abundant. Professor Giddings enumerates many modern minor folk societies, such as the folkway family, religious institutions, schools, cults, agitations, and parties, and points out their power as witnessed by the Reformation, the Renaissance, Puritanism, the anti-slavery movement, communism, and others. Many more might be added, ranging from the folk processes centering around current prohibition enforcement to Stuart Chase's "No" men of old New England and "Yes" men of present New York.[24] Also included would be the primitive societies of the ethnologists, or the folk—following of a

[22] "An Intensive Sociology," pp. 10–11, *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1930

[23] E g, The criticism has been made that in *An American Epoch*, the chapters, "Folk-Music Survivals of the White South" and "Hymns and Religious Songs" were included either for literary effect or because of their interest to the author, whereas the author's hypothesis is that these songs, their singing, and the resultant emotional conditioning are perhaps the most powerful single folk force responsible for much of the culture pattern of the region. The fact that analyses and interpretations are reserved for more formal scientific study or that the superficial student does not recognize the meaning of the data in no way affects the scientific validity of the materials.

[24] Stuart Chase, "The Luxury of Integrity," *Harper's*, August, 1930, pp. 336–44.

"scrawny native clad only in loin cloth," defying a British empire, or the long-evolving Russian folk society in transition, or the various subethnological cultures in the United States today. Or, again, there was the folk society of Roman Africa producing a St. Augustine or a Terence, quite different masters from what would have risen out of an African Rome. For Roman Africa was Roman in name and government and in the designation of its major deities and eminent folks, but most of those who "dwelt in the houses and trod the streets" were conditioned by a Punic folk society which lasted for several centuries.[25]

Or to return to our first example of the war between the states, the after-war society of the South was pre-eminently folk society in that this region, although conquered and outwardly controlled by organized state ways and state force to the *n*th degree, had its culture and its future primarily conditioned by a folk society which was organic, natural, and material, such that its mastery was almost complete. It was the state society which was superimposed. Likewise, Negro society in the United States today, both South and North, both low and high, is so extraordinarily representative of folk society as transitional and extrawhiteman-organizational that it comprehends two societies differing so radically that great masses of people do not know of the existence of one or the other. Yet under scrutiny it must be clear that the folk society is the all powerful and realistic one for the Negro, as would be inevitable when a race has such a dual biological and social inheritance. It is again the definitive society in the evolutional long run.[26]

Or, again, keeping to modern cultures, there are the episodes arising from religious development and conflict. All religious conflicts throughout the world reflect folkways which transcend stateways. There was the transformation of formal Christianity through folk processes developed by humanistic tendencies, which were quite extra-Christian. And there are the nation-wide prayers for rain in the United States alongside the primitive and ancient prayers for fruitful crops; or the invocations of the savage going into battle compared with the modern allies and central powers

[25] Giovanni Papini, *Saint Augustine*, translated by Mary Prichard Agnetti, pp. 3–12.

[26] See Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 90.

"God on our side," mass faith and folk process completely transcending all technological and reasonable considerations. Or, in the current culture of the United States, the religious folk process may reflect opposite manifestations: the one, among some rural and regional areas, reflects religious feeling as the chief reality, more powerful than all stateways or formal church ways, while the other, among those of larger social experience and learning, reflects form and ritual and conformity to unbelieved dogma as dominant, although quite outside the world of reality.

The concept of *region,*[27] as used in this discussion like that of *folk* is somewhat different from that most commonly used in discussions of regionalism. The region as the hypothesis for special study is at once an extension and a subdivision of the folk society, characterized by the joint indexes of geography and culture and deriving its definitive traits through action and behavior processes rather than through technological functions or areas.[28] Perhaps most of the regions commonly so designated are primarily areas of technological boundaries or of social incidence. And while they constitute essential units for measuring and delimiting social study, they are not regions in the sociological sense.[29] Thus one thinks of certain types of industrial regionalism in Germany, of political regionalism in France,[30] of economic regionalism in America, or suburban regions of metropolitan America, or ecological divisions of cities. Other technological areas would include regions of agriculture, soil, of physiographic character; or, again, geological, ethnological, topographical, or general ecological areas. Or, again, re-

[27] For the purpose of this discussion "region" is not an entirely separate concept but an extension and an attribute to the "folk." As contrasting it with the technological region it cannot be separated from the main discussion.

[28] E.g., "the South" as a "section" would comprise the technical, geographic, and political "Confederate States of America"; as a region it would vary, with subdivisions according to the fusion of culture and geography—the Piedmont mountain folk, the Piedmont mill folk, Saint Helena Island, the Black Belt, the Southwest, etc.

[29] Victor Branford's stimulating discussion of the regional survey tended toward the analogy to the field naturalist, on the one hand, and to conceptualism on the other—place, work, folk, city region, etc. Cf. "Science and Sanctity," *Sociological Review,* XIX, 341–42.

[30] Cf. Mildred Hartsough, "The Concept of Regionalism as Applies to Western Germany," and Niles Carpenter, "The Nature and Origins of the French Regionalist Movement," *Studies in Quantitative and Cultural Sociology,* May, 1930.

gions have been defined as life zones, activity areas, organization areas, sentimental areas, or city areas, or as fixed limitation, enlarged units of control, or merely as social groupings. Or, finally, the region is a different sort of technological area for the entomologist, the botanist, the general biologist, the taxonomist, the ecologist, the geographer, the banker, the student of labor or of wages.[31] These technological areas change and vary more easily because of changed techniques and scientific progress, whereas the folk region takes much longer or may even retain its power as the definitive society, sometimes weathering several technological cycles, and finding itself more harmoniously in accord with later technologies than with those it resisted. Or the folk society may reflect a dominant, rather than a recessive, adaptive culture. Such a cultural dominance or survival reveals a variation of Ogburn's cultural lag.[32] An illustration might be found in an agrarian culture resisting the urban-industrial technology and later adapting itself to newer cultural trends, or in the power of the Negro to adapt certain language and religious forms so completely as to make them his own, or in the case of a conquered people dominating the culture of the conquerors. Thus, in spite of all the modern technological standardization, there are evidences of increased rather than decreased folk regionalism in some instances. The region is smaller than but definitive of society. It is different from the state, section, or division, and it affords a larger medium for the study of the minor folk societies and a smaller unit for delimiting special studies of the larger folk society.[33]

A regional unit might afford isolation and concentration of study within a special area, or it might make available cultural materials unified over a period of time as well as within a limited range and thus combine the folk and regional approach.[34] Or it might, through

[31] See *Conference on Regional Phenomenon,* issued by Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Research Council, 1930.

[32] See *Social Change,* especially Part IV.

[33] The region as specially adapted to social research is urged in chapter v, 81–89, and in the last part of chapters vii–xviii, and xix, and xxiv of Odum and Jocher's *An Introduction to Social Research.*

[34] See Margaret Meade, *Coming of Age in Samoa* and *Growing Up in New Guinea;* T. J. Woofter, *Black Yeomanry;* Guy B. Johnson, *Folk Culture of St. Helena Island;* N. N. Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro;* to mention only a sampling of recent examples.

special statistical data and groupings of facts, reveal certain cultural-economic combinations which would transcend any one of the special technological characterizations. Such a supercultural region would be in contrast, let us say, to a technical region of the Federal Reserve banking system. Thus, one might select an eastern region in the United States beginning with Boston and extending down as far as Washington, which would include the chief metropolitan, manufacturing, commercial, and shipping centers, the larger universities and educational institutions, the largest concentration of wealth, philanthropy, and social work, and so attempt to measure certain aspects of American culture, in which education, research, philanthropy, and co-operative organization were combining to create new patterns to meet the new technologies.[35] Or these same data might be utilized in the study of what Freud calls the discontents of civilization, attacking the problem from the top.[36]

Or, again, if one wished to illustrate simpler contrasts between regional folk society and states or sections, the southern Piedmont region might afford two examples. The one would be a certain mountain section of Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, in which the grouped areas of the several states would show a far more homogeneous folk society than all the people of any one of the states. The same thing would apply to the Piedmont textile South, extending in a narrow strip from Virginia down through the Carolinas and Georgia, not because of manufacturing concentrated there so much as because of the folk culture being developed around it. Here again are fundamental distinctions between industrial regionalism, measured through technical processes at the top, and folk regionalism with its conflict processes at the bottom. Manifestly the transitional society will be started by the folk conflict and the change will be dominated by the folk society. Thus, since the nature of the folk society is conditioned by regional environment,

[35] Compare quite a different viewpoint in Radhakanal Mukerjee, "The Regional Balance of Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1930, for a discussion of the processes by which the balance of the region is maintained or shifted. Cf. his "Totality of the Region's Forces."

[36] Besides other data implied, use of spot maps showing ratios of millionaires, income-tax payers, per capita wealth, per capita expenditures, concentration of surplus wealth, functional distribution of expenditures, etc.

the region affords specific media and data for the study of natural origins and processes, or social conditioning as opposed to biological.[37] And especially with reference to social conflicts would the regional and folk unit prove effective.

To return now to the modern problem of social conflict and the thesis that the old sociological theories do not appear adequate, Lester F. Ward in the first presidential address twenty-five years ago was no doubt correct in saying that the early sociological theories were not false.[38] Nevertheless, they were not enough. This would appear true for the understanding and directing of folk and regional conflict in limited areas; or race, national, or international conflict in the modern world; or intracultural and culture conflicts; or the new conflicts multiplied by modern technology; or the conflicts of America "all in a ferment about itself"; or especially the behavior conflicts between the individual and his conditioning social environment, a natural and organic conflict, dynamically social but long neglected. The Gumplowicz and Giddings primary and secondary conflicts are not enough; nor the Ratzenhofer fulfilment of dual instincts; nor the Tarde external and internal opposition; nor Ward's clash and opposition of social forces; nor Cooley's hostility and conflict; nor the Thomas conflict of attitudes—they do not explain or isolate in relation to the cultural environment the general types of conflict enumerated above, or Professor Ross's baker's dozen specific modes of conflicts,[39] or the ethnologists' and ecologists' conflict of cultures.

Or, to illustrate again with samplings, there is that most powerful social conflict between individual and class and social pattern, the ever-present intellectual and spiritual conflict between woman and the modern folk verdict, which continues to run counterwise to the formal, organizational, and even legislative profession concerning the intellectual, creative, and social status of woman. It need scarce-

[37] Compare Professor Giddings' presidential address on "The Quality of Civilization," delivered in 1911 (*American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1912, pp. 581–89).

[38] Cf. his presidential address 1906, "The Establishment of Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1907, pp. 581–87.

[39] I.e., conflict of institutions, age, sex, race, town, country, class, industry, sects, learned and ignorant, etc. Cf. Part IV, revised edition, *Principles of Sociology*. See also E. A. Ross, *Roads to Social Peace*, one of the best discussions of social conflict extant.

ly be emphasized that much of the stimulus for this folk conflict comes from the highest trained and most scientific men who in formal discourse and ways advocate freedom and equality of intellectual opportunity. We have come a long way from the early presidential address of Sumner in which he discussed the folk appraisal of woman as "a blessing and a curse, a cheat and a delusion," but not far enough. From the viewpoint of sheer mass behavior conflict, this might easily be ranked near the top. And the assumption might be ventured that there never has been an individual or a group of women free from the Dewey concept of conflict which hampers creative effort.[10] Although a study of the intellectual conflict of many hundred women would scarcely attract as much attention as the study of the sex lives of a few hundred, the challenge of such a study as a difficult and important work would be as great. And since, of course, all those who study the physical aspects of sex life do so purely from scientific motives and viewpoints, it would be just as easy to secure such a study of conflict once it is shown to be of scientific importance!

Or again there is the larger problem of delinquency, let us say, among certain groups, the Negro and other ethnic groups, or groups bordering on poverty and want, or backward regions or organized groups with unorganized mass folk following,[11] which offers new fields for the study of folk conflict that is natural and organic. Or the social pathology of mob action growing out of the development of unwritten law conflict. And there are the growing conflicts between different regions in the United States and widening distances between classes, and the powerful folk conflict in China, Russia, and India, likely to be a mode for many years. But the list would take another twenty minutes and could range all the way from this intra-conflict of modern China or foreign missions in Africa or peaceful resistance in India to James Truslow Adams's "Our Changing Characteristics,"[12] Stuart Chase's *Luxury of Integrity,* Llewellyn's folk

[10] John Dewey, *Construction and Criticism,* pp. 21, 25.

[11] Cf. Professor Charles E. Merriam's suggestion, at the 1930 twenty-fifth annual dinner, that sociology study extrastate administration, e.g., of business, religion, propaganda, as a needed contribution to political science data.

[12] The *Forum,* December, 1930, pp. 321–28.

law as conflicting with state law,[42] or the growing folk-minded conflicts in religious, moral, humanistic, or literary culture in America.

It must be clear that any study of social conflict through the medium of regional and folk units which would give a more scientific concept of group struggle and behavior conflict would require the maximum number of scientific sociologists as characterized in Professor Ogburn's address a year ago and would tax all the methodologists we could muster. It would test all the technology of any group absolutely sure that the last word in method has been reached. If it is objected that the task is too comprehensive or difficult or general or too intangible or even fantastic, I could wish to fall back on the inevitable favorite story. It would be a "chestnut," and it would radiate around the extraordinarily interesting personality of the Negro common man. This particular one was gazing engagingly at a sixty-pound watermelon which had just been brought to the store. A visiting white man offered to pay for the melon if the Negro would eat it all, else the Negro must pay the bill. To this offer the Negro countered with a request for a few minutes in which to go and make up his mind as to whether he could eat one so big. Presently, however, he returned and agreed to eat the melon, which he did in good style. So the white man paid the bill, but begged leave to ask one question, to wit: "What did you do when you left here to help you make up your mind?" To which the Negro replied: "Well, cap'n, I had one at home jes' 'bout same size as this one and when I went home an et hit, I knowed I could eat this one." I'm sure we can all agree that sociology has "et" some peculiar ones in the past in more ways than one.

In support of this general hypothesis of study certain final considerations may be urged. The first is the simple premise that the study of social conflict through the elemental folk society is a way of studying modern dynamic society—a challenge for sociology to come to grips with actual social phenomena as well as with the records of phenomena; with modern transitional society as well as with early recorded societies. The second is the simple premise that sociology

[42] Karl N. Llewellyn, "A Realistic Jurisprudence," *Columbia Law Review*, April, 1930. E.g., folk law as "what law is thought to be," or felt to be.

be accorded the matter-of-fact perquisites of any science, namely, to attack a natural and realistic problem through its elemental phases. Such an approach to the modern problems of changing culture need be no more characterized as speculative theory and sociological jargon than the study of a problem in the physical sciences through its technical formulas and hypotheses. Nor does the skepticism of those who have made no effort to look into the matter have any validity in the case. Nor need we re-emphasize the fact that we can but touch in this paper upon a subject which must require many years to develop, nor that such a study presupposes adequate methods of analysis and measurement[44]—the accumulation of data alongside the formulation of hypotheses. Even preliminary documentation and topical analysis would be almost encyclopedic. Such study would provide a considerable increase in the range and scope of scientific materials, emphasizing social change and social process, evaluating alike the primitive, early, and ancient societies and the modern and current as well. It assumes the validity of folk and regional phenomena in the United States as well as in Africa, or Europe, and of small units of study as well as large ones,[45] contrary to the earlier peculiar, academic provincialism which appeared to reflect the judgment that to be scientific a project must be afar off either in time or space and of large proportions. It emphasizes the importance of descriptive science so much needed in the transitional development of sociology today. It assumes the substitution of the study of natural, comparative society for unnatural analogies; and

[44] Cf. Professor Ogburn's emphasis upon the differentiation of methods—distinction between the scientific and the philosophical, for instance, or the emphasis upon the statistical. The folk-cultural approach in nowise minimizes the statistical approach as essential tool for study. It emphasizes a sociological approach entirely in accord with the prophecy that "there will be no professors of statistics": "The Folk-Ways of a Scientific Sociology," *Studies in Quantitative and Cultural Sociology,* May, 1930.

[45] The nature of the folk society might very well be examined in studies of subregions within states, e.g., northern Florida and southern, northern California and southern, northern Idaho and southern; the rural Georgia in conflict with the city of Atlanta, or the institutional character of various states, considered as historical rather than political units—e.g., Tennessee made from North Carolina, the cultural influence of the South on Indiana or Illinois.

of organic theory for organismic theorizing.[46] These distinctions are fundamental. It assumes further that through the study of organic folk elements sociology may learn much of social capacities and prepotency with some such effectiveness as medicine, through comparative anatomy and the biological sciences, has discovered elements upon which physical capacity, prepotency, and vitality rest.[47] And it is in character with a functional sociology which is telic not merely in the sense of general social guidance, but as underlying that, a functional science which conditions both society and sociology through the nature and extent of its findings.[48] Its telic implication is, therefore, one of values and harmony rather than morals.

There is, then, a final assumption that such a study, in one way or another, will carry on further the work begun by the early masters who achieved eminence in the hard school of American sociology. To pay them tribute and to carry on where they left off is at once a welcome obligation and pleasant task. Here is an injunction in the latest published contribution of the dynamic Giddings:

> In these interactions between folk society and the state and in variations of the normal equilibrium between them (all ultimately measurable) the scientific study of human society is offered an opportunity which it would be unpardonable to neglect and is faced with an obligation which it cannot be permitted to ignore or evade.[49]

Nearly a quarter century ago Sumner in his forward look into the future of sociology said:

> If I were a man forty years old and was beginning to be a professor in one of our American colleges, I should think that the opportunity to take hold of a department of sociology and give it shape and control its tendencies, lay down its outlines, and so on, was really the most important thing a man nowadays could undertake because of the tremendous importance of those social questions that are arising.

[46] See the hypothesis of the behavioristic "organismic functional approach" in George A. Lundberg, "Public Opinion from a Behavioristic Viewpoint," *American Journal of Sociology*, p. 405 (November, 1930).

[47] For some detailed discussion of this see Odum and Jocher, *An Introduction to Social Research*, pp. 409–13.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 308–10.

[49] *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

That seems to have been a fair appraisal then and peculiarly true today, with the added implication that the most important thing American sociology could do would be to develop during the next twenty-five years, through the added opportunity of training in social research, through concentration in sociological fields, and through the spirit and patience of the scientist, at least one hundred such capable sociologists, capable alike of understanding modern transitional society and of providing scientific facts and interpretation for its development.

COOLEY'S THEORIES OF COMPETITION AND CONFLICT

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ABSTRACT

Cooley displayed a constant interest in this subject throughout his career, and did not materially alter the central form of his theory during his lifetime. He uses the terms competition and conflict to denote a type of interaction found in all social situations. Consequently he devoted a good deal of energy to a careful analysis of the process in order to picture the realities of the situation. He does not seem to be interested in classification so much as he is in elucidating the common process found in all forms of competition. His general theory involved the belief that while competition and conflict are universal and essential in society, they are always parts of the larger social order. This made necessary the inclusion of co-operation as a correlated process in order to give a balanced account. It also implied that all forms of competition must be subordinate to the larger social order. Therefore, progress in a social order, in this respect, consists not in attempts to eliminate competition but in raising the plane of competition under rules and regulations of a higher type The sources of Cooley's knowledge of this process were probably the intellectual milieu in economics and biology, and his own observations, in accordance with his general theory of knowledge in social science.

Cooley's interest in our subject was indicated in one of his earliest essays ("Competition and Organization," *Michigan Political Science Association*, No. 3 [1894], pp. 33–45) and continued to show itself in his publications throughout his whole career. Evidently he attached a good deal of importance to it. His view was that competition is universal. It is inherent in the universe and consequently a constant factor in every social situation. Phrasing this belief in various ways, Cooley tries to impress it upon his readers. Let us listen to a few of his striking sentences.

It seems that there must always be an element of conflict in our relation with others, as well as one of mutual aid; the whole plan of life calls for it: our very physiognomy reflects it, and love and strife sit side by side upon the brow of man. The forms of opposition change, but the amount of it, if not constant, is at any rate subject to no general law of diminution [*Social Process*, p. 56].

Conflict, of some sort, is the life of society, and progress emerges from a struggle in which each individual, class or institution seeks to realize its own idea of good. The intensity of this struggle varies as the vigor of the people, and its cessation, if conceivable, would be death [*Social Organization*, p. 199].

It is not surprising, therefore, that so essential a fact, such an all pervasive principle, should be included in his analysis of all social situations. To him it was of major importance.

FORMS OF COMPETITION

Cooley does not set forth any carefully worked out classification of the forms of competition. One has to search for such a classification and attempt to abstract from his expressions evidences of such classification, if it exists at all. He speaks of "a struggle of some sort—with climate and soil, between persons, nations, or other groups, or among opposing ideas" (*Social Process,* p. 241), which suggests a possible classification on bases suggested by other writers, such as, struggle with nature, between individuals, between groups, between ideas. He also refers to struggles both of a physical nature and of a mental nature taking place within the individual. Thus he speaks of the struggle of our corpuscles against disease germs (*Social Process,* p. 35); and of the mental conflicts arising from the fact of one's participation in conflicting social situations. On the latter point he speaks as one would expect him to, in line with his theory of the self, "Since every person is involved in several or many social groups and seeks more than one sort of success, each man's mind is the theater of a conflict of standards" (*Personal Competition,* Publications American Economic Association, Economic Studies, IV, No. 2 [1899], p. 127).

There are clear indications, also, that Cooley had an implicit basis of classification of competition built upon gradations of moral value. There are higher or lower forms of competition, and it is the business of competitors to raise the basis of competition from the more animal-like types to the more refined types of competition. For the latter types he sometimes uses the term rivalry as distinguished from crasser forms of struggle, but even within rivalry there were gradations of character. Like other forms, rivalry, he says, "is harmful or beneficent according to the objects and standards with reference to which it acts" (*Human Nature and the Social Order,* p. 277).

On the whole, Cooley uses various terms for the purpose of illustrating his central theme of competition rather than for the purpose of pointing out the boundaries of the forms of competition. Although there are suggestions of bases of classification, his variations in terminology are stylistic attempts to introduce shades of meaning and richness of content into the central thread which he thinks runs

through them all. He seems to be primarily interested in the general idea, and consequently no detailed scheme of classification is offered.

GENERAL THEORY

Fortunately, for our purposes, it is not necessary to follow Cooley into all the fields of human relations into which he carries his analysis of the competitive process. These numerous ramifications are interesting in themselves, but since his theory of the origin, nature, rôle, and future of competition in each is identical, it will not be necessary to call attention to many special fields except for purposes of illustration of his general theory.

His general theory is that competition is a universal aspect of life, as we have seen; that it is neither good nor bad in itself but may be either, dependent upon its relation to the larger social order and the goals of competition; that it serves useful purposes in any social order; and that, though capable of refinement, it is ineradicable. This same doctrine may be applied to the smallest social group or to international relations. It involves a vigorous individuality of the respective units, a competitive spirit on the part of each unit, and subordination of the units to a larger social whole, under proper rules governing the competition. Any form of competition, under proper conditions, becomes a good. Any form of competition, under other conditions, becomes an evil. The social problem involved in any case is that of providing proper rules for the exercise of the competitive energies in the situation. An illustration will suffice.

Suppose we take the familiar problem of the capital-labor doctrine of class conflict. Labor organization, Cooley observes, has not gone far enough even among handworkers. The professions are still less organized (*Social Organization*, p. 242).

Organization, of course, leads to competition and at the same time arises out of a competitive system. In turn, organization introduces class consciousness and permits a more serious type of struggle. This in itself, according to Cooley, is not bad but under certain conditions may become so. It is bad if it transcends the larger social organization. It is good if it confines itself to competition within the national order. Cooley states the matter as follows:

> Class loyalty in the pursuit of right ends is good: but like all such sentiments it should be subordinate to a broad justice and kindness. If there is no class-

consciousness, men become isolated, degraded and ineffective; if there is too much, or the wrong kind, the group becomes separate and forgets the whole [*Social Organization*, p. 242].

To the conception of a class struggle involving actual violence, seizure of power, and the suppression of the other class, Cooley was opposed on the grounds both of principle and of practicability. Such an idea or program he subjected to several criticisms. First, it is impossible to divide modern society into two classes; second, the trend is toward solidarity rather than toward class divisions, that is, society is growing more complex and our interests are becoming more widely diffused; third, a class does not have the means of arousing sufficient group devotion and ardor to hold the majority of its members; and finally, a class is not able to overcome the devotion to the nation, the larger social aggregate. A free and competitive society such as our own, conceding its shortcomings both as to freedom and competition, was for him sufficient guaranty against a violent class war and class dictatorship (*Social Process*, pp. 269 ff.).

Cooley deals with all forms of group conflict in much the same way. His criticisms of extreme doctrines of conflict have much the same general philosophy. Whether he deals with conflicts between nations, classes, races, industrial groups, members of a family, or individuals, his approach is something like this: Struggle is an essential and valuable social process. It is an error, however, to regard it as the sole or chief social process. The problem is one of giving it its setting in the larger social whole, along with co-operation, and bringing it under the control of the larger order, and at the same time stepping up the level of struggle from a lower to a higher plane.

COMPETITION AND ORGANIZATION

We cannot leave Cooley's discussion without calling attention to his conception of the rôle of competition in bringing about social organization, that is, placing the individual or the group in the larger social order. As he says, "The function of personal competition considered as part of the social system, is to assign to each individual his place in that system" (*Personal Competition*, Publications of American Economic Association, Economic Studies, IV, No. 2, p. 78).

This rôle does not belong exclusively to competition, however,

since another principle is at work in all societies, namely, some form of status, some fixed mechanical rule, usually a rule of inheritance" (*ibid.*, p. 78).

"There are no other organizing principles in society beside these, and what one does not do the other must" (*ibid.*, p. 94).

While both these processes are at work in varying proportions in all societies, Cooley thinks competition is the active element; and status or inheritance the static element (*ibid.*, p. 81).

Cooley is unable to visualize a society organized on either basis exclusively. He recognizes, however, that a proper balancing of the two is a nice problem. Each principle has its advantages and disadvantages. The advice he gives may not be practicable but it does give us his theory at least. "Either of these principles may work well or very badly. We must try to combine the better forms of each in such a way as to produce the best general result" (*ibid.*, pp. 93–94). How this is to be done, he does not tell us.

COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION

Since the limits of our subject have necessitated abstracting the theory of competition and conflict from Cooley's theories in general, it may not be amiss to remind ourselves that such an abstraction does injustice to his thought. In fact, Cooley was himself of the opinion that that very error had been committed frequently. He endeavors to make us understand that it is impossible to isolate competition from another correlated social process, namely, co-operation. "The two are easily seen to be inseparable in everyday practice" (*Social Process*, p. 37). Any tendency to separate the two does not "correspond with the facts." They are "inextricably interlaced in human life" (*Personal Competition*, Publications of American Economic Association, Economic Studies, IV, No. 2, p. 95). "Everyone of us is a competitor in several or many fields, while at the same time a member of various co-operating groups; and we are likely to compete with the very persons with whom we co-operate" (*ibid.*, p. 95).

His general organic philosophy brings him here, as in other places, to the conclusion that competition and co-operation are phases of a larger, living, moving, organic whole. "The two, of course, are supplementary, and each has its proper sphere" (*ibid.*,

p. 95). This as we should expect. Conflict and co-operation are phases of one organic whole, and it is difficult for him to find any social situation which is not a mixture of the two. For this reason, he felt it was futile to assume that either is any more natural, any more inherent in human society. "The more one thinks of it the more he will see that conflict and co-operation are not separable things, but phases of one process which always involves something of both" (*Social Process*, p. 39).

It would be possible to cite passages from Cooley's discussion to support the assertion that he tends to give competition a somewhat lower moral rôle in society. While he asserts the inevitability and value of competition and conflict, still he suggests that they are somewhat in the nature of means to an end, co-operation. As he states it in one of his essays: "The function of struggle is to work out new forms of co-operation, and if it does not achieve this but goes on in a blind and aimless way after the time for readjustment has arrived, it becomes mere waste" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

Again, he states: "If we can do this (control competition) we may look for an era of deliberate and assured progress, in which conflict is confined and utilized like fire under a boiler" (*ibid.*, p. 42).

In summarizing briefly Cooley's doctrine of competition and conflict, the following seem to be essential elements of his theory.

1. These processes are inherent and constant in human society.
2. Their forms may vary but the processes remain.
3. They must always be conceived as phases of a larger whole and, therefore, in practice, they must be subordinate to the larger unit, obedient to its rules and regulations.
4. Competition and conflict are consistent with general social progress because under changing rules and regulations, the planes of competition rise with general development. Hence the wastes and the cruder forms give way to the more ideal type.
5. The chief functions of these processes are (*a*) stimuli to effort and (*b*) a means of social organization, i.e., placing the individual and the group in society.

Before closing, reference should be made to two questions. First, how did Cooley get his knowledge of these processes? Second, what is the value of his discussion?

He does not tell us exactly the source of his knowledge, but we

may venture a few guesses. His essays give evidence of familiarity with the usage made of the competitive process in both economics and biology. We also know that he espoused and practiced the philosopher's method of gaining knowledge by intuitive, random, uncontrolled observations of social events. That is, he used the same method the economists and biologists had used. This method furnishes what some have called "common-sense" knowledge and has whatever virtues and limitations such knowledge usually possesses. Its convincingness rests on the quantity of agreement among casual observers.

As to the question, what is the value of his whole discussion? I fear we have no very adequate objective measure. I suppose the only possible answer to date is the opinion, of the reader of his essays, as to whether one's conception of the social order seems to be clearer and more adequate after the reading. I am aware that such an answer does not amount to much, but I should like to hazard the remark that, so far as I can introspect, Cooley adds something to my conceptual world.

IS SOCIOLOGY A NATURAL SCIENCE?

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ABSTRACT

To the present critic the position that sociology like the physical sciences is concerned primarily with objects of perception, the data amenable to measurement and summation, objective facts which make them analogous to the facts of the physical sciences seems wholly mistaken. Social relationships, expressive as they are of attitudes and interests, have significance because of an inner or experiential quality which does not belong to the realm of physical facts. The external indexes of these relationships are of course important but they are not the reality we are seeking to understand. If we are ready to face these facts we must approach social phenomena from an entirely different viewpoint. The following positions are involved. Every social phenomenon arises out of and expresses a relation or adjustment between an inner and an outer system of reality. Each system, the inner and the outer, is complex and coherent in itself The inner is a system of desires and motivations; the outer, a system of environmental factors and social symbols The explanation of every social phenomenon involves a discovery of the specific character of the inner system relevant to it and of the outer system in which it occurs A consideration of the nature of verification in the social sciences reveals the necessity of combining social imagination with statistical knowledge.

Sociologists are and have been much concerned with the question of their scientific standing. One is tempted to recommend that we students of sociology forget altogether for a time the very word "science," that we disregard altogether, for the present, the claims of our subject to be a science. But a better alternative would be that we reflect more thoroughly on scientific method, for such reflection would show that many of our ideas about science are not themselves scientific. Take for example our idea of induction. We are apt to set induction over against deduction, regarding the former as a simple, easily understood, all-sufficing, and alone legitimate process of passing from particulars to the general. It is safe to say that, so understood, induction is a chimera and is never the method by which scientific generalization is attained.

Sociology has been plagued all through its history by its tendency to seek for models in the fields of the other sciences. At one time the fashion was to think of a society as a kind of organism, to make sociology a pale reflection of biology. Now the attitude changes and the first article of the creed has become the formula that sociology is a "natural science." Unfortunately this claim may mean anything or nothing. Of all words, the word "natural" is the most

equivocal. "Natural" in contradistinction to what? Assuredly not to unnatural or to supernatural, since there are no unnatural or supernatural sciences. Assuredly again it cannot be natural as opposed to social, because it is the social we are speaking of. I can, in fact, find no meaning in the assertion unless it be that the social sciences either use the same methods or deal with the same types of phenomena as do the sciences sometimes distinguished by the term "natural." One or other of these claims must be asserted under this dubious rubric and that this position is taken the context usually shows. The implication is that sociology, like the physical sciences, is concerned with objects of perception, objects amenable to registration by means of instruments, objects divisible into units capable of summation and other quantitative processes.

Is this a dogma or is it a conclusion derived from reflection on the proper subject matter of sociology? It is implied in these "natural science" manifestoes that the subject matter of sociology is very similar to that of the physical sciences and that therefore the same tools of investigation should be employed. This position, I shall try to show, ignores or denies the very differentia of our subject matter. It ignores precisely the difference between a physical relationship and a social relationship.

It is easy to pass from extreme to extreme, from the bold generalizations of Spencer and Ward to the rejection of theory altogether in the name of the sacred fact. It is easy to pass from a social science saturated with theological and moralistic prepossessions to one animated by the revolutionary dogma of behaviorism. From a discredited conception of the nature of consciousness men revert to a conception which ignores its existence; from an outworn principle of values to a viewpoint which deals with social relationships as though they existed objectively apart from the values which created them.

The trouble is that the social sciences suffer from certain embarrassments from which the "natural sciences" are more or less free. They have to deal with phenomena which involve a kind of causation unknown in the purely physical world, since they are "motivated," in fact brought into being, by that elusive and complex, but undeniable, reality, the mentality of man. Not a single object which

the social sciences study would exist at all were it not for the creative imagination of social beings. Consequently the social sciences have to deal with variable and indeterminate concepts such as capital and labor, family and nation, state and sovereignty, crime and unemployment, folkways, institutions, social attitudes, and other intangibles. The social scientist has no "natural" classifications to guide him such as those with which nature is expected to accommodate the geologist or the entomologist. Under these circumstances every authority is free to define his concepts in his own way and treat them in his own way. Consequently it is easy to pose as an authority. In the resulting confusion men turn with longing eyes to the non-social sciences. Let us follow their example, they say, and all will be well. Let us ignore the differences between our subject matter and theirs. Let's have social physics and social mechanics and social engineering; let's talk of social organisms, of social osmosis, and of social symbiosis. Let's lay out attitudes along a line and construct a yardstick to measure opinions. Let's get a perceptual basis for all our distinctions. Let's find out what radicals and conservatives really are by setting down the percentage of accuracy with which those so-called can draw correctly an object seen through the looking glass. Let's reduce temperaments to glandular activities. Let's measure all the incommensurates and weigh all the imponderables. Thus shall we have vindicated the claim of the social sciences to be sciences indeed.

I confess that this kind of emulation makes little appeal to me. The aim of the sciences of society should not be to dress themselves in the garments of their elders and look so like them that the guardians of the halls of science will not perceive the difference. The object of science is to carry the light of understanding, to show us truth. If a piece of research aids us to understand better, more fully, some aspect of this so complex universe of man and nature, then is it worth while. If it does not, then no parade of figures will make it anything more than labor lost. Our methods should be adjusted to our materials and not our materials to our methods. There are some adherents of method who, like the extreme behaviorists, would even jettison their proper subject in order to claim the name of science for a beggarly residue. They would imitate at all costs the mathe-

maticians and the physicists. Imitation, though always bearing the signs of the inferiority complex, may nevertheless succeed when, in following its original, it is applying like tools to like materials. But it is most apt to fail when it applies like tools to unlike materials, and this is just what the social scientist is in danger of doing. For his subject matter is very different, and it therefore craves a different mode of treatment. What we are seeking must always determine how we seek. We do not cut wood with a shears or cloth with a saw. We do not comprehend legal codes by measuring them or discover the origins of the World War by an index of culpabilities. There are fundamental methods common to all the sciences—though these are just the methods which our devotees of the "natural science approach" to society ignore—but each has its distinctive methods as well. The botanist cannot be content with the methods of the astronomer or the biologist with those of the physicist. Each must discover his own road to his truth. And first he must know what kind of truth he is out to find.

Unfortunately many of our social researchers go forth without stopping to ask what the object of their search may be. Armed with method all they ask is a field in which to hunt. Then they are sure to bring home a large bag of facts. A scholar once told me he was going to study unemployment. I asked him what aspect of the subject he was going to study, and he replied that he was going to gather all the facts first, and then decide. Now no one can gather all the facts "about" unemployment, even if he had endless time and infinite energy and all the resources of all the foundations. Facts do not lie around, like pebbles waiting for the picker, or even lie embedded, like precious stones to be dug for with patience. They become facts only as we learn how to treat them as facts, and therein lies another problem to which I shall return. But many of our young scholars are led to believe that there is an article called a hard fact, or sometimes a cold fact, that they lie around in plenty, and that when you have discovered a number of them they will "speak for themselves." Those who go out in this faith are apt to find that the so-called facts speak with a mighty small voice, and the wiser ones learn at length that, so far from the facts speaking for themselves, they have to act as ventriloquists for their facts. In plainer lan-

guage they must become interpreters, for the facts come into being only with the work of interpretation, and they grow more numerous and more interesting and more complicated and more ordered and more simple as the interpreter brings his own intelligence into play. They will give him no answers except the answers he himself construes for his own questions. And he cannot ask questions unless he knows what he is in search of.

Our would-be imitators of the natural sciences—I call them "would-be," because, like other imitators, they generally have an antiquated conception of their live and changing model—are so engrossed in method that they have no questions to ask of their subject matter. The following seem to be the chief tenets of their creed. First, I believe in facts, and to be saved I must discover new ones. Second, when I have discovered them, I must if possible measure them, but, failing that consummation, I must count them. Third, while all facts are sacred, all theories are of the devil. Hence the next best thing, if one can't discover new facts, is to refute old theories. This can be done very simply by taking a few cold facts and applying them. But the process is so easy that not much merit is acquired that way. "The primary business of the scholar," says one exponent of the school, "is to deal with facts rather than theories." How you can "deal with" facts apart from theories remains a mystery of the faith. Since, as a profane outsider, I can see no way in which a fact can be apprehended, much less related to others, without a theory, I am inclined to think that the whole of the faith has not been divulged. I observe certain indications that among the elect it is permissible to hold theories in secret, the primary condition being that they shall never be disturbed, or even mentioned.

The spread of this faith from certain elders to the younger generation of scholars has been very remarkable. It is particularly in evidence at the preliminary stage when the candidate for a higher degree is looking around for a subject on which to operate. For example, his first requirement for a possible theme is this: Has it ever been "done" before? If someone has already staked his claim over it then he must go elsewhere in his search, even if, like other seekers after virgin soil, he must push on into less promising and less fertile regions. This vain idea that a subject is "done" once for all is part

of the same doctrine that the researcher must go out to gather the hard facts and that once these are gathered the field is bare. That research may consist in the interpretation of data already known, in the critical analysis of materials already provided, in the illumination of a subject of interest that may come from the sheer use of the reflective judgment of the trained student—all this is alien to the code. One result is that the very idea of research tends to be narrowed to a kind of mechanical spade work—digging up the hard facts. It is interesting to observe, also, that the hard facts are only certain kinds of facts. Thus it is research to collect the ideas of primitive peoples or primitive parts of the population, such as the Plains Indians or the inhabitants of the Kentucky Mountains, or even of the lower economic classes; but it is not research to examine the social ideas of the well-to-do or the cultivated. It is research to collect all the doctrines of a particular author and set them in a chronological "pattern," but it is more dubious research to scrutinize and evaluate any of his deliverances. It is research to test radicals and conservatives by confronting them with mirror images, or to discover what percentage of them were made radicals by unhappy marriages or by bad harvests; but it is hardly research to inquire into the opposing ideals and antithetical schemes of life which may correspond to these terms. It is research to produce any new and valid row of figures, but it is not research to give meaning to the figures which someone else has produced. Is it because the latter is too easy a task—or too difficult?

I am not—far from it—arguing against what is called the quantitative method in the social sciences. The further it can go the better, the surer, our knowledge will become. I am arguing against the naïve assumptions which accompany a too exclusive confidence in the use of statistics. I am suggesting that the quantitative method can by itself yield us nothing but quantities, and that in the social sciences quantities—averages, ratios, correlations, and so forth—are not the goals, but only the media, of our research. What we are really seeking to understand are systems of relationship, not series of quantities. With the quantitative method must go hand in hand the method of logical analysis and synthesis. This of course is true of every science. What would we think, to take a crude example

(but one very suggestive of the practice of many social researchers), of the meteorologist who sought to discover the relationship between lightning, thunder, and rain-clouds solely by the statistical method; who collected as many instances as possible in which lightning was seen and no thunder heard, in which thunder was heard and no lightning seen, and in which both lightning and thunder were observed but no rain fell; who then computed percentages and let it go at that? Possibly he might discover some observer who, like the ancient Horace, declared he had heard thunder coming from a clear sky—a triumphant addition to his collection of "facts."

Again, I am not arguing against the necessity for the direct and thorough exploration of the field of study. Thoroughness is the hallmark of the true scholar. I am really protesting against a code which is content with the job half-done and omits the less mechanical, more exigent, and more rewarding part of it. It is not enough to muster those raw materials we call the facts. I am pleading for the finished product. We need more raw materials, but even now we are not using a tithe of the raw materials which we possess. Take, for instance, such a mine of wealth as the U.S. Census. Much of it remains unexploited. In the social field the task of providing the raw materials is proving too big for individual scholars and is becoming more and more the task of governments and co-operative agencies such as the foundations. This is as it should be. In our social utopia the individual scholar will no longer think it his job to go out with his spade and do in some corner what governments and foundations are doing with their steam shovels. He will do what these great agencies cannot do for him, but what they can vastly encourage him to do for himself—take up the expert and arduous task of interpretation. If, for example, he has before him sufficient data to show how the pressure of social conformism weighs down the life of the small American town, he will then investigate the theoretical question of why it should be so, or the practical question of what, if anything, can be done about it.

I am protesting against the code which mechanizes research. Many of our scholars have the notion that, for the complete researcher, all that is needed is to send out questionnaires, describe the process and the results, tot up the "yesses" and the "noes," and

work out some correlations. I am protesting against the theory that a work of research must be dull. I believe that the danger of mechanized research in the social sciences is peculiarly great at the present time. In an age of general mechanization, highly desirable practically but too engrossing spiritually, we might well expect that danger. But it confronts us also for a special reason. Those who on the boards of foundations or universities dispense research funds have a very difficult task in adjudging the relative merits of the numerous projects laid before them. If they seek to do it at all they are almost bound to lay down certain standards to which a project must conform, and these standards are most likely to include such objective and measurable considerations as the novelty of the project, the definiteness of the results to be expected, and so forth. I submit that such standards, excellent in intention, are likely to encourage the one-sided idea of research which I am opposing. I believe it would be the wiser course for such bodies not to depend on such standards at all, to make their decisions not in terms of any expected results whatever, but almost solely in terms of the quality or competence or promise already exhibited by the respective claimants.

To make research mechanical, to make it safe, is to rob it of most of its meaning and all of its interest. Research is exploration of the yet unknown, and every explorer, to be worthy of the name, must take risks. By the use of quantitative methods, where they are admissible, he will avoid unnecessary risks—foolish risks—but do not deny him on that account the use of his intelligence and of his imagination, the precarious and exhilarating business of judicious speculation. In some important fields, such as law and history, he will probably not be able to use these methods at all. In others, particularly where we deal with natural units, as in population studies, or with conventional ones, as in economics, they are quite essential. But even in these latter fields they will carry the scholar only to the halfway house of correlation. Do not encourage him to stop there —it is still far from his goal. If theories without facts are empty, facts without theories are blind. I fully sympathize with the reaction against uncontrolled speculation, which is as bad in scholarship as in business. But neither business nor scholarship can pros-

per without some degree of speculation, and its absence is a sure sign of lean and meager times. In both spheres we must find ways to control it, not to abolish it. There was a time when the social sciences generalized overboldly, without adequate control over their materials. There were economists who found one simple law to explain everything, and there were sociologists who discovered a new law on every page. "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the teeth of the children are set on edge." In revolt from their sometimes foolhardy fathers they vainly seek for foolproof methods of getting at new truth. But no great, perhaps no small, discovery even, is made without the aid of the imagination, disciplined and rendered critical by appropriate training. No facts ever speak for themselves, and no figures ever proclaim the truth behind them. Only he that has eyes to see can see. Without the spark of imagination no one is fitted to be a researcher, but this truth is unfortunately able to pass unnoticed under the influence of the prevailing code.

We may, perhaps, sum up the matter as follows: first, the aim and method of all science is broadly the same. Science is never concerned with facts as isolated facts; it is never merely empirical. It is concerned with phenomena as they reveal an order, a system of relationships. Science, therefore, begins with concepts which it seeks to refine, correct, and establish so that by their aid it may comprehend that consistency and coherence of reality, the belief in which is its first article of faith. Second, the specific methods of the various sciences vary with the specific subject matters with which they deal. These specific methods cannot be determined a priori nor derived by analogy. Only experience in dealing with our subject matter can teach us the appropriate methods to employ. Third, the subject matter of sociology—and of all the social sciences in so far as they are really social—differs in some highly important respects from that of the physical sciences.

Since this last point is crucial, we must deal with it further. Society presents us with a vast array of individual social situations, each in some respects unique, but science always seeks to pass beyond the concrete to the abstract. It cannot deal with any situation in all its concreteness. It is not as a concrete occurrence but as a system of phenomena revealing a present focus of relationships and

a process of continuity, that science must deal with the individual situation. We shall not here consider the greater question of the general laws which is the further goal of science. We shall confine ourselves to the mode in which a given situation presents itself for scientific treatment.

The following summary statement is all that the limits of this paper permit me to put forward on this subject.

(1) Every social situation consists in an adjustment of an inner to an outer system of reality. The inner system is a complex of desires and motivations; the outer is a complex of environmental factors, in so far as these constitute the means, opportunities, obstacles, and conditions to which the inner system is adjusted. It is this relationship between an inner and an outer which constitutes, in respect to the problem of causality, the essential difference between the social and the physical sciences. The latter are concerned with an outer order alone.

(2) Each system, the inner and the outer, is coherent in itself and the two together form also a single coherence. In other words, for the social scientist, the outer is never, as in physics, a mere outer. A room is not a four-walled inclosure with apertures for light and air and with various objects of wood and metal and cloth strewn about it. A city block is not, for the sociologist, a peculiar configuration of stone, iron, and glass. The outer is always seen under an aspect. It is shot through with significance. It reflects human purposes and human limitations. For the sociologist, the outer is always an environment.

(3) Each system has, in relation to any attribute of it which may be under sociological investigation, a specific character. To interpret the attribute, it is necessary to know its relation to a specific situation. If, for example, we are seeking to explain the prevalence of divorce in the United States, or in any portion of it, it is not enough to refer to such general characteristics as mobility of population, degree of prosperity, economic opportunity for women, religious attitudes, modes of education. A peculiar conjuncture of these and other factors is present and unless we understand that peculiar conjuncture, we cannot hope to explain, for example, why the divorce rate is so much higher in Oregon than, say, in Massa-

chusetts. Or again, it is not enough to explain a phenomenon like the gang as due to the desire of the adolescent for companionship and adventure, since these general desires, to bring the phenomenon into being, are directed, modified, and made specific by the ethos of the group and by the opportunities or hindrances to its expression. Nor, turning to the outer system, can we adequately explain the phenomenon as the consequence of poverty and deteriorated neighborhoods, since these factors may equally be adduced to explain other social phenomena such as ignorance, crime, desertion, alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, etc., and since, in any event, these factors may be present in a greater or less degree, without involving a greater or less development of the phenomenon. The specific phenomenon involves, in addition, specific opportunities, specific needs, specific stimulants, or precipitates.

(4) The interpretation of a social phenomenon is never more than approximate. It depends on an understanding of the relation of inner to outer, an understanding which demands experience as well as knowledge, insight as well as calculation. There can be no complete explanation, just as there can be no mechanical method of discovering social causation. An explanation in this field is always a partially verified hypothesis and there is no such thing as complete verification. The idea of complete verification depends on an oversimple concept of induction. A negative instance does not necessarily disprove a conclusion, nor does any quantity of positive instances completely prove it. Because insight is necessary, hazard is always present.

I conclude that the great need of sociology is not ready-made methods nor ready-made models but the trained and disciplined imagination. Just as this capacity is needed in a treatment of practical problems, whether on the scale of the family, or of our international civilization, so it is needed in the building up of a science. Let us even forget that we are scientists, if only we remember that we are seekers after truth, that our aim is to understand and to convey to others the understanding of the intricate and often baffling web of social relationships, which, being created by man, must be understood by a similar creative capacity in ourselves.

BORDERLINE TRENDS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

In the period under review the whole history of social psychology is comprised, though the concept is older and the need for a social psychology goes back further yet. Psychologists and sociologists have from the first contributed and published in this field, and marginal influences have played upon it from all the social sciences There was first a strong trend toward individual problems and the nature of personality, though lately the interest in collective activity has been growing. The search for elements has gone on throughout the period and gave rise to the instinct controversy, the debate about reflexes and wishes, and is still an unsettled issue though steadily approaching a state of agreement. The influences marginal to social psychology include ethnology, abnormal psychology, particularly psychoanalysis, behaviorism and philosophy. Social Psychology is still imperfectly organized, its concepts are still in confusion, and its methods unsatisfactory. But the intense interest in the subject, the number and enthusiasm of the workers, and the importance of the issues give assurance of a more perfect day.

Social psychology has mainly borderline trends because social psychology is itself a borderline area. Like a good doughnut there is more in the circumference than in the center. Indeed, it is doubtful whether there would ever have been any social psychology at all or any courses in this field or any researches in this area had there not existed a borderline field in which traditional psychology was not interested and yet which was believed to contain resources which sociologists needed in their work. Not that experimental psychology is or was barren or unfruitful. An admirable technique was developed, rigorously scientific in method, unequivocally mathematical in procedure, but concerned with problems that were increasingly small in extent and more and more remote from the needs and interests of those who were forced to consider the motives of men, and to whom the adjustments and the harmonious development of human life seemed all-important.

One can only explain the rise of psychoanalysis on similar grounds. Since traditional psychology did not have either interests or methods that were available to the study of personality disturbance the physicians who were treating hysteria and kindred disorders developed a system which broke completely with the physiological psychology of the day. Just as Christian Science rose and

still thrives on the mistakes of medical science, so psychoanalysis found its opportunity in the confessed incompetence in respect of problems for which there was no place in the program of the psychologists of twenty-five years ago.

And in the same way, the sociologist, in seeking a foundation in theory for the study of the family, crime, delinquency, suicide, public opinion, and related problems began his work not in rebellion or in impatience but from necessity. But it was a borderline field from the beginning. The sociologist in building his structure needed certain basic foundations, and just as a manufacturer who cannot get his order filled sets to work to make his accessories in his own factory, so the social psychologist arose to try to meet a need which might conceivably have been supplied by existing disciplines.

Social psychology was a borderline concept even before this when in Germany the formulation of a German folk soul led to the earlier efforts to state the psychic trends underlying the origin and development of art, morals, religion, and the political forms of European society. We in America know this best from the work of Wundt whose folk psychology is the effort to fill the gap left by the obsolescence of the philosophy of history. But of all the borderline influences, this one is, at the present time, least influential.

Another European conception deserves a prominent place in the briefest sort of historic report. It rose in the reactionary period in France when opposition to democracy, never lacking under any organization of the state, developed a pseudo-scientific rationalization. It is from this humble if not ignoble ancestry that our collective psychology has largely been derived, with its mob psychology, its study of crowds and related phenomena. Here, too, is a borderline and the work of the past generation has not been unsuccessful in clarifying the problems and in formulating generalizations.

In France and in England social psychology was at first considered as collective psychology, a study of the mental planes and currents, in the language of our Professor Ross whose vigorous and lively metaphors have delighted our students for twenty years and more. So conceived, social psychology is still investigated and cultivated, but the present trend is to make that chapter of the statement an outgrowth and corollary of the earlier work which sets forth

the psychology of the individual person considered as the resultant of social forces. Social psychology is individual psychology if the individual be conceived as the center of multipersonal influences.

As an attempt to understand how the immature member of a society becomes a developed person with his own individuality and his own character the social psychology of the past twenty-five years have remained on the borderline, an interstitial area, marching with sociology, with psychology, learning from psychiatry, and importing heavily from the output of ethnology. Perhaps a more accurate figure would be this: each of these needed or seemed to need a social psychology and each of them proceeded to make his own though, fortunately, they did have diplomatic relations and ideas and even methods flowed freely across the frontiers.

It may have been inevitable that the investigation of personality which we call social psychology should start with a disastrous inheritance from the earlier individualism. At any rate history must record that it was so. Perhaps it was the analogy of chemistry with its marvelous success in discovering the ineradicable elements of matter that had most to do with leading us into the long and fruitless effort to find the irreducible elements of personality. At first these were thought to be ideas, and at the very first these seemed to be innate ideas, latent and concealed, but, under the developing influence of contacts, ready to develop into the accepted axioms of mathematics and the precious articles of the theological creeds. These went the way of all flesh but only when succeeded by another list, contributed by the tiger and the ape, those most recently acknowledged kindred of the children of Adam. But only for about thirty years did the instinct doctrine remain unchallenged, and just as it had become universally accepted, the inadequacy of its formulation began to dawn upon many and the last ten years has changed the whole conception of the stability of the inherited motor habits and the value of attempting to form a list of them.

The instinct controversy has been our most interesting little internecine strife within the period under review, which, indeed, is the whole short life of social psychology as a definite field. There was a small list of gilt-edged instincts with an unquestioned reputation for

solvency and for a time it seemed that their prestige was unshakable. Some of the young men began to utter heretical words but it was not till Professor Bernard entered the market that disaster overtook the issue. There is a rumor that he gathered them through a number of graduate student brokers but at any rate when he unloaded 5,684 separate instincts upon a nervous market, the slump began in earnest and present quotations make one think of German marks. Those who still retain them use them as token money for they have lost their intrinsic value.

Nor was the earlier effort to accomplish the same result by surcharge or overprinting any more successful. To call them something else and have them perform the same function was a natural recourse in a field where disputes about words are endemic and science is so largely the opinions of professors. But to say that warfare is due to the instinct of pugnacity differs in no essential way from assigning it to the prepotent reflex of struggling. Not the connotation of a term was at stake but the denotation of a fact. There are some troubles that do not yield to etymology. Sleeping sickness is as serious as *encephalitis lethargica*. Epsom salts has the same effect as sulphate of magnesia. The real question was not the name of the inherited behavior but the question of its existence.

Equally short-lived and equally unsuccessful were the suggestions which substituted wishes or desires in a definite list. The discussion has not reached an end and there is no warrant for asserting unanimity but the trend seems clearly in the direction of complete emancipation from the necessity of discovering or even the possibility of admitting any essential and definite elementary constituents in the developing individual. And this would have consequences of importance for sociology, social psychology, and for practice. For it would place the social group in a new perspective and enable us to find in the mores and institutions of a time and area those elements which were formerly asserted to exist in the psychophysical organism.

This trend is not only in accord with, but is in no small degree, the result of the fact that social psychology is also marginal to ethnology, from which field have come conceptions that have been in-

valuable clarifying influences. For the ethnologist in this period has come to regard culture as a datum and has, if I interpret him aright, written his declaration of independence from any a priori individualistic psychology. Like little dog Dingo, he had to. For there was no way of accounting for the strikingly different cultures save by some impossibly absurd hypothesis of a differential instinctive equipment of different tribes which, indeed, McDougall in a moment of consistency was moved to do. But as this would destroy the unity of the human race it did not commend itself to the students of preliterate culture.

If institutions create the instincts, and not vice versa, whence the institutions? And ethnology is at present answering it in a phrase suggested by that of the biologists after Pasteur: *Omnis cultura ex cultura.* And if this phrase be understood and its meaning and implications fully grasped the result is not only a new Magna Carta for social psychology but a newer and more intimate dependence at the same time on sociology. For we are at home in studying groups, the folk and the mores are household words with us, and it is not difficult to assimilate to our language the notion that culture precedes and produces the individual. Aristotle again says to us: The whole comes before the parts.

Social psychology as the science of personality has another marginal connection—that with child study. And in the nursery schools and institutes that have been set up at Iowa City, at Minneapolis, at Detroit, New Haven, and elsewhere there has come not only a new impulse and a set of conceptions but the promise of a new method comparable to the influence of animal psychology in its earlier effects. For the study of nursery-school children especially in groups can be and is increasingly becoming more objective, with engaging possibilities. It is inevitable that the study of such children shall be made with a constant emphasis on the group in which the child moves and the interaction of the members.

As to psychiatry, there is scarcely any distinction in the methods and point of view of some of the investigators in this field and those who class themselves as social psychologists. The differentiation is, of course, in the pathological conditions which the psychiatrist, of

necessity, makes central in his work. Yet even this is less true than formerly owing to the increasing treatment of near-normals in clinics. Alfred Adler, after a lecture on individual psychology once remarked to this writer that his own interest was obviously in social psychology. The indebtedness of social psychology to psychiatry is evidenced by the fact that many of the concepts which we use have been frankly and openly borrowed from our colleagues in that field.

I might mention, finally, the recent contribution in method which may be said to come from the almost obsolete field of psychophysics. Thurstone, taking the familiar notion of least perceptual differences, has stimulated much interest by producing measuring scales of attitudes by means of an elaborate and careful graduation of statements which, when arranged in a series, give an indication of the attitudes of the members of a group on any given subject.

If this list were to be made inclusive it would be necessary to speak at some length of economics and to mention work on economic motives and on labor attitudes and similar studies which have appeared in a satisfying quantity and make the relation of marginality quite clear.

Nor may we fail to mention political science where studies of public opinion, the interest in leadership, and the necessity of accounting for the peculiar idiosyncrasies of prominent men from mayors to presidents and kings have led to studies which impinge very definitely on this field and indicate the value and necessity of extensive and hearty co-operation.

There is, indeed, no department of social science from history and human geography to education and religion that cannot draw inspiration and assistance from social psychology and in return make a valued contribution of fact and method and fruitful theory.

He who has personality for his central interest will not lack for stimulating academic and other scientific contacts. So numerous are the contacts that there is required much circumspection for the accurate delimitation of the field. Concentration on an unappropriated problem is not as easy as it was. Whether a special field of social psychology will be increasingly independent or whether the workers outside will become so fruitful that sociologist, economist,

political scientist, and psychiatrist among others will be doing all the work is a question on which it would be unwise to make a dogmatic pronouncement. Since most of these problems are marginal, it is not unthinkable that the various frontiers will be gradually annexed. Should that day come the social psychologist would be a victim of technological unemployment. But should it so happen it will not be soon. Such a day is surely remote. And meanwhile, we cultivate our garden.

AN INTERPRETATION OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

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ABSTRACT

Sociology in the United States was influenced in its early development by Comte's positivist philosophy, theology, metaphysics, and the anthropogeographic, cultural, statistical, transcendental, humanitarian or welfare, journalistic-descriptive, psychological and ethical viewpoints. From 1890 to the present it has been transformed and integrated variously into Christian sociology, Christian ethics, general sociology, cultural sociology, practical or applied sociology, social work, historical sociology, descriptive sociology, sociological methodology, social psychology, human ecology, behavioristic sociology, and fundamentalist sociology; and also into various territorial and functional subsociologies, such as rural sociology, urban sociology, social biology, the sociology of religion, educational sociology, social ethics, etc. The present trend is to concentrate upon sociological methodology as a means to the further development of the content of the subject. The behaviorist or dynamic approach to content makes primary use of social psychology, cultural sociology, and human ecology as its chief supports.

The following interpretation does not claim to be more than the author's conclusions arrived at after considerable study of the field of American sociology. Other interpretations may properly differ from this one.

I. It now seems clear that sociology is a much older subject, even as measured by university curricula, than Small and some of the earlier American sociologists supposed. Although the term sociology did not become current in Europe before 1839 and did not appear in our literature before the 1840's, courses that may properly be described as sociology were to be found in the curricula of the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) and in Columbia College in 1754 and 1794, respectively. These courses were entitled, in the first case, "The Ends and Uses of Society" and, in the second instance, "Humanity." Acting on a suggestion from the writer, Read Bain has discovered a course entitled the "Philosophy of Social Relations" given by Robert Hamilton Bishop at Miami University in 1834–36, and a course with the same title began to be offered at the University of Virginia by Dr. W. H. M'Guffey,

[1] Owing to limitations of space, section VII of this paper, which is concerned with methods of investigation, will appear separately in the *American Journal of Sociology*.

a former colleague of Bishop at Miami University, in 1850. W. G. Sumner introduced the subject under the title of sociology and used Spencer's treatises at Yale as early as 1873. Between this date and 1889, when Blackmar began to teach sociology at Kansas, Giddings, at Bryn Mawr, and Small, at Colby, approximately a score of colleges and universities, north and south, east and west, had introduced the subject either as an independent course, or as an integral part of a more general course bearing the subtitle of sociology. The first treatise on sociology ever published, I believe, in any country was brought out in 1854 by Henry Hughes of Mississippi under the title of *A Treatise on Sociology, Theoretical and Applied.* In the same year George Fitzhugh of Virginia published a much less systematic work entitled *Sociology for the South.* Before 1860 sociology had developed primarily in the South, because southern leaders were thinking more about social problems in a large cosmopolitan manner and the South was sending her sons to Europe for education and intellectual contacts.

II. Sociology in this country has had a more varied heritage than have the other social sciences. In common with its sister social sciences it developed originally from the old metaphysical theory of natural law or the law of nature, which was an attempt to formulate an orderly and non-arbitrary explanation of the world of phenomena, physical and social, that man recognized as his environment, and was also an endeavor to give to this natural order an ethical sanction by tying the theory of natural law up with that of divine law. The study of political and economic relations was split off from this integral body of natural law, through the work of Grotius and Pufendorf, respectively, before sociology could claim a separate existence. To be sure, Vico began the separation for sociology and the philosophers of history carried it forward, just as Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, the Cameralists, and the American revolutionary theorists developed the Grotian political conceptions and as the mercantilists, the physiocrats, and Adam Smith transformed the beginnings of Pufendorf into political economy.

The chief respect in which sociology failed to develop in step with the other two social sciences through the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries was, on the one hand, that it lacked their

practical motivation toward unity of discipline and objects of application, and, on the other hand, that the less institutionalized and more traditional character of its subject matter exposed it to the controversies now beginning to rage between theology and secular philosophy. Theology, having to make some concessions to the new demands for a more experiential and secular interpretation of social and ethical relations, gave about the middle of the eighteenth century, especially in Protestant countries, its sanction to moral philosophy, which began to supplant the old discipline of natural law in the college curricula. The philosophy of history was the more radical and more highly secularized form taken by this new study of society and social relations, which we now call sociology. Both of these subjects, moral philosophy and the philosophy of history, occupied the center of sociological attention until in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, and even political economy and political philosophy were usually taught in departments of moral philosophy during this period, thus sustaining a sort of logical relationship of dependence to the more general science of sociology in process of development. I have no doubt that the claims made by some of the earlier sociologists, including Small, for a sort of general tutelage of their subject over the other social sciences originated consciously or unconsciously from their earlier close relationship with the old discipline, moral philosophy.

About the middle of the nineteenth century there arose a third group of men who were even more dissatisfied with the old speculative methods of deriving principles respecting human society. They had been led by the new critical history to doubt the methods of the old philosophy of history and they had even less confidence in the theological biases of the dominant moral philosophy, although they were by no means necessarily antireligious. They were for the most part practical men, who had learned something—sometimes much—regarding the methodology of statistics. Many of them had a strong economic bias, some were influenced by Buckle, and most of them were strongly attracted by the positivistic spirit of Comte. These men organized the new synthetic discipline of Social Science, wrote treatises in the field, and established courses under that title in the colleges and universities. Although their interests were allied

with all the social sciences, they may be regarded as particularly antecedent to sociology. In fact, the works of Spencer were their most commonly used textbooks and the content of their courses was frequently renamed sociology within the remaining years of the century. This new subject Social Science may in fact be regarded as a more practical and a more secularized substitute for the old moral philosophy, and both were to give way to the new sociology.

III. The newly renamed subject of sociology which began to appear in the curricula in the eighteen-seventies and which around 1890 began definitely to replace its old antecedents in the curricula was by no means a well-integrated discipline at the time it took its place. History and political economy far surpassed it in the matter of integration in 1890, although political science possessed at that time little if any more unity than sociology. Neither was the methodology of sociology as scientific and as objective as the methodologies of history and political economy. Sociology still bore the diverse earmarks of its several origins, some of which were methodologically antagonistic to others. As a discipline it still had before it twenty or thirty years of strenuous work of integration before it could claim equal ranking in unity of content and method with its sister social sciences.

It may be instructive to point out here some of the more outstanding viewpoints which made claim for recognition in the new subject of sociology. The most insistent among these was, perhaps, the positivism of Comte and his followers, known better in this country through the writings of Spencer and Mill than through those of Comte himself. The *Positive Polity* of Comte, which is the more sociological of his two great works, never has received much attention in the United States. Lester F. Ward and Giddings were particularly influenced by the positivist viewpoint, while Sumner, Small, Simon N. Patten, and Carver were its devotees in less degree. The philosophic viewpoint was represented by the neo-Hegelians (including in considerable degree Small, Cooley, J. M. Baldwin, and the Deweyites among the sociologists, especially of the more recent Chicago schools), also by the transcendentalists, so closely allied to the neo-Hegelians (of whom Cooley, Patten, and Veblen may be considered examples in varying degrees), and finally by the surviv-

ors of the philosophy of history approach, which in fact characterized more or less all of those whom I have mentioned here as adhering to positivism and other philosophic viewpoints, as well as other sociologists like Blackmar, Loos, and Weatherly. The anthropogeographic viewpoint was closely allied in sympathies with these other philosophic schools, but was adopted by only a portion of the men named above, and by none of them without reservations. Perhaps L. M. Keasbey is a better example of this school than any of the others mentioned.

The Christian ethics or moral philosophy viewpoint maintained itself so strongly that in large measure it refused to assimilate with the new sociology and took refuge particularly in the theological seminaries and in Harvard University, where gradually it adopted an applied sociological content without giving up its name. In this Christian ethics viewpoint may be distinguished three strands: the Scotch Calvinistic reform philosophy perhaps best represented by the work of Paley, George Combe, Chalmers, and Francis Wayland; a branch of the transcendentalists; and the Catholic moral philosophy, which only gradually and latterly has begun to take over the name of sociology. Always closely allied with this Christian ethics viewpoint was the social welfare outlook, which, however, derived almost as much from the Social Science group as from the moral philosophers. Indeed it was the American Social Science Association that gave birth to the National Prison Association and the National Conference of Charities and Correction, in 1870 and 1874, respectively. Many of the adherents to the Social Science school were really moral philosophers or Christian ethicists particularly characterized by their antislavery interests and their partisanship for an intelligent popular democracy.

Not the least important problem of these early sociologists who struggled to integrate their subject in the years between 1870 and 1910 was that of securing adequate data to serve as a basis for their generalizations. The new critical history, which had turned from generalizing doubtful facts to the collection and verification of documents, had largely discredited the sociologists' open sesame of the philosophy of history. The political economists had at hand a large body of statistics of commerce, industry, money and exchange, and

the like, which enabled them to work inductively toward a definite science. Political science had not yet attempted seriously to develop beyond the limits of constitutional history and public law into the realms of practical politics and political psychology. The methodological viewpoint of sociology, while increasingly repudiating the old speculative methods of its antecedent natural law and the untested inductions of the later moral philosophy, was so inadequately supplied with statistical data regarding non-economic phenomena that it was not able to do for even the applied aspects of sociology what political economy was doing for the fields of banking and currency, taxation, public finance, manufactures, and trade. However, the Social Science school, with its emphasis upon statistics and surveys, was encouraging sociology to take an interest in this more quantitative aspect of methodological induction.

Many sociologists were now genuinely interested in systematic induction. Their discipleship of the Comtean positivism made them the chief champions of the inductive method among the social sciences, although their materials for performance long remained scanty. While waiting for more quantitative social data to come in from governmental bureaus, private agencies, and individual surveys, they followed the lead of Spencer in the eighteen-seventies and made use of anthropological data gathered from travelers and returned missionaries. American sociology was predominantly cultural in the anthropological sense during the seventies and the eighties of the past century, and some men, notably Sumner, Thomas, and Veblen, continued to work with anthropological materials after that date. The cultural viewpoint is not of recent origin in American sociology, as some sociologists and anthropologists have supposed, but was one of the first viewpoints to appear after sociology began its career of integrating its subject matter. The cultural viewpoint declined markedly in relative importance from 1890 to 1910, because in that period statistical and survey data began to come in with relative abundance and to replace the less dependable anthropological data as bases for generalization. Warner's *American Charities* (1894) and Wines' *Punishment and Reformation* (1895) were followed by Mayo-Smith's *Statistics and Sociology* (1895), Wright's *Outlines of Applied Sociology* (1899), Weber's *Growth of Cities,*

and many other sociological works based on statistical data and sociological surveys.

Two other viewpoints came prominently into American sociology in the eighteen-nineties, both of them reaching this country primarily through European sociological literature. The collective psychology viewpoint came primarily from Tarde and Le Bon. The journalistic descriptive viewpoint, attempting to give a general conspectus of the more visible and obvious cultural traits of contemporary civilization, reached us not only from France but also from England, and had many antecedents in the survey approach. I suppose we may say that E. A. Ross has been the most active exponent of these two early viewpoints in European sociology, although he has not lacked emulators. Both of these viewpoints were closely related functionally to the anthropological-cultural viewpoint, and, in my opinion, they were largely the result of the attempt to apply the method of cultural analysis to contemporaneous society on the basis of methodological norms then recognized in this field.

IV. Let us turn now from this rather brief cross-section analysis of the all-too-frequently discrete interests and outlooks of the sociologists during the first thirty or forty years of their recognized existence as college and university professors and as curriculum makers to an equally brief survey of their attempts to consolidate, integrate, and orient their subject matter. This integrating and reorienting movement began in earnest soon after 1890. The earliest marked signs are to be found, I believe, in the work of Giddings and Small. Before this time, with the single exception of the anthropological approach, sociological methodology had been primarily local, individual, and discrete, without any marked attempt to make it characteristic of the subject as a whole. Perhaps it was the catholic urge to integration coming from the positivistic antecedents of these men that led them to work out a general sociological methodology. Both of them began, characteristically enough, with the definition of sociological concepts, and Small, limited by his neo-Hegelian outlook and his lack of a scientific background, never got beyond a logic of concepts united with a rather static application of the critical historical school's method of documentary investigation. But Giddings, after a period of neo-Bucklean generalization of so-

cial laws, apparently recalling his earlier experience with statistics, and perhaps also profiting from his contacts with Mayo-Smith and Carroll D. Wright, began to make a truly inductive methodological approach to the study of social phenomena. The department of sociology at Columbia University has been for thirty years the source of numerous studies in statistical interpretation of a fairly high order. In so far as a dependable inductive quantitative sociological methodology is concerned, it may be said that the department at Columbia during the headship of Giddings has led the field of American sociology.

The various philosophic viewpoints mentioned above have either been transformed, in so far as they were of value, into the recent more critical inductive methodological procedures, or they have been absorbed and adopted by the newer schools of Christian ethics, Christian sociology, and social ethics. Also, to some extent, they have affiliated themselves with the newer cultural sociology which has arisen in the last decade with new force and prominence owing to the massing of large bodies of dependable anthropological data consequent upon some thirty years of intensive field studies in ethnology and anthropology. This new cultural orientation in sociology has arisen in part in response to a growing demand for an examination and criticism of traditional social institutions and of their traditional theoretical sanctions. This particular type of criticism it accomplishes impersonally under the technique of the study of methods of cultural change. So far cultural sociology has been rather slow to adopt and apply the techniques of social psychology. Also in its antagonism to the old anthropogeography it has undervalued the significance of an analysis of environmental factors, and clings to a static and metaphysical definition of culture. The old anthropogeographic viewpoint, rejected so unceremoniously by the cultural sociologists, has been revised and modernized into the new school of human ecology, which promises to give a better account of the dynamics of social change than cultural sociology itself affords.

The old welfare viewpoint, with its strong humanitarian urge, has been largely segregated into social work. . . . .

The journalistic-descriptive and collective-psychology viewpoints or schools have merged largely with the renascent cultural sociology

and have made valuable contributions to that field. But collective psychology also has a considerable rôle to play in the new field of behavioristic analysis of the adjustment process which has been brought into sociology in recent years by the newer social psychology, at first by Baldwin and Cooley, and later by a large group of sociologists trained in the field of social psychology. The emphasis of this school of behavioristic sociologists is upon the technique of the adjustment process without any preconceptions as to institutional and traditional values. The strategic and pragmatic importance of their viewpoint has focused the development of sociology in their direction, with the new cultural sociology and human ecology as strong supporting wings to their center of attack upon sociological theory.

V. American sociology cannot be understood properly without some knowledge of its historical and present relationships with the other social sciences. We have already noted the derivative and synthetic origin of sociology in this country. This is not necessarily an evidence of weakness, as frequently has been asserted. A synthetic approach is often more effective than a unilateral one and it may turn out that the sociological synthetic wholeness is its strongest feature, as was so often implied by Small. Its ability to achieve unity and integrity, both of subject matter and of method, in the face of much professional antagonism and ridicule, is one of its signs of vitality. Sociology has always served as a correlator. Again and again its insistence upon the essential unity of social life and behavior has been adopted at points by the other social sciences. Three of its predecessors—natural law, moral philosophy, and Social Science proper—insisted upon this essential unity and wholeness of viewpoint as a means to adequate and effective social adjustments in whatever fields of experience they may occur. Again and again sociology has also developed some new subsidiary discipline, such as social psychology, educational sociology, labor problems, immigration, cultural sociology, in order to complete its picture of the social situation, only to have these subjects absorbed and adopted by other social sciences possessed of more powerful administrative organizations. Thus sociology has supplied no inconsiderable amount of the material which has served to bind the ex-

panding social sciences more closely in their reciprocal approaches toward one another. This fecundating function of sociology has also in some measure served to modify the strong prejudices which were early manifest against sociology, and its pretensions, particularly in the East.

VI. The regional and particularistic development of sociology in the United States has been so characteristic that a word must be devoted to it. The three great early academic centers of sociology were Yale, Chicago, and Columbia. Yale began with cultural sociology, with some admixture of anthropogeography, and has integrated to the general developmental process of the science but slowly. Even now, more than twenty years after Sumner's death, the department at Yale is still dominated by his ghost. Chicago kept the philosophic bent under the dominance of Small, relieved somewhat by the collective psychology of Vincent and the cultural-ecological-behavioristic approach of Thomas. After Thomas, for ten years, the department at Chicago was turned largely into a city editor's office on an academic scale, and the graduate students were put to work reporting systematically interesting sociological news and in making ecological community analyses. Today, the city editor's chair is giving way to the laboratory of the statistical investigator and the Columbia viewpoint and methodology have extended to her rival of nearly forty years, just at the time when sociology at Columbia appears to have returned to the philosophical approach. In recent years various provincial centers of sociology have developed. The centers at Wisconsin, Michigan, and North Carolina have been more or less independently organized by their leaders, but most of the others of importance have been characterized largely by feudalistic dominance and discipleship. They are for the most part little Columbia's and little Chicago's, sometimes exhibiting a spirit of rivalry and invidious competition more fitting for commerce than for the impersonal search after truth.

Pathological aspects, however regrettable, should not of course be omitted from the picture, if it is to be a true one. The sociologists have now reached that stage of conflict between the older and the newer viewpoints in sociology which the economists came upon rather rudely in their own way in the early eighteen-nineties. Re-

cent revolts, sometimes from the floor of the American Sociological Society, against manipulation of policy and personnel and against an undemocratic system of control in the interests of older viewpoints and interests have occurred. Also regional associations are springing up which may in time threaten the strength of the national organization should the latter be captured or held by a small combination of university departments. Factionalism and sectionalism in program-making have been almost as noticeable as in the control of the electoral policies. Tolerance of viewpoints apparently is not yet our most conspicuous virtue. Perhaps all of these pathological phenomena are but growing pains which evidence evolution under difficulties toward democratic self-determination. A more serious trend appears to be the growth of an informal, and perhaps an inevitable, association between the larger research foundations and a few of the larger departments of sociology which in effect excludes the teaching members in smaller departments from participation in planning and supervising important research projects. The effects of this informal alliance, if it grows, will probably be the concentration of graduate students in sociology at three or four centers and the increasing reduction of other departments to a feudal dependence upon these subvented departments, with the consequent discouragement of research and productive scholarship and of departmental growth in the vast number of outlying institutions.

Naturally the leading personalities among the sociologists have contributed much to the color of American sociology. Ward was a sturdy positivist and neo-Comtean, who never ceased to identify sociology in particular with the philosophy of science as applied to human affairs in general. Sumner, having sought long for methodological peace found it finally in the generalization of anthropological data, and never thereafter deserted his Spencerian idols. Small never escaped from his theologico-philosophic training further than the German historical school and the limited psychology of Ratzenhofer could carry him. Giddings, among those of the older group, covered the largest span of intellectual evolution, as has already been explained. Thomas has gone through almost an equal expanse of development from the early cultural sociology to the new behavioristic social psychology. Cooley worked brilliantly in the same

field, but was somewhat hampered by his neo-Hegelian preconceptions, being primarily a philosopher rather than a scientist. He and Weber were the real founders of "human ecology" among the sociologists, although most credit for initiating this line of development must go to the historians and geographers rather than to the sociologists. Ross has added to his American adaptation of European collective psychology and journalistic descriptive sociology a more recent interest in population adjustment. Park brought the city editor's chair into the sociological office and directed some of the best journalistic reporting of sociological news of our day. The old Christian sociologists, such as Peabody, Graham Taylor, and Henderson, are being succeeded by a group of militant prophets of social justice typified by Harry F. Ward and by Graham Taylor himself. The cultural sociologists and the human ecologists have been characterized. They are attempting to explain the stereotyping and the succession of cultures. The behaviorists are unraveling the dynamics of culture and the development of personality. Because they start with objective analysis instead of with assumptions as to preexistent social and ethical values, they have incurred the antagonism of the sociological fundamentalists who would apparently convince us that the sociological world was made in six days and that there should be no reconstructive labor after the seventh.

THE MEMBERSHIP AND PROGRAM OF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to discover trends in growth in membership, in program participation, in committee alignments, and in general and sectional sociological theory and thought. The distribution of membership according to the major geographical divisions, East, Middle West, South, West, and foreign shows a constant and relatively uniform growth in each section with the East leading until 1918 when it took second place to the Middle West and with the East and Middle West together making up an average of 83 per cent of the membership, but a steady growth also of the other three groups until they now total nearly 25 per cent of the whole. Program participations show marked co-ordination with the membership ratios for the different groups. From the standpoint of subject matter, since the introduction of sectional meetings in 1922, the leading groups in total participations are rural sociology, the community, social research, social work, religion, and the family, with social psychology educational sociology, statistics, and biological factors following in close order.

This paper undertakes to analyze statistically and objectively the membership and program participations of the American Sociological Society from the beginning to the present. If the writer has had any one hypothesis in mind, it is that sociologists behave just like other human beings in their national organization and that their supposedly superior knowledge about things social does not give them immunity from those ordinary cultural influences and forces which positionize the members of a group in relations of subordination and superordination. Consideration is limited solely to the *Papers* and *Proceedings of the Society* in the interest of objectivity and on the assumption that these tell the story with fair accuracy from year to year.

THE MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the society has been divided and tabulated in five geographical groups: the Middle West, thirteen states, the East, thirteen states, the South, fourteen states, the West, eight states, and the foreign. Table I shows this membership year by year with percentage of the total for each group, with the exception of the four earlier years for which no membership lists were published. The corresponding graph, Chart I, shows the growth as to

total membership and each of the geographical sections with the exception of the foreign group. It shows the Society to have grown from the small number of 115 in 1906 to 1,812 in 1930 and that on the whole there has been a steady upward trend in membership growth. There are only five years when the membership registered

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY BY YEARS AND GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS* WITH PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL

	NUMBER OF MEMBERS						PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL					
YEAR†	Middle West	East	South	West	Foreign	TOTALS	Middle West	East	South	West	Foreign	
1906	34	72	5	4	0	115	29 5	62 6	4 4	3 5	0 0	
1911	107	182	16	21	9	335	31 9	54 3	4 8	6 3	2 7	
1912	154	177	18	27	12	388	39 6	45 8	4 6	6 9	3 1	
1913	251	283	31	30	10	605	41 5	46 8	5 1	5 0	1 6	
1914	222	261	35	32	7	557	39 8	46 9	6 3	5 7	1 3	
1915	268	328	60	42	7	705	38 0	46 5	8 5	6 0	1 0	
1916	275	326	55	35	6	697	39 4	46 8	7 9	5 0	0 9	
1917	302	332	51	45	6	736	41 0	45 1	6 9	6 2	0 8	
1918	291	330	51	40	14	725	40 1	45 5	7 0	5 5	1 9	
1919	317	310	71	45	10	753	42 1	41 2	9 4	6 0	1 3	
1920	416	279	77	71	8	852	48 8	32 8	9 1	8 3	1 0	
1921	343	317	87	68	16	831	41 3	38 1	10 5	8 2	1 9	
1922	411	374	87	54	22	948	43 4	39 3	9 1	5 7	2 5	
1923	491	370	93	77	23	1054	46 5	35 4	9 0	6 9	2 2	
1924	511	429	119	84	29	1172	43 6	36 6	10 1	7 2	2 5	
1925	595	467	146	102	37	1347	44 2	34 7	10 8	7 6	2 7	
1926	524	507	125	101	32	1289	40 7	39 3	9 7	7 8	2 5	
1927	553	495	115	105	46	1314	42 1	37 7	8 8	7 9	3 5	
1928	607	472	155	107	62	1403	43 4	33 6	11 0	7 6	4 4	
1929	778	551	200	149	65	1745	44 6	31 6	11 5	8 6	3 7	
1930	736	628	218	159	71	1812	40 6	35 7	12 0	8 8	3 9	

*Middle Western states North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio,
Eastern states. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey;
Southern states Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Louisiana,
Western states Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, California, Arizona.

† Membership data for 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910 not given in the *Proceedings* After the first year membership lists are considered as of the year following the meeting recorded in the *Proceedings*.

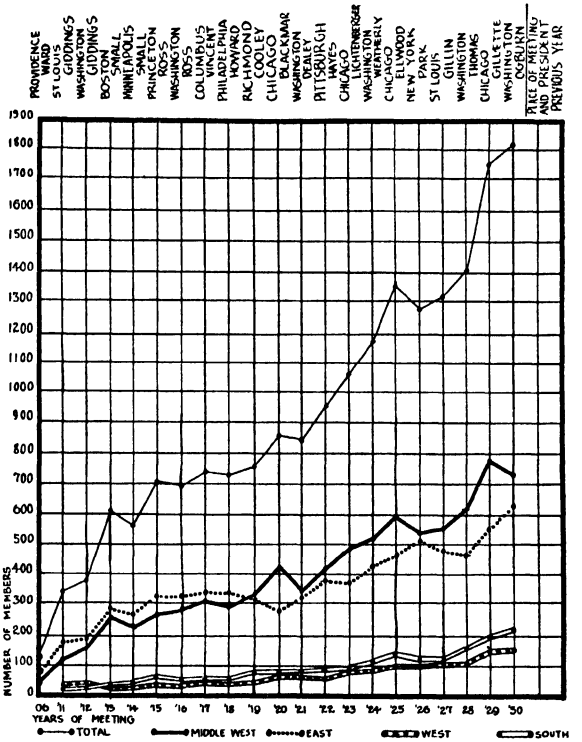
a loss over the previous year, namely, 1914, 1916, 1918, 1921, and 1926. The most rapid expansion has come since 1922 when sectional or group meetings were introduced on the programs. Possibly, this fact may offer a clue as to the policies which may be expected to bring additional expansion in the future, if this is desired.

The distribution of membership into the five geographical sections for the twenty-one years for which lists are available shows the average percentage of membership for each group to have been: Middle West, 41.7, East, 41.5, South, 8.3, West, 6.3, foreign, 2.2.

The Middle West and the East thus on the average account for 83.2 per cent of the total membership of the Society throughout its history, while the other three groups account for 16.8 per cent. However, the 1930 list shows the South to have 12.0 per cent, the West,

CHART I

DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERSHIP AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY BY YEARS AND GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS



8.8 per cent, and the foreign, 3.9 per cent, or for the three groups 24.7 per cent of the total. This indicates some advance in the relative importance in the Society of these smaller groups. The average ratios of these groups to each other have been fairly consistently maintained throughout the twenty-five years.

According to the 1930 tentative census reports of the population for the four United States divisions and the 1930 membership ratios, the Middle West has 32.2 per cent of the population and 40.6

per cent of the membership of the Society; the East has 31.5 per cent of the population and 35.7 per cent of the membership; the West has 8.5 per cent of the population and 8.8 of the membership; while the South comes last with 27.8 of the population and 12.0 per cent of the membership. The Middle West has one member of the Society for each 53,000 of the population, the East one for each 61,000, the West one for each 65,000, and the South one for each 156,000. It is evident therefore that the Middle West is the most highly developed in sociology and the South the most backward.

A comparison of the growth of the Middle West and East sections shows the East to have led by a slight margin until 1919, when the Middle West took the lead and has since held it, also by a slight margin. Since 1919, the years of closest agreement between these two groups were 1921, 1922, and 1926, with a tendency toward equalization of membership also in 1930. In each case this occurred following an annual meeting of the Society in the East. The years of greatest difference in membership between these two groups were 1920, 1923, 1925, and 1929, in each case following an annual meeting of the Society in the Middle West.

It should be noted that every decline in the general membership follows a meeting of the Society in the East and is matched by a similar decline in Middle West membership, which in most cases accounts for a majority of the loss. There are also slight losses to be noted in the Eastern enrolment following some of the Middle Western meetings, but these are not sufficient to cause a loss in general membership, or are more than offset by gains in Middle West enrolment. The location of the annual meeting is thus seen to have a marginal influence on membership enrolment, but this is not sufficient to affect seriously the general trend of growth.

THE PROGRAM PARTICIPATIONS

The program participations of the annual meetings of the Society are summarized in Table II with reference to the four United States geographical divisions and are also classified as to their general types. Seven foreign participations are omitted from the table as are also twenty-five general joint session participations from nonmembers of the society. In this classification we have the section chairmen, the published papers, the abstracted papers, the unpub-

lished papers, in so far as these could be ascertained, and the discussions as the different types of participations. It is to be recognized that these different items are not of the same weight in the programs, nor are all of the items in the same class of equal significance.

The facts of chief interest with reference to the program participations have to do with the growth in number, with the number in each class, and with the contribution of each geographical section. Apart from what is revealed on the face of the table, a number of other combinations of the figures are of vital interest and significance.

The 1,506 total United States program participations are distributed as to types as follows: section chairmen, 158; published papers, 423; abstracted papers, 125; unpublished papers, 185; discussions, 615.

The program shows a marked change with the introduction of sectional or group meetings in 1922. Prior to this, the first sixteen years of the Society averaged 43 participations on the program; while the last eight years, exclusive of the 1930 session, have averaged 108 participations. Still more rapid expansion is shown in the last three years which have averaged 144 participations; while the final program of the present meeting has 149 participations scheduled. The participations of the present meeting are not included in the general count.

Four hundred and nineteen of the discussions occurred on the program in the first sixteen years. They constituted 60 per cent of the program for these years; while the remaining 196 discussions constituted only 23 per cent of the program for the last eight years. This indicates a definite trend from the practice of discussion to the more formal reading of prepared papers. Prior to 1922, the average program consisted of 16 papers and 24 discussions. Since that time, the average program has consisted of 17 section chairmen, 25 discussions, and 66 papers.

The geographical distribution of these items reveals that prior to 1922 the Middle West contributed 49.9 per cent and the East 47.1 per cent, or a total for the two of 96.0 per cent of the entire program. The South contributed 3.1 per cent and the West 0.9 per cent of the

program for these years. Since 1922, the ratios of the Middle West and East are respectively 46.4 and 42.9 per cent, or a total of 89.3 per cent; while the South contributed 6.8 per cent and the West 3.9

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROGRAM PARTICIPATIONS OF THE ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS AND TYPES*

Year	Middle West						East						South						West					
	I	II	III	IV	V	ST	I	II	III	IV	V	ST	I	II	III	IV	V	ST	I	II	III	IV	V	ST	Total
1906		5	..		6	11		2			26	28													39
1907		3			29	32		3			18	21		2			2	4					1	1	58
1908		.	5		8	13		9			14	23		.						.					36
1909		.	3		10	13		11			11	22					1	1							36
1910			9		20	29		5			4	9					1	1							39
1911			3		4	7		4			2	6		1				1							14
1912			4		14	18		6			16	22													40
1913			10		24	34		1			2	3													37
1914			3		8	11		5		1	20	26													20
1915			1			1		5			14	19													46
1916			9		23	32		5			6	11				1	2	3							41
1917		2	7		9	18	1	6			14	21					1	1		1					47
1918			8	1	11	23		4		2	14	20					3	3				1			56
1919		5	10		18	33	2	4		3	10	19		2									2	2	53
1920		3	2		8	13	5	9			24	38		1											50
1921		3	12	1	12	28	3	7		5	4	19					1	2		1			1	2	76
1922		5	13	1	6	10	44	3	7		9	10	29		1			1	2		1				1	72
1923		6	6		11	4	27	5	8		22	3	38	1	1		2		4				2	1	3	73
1924		5	16		8	7	36	6	9			9	5	29		2		1	2	5			1	2	3	94
1925		6	16		10‡	2	34	6	17		20	8	51	1				3	4		2	3			5	109
1926		14	13		9	16	51	5	11	5	9	6	36	1	3		1	2	7			1	3	1	5	144
1927		15	20	10	9	22	76	9	9	18	3	15	54	2	4	2	1	3	12			1			2	145
1928		12	21	10	11	14	77	7	5	10	3	19	44	1	5	2	1	6	15	1	4	2		2	9	144
1929		8	14	8	1	11	42	11	19	30	9	15	84	1	3	5	1	3	13	1	3			1	5	144
Total		84	213	47	74	295	713	63	171	63	95	280	672	6	26	9	11	29	81	5	13	6	5	11	40	1,506

* Column I, section chairmen; Column II, published papers; Column III, abstracted papers; Column IV, unpublished papers; Column V, discussions; Column ST, section totals

† Seven foreign participations omitted from the table

‡ Participations of non-members of the Society representing other organizations in general joint sessions not included in the count

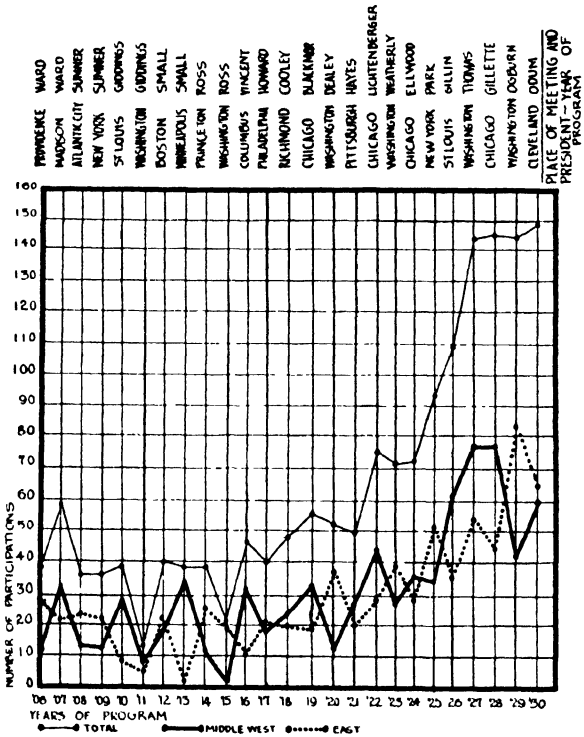
per cent of the participations. Although the South and West show some advance in contributions, particularly the South, these two groups have been rather negligible and fall far below their share of the work of the Society in comparison with the memberships.

Perhaps the most interesting revelation of Table II, and the cor-

responding Chart II, is the consistent alternation in program leadership between the Middle West and the East. It gives the impression that instead of being a national organization the Society is for one year an Eastern and next a Middle Western Society. The graph

CHART II

DISTRIBUTION OF PROGRAM PARTICIPATION OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR GENERAL PROGRAMS AND MIDDLE WEST AND EASTERN SECTIONS BY YEARS



of program participation for these two groups shows two zigzagging lines up and down across the graph with first the East and then the West dominating on the program and with only a few years, of which 1930 is one, showing a balanced program. The Middle West tends to dominate whenever the annual meetings are held in its area; while the East dominates on those programs which are held in the East. On two occasions the Middle West has a lead on a pro-

gram in the East, 1921 and 1927; while the East has never led in a Middle Western program until the present one and the lead here is so slight that it may be changed when the final returns are all in. Difference in program participation are, therefore, in part caused by the location of the annual meeting. To some degree this is natural and to be expected. However, the personal influence of the president on the program is not an insignificant factor.

Special attention may be called to the published papers. These constitute the most important part of the program and reveal more fully the trends in contributions, or at least trends in the editorial policies of the Society. The first sixteen years produced 188 published papers and the last eight, 235, total 423. This distribution is shown in the table to be: Middle West, 213, East, 171, South, 26, and West, 13.

A count of the pages of the published papers credits the Middle West with 2,263 pages, the East with 1,600, the South with 173, and the West, 139. Papers from the Middle West averaged 10.7 pages, from the East, 9.3 pages, from the West, 10.7 pages, and from the South, 7 pages. Papers in the presection period of the Society averaged 12.1 pages; while the average since 1922 has been 7.7 pages. There is therefore a definite tendency to shorten the papers as well as to multiply the number.

One hundred and sixty-nine writers contributed only one paper each; 47 contributed two papers, 17 contributed three; 4 contributed five, and 4 contributed six, while 2 writers have eight papers to their credit and 1 has thirteen. Twenty-seven Middle Westerners have contributed three or more papers each and 8 Easterners are to be credited with three or more; while no one from the South or West have as many as three papers to their credit, and only 5 as many as two.

There is also a congestion of the papers within the geographical areas. The University of Chicago, with thirty-seven papers, the University of Wisconsin with twenty-eight papers, the University of Minnesota with twenty-seven papers, the University of North Dakota with thirteen, the Ohio State University with eleven, the Universities of Kansas, Michigan, and Missouri with ten each account for 69.0 per cent of all Middle Western published papers. Only eight of the Middle Western papers are from non-school men

and, apart from the University of Chicago, the state schools and universities are overwhelmingly in the lead. Only twenty-two colleges and universities in the Middle West make contributions of published papers.

On the other hand, twenty universities in the East contribute only 57.3 per cent of the Eastern papers, with Columbia leading with seventeen papers, followed by Cornell with twelve, Yale and University of Pennsylvania with eight each, with Brown, Harvard, and Smith with six each, and with the remainder distributed among thirteen other schools, totaling ninety-eight papers. The other seventy-three Eastern papers come from government officials, representatives of foundations, miscellaneous organizations and professional schools. On the whole, there seems to be a greater cohesiveness and uniformity in the papers from the Middle West and a wider diversity and variety in those from the East.

In the West, the University of Washington leads with seven out of the thirteen papers; while in the South the University of Texas, North Carolina State, and Vanderbilt University have four each out of the twenty-six papers.

Consideration of the subject matter of the various papers presents many difficulties of classification. Prior to 1922, the program itself furnishes no objective classification; while since that time 55.3 per cent of the papers programmed have not been published in full. It is thus manifestly impossible to measure thought-trends with more than half the data lacking. However, if an impressionable opinion may be hazarded, moving from one section of the program to the other is like moving from one cultural group into another. In the presectional era, sociologists themselves do not seem to be sure of their field, their subject matter, or their method; they tend to argument and discussion about many questions which now seem of little moment. A very tentative classification of the papers in this period shows political theory, including international relations and war, as leading; with race and class conflict, the family, social psychology, and rural sociology following in order. Secondary in emphasis are to be found: the theory and history of sociology, social work, religion, the teaching of sociology, freedom of speech, bio-sociology, and sociological method.

Since 1922, the sections which show the greatest number of participations are in order: rural sociology, the community, social research, social work, religions, the family, social psychology, educational sociology, statistics, biological factors, human ecology, and the teaching of sociology. These lead in total participations in the order named from 144 down to 23, with the other sections falling under the last number. However, since these numbers include the less important item of discussion and, since some groups (rural sociology, social work, the community, and religion) emphasize this type of participation more than others, this order does not establish any definite trends of thought.

On the other hand, the published papers show the following order: social research, rural sociology, social psychology, statistics, biological factors, and human ecology with papers ranging in number from sixty down to eleven. The sections on the family, religion, and social psychiatry show no published papers in this period; while the sections on social work, educational sociology, the teaching of sociology and the community, which rank high in the total number of participations, are low in the number of published papers, having respectively five, four, one, and one.

Before leaving the subject of program participations attention should be called to the abstracted and unpublished papers. Twenty-seven and two-tenths per cent of the abstracted papers carry the announcement of publication elsewhere; 24.8 per cent were contributed by non-members of the Society; while 48 per cent were by members of the Society. Some of these latter ones may have been published elsewhere, but are not so announced in the *Proceedings*.

The number of unpublished papers was determined by consulting the published programs, where available, and checking these against the papers published in the *Proceedings*. Few such papers appear in the earlier years for the reason that virtually all papers presented were then published and also published programs are not available to check those which were not. Of the 185 such American participations listed, 18 were annual dinner addresses, and 23 were luncheon papers of minor nature and importance. Possibly many of these were not reduced to writing or were in the form of research reports and round-table discussions. Sixty-four of the remaining

ones came from non-members of the Society, in some cases presented in joint sectional meetings. (These in addition to 25 papers from members of other organizations presented in general joint sessions and entirely omitted from the count.) We thus have only 78 unpublished papers by Society members in twenty-four years. On the whole, it seems a just practice not to publish the papers from those not sufficiently concerned to identify themselves with the Society. However, 76, or 13.2 per cent, of the published papers were produced by non-members. The combined abstracted and unpublished papers by members for which no publication provision elsewhere is announced only total 140. This, it seems, is an excellent record and not one to excite personal or sectional prejudice and criticism.

A word further about non-member participations: these total in all types of participation 308, or 21.7 per cent. Middle West participations were 14.4 per cent from non-members; the South 26.0 per cent, the East 28.4 per cent, and the West 32.5 per cent. In this respect also the Middle West shows more consistency and uniformity in its programs.

OFFICIAL AND COMMITTEE PARTICIPATION

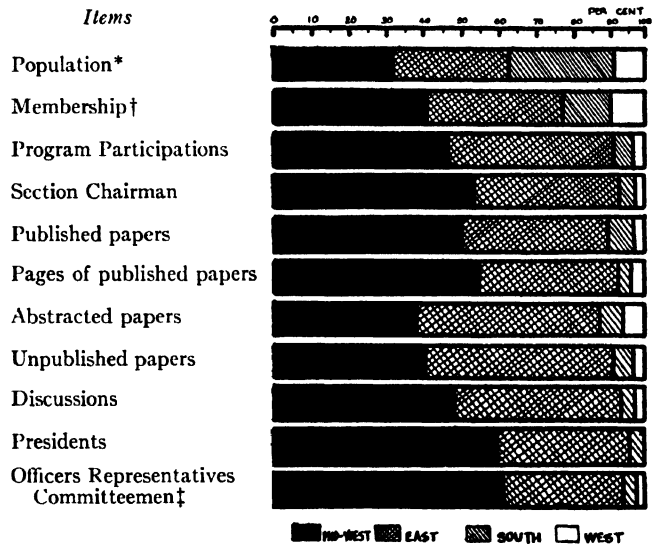
A check of the officers, the executive committee membership, the representatives of the Society to other bodies, and the various other committee members revealed that this Society is like similar bodies in that it does not furnish adequate and complete records in its publications as to these items. In so far as the count could be made, it revealed 702 such participations in the activities of the Society. There would probably be two or three hundred more with a full count. However, this additional number would possibly alter the proportions of such participations from the different geographical sections very little, if any. In so far as the count could be made, it shows the Middle West to have contributed fifteen presidents to the services of the Society, the East, nine, and the South, one. The Middle West has contributed 60.8 per cent of the total official and committee participation, the East, 33.4 per cent, the South, 3.1 per cent, and the West, 2.7 per cent. These proportions are shown in Chart III.

CONCLUSIONS

Since the task of bringing to this Society its annual sermon belongs to another and since it is not the province of the writer to moralize, the conclusions may be very brief. In fact, the conclusions must be drawn from the detailed figures of the tables presented with the paper. The assembling of these and their presentation

CHART III

GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DATA OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY



* As summarized from *U S Daily* in *Literary Digest*, August 23, 1930.
† Omitting foreign members
‡ Based on incomplete data of 700 names.

has been the main object of this paper. Detailed study can be made as each individual wills.

1. That leadership in any group is inevitable, necessary, and imperative to progress is axiomatic.

2. That leadership involves responsibility is also axiomatic. The growth and enlargement or the disintegration of any group rests in the hands of its leaders, however much may be said as to the responsibility of the led to follow.

3. The extra margin in the activities of this Society on the part

of the Middle West group is obvious from the standpoint of experience and of the recorded facts. Its greater unity and solidarity as a group in the Society are probably natural and normal in view of the location in the Middle West of the official organ of the Society, the *American Journal of Sociology,* and the like location there of the official headquarters of the Society. Had these been located elsewhere through the years, the story would probably have been different.

4. Growth and development involve some amount of organizational conflict and, in national groups, some amount of sectional prejudice and rivalry is almost inevitable. Some similar groups, known to the writer, have had to face the issues precipitated by enlargement and growth and efface sectionalism from their organization. Possibly geographical sectionalism within our midst is not so great as the group-sectionalism on the part of the participating groups on the program. Both ought to go in the interests of a greater expansion and service of the Society. Sociologists ought to know enough about things social to find the way to the highest type of co-operation.

CONFLICT AND COMMUNIST POLICY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CHINA

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ABSTRACT

The communist movement is based on a conflict pattern around the concepts of class antagonism, private property, and the political state. Their avowed program is to *broaden* the conflict between capitalists and the proletariat, to *intensify* class consciousness and to *unify and train* the proletariat for revolutionary action. "Boring from within," fomenting combats with police and employers, and seizing political and military power by any means, are sanctioned methods. China seems the most outstanding attempt to apply communist aims and methods on a large scale. The distress of the masses and balked national aspirations made China attractive for revolutionary activity. In China the ultimate dictatorship of the proletariat could best be achieved by seizing power from a previously victorious nationalist government—this implied that a national unification and emancipation revolution must first be launched. Also that an independent communist constituency must be organized within the revolution Peasants and workers were organized by separate unions and urged to make demands, industrial strikes were transformed into political strikes, local revolutionary tactics were encouraged—all leading to "invaluable" revolutionary experiences. Opposition to this program became increasingly crystallized among the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals.

In any survey of human groupings basing their social philosophy in large part upon conflict,[1] of propagandic groupings spreading conflict ideology, or of social movements avowedly endeavoring to produce actual conflict as an immediate objective, it would be anomalous to omit communism. I am for the time being leaving out of consideration the scattered individuals who merely profess to believe in an ultimate communist order, and concentrating on those

[1] Conflict is to be interpreted broadly enough to include resistant opposition to and aggressive attack upon individuals and groups who, under any industrial or political or other status quo, exercise control, regardless of the presence or absence of conflict in the means of control, regardless of the relative restrictions involved in the control, regardless of the relative profits or advantages accruing from that control. Although such aspects of control may be the most real contributing causes of the conflict, I take for granted it is permissible to leave them and the actual cause and effect relationship for separate consideration, and for the time being to concentrate on the matter of conflict policy, on the matter of the nature and methods and ideology of conflict, thus examining causes only in so far as they appear in ideology as professed causes. Since I have already employed this approach in studying the conflicts precipitated with the appearance of Protestant foreign missions in non-Western countries, and there discussed it quite fully, I refer for any more elaborate discussion of it to my *Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations.*

who belong to the official Communist parties of the world and therefore to the Communist or Third International with headquarters in Moscow, established in 1919 but rooted back in the first socialist International and the communist group of Karl Marx and Friederick Engels.

I. THE "COMMUNISM" OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

According to *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels, the movement bases itself upon a conflict interpretation of human society. The three fundamental concepts in the conflict pattern explicit and implicit in the communist interpretation of history and in the communist program, are (1) class antagonism, (2) private property, (3) the political state. These assert, briefly, that private capital, interpreted in the light of a labor theory of value, has always and inevitably led to class differentiation, class exploitation, and class struggle and to the origin and use of the political state as a means to make secure both the private capital and the consequent exploitation and subjugation of the non-dominant classes. One or two subsidiary factors have an important place in rounding out the pattern. According to Engel's summary of *The Manifesto,* "the method of production, and the organization of social life inevitably arising therefrom, constitute in every historical epoch the foundation upon which is built the political and intellectual history of the epoch." To elaborate with the details given in *The Manifesto,* the bourgeois type of family with its accompaniments, sex inequality, and prostitution; bourgeois education; bourgeois law, morality, religion; bourgeois conceptions of right, justice, truth, etc.; bourgeois culture in general—all have been developed and intertwined in the fabric of bourgeois life, uniting it, justifying it, buttressing it. With it they will ultimately stand or fall. And on the basis of that relationship they are now valued in communist ideology. "Law, morality, and religion," for example, "have become for him (the proletarian) so many bourgeois prejudices behind which bourgeois interests lurk in ambush." Thus is filled in the basic conflict pattern for any cross-section of human society since the days of communal ownership of land.

It must not be assumed that the communist's faith in the inevitability of conflict is due to the mere continuation of these basic com-

ponents of his pattern. On the contrary his horizontal cross-section analyses are arranged vertically in historical succession so as to picture an inevitable evolutionary development in an equally definite pattern. According to this deterministic trend posited by communism's Hegelian-Marxian "dialectical materialism," the "contradictions" within capitalism on any given historical level, give birth to economic-social classes and precipitate them into conflict only to result in a new grouping of irreconcilable classes on a new level, and so on indefinitely.[2] Like the previous levels, the present one of finance-capital contains within itself "the seeds of its own destruction": the desire for profits pits its component capitalist groups and nations against one another in direct and indirect combat and war; the "anarchy in production" inseparable from private ownership, is bringing crises, lower wages, unemployment, thus forcing small proprietors into the proletarian class and driving the workers into larger and larger groups for self-protection; at last world capitalism is facing the world proletariat for the final battle of classes under this economic epoch of history.

It is not merely the world-wide organization of capitalism opposed by the world's proletarians that distinguishes the "battle front" of the modern class struggle. Not content to exploit Occidental workers, Occidental capitalists have gone to other parts of the world and shackled nations and peoples in military or economic bondage, by the help of their political tools, the Western states of Europe and the United States. Extracting raw materials from these less advanced countries, using them as markets for both manufac-

[2] The degree to which the relationships in the two patterns, the cross-section conflict pattern and the deterministic trend, fit into a larger syntheses of relations, is illustrated by the confident predictions made on the basis of that synthesis in prescribing "formulae" for actions as the experience of the Chinese Revolution was adding to the former stock of revolutionary experience. Speaking of the suitability of certain basic slogans "which formerly were applied and were bound to be applied in the form of algebraic formulae," an editorial in the January 30, 1927, number of the official publication of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist International declares: "The first class-encounters which have taken place during the new rise have already provided varied and exceedingly rich experiences and serve as a basis for deciphering our general slogans. Numerical denominations can now be introduced into the algebraic formulae, in accordance with the class correlation of forces of the given country and of the given stage of its revolutionary development."

tured products and the investment of funds in general, the new "finance-capitalists" of the West subjugate Africa and the Orient somewhat as the city in the West subjugates the country in the West; yet, while they stand together as capitalists against any emancipation of these countries that would either cut off the Westerners' special privileges or allow industrialization, they fight each other for competitive advantages in those countries. If the present post-war stabilization of capitalism can be disrupted either by a war between capitalist nations, or by depriving Europe, especially England, of her Oriental markets, the world "correlation of forces," which as a whole is already ripe for revolution, would usher in the world cataclysm and the victory of the proletariat.

We have, then, in the communist interpretation of history and society, a fundamental conflict pattern, in which the nature and relationship of the component parts develop in accordance with a deterministic trend, that, for the capitalist epoch, is leading precipitately to a world-wide conflict with the Western proletariat, proletariat Russia, and the less advanced peoples arrayed on one side and the Western capitalists and their states arrayed on the other. Under these circumstances, the only program for communism, declares their headquarters, is (1) to *broaden* the conflict by bringing into it the great masses; (2) to *intensify* it by sharpening class consciousness and communist issues, by making explicit the indirect and implicit class struggle, and by raising that struggle to the high pitch necessary for revolutionary mass action; (3) to *unify, lead,* and *train* the proletariat for such action through the work of the Children's Movement, the Young Communist International, the Red International of Trade Unions, and above all the Communist parties. This means "class war" against (capitalists and) capitalism as the exploiting enemy, not voluntary compromise or state arbitration or any other species of peace. It means regarding private property as filched, not rightful property of its possessors, as materials to be appropriated for the masses or to be destroyed (sabotage) if that seems expedient to bring loss, chaos, dethronement of capital. It means regarding the state as the capitalist tool for exploiting labor and therefore as something similarly to be appropriated (or rather destroyed and substituted for) or disre-

garded. It means, in short, making the threefold conflict pattern a reality in the emotions and overt behavior of the masses.

If this cannot be done immediately and directly through organizational, propagandic, and agitational activity of the official party, it must either be done underground illegally, or by temporary participation in organizations through which communists can work without sacrificing their objectives. Such co-operation is forbidden unless the communists both reserve the right to criticize the "reformist" or moderate leaders and have an opportunity to train the masses "in the revolutionary spirit"; even then it must be their tactics to try and capture the leadership of the organization. Typical is the "boring within" trade unions where the communists must begin by advocating the daily demands of the laborers, secure leadership in this activity, enlarge these so-called "partial demands" and slogans according to more or less prescribed strategy, until finally the political general strike and general revolutionary slogans are linked up with the immediate broad struggles of labor. Meantime combats with police and with employers' representatives are useful in sharpening industrial and political antagonisms and increasing the revolutionary spirit. Wherever, according to the strategy of war so carefully studied by Lenin and worked out by other leaders of the Communist International, the enemy blunders or weakens in any sector, the utmost use must be made of the circumstance for furthering the cause of the revolution.

When the occasion is ripe, political and military power must be seized by any means necessary. Where necessary, of course, individuals who oppose or obstruct must be killed—they are "counter-revolutionary"—and groups and masses intimidated. Karl Kautsky's *Terrorism and Communism* is answered by Leon Trotsky's *Defense of Terrorism.*

This seizure of power and the previous application of Leninist-Marxian principles to the developing struggle in any country is not a matter of independent policy on the part of any national Communist party. The Constitution and Rules of the Communist International and the organization of communism provide a highly consolidated "democratic centralism" in which the Communist International pledges the support of the United Socialist Soviet Republic,

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and itself to the struggle everywhere, and demands reciprocal defense and support of itself and of each other party by all the rest.

With political and military power under the dictatorship of the proletariat, as now in Russia, the conflict is pressed, by use of state power, against outside capitalist or imperialist enemies, against internal bourgeoisie and landowners, against private property, against religion and every aspect of bourgeois culture. Simultaneously a program of constructive socialism is undertaken, still compromising with bourgeois principles to the extent of giving equal reward for equal work instead of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." (The steps in this process, previously outlined in the *Communist Manifesto,* are revised in the recent edition of the *Program of the Communist International*). As the abolition of private property and the elimination of the propertied class make class exploitation impossible, the rôle of the state passes and it "withers away." Communism gradually dawns—thus, at any rate, runs the wish.

II. COMMUNISM IN CHINA

Although communism has gained political control in a few outlying European and Asiatic districts adjacent to Russia, China seems to be the most outstanding instance of a prolonged attempt to apply communist aims and methods of gaining power, on a large scale. There is reason for this. There were widespread discontent and hardship among the masses due to almost a decade of rampant local militarism; a temporarily baffled but not hopeless desire for national unification and for higher international status on the part of some of the new bourgeoisie and intellectuals who had supported the 1911 Revolution; and, among some of these, a further resentment at Western Powers accentuated by Japan's 1915 demands and by the failure of the Western Powers at Versailles in 1919 to compel Japan to relinquish her secretly granted claim to the German rights in Shantung province. Recognizing this situation as one of the most pregnant for revolution among the various national situations in the world, the leaders of the U.S.S.R., the C.P.R.,[3] the C.P.S.U.,

[3] Communist Party of Russia.

and the C.I.,[4] worked out an analysis to present to the Chinese leaders and public, which, while thoroughly conforming to communist ideology, integrated all the causes of misfortune and humiliation that could be assigned to others beside the intellectuals and workers whom the communists wished to ingratiate and win over. This analysis may be thought of in the form of a pyramid. The bottom layer consisted of the industrial and farm laborers and the peasant tenants who were declared to be giving their life-blood to fatten capitalists, landlords, and usurers; these latter in turn comprised the second layer of the pyramid. The third layer consisted of the militarists who grew rich from taxing the bourgeois layer below them, but who protected these bourgeoisie in their exploitation of the workers. And finally, at the apex of the pyramid were the imperialists who supplied experts and money to the militarists to keep them in control so that the country could not be united and their own special commercial privileges could not be taken away, while they went on taking out raw materials, selling manufactured goods, and harvesting investment returns, through co-operation with the commercial bourgeoisie. Here was an application of communism's conflict pattern which forcibly portrayed the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied classes through the power of the capitalists' coercive weapon, the political-military machine, reinforced by international capitalism.

To this was added the full weight of both the twentieth-century world perspective and the deterministic trend in communist ideology: The former, as we have seen, attributed such an essential rôle to Oriental and backward countries as capitalism's source of raw materials and markets, that to deprive capitalism, England especially, of its imperialistic privileges would prevent capitalist "stabilization," develop chaos, and precipitate the revolution in the West. And now that China proved to be directly and exceptionally susceptible to a revolution that would cut off those special privileges, China, ipso facto, actually became the "weakest link" in the international capitalist chain—thus ran the reasoning of Lenin, Stalin, Bukharin, Katayama, and other leaders. As Bukharin put it in 1926, the Chinese Revolution "continues to be the greatest factor

[4] Communist International.

in the present history of the world." Just as certain, moreover, in communist determinism, was the belief that as soon as a Chinese revolution should develop, the capitalist world would inevitably attempt to throttle it—an attempt which communism was determined to turn into proletarian civil war, hence world revolution.

This analysis of China's internal condition and external relation to the world "correlation of forces," did not call for a proletarian revolution in China. Obviously she had but few and untrained propertyless workers, comparatively speaking. Here, as elsewhere throughout Asia, the ultimate dictatorship of the proletariat could best be achieved by seizing power out of the hands of a previously victorious nationalist government which had already unified the country and disposed of the militarists, and of the imperialists if possible. This implied that a national unification and emancipation revolution must first be launched, which, in acordance with the pyramidal analysis of the country, should draw to itself the intellectuals, the ambitious industrial and petty bourgeoisie, the overburdened peasants, the exploited workers. The commercial bourgeoisie who traded with the imperialists would soon side with imperialism, but the lower levels of the bourgeoisie must not be antagonized until the peasants, comprising 85 per cent of China's population, should form the great and invincible bulk of the revolution. Meantime, "united front" tactics for colonial and semi-colonial countries required that the Communist party must organize within the revolution the independent proletarian and communist constituency, educated and trained in revolutionary ideology, attitudes, and experience, which, at the proper moment, would support the Communist party in actually seizing political control.

And so we find in actual practice, that, although the recently revised *Program of the Communist International* decries Sun Yat-Sen's non-class socialism as deceptive and reactionary; although influential Russian and Chinese communists now denounce the earlier intellectualist leaders of Chinese communism; although pronouncements from Moscow excoriate the Chinese bourgeoisie for turning against them; and although the reports of the 1925 "incidents" link the student class, who "made a great noise, developed tremendous propaganda, and agitational activity throughout the

entire country," along with artisans and tradesmen as "frothy, vascillating, masses of the petty bourgeoisie"—in spite of all this, communist authorities claim that in line with the "united front" policy they deliberately worked with these groups to secure help in unifying the country and to secure an opportunity to develop and train revolutionary cadres. How did they proceed? Without much difficulty or expense they secured the adoption of their pyramidal analysis by the radical intellectuals and their student followers, and utilized this group to carry on a vehement antiforeign propaganda which not only put behind the nationalist movement the most powerful of human passions but added to it the implication of self-exculpation and the exalted rôle of new saviors of China. Next, as soviet Russia was given increasing recognition by the Peking government, a network of Russian military-political agents made contacts with susceptible military leaders in various parts of China; then, in important instances, these agents gave financial aid and military supplies in exchange for both obligation to the nationalist revolutionary cause and the right to carry on propaganda among the officers and soldiers. Beginning with 1924 the most welcome, open, and direct work of the Russian and Chinese communist agents centered in the headquarters of the recently scattered and abandoned followers of Sun Yat-sen at Canton, South China. In exchange for financial, advisory, and active aid to Sun's cause, the communists and their left-wing followers were allowed to revamp the organizations of the incipient revolutionary government and the Kuomingtang (nationalist) party, and to spread systematic propaganda among officers and soldiers, among intellectual and student leaders, and among workers and peasants. With great intensity communists and their left-wing associates led workers and peasants into striking for immediate "partial demands," into organizing by separate unions and then by "general labor unions" for united action, into uniting in political general strikes or into transforming industrial strikes into political strikes; in these latter the workers or the peasants, whichever it might be, at times took over the governmental functions of legislating, arresting, punishing, confiscating, even assassinating and group fighting, thus gaining the invaluable "revolutionary experience" which was the supreme desid-

eratum of raising up militant proletarian leadership. Repeatedly is it asserted by Russian and Chinese communist leaders that without these outstanding prolonged strikes and mass demonstrations —the Hongkong strike of 1924, the Shanghai strike of 1925–26, and the mass seizure of the Hankow concession in 1926–27—the power of the revolutionary government could not have been consolidated and developed and spread over the country.

In this engineering of the mounting "revolutionary wave," the fundamental strategy of the communist movement was carried out as far as the official Russian advisers and the Chinese Communist party, both acting under the constant close guidance of the special Chinese Commission in Moscow and the E.C.C.I.,[5] could bring it about. It had been hoped that the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist slogans would be more effective by their own weight, than they actually proved to be. The regular reports made by Russian comrades to the Russian embassy in Peking, and more public statements made by such men as Katayama, the veteran Japanese communist acting as an agent of the international movement, and G. Voitinsky, the Russian strategist, claimed that neither workers nor bourgeoisie were particularly interested either in the unity of China or in opposition to foreign imperialism as such. To secure their interest and effort, concrete situations of conflict, injustice, or discontent must be seized as opportunities for spreading propaganda and revolution, or more material inducements must be resorted to. It was for this reason that clashes between foreign colony-municipalities, foreign police, foreign employers—especially where the injured or shot included Chinese—were exploited by cartoons, circulars, and speeches (sometimes enormously exaggerated, as were some reports of the May 30, 1925, and Hwanhsien incidents) as onslaughts of monstrous brutal imperialism against helpless subjugated workers and other nationals; while, by way of contrast, incidents where thousands of Chinese were killed by bandits or arbitrary militarists were passed over with scarcely an outcry. Obviously, sheer —but mere!—war propaganda tactics, as was to be expected. Where incidents did not "happen," it was strategy to create them by any possible provocation—physical injury or death, exploited

[5] Executive Committee of the Communist International.

with photographs of bodily wounds, the display of blood-stained clothes, and, where possible, the display of the dead themselves, provided the most powerful of dynamic.

Along with the arousal of hate against foreign employers, police, marines, and municipalities, however, very definite material inducements seemed necessary if enthusiasm were to persist among the rank and file of the masses. These were provided in the form of increased wages, reduced taxes, and power. Speaking of the million peasants reported as enrolled in unions in Kwangtung province, for example, an editorial in the *Communist International* for December 30, 1926, declares, "The peasants have rendered most energetic support to Canton, but they have not done this for the sake of the charms of the Canton government." Again, reporting in the communist *Guide Weekly,* Mao Tse-Tung, one of the two leading communist generals, illustrated how the idle and propertyless "riffraff" of rural Central China were first gathered into peasant leagues; then, with the spread of propaganda, with evidences of backing from the nationalists, with some violence and intimidation against big property-owners stigmatized as counter-revolutionary, with seizure of their land, gradually the poorer peasants and middle-class peasants were brought into the movement; soon, more radical wage demands, seizures of property, defiance of taxing authorities, and usurpation of government functions, became the order of the day. In general this seems to run true to type for city districts as well as rural: strikes for "partial demands"; intimidation and even "red terror" to outstanding labor opponents; demands for much higher wages, shorter hours, and a controlling voice in industry; attempts at usurpation of government functions—this was the intended course of events and the actual course where the nationalist cause spread in 1925, 1926, and 1927. That this was due largely to communist inspiration is generally accepted; that the workers and peasants were under communist leadership in their general revolutionary activity, is the unequivocal and constant claim of Chinese and international communist headquarters.

As long as the expansion of partial demands meant broadening out the demands of port-city bourgeoisie to include rendition of the mixed court, abolition of "unequal treaties," abolition of extrality,

and like issues, or as long as it meant broadening out the strike demands of laborers employed in foreign mills to include general anti-foreign and anti-British agitation—that sort of expansion of the partial demands was merely exploiting fundamental nationalist or out-group sentiments. But when the expansion of the partial demands meant the handing of bourgeois earnings and property over to "the masses" represented by the new city and farm-labor organizations, opposition naturally developed on an increasing scale. And finally when the British-dominated International Settlement of Shanghai[6] and British Hongkong had been left behind, and the nationalist forces reached Central China, the British even withdrawing from their Hankow settlement there, the class nature of the propaganda that had been carried on in the armies and among the masses, came to its natural fruition. Attention could no longer be distracted from the fundamental revolutionary principle behind the united front, viz., that "under cover of the struggle of bourgeois forces and in denouncing them to the masses, the forces of the people's revolution can be prepared and organized." The body of intellectuals and bourgeoisie who had sensed the trend or directly felt its sharp edge but had been afraid of being branded as opposed to a "national unification and emancipation movement," now gathered coherence and solidarity. The split was inevitable. Moscow ordered its followers to seize control. The clash was with arms. Red and white terror competed. Communism broke clean with intellectuals (professedly) and petty bourgeois as well as industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. It threw overboard the entire nationalist emancipation movement, branding it counter-revolutionary, and took to the mountains.

With its attempted coup and massacres in Canton December, 1927, communism in China was raised to a "higher level," the level of direct and militant soviet organization on a purely proletarian basis. The tasks of the new stage have been, first, the consolidation of their military power under the direction of the Chinese Communist party; second, the organization of administrative soviets in all

[6] This refers to the agitational and propagandic campaign above described, for of course the military part of the campaign began at Canton, went northwest to central China, and, after this crisis began to emerge there, came on to Shanghai.

the country districts they have dominated; third, underground activity in workers' unions, among peasants, among students, and in every susceptible group. While banditry may sometimes be confused with communist military tactics, still it is clear that the Communist armies are under far stricter discipline and operating in line with clearly planned programs and ideology, continuing of course under the influence of the Communist International of Russia. Wholesale destruction of land boundary lines and of land and property contracts as a preliminary to fresh distribution of land; destruction of the property of foreigners, of counter-revolutionaries, and of religious organizations, where Communists do not propose to use it for their own collective purposes; seizure of money and valuables and military equipment; killing of prominent opponents—such are the symptoms of communist attacks which are credited (where wages are 20 cents to 30 cents a day) with losses to one province alone of over 200 million dollars. The evidence of underground work in the unions has been seen, not only in the nature of the "partial demands" brought forward, but in large-scale demonstrations and even general strikes (preparatory to an all-China general strike) which are scheduled on important U.S.S.R. memorial days and which use International Communist slogans. Among students, 3,000 of whom are said to be in Russia today, in less than two years there have appeared 100 Russian literary works in translation. As a whole the communist movement numbers probably between 70,000 and 100,000. It has been claimed for some time that the newly organized village and town soviets ruled more territory than the nationalist government, and that outside of the cities, nationalist control was usually most precarious or nil. Last May there was held the first All-China Soviet Congress. Obscure, covert, and secret though its tactics and organization necessarily are, communism in China like that in other countries, stands firmly and frankly on the deterministic conflict pattern and the platform of the international movement.

COMPETITION AND CONFLICT BETWEEN RACES OF DIFFERING CULTURAL STANDARDS

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ABSTRACT

Recent studies of relations of the Chinese and Japanese to the whites along the Pacific Coast have given us a pattern that is now being tested in the relations between the whites and Filipinos. The pattern presents a set of forces tending toward understanding, co-operation, and final assimilation contending with forces that develop distrust and conflict The economic basis for the contacts has been the need for cheap labor. In satisfying this need some selection has resulted in the invasion of relatively low representatives of the races. Yet immediate contacts are friendly. A consciousness of economic competition, however, very soon develops and the invaders are pictured a menace to American homes, to American womanhood, and to American standard of living Legislative discrimination is attempted If the newcomers recognize their place and keep within it, a period of relatively good feeling ensues, as the consciousness of adverse competition grows smaller and smaller. A preliminary study of contacts between whites and Filipinos in California shows a surprising adherence to the usual pattern The present status is one of competition with delayed conflict expression and with attitudes unstable but crystallizing rapidly in the areas where contacts are most frequent and where competition is keenest

Studies of the relations that develop when races with differing cultural standards come in contact with each other have been made in many cases and have included a wide range of conditioning factors. Any generalization as to a pattern that such relationships follow must be restricted to cases that show some dominating influences. Contacts between the white population on the one hand and Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos on the other hand have operated under strikingly similar conditions. Contacts between the white and the black races or between the white and the Mexican mixtures are complicated by many important influences that are not shared to anything like the same degree by other cases of contacts.

Some contributions to the growing total of information in this field have been made in recent years through the study of Oriental peoples and whites in contact along the Pacific Coast of the United States, in Hawaii, and, to a less degree, along the coastlines of Oriental countries. A large part of the net results of these studies has been the corroboration of the tentative conclusions regarding such relations based largely upon the behavior of the white and black races in contact in the United States. Out of the mass of compli-

cating factors, differing in intensity in the different cases, a very little that partakes of the nature of a general pattern seems to be emerging. The net gain of the recent studies is, to a great degree, the establishing of this pattern upon a firmer basis of fact.

The pattern presents a picture of forces tending toward good will, understanding, co-operation, and ultimate assimilation contending with forces that develop distrust, misunderstanding, prejudice, fear and hatred, working out through rather surprisingly similar lines due to the weight of a number of dominating factors that have applied in all cases. One of these dominating factors is the degree to which first contacts are established as a result of economic need. The demand for cheap labor is the great urge that had brought the groups together. The immediate satisfaction of this need for cheap labor establishes contacts, at first, that are favorable for good will and friendly feeling. The seemingly natural interest in the stranger with his picturesque appearance and novel behavior combines with this approval of a function well fulfilled and a period of apparent welcome and understanding ensues. This status is, however, the result of very limited contacts confined to those who are profiting directly by the economic bargain that has been struck or to those who are near by but apparently unaffected in any way, as merely spectators. The great majority of the host society is still indifferent to the new situation.

A selective process has been in operation determining the character of the invaders. This selection varies, and the product differs widely when Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Mexican immigrants are involved but in all cases a relatively low type of cultural standard, a low scale of living, and a low degree of group strength is represented. Little by little a consciousness of this inferiority develops. The invader is not looked upon as a low grade of Chinese or Filipino but as inferior and Chinese or Filipino. The critic from his vantage point makes the unwarranted generalization that all of the race in question possess the bad qualities that seem to show in the representatives with whom they have been in contact.

The easily seen superficial characteristics of race operate to stand in the way of a recognition of individual differences among the invaders. The individual who approaches is a Chinaman or a Japa-

nese with a set of qualities already assumed rather than a human being who will be examined with something of an open mind before conclusions are rendered. The racial invader always bears the badge of his assumed low culture and inferior ability upon his person.

It is in the nature of the cheap labor situation that a portion of the white laboring population shall begin to feel at a disadvantage in competing with the low standard invader. Our workers have always believed in the "lump of labor" theory and the immediate effects of low wage scale competition are exaggerated. Whether this competitive feeling develops soon or late, as well as its intensity, depends upon many things including the desirability of the work involved, the stage of the business cycle, the solidarity of white labor, and convergence of other factors that may play into the white laborer's hands. The first signs of discontent and growing hostility of any significant size are always associated with this feeling of real or imagined labor competition.

There is then a tendency for the rising hostility to camouflage its motives under a less selfish basis than economic competition. The low sanitary, moral, and other low social behavior of the selected type of invader is detected and pictured in exaggerated form. Dormant fears and prejudices are played upon. The sacredness of the American home is invoked. Pestilence is threatened by the unsanitary newcomer. The moral codes of the white man are menaced. White women are in peril. The standard of living has been attacked and is giving ground. Finally the nation itself is in danger under a long list of specific forms. The invaders are spies. They are breeding like rabbits! They are being smuggled in. The white race is doomed.

Leaders of various types appear and use the situation of potential panic for their own advantage. The leader of organized labor, the opportunistic social reformer, and the politician all paint the picture in lurid colors, and an explosion is possible at any moment. The competition stage passes over into the stage of conflict.

The white man's culture has been changing only slowly in many fields and he uses generally the same types of weapons against the now hated invader. Legislative discrimination is demanded, result-

ing in denial of landownership, economic handicaps of various kinds, and taxes that fall heavily upon the undesired race. Mobs are formed. Deportation, arson, and assassination may follow. A real or a threatened reign of terror may ensue.

The conflict stage may not spread to large elements of the host race but a racial attitude of hostility becomes very widespread. Saner leaders begin to see the necessity of an enduring solution for the problem. A concentration of attack, upon the fears of the growing size of the problem in the future, follows. Exclusion looms larger and larger as a solution. If exclusion follows and appears permanent there is almost immediately a cessation of fear, and a dropping of the unwarranted charges made against the invaders. Gradually a reaction of indifference may set in. The processes of accommodation that were already in motion are accelerated. The problem is seen in some semblance to its true size and nature. Members of the invading group begin to learn that there is a field af activities within which they may operate and thrive to a certain degree. They find, too, that social relationships with the white race may be developed within narrow limits and no further. They settle down to an accommodation level. They recognize their place and keep within it.

A period of relatively good feeling ensues. The group that senses real competition with the cheap labor competitor grows smaller and smaller. The real competition itself diminishes, for even though the numbers of the invaders may not decline, the newcomers are now of non-immigrant classes or arrive by birth on American soil and grow up in American schools. The standard of living of the new group rises and their adherence to the occupations in which they are tolerated cuts down the competition still further. The real basis for a recognition of inferior behavior passes, for the group contains a larger and larger number who have taken on higher standards and learned the ways of the native stock of their adopted country. Moreover, slowly, contacts are formed which enable individuals of each race to know each other as individuals. Some warm friendships are made between members of the differing races and while these individuals, at first, are looked upon as exceptions, after a time the unwarranted racial generalizations partly fall away.

The process of assimilation, however, seems to be a very slow one and tends to come to something very like a halt unless associated with the mingling of the blood of the two races. Except to some degree in Hawaii this interbreeding in the case of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos with white people has occurred very little. Very little has been learned as to the biological consequences of such unions and the cultural consequences are not clear, owing to the presence of many factors that cloud the issue.

The relationship pattern, then, when races of differing cultural standards come in contact, remains the long suggested one involving stages of interest and good will or welcome, giving way to competition, conflict, and accommodation in turn. The story is a different one for each set of cases but in an important way it is also the same story due to the relatively constant factors of a dominating nature that are present. The pattern appears most clearly in the case of Chinese immigration to the United States. It is not a pattern which applies to contacts in Oriental countries when the white race is the invader, and in Hawaii many unique conditions complicate the comparative method of study.

Studies of the relations between the white population of the Pacific Coast of the United States and the Chinese and Japanese have been reported from time to time. In these studies the sociopsychological factors involved were, in general, left untouched until an advanced stage in race prejudice and resulting behavior had been reached. In the case of contacts between the Filipinos and the whites an attempt is being made to study the phases of the relationship as they develop.

The study is being carried out in two units. The first involves an extensive study of relations between the two groups throughout the state. The second unit includes an intensive study of three relationships. The first concerns the two races in one typical center of the employment of Filipinos in agriculture. The second concerns relations due to the employment of Filipinos in occupations where direct competition with white labor results in the displacement of the latter. The third is concerned with relations between Filipino students and whites.

Interaction between the two races has developed far enough and

the study has been carried on to a sufficient extent to warrant an appraisal of the sequence of relationships from the point of view of the pattern already established. In making the study objective data include all available records such as those kept by the immigration officials and steamship companies in San Francisco and Los Angeles; sample studies of vital statistics; records of courts, social service agencies, prisons, schools, etc. Sample studies have been made of the content of the newspapers of California and the nature of the news as well as its amount, in so far as it concerns the Filipinos in America, has been determined and the results classified. A study of the Filipino press in California has been made in a similar fashion. This news and editorial comment is used first as a means of discovering the attitudes existing and the stage of competition, conflict, or accommodation reached. The newspaper is an agency for securing facts bearing upon race relations. But the newspaper material is also of value for the study of the processes through which racial attitudes grow. Here the newspaper is a means of intercommunication often seized by interested groups and used to direct the growth of the attitude. Finally interviews have been made with Filipino agricultural laborers, Filipinos working in cities, employers of Filipinos in both cases, Filipino students, residents of California who have varied social contacts with Filipinos, and residents whose knowledge of relations between the two races is entirely from second-hand sources.

It is possible only to report here some of the outstanding conclusions indicated by the study. In general, relations between Filipinos and whites are following the pattern set in the case of white residents in contact with Chinese and Japanese in California. The Filipinos began coming to California in considerable numbers in 1923 and 1924, their arrival significantly coinciding with the restriction of European immigration and final Japanese exclusion. The period of rapid growth of the Filipino invasion is coterminous with the unusually long-drawn-out period of business expansion following the post-war depression. The consciousness of serious cheap labor competition through Filipinos seems to have begun developing in California between 1926 and 1929. During that four-year period it is estimated that 21,632 Filipinos entered through the ports of San

Francisco and Los Angeles. The general discontent at the cheap labor situation involving Mexicans as well as Filipinos began to center about the latter where the race situation made a more clear-cut issue.

The short period of welcome and friendly interest, quite prominent in the earliest phases of Chinese immigration, and less marked for the Japanese, is practically non-existent for the Filipinos. The most that can be said is that there was a period of seeming indifference. The Filipinos in America for various reasons lacked the picturesque and interest awakening characteristics of the Chinese and Japanese. Moreover, memories of the conflict with the latter race were still freshly in mind and helped to make the Filipino appear as an economic problem only.

The first indications of a possibly serious conflict stage appeared in 1929 with the Exeter riots in October and in January, 1930, with the Watsonville disturbances. The newspaper accounts and comments as well as the interviews recorded show very clearly the economic basis of the feeling developed in these cases and the tendency to cover the motive of self-interest with the cloak of alleged menace to the race, the moral standards and the standards of living. The charges made in the press, the resolutions passed, and the speeches made, center about the destruction of a living wage scale, non-assimilability, and low moral and sanitary standards. The interviews disclosed the growth of belief in "clannishness, conspiracy, aggressiveness in establishing sex relations with white girls, low scale intelligence and a cocky, belligerent and intolerable attitude."

There are marked differences indicated in the attitude of the Filipinos as compared with those of the Chinese and Japanese under similar circumstances. The Filipino is not inclined toward meekness or passive resistance. He feels more strongly the need to assert such things as his equality, his moral position, and the inconsistencies in the positions of the American government and the people of California. Most of the Filipinos interviewed were inclined to chuckle over the position of the United States in facing demands for exclusion along with the refusal to grant Philippine independence.

Conflict between the two races does not appear to be progressing

toward the state-wide proportions that existed in the case of relations between the Chinese, Japanese, and whites. Not only are the Filipinos different in race, cultural, and historic background as compared with the preceding invaders, but California has changed. Its five and one-half millions of citizens now represent greatly diversified interests. The great urban centers fail to respond keenly to the local problems of the rural areas. Other problems greatly overshadow Filipino immigration. It is doubtful whether either the invasion of Filipinos or of Mexicans can awaken interest to the extent that obtained when the great "Chinese Question" or the "Japanese Invasion" was being discussed. As a result of a more objective view and lack of uniformity of interest Californians are likely to rely largely upon modern politics for protection from the unwanted invader.

Filipinos in America seem to agree, with few exceptions, that they are in America because they deliberately chose to come for one or the other of two outstanding reasons. One reason is economic betterment, and the Filipinos do not accuse labor agents, steamship companies, or Hawaiian sugar planters of stimulating the movement to migrate for economic advantage. They come with their eyes open to escape unemployment and low wages at home, at the recommendation of relatives or friends in Hawaii or the United States. The other reason is the desire for education. Many of the Filipinos are in America largely for schooling and work only to support themselves. This class is especially active in work which seems to be replacing white workers.

Filipinos seem to agree likewise that they find Americans unfair to them in their attitudes, that they are not treated as individuals but as members of an inferior race, that unwarranted generalizations are made that all Filipinos are ignorant, of low mental capacity, spreaders of disease, etc. In turn they find Americans unreasonable, egotistical, occupying the position of the dog in the manger.

The white citizens of California, on the other hand, vary widely in their attitudes toward the Filipinos. With few exceptions there is a basic racial attitude which places all members of this group as different, strange, and probably inferior, but on top of that base

there is a disagreement, attitudes depending upon the nature of contact or the situation with reference to competition. Some are sure that the Filipino is very industrious and a good workman, others that he is lazy and inefficient. He is branded as dishonest or honest, filthy or clean, violent or peaceful, according to the background experience of the person interviewed.

The arrival at a general consensus of opinion throughout the state seems to be delayed as compared with the speedy formation of a widely shared opinion concerning Chinese and Japanese at the same level of race relations.

In conclusion it can be said that the present status of relations between Filipinos and whites in California is one of competition with delayed conflict expression, and with attitudes unstable but crystallizing rapidly in the areas where contacts are most frequent and where competition is keenest. Whether or not relations will continue through riot and bloodshed, legislative discrimination, and exclusion by federal action, and on to the slow processes of accommodation as was the case when the Chinese and Japanese were the invaders, will depend on future rates of admission, political strategy, agricultural and industrial expansion in California, the working out of a better economic and political order in the Philippines, as well as upon the present temper and homogeneity of the California people.

NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION AS A TECHNIQUE OF RESOLVING INTERRACIAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

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ABSTRACT

The refusal of the white bureaucracy to recognize the Indian intellectuals as leaders of the country caused the latter to turn to the masses and make them conscious of the economic, moral, and political wrongs perpetrated upon the country by an alien government. Under the influence of Gandhi non-violent non-co-operation became the weapon of achieving Swaraj (self-rule). To refuse to co-operate in political function, to undermine the prestige of the British government, to boycott British goods, to cement bonds of unity by a disciplined adherence to non-violence on a mass scale, were felt capable of undermining British control. The movement works in the direction of both intragroup unity and intergroup conflict. Non-violent non-co-operation approximates to a moral equivalent of war. Out of the present crises new attitudes and new cultural patterns are almost certain to arise.

The Gandhi movement of non-violent non-co-operation has passed through the stage of propaganda and has now attained the respectable status of a technique worthy of the sociologists' investigation. Without attempting to describe in full details the background and motivations of the present movement, I shall formulate for your consideration certain conclusions arrived at by me in my rôle as a participant observer.

To begin with, I am constrained to state that the Marxian dogma of economic determinism does not seem to me to be the motive force of the Indian nationalist movement. The Indian intellectuals reared on an acquaintance with the British traditions of parliamentary self-government became conscious of the difference in the modes of government obtaining in India and in England. In England there was, and is, Swaraj, i.e., government of the people of England by the people of England themselves; in India there was, and is, British Raj, alien rule imposed upon the people of India by the British bureaucracy. Denial of opportunities to participate freely in the political life of the country, in the civil and military administrations of the government of India, added another factor to the resentment and discontent caused by a realization of the different types of government obtaining in India and England. Thirdly, the high-grade

Indian was often forced to serve as a subordinate under a low-grade alien. This situation was responsible for adding fuel to the fire of discontent. Fourthly, the non-admission of qualified Indians to the highest offices carried with it the imputation of the inferiority of the Indian. Fifthly, the high emoluments attached to the most responsible positions in the government were denied to the Indian. This last factor, however, is the least important in contributing to the national awakening in India.

A story is told of the Englishman who patted himself on the back, saying to his Indian friend that the Englishman always sought positions for the honor attached to them, not the salary. To which the Indian replied: "We all strive to attain the things we do not have. The Indian thinks of his job in terms of the salary because he is short of money; the Englishman thinks of his job in terms of honor because—well, perhaps he is short of honor."

The Indian masses, it must be pointed out, were inert, immobile, fatalistic. The burden of economic exploitation weighed down upon them heavily and crushed them to the ground, without their ever having realized that it was within their power to mend or to end the system of administration which had caused chronic starvation, famines, and huge indebtedness. In the early stages of the national movement, ever since the inauguration of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the Indian intellectuals flirted with the government in the hope that they themselves would become the brown-skinned counterpart of the white-skinned bureaucracy. They were anxious to have their status as leaders of the country recognized by the white bureaucracy. But the white-skinned masters of the country constituted themselves into a superorthodox Brahmin oligarchy to whom every Indian was an outcaste. This situation compelled the Indian intellectual to reconsider his tactics for the attainment of the desired status. That sovereignty resides in the masses vaguely dawned upon the minds of some of the leaders of India. Immediately they turned to the masses and began to make them conscious of the economic, moral, political and spiritual wrongs perpetrated upon the country by an alien government. The only thing that would save India and her culture, the masses were told, was Swaraj (self-rule).

Such was the psychosocial situation in 1915 when Mr. Gandhi returned to India from South Africa where he had forged and successfully used the weapon of passive resistance. The Anti-Asiatic Statute was withdrawn from the Statute Book of South Africa as a result of Gandhi's movement of passive resistance.

Imbued with the psychology of success attained through mass action, Gandhi entered the Indian scene during the period of the World War. The slogans concerning "self-determination" and "making the world safe for democracy" were literally taken to be pledges given us by the British statesmen. But disillusionment came to us in 1919 when instead of self-determination we were presented with the Rowlatt Acts popularly known as the Cobra Acts.

This gave Mahatma Gandhi the much-awaited opportunity of launching passive resistance to secure Swaraj.

Passive resistance, non-violent non-co-operation, non-violent resistance, civil resistance, Satyagraha, i.e., adhering to truth and non-violence under all circumstances—these are variant terms used to describe the technique worked out by Mahatma Gandhi to resolve the conflict between India and England.

The assumptions of the present movement are: (1) Government, alien or national, maintains its existence, not by the grace of brute force, but by the grace of the governed who lend their support and co-operation, express or implied, active or passive, forced or voluntary. Withdraw co-operation from the existing government and it topples down like a tree cut at the roots. (2) The British government in India rests upon prestige, moral and military, self-assumed and acknowledged by the governed. Do all you can to undermine the prestige of the government in the eyes of the masses, and you will dig the grave of the present government. Under this heading may be mentioned the following concrete expressions of the flouting of government prestige: (*a*) Non-acceptance and rejection of government titles; (*b*) defiance of the salt tax; (*c*) defiance of the forest laws; (*d*) defiance of all the arbitrary ordinances of the government; (*e*) refusal to take part in the court proceedings after the non-violent lawbreaker is arrested; (*f*) picketing of liquor and opium shops, and foreign cloth dealers' shops, thus defying several ordinances all at once. (3) A paralysis of the governmental ma-

chinery and a definite set-back to British commerce would compel England to come to terms with the Indian people. Refuse to pay taxes and institute a rigorous boycott of British goods, and you will have the nation of shopkeepers kneeling at your feet. Under this heading may be mentioned: (*a*) refusal to pay the land tax, and (*b*) boycott of British goods, especially of British textile goods. (4) A disciplined adherence to non-violence on a mass scale and a readiness to court sufferings will cement the bonds of unity among the diverse elements of the population and will bring forth a free nation. Under this heading may be mentioned the encouragement of home industries, and the marching together of Hindus, Moslems, Parsees, Christians, Jews, and outcastes on a pilgrimage to the prison-house.

Whenever the government bans a procession or a demonstration the people carry it out on a much larger scale than they might have at first contemplated. The Indian nation has come of age in that the masses are today definitely accepted as the fountain-source of sovereignty. The non-violent non-co-operation movement must be viewed from the twofold standpoint of intragroup unity and cohesion and intergroup conflict and sharpening of issues.

The Indian situation of today presents an example of a crisis. A crisis is not a point in a process, but a series of points in the process. The crisis so to say acts as a catalyzer. It throws overboard old traditions and values, and maintains its momentum by the creation of new values. Under ordinary circumstances it would be impossible to encounter a scene wherein a high-caste Hindu, a Mohammedan and an outcaste would be taking their meals together served from a common kitchen. But the Congress volunteers drawn from all classes and religions are messmates literally and are rubbing shoulders without the slightest thought of the tradition that they are flouting. Indian women are supplying the present movement with an aggressive leadership. It may be pointed out parenthetically that the non-violent technique for the first time in human history gives women an equal chance with men to participate in warfare.

The technique of non-violent non-co-operation is the nearest approximation to a moral equivalent of war. The criticism of the Western world directed to the negativistic wording of the program

is undeserved. The program does not stand for national or racial isolation. In a crisis such as confronts India and England, the choice is not between co-operation and non-co-operation—it is a choice between war and non-violent non-co-operation. The positive values accruing to the intragroup process of adhesion and unity must be stressed. The country is being literally reborn. New attitudes are sure to arise and new culture patterns will in course of time become stratified. For the present, however, the Indian scene is a situation in flux. It cannot be overemphasized that the success of the technique is dependent entirely upon the preservation of non-violence, i.e., love, in thought, word, and deed. Non-violence and truth are the cardinal principles of the movement—how different are these two principles from hatred and propaganda of lies, which underlie wars! Mahatma Gandhi's name will be indissolubly linked with the program which India is successfully working out toward the attainment of Swaraj.

I submit this paper as an indication of the trend that the world will some day abandon the method of violent warfare and adopt the method of non-violent resistance in future attempts to secure the redress of international and interracial wrongs.

PERSONALITY AND CULTURAL CONFLICT

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ABSTRACT

The sociological conception of personality may be said to take its departure from the observation of Thomas and Znaniecki that "personality is the subjective aspect of culture." The individual comes to share the aims and purposes that find expression in social institutions, becomes conscious of his rights and duties, achieves a status, conceives a rôle for himself, and thus acquires a personality. As a conscious personality an individual is always under the necessity of conforming to group expectations on the one hand, and of leading a consistent life on the other. When one has to take different rôles at the same time, the result is mental conflict. Mental conflicts often have their sources in cultural conflicts. Cultural conflicts when they do not provoke mass movements are likely to manifest themselves in family disorganization, in delinquency, and in functional derangement of the individual psyche. Studies in clinical psychology may be of importance to the understanding of social and cultural changes; the investigation of cultural conflicts may throw some light upon the functional disorders of the individual psyche.

A survey of current conceptions of personality indicates that they fall, roughly, into three categories: (1) the physiological, (2) the psychological, (3) the sociological or sociopsychological, according as they envisage and emphasize one or another of the various aspects in which personalities present themselves to our observation.

Physiologically, the personality seems to be identical with organism, in so far, at least, as the organism is integrated and organized for action. Child, for example, in his volume *The Physiological Foundations for Behavior,* describes "organismic behavior," in terms that are identical with those Watson uses to describe what he regards the proper subject of psychological study, namely, "the behavior of the organism of the whole, as distinguished from the behavior of single parts."

The behaviorist, says Watson, "is interested in the behavior of the whole man," and the whole man, he adds, "is an assembled organic machine ready to run." "Personality is but the end-product of our habit systems."[1]

Personality as conceived by traditional as well as by medical and clinical psychology tends to identify personality with the ego and

[1] J. B. Watson, *Behaviorism* (New York, 1930), pp. 15–69, 274.

the self. Behavior, from the psychologist's point of view, becomes "self-expression." The organism, thus conceived, is not merely conditioned but controlled. The ego surveys its past, reflects upon it, and projects itself into the future.

"If I know the goal of a person," says Adler, "I know, in a general way what will happen. . . . . If I am acquainted only with the causes, know only the reflexes, the reaction times, the ability to repeat, and such facts, I am aware of nothing that actually takes place in the soul of man."[2]

Man, as contrasted with the lower animals, lives in a world of time. He is, as has been said, a "time-binding animal." His actions are controlled, not merely by reflections upon his past, but by his hopes of his future; by his fear of hell and his hope of heaven. Memory, imagination, and phantasy add, in the case of man as contrasted with the lower animals, a new dimension to the world in which he lives.

Man is not merely conscious, but he is self-conscious, and the conception which the individual makes of himself becomes eventually the most important constituent of his personality. It becomes, for one thing, the object of what McDougall calls his "self-regarding sentiments." Honor, reputation, and self-respect, status, in short, become to him, finally, more important than life itself.

It is this conception that man forms of his self, furthermore, which seems to constitute what Freud has described as the "censor." This censorship is responsible, on the one hand, for the "repressions" with which the psychoanalysts are mainly concerned, and, on the other hand, for the "dissociations" to which Janet and his associates have almost exclusively devoted their attention.[3]

The sociological conception of personality, so far as sociologists have formulated any independent conceptions of their own, may be said to take its departure from the observations of Thomas and Znaniecki that "personality is the subjective aspect of culture." The customs of the community inevitably become the habits of the individuals who compose it. The individual invariably incorporates, in his own personality, the purposes and aims that find ex-

[2] Alfred Adler, *The Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology* (New York, 1929), p. 3.

[3] R. E. Gordon, *The Neurotic Personality* (New York, 1927), p. 50.

pression in the institutions by which the individual's conduct is controlled. In other words, the individual is not born human but the character we describe as human is for each of us a personal achievement. Each one of us acquires a personality in his effort to find a place and play a rôle in some society, and in the various and more or less integrated social groups of which that society is composed—first of all in the family and the local community and later in the larger, freer, and more impersonal world of politics and of professional and business affairs.

What may be described as the processes of socialization—competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation—are therefore not merely the processes by which an individual is incorporated into a society, but they are the processes by which the individual, in achieving social status, becomes not merely a human being but a person. That is to say, an individual, conscious of rights and duties and more or less concerned about the common welfare of the group to which he belongs.

It is evident that the person as here described is more or less of an artefact, an ideal construction and, in short, a conceptual rather than an empirical entity. But it is just the possession of this conception that makes the behavior of individuals differ from that of the lower animals. It is just this that makes the difference between the personality of human beings and the personality of animals, if, indeed, we are willing to attribute personality to brutes.

There seems to be no reason to deny the existence in animals of many, if not most, of the traits, that are ordinarily regarded as human. In fact, any organism may be said to exhibit personality traits if we limit the term personality to its purely physiological aspects. Certain animals seem to have, as a matter of fact, a certain degree of self-consciousness. The peacock and the turkey gobbler, for example, when they are naïvely sunning themselves in their reflection of their own glory, are the very image of that self-regarding sentiment called vanity. Most of us who are intimately acquainted with dogs are able to recognize differences in the behavior of individuals that we are disposed to describe as differences of personality, although these differences seem, on the whole, to be the traits of a variety or a species rather than of individual animals.

If the humbler creatures do have personalities, they can, nevertheless, hardly be described as persons because they have no aims in life, no ideals, ambitions; they are neither self-respecting nor respected, are concerned neither about their reputations nor their souls. In fact, we may say of the lower animals what we sometimes say of a certain class of Bohemians and artists, that they have temperament but no character. Inconsistency, according to Thomas and Znaniecki, is the essential feature of the Bohemian's activity.[4] Character, on the other hand, is nothing if not consistent.

A character, as the term is here used, is not identical with habit. The essence of character, as Robach defines it, is consistency.[5] But Robach describes consistency as the "ability to perform acts and to refrain from them in accordance with rational principles." It is character and consistency which distinguishes man from the lower animals.

It is this that permits us to say of man that he not only lives, as do the lower animals, from hand to mouth and from day to day, but he may, and in most cases does, achieve a career. Not only are his impulses controlled with reference to the individual acts, but his acts are controlled and directed toward some goal that exists in his imagination and is based upon his memory of past acts. Consistent behavior, in the sense in which Robach uses that term, may be described as conduct.

Conduct, as distinguished from the more general term behavior, has a moral connotation. Sociology, so far as its interests are theoretic rather than practical, is not concerned with morals as such. It is, however, peculiarly interested in behavior that is sanctioned and that has, as I have said, a moral connotation. Most human actions —even so natural and irresistible an action as sneezing—are sanctioned in some society—and relatively few of man's actions are wholly natural and naïve.

We may express the matter by saying that human beings, as distinguished from the lowlier creatures, are sophisticated. There is always an element of convention, sophistication, and artifice in the

[4] W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Boston, 1919), III, 29.

[5] A. A. Robach, *The Psychology of Character,* with a Historical Survey of Temperament (New York, 1927), pp. 158, 192.

behavior of human beings. This is probably due to the fact that human beings habitually live in two worlds, an actual and an ideal, a present and a future; because the individual's conception of himself invariably assumes a more or less conventional pattern, and is based quite as much on conditions that are prospective and hoped for as upon conditions that are actual and present. The result is that the individual is always consciously or unconsciously playing a rôle. He is an actor, with one eye always on the gallery. In the society of other members of the species, he puts on a front, acquires manners and a style and dresses for the part he is expected to play.

It is part of the art of life, particularly in a stable and ceremonious society, to maintain under all circumstances the appropriate attitudes; to preserve at all hazards the social conventions; and to behave always and everywhere in the expected manner. Thus the conventions of society enter into the very fiber of the individual's personality. It is therefore a mistake, as Dewey says, to think of the individual's personal habits as his private possession. "Personal traits are functions of social situations."[6]

Considering that man lives so largely in the minds of other men, and is so responsive to the attitudes and emotions of those about him, it is nevertheless true that he is rather less dependent upon his environment, that is to say, the world to which he is oriented, than other animals. He maintains, as over against other individuals—their attitudes and their claims—a certain degree of reserve. It is only in states of exultation and of ecstasy that he lets himself go completely, and yields himself wholly to the occasion and to the influences of the persons about him.

Ordinarily he is able by means of his rationalizations, his cynicism, and his casuistry, to defend himself against the psychic assaults which the presence of other persons makes upon him. He can, when he chooses, make his manners a cloak and his face a mask, behind which he is able to preserve a certain amount of inner freedom even while mingling freely with other persons. He can withdraw from the world on occasion, and men have always consciously and unconsciously devised means for maintaining social distances and of preserving their independence of thought even

[6] John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York, 1922), pp. 16, 20.

when they were unable to maintain their independence of action. And this fact is just as significant and as characteristic a trait of human behavior as is the opposite disposition to respond to every change in the social atmosphere of the world about him.

It is for this reason, as much as for any other, that man invariably builds himself somewhere and at some time a home, a retreat, a refuge, where, surrounded by his family and his friends, he can relax and, so far as it is possible for so gregarious a creature, be wholly at home and at ease, and in more or less complete possession of his own soul. This is no more than to say that most men and some women possess a sales resistance which not even the magic of the new salesmanship can always overcome.[7]

The fact, that every individual, with any personality at all, is able to maintain a certain amount of personal reserve and to offer some resistance to the claims of other persons, does not alter the fact that he is at the same time under the necessity of integrating his actions and making them consistent with some recognized rule of life, not only in response to the expectations of other individuals and to the conventions of the society in which he lives, but also in the interest of the ends that he as an individual chooses to pursue.

Consistency and conformity is naturally in the interest of social solidarity and peace, even if it is not favorable to intellectual life and social progress. It is, at any rate, of first importance, if individuals are to live together, that they should know what to expect of one another. The normal expectation of mankind is finally the basis of all law and order, and that is no doubt the justification for that maxim of Anglo-Saxon law which says that it is more important that the law should be consistent than that it should be just. On the other hand, it is just this necessity for consistency in human behavior under the conditions of a changing communal and social life that is responsible for those internal conflicts, mental worries, and perils of the soul, so characteristic of human beings but unknown to the other species.

The psychoanalysts are probably quite right when they say that "neurosis is one of man's ways of meeting various difficulties in his relations to his fellow-man" and that study of these pathological

[7] See William James, *Psychology* (New York), I, 312.

conditions in the individual cannot be undertaken "without throwing light also on the inner nature and meaning of the social institutions themselves in regard to which the difficulties have arisen."[8]

One of the institutions which the study of pathological conditions in the individual seems to illuminate is the family. It was an anthropologist, by the way, who seems to have been the first to call attention to the importance of this fact. Malinowski, in his volume, *Sex Repression in Savage Society,* describes the psychoanalytic doctrine as "essentially a theory of the influence of family life on the mind."[9] He likewise makes the pertinent observation that "if family life is so fateful for human mentality, its character deserves more attention. For the fact is the family is not the same in all human societies." It does not therefore exercise its influence in the same way.

It is significant also that the psychoanalysts should have discovered their explanation of the neuroses in the conditions which the intimacies and inhibitions of the familial organization imposes, for it is in the family and the primary group, according to Cooley, that most of the traits that we ordinarily describe as human have their origin. If the family is the institution to which first and last we owe the domestication of mankind, it is, according to Freud, to the conflicts which domestication, in each succeeding generation, involves that most of the neuroses and psychoses of later life owe their origin.

The family, moreover, for most of the civilized world, is the last refuge of the mores. It is the one form of society which not only children but adults enter at a time and under conditions when they are most in need of protection and least able to protect themselves, namely, when they are born and when they are in love. It remains today, in the midst of an individualistic and secular world, the prototype and living example of an authoritative and sacred society in which every one has duties and no one has rights, and in which the personal interests of the individual, even in the most intimate and personal matters of conduct, are completely subject to the communal interests and authority of the group.

[8] Ernest Jones, *Abnormal and Social Psychology in Problems of Personality* (edited by C. MacFee Campbell and others; New York, 1925), p. 23.

[9] Malinowski, *Sex Repression in Savage Society* (New York, 1927), p. 2.

Outside of the family, it is only within the narrow limits of the little and socially isolated religious sects that there exists a society which imposes upon its individual members a code, a discipline, and mode of life which often seems, at least, to run counter to all man's instinctive, spontaneous, and natural impulses.[10]

In reviewing recently Janet's *History of Psychological Healing*, I have been struck by the extraordinary number of cases in which the treatment of the neuroses makes it necessary for the psychotherapist to deal with a family situation, or at any rate with a situation involving intimate and personal relationships of some sort. This treatment, to use Janet's language, makes it necessary to take account, on the one hand, of "the fatigue which human beings produce in one another, the expenditure demanded by social relations, the impoverishing action exercised by antipathetic individuals, and on the other, of the stimulating influence of social life, of enrichment by guidance, and of the advantages of association with sympathetic persons." "Few people," says Janet, "realize how numerous are the moral problems opened by the simplest psychiatric studies; few realize what a wealth of interesting details is furnished even by the most superficial study of mental disorder."[11]

Among the exhausting actions Janet includes such things as the first communion, the entry into life. "It is so exhausting," says one patient, "to cogitate about life, about one's career, about the world which one cannot avoid seeing and which one hates."[12]

Other exhausting actions are social functions, college life, examinations, rest, and holidays. "Many persons are less capable of resting than of working. They become depressed because they are incompetent to perform the special actions which go by the name of inaction."[13]

Then there are the "occupational psychoses"; the obsessions and phobias to which lawyers, doctors, dressmakers, and barbers are likely to succumb, and the costs in mental energy necessary "to adapt oneself to those who form the family circle, to live on satisfactory terms with parents, friends, and intimate associates. Finally

[10] Cf. W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36.

[11] Pierre Janet, *History of Psychological Healing* (New York, 1925), I, 19.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 417. [13] *Ibid*, p 419.

there are the difficulties that arise from changes in environment. "I could write," says Janet, "a whole treatise on the pathology of housemoving, so amazing and serious are the illnesses brought about by such an upheaval of the house."[14]

What impresses one in reviewing those cases of mental distress, subject to psychological and even sociological treatment, is that, on the whole, they seem to be due less to the rigor with which the tribal mores and the family discipline are enforced than to the general lack of direction and the new responsibilities which have come in with the new freedom, that is to say, with the individualization of the person, the secularization of social life.[15]

Functional derangements of the mental life seem to be due less to the nature and severity of the inhibition which the family and the community impose upon the individual than to the fact that they are no longer consistently enforced.

Under the older familial system the individual was so completely submerged in the family organization that he was not expected to choose his career and make his own way in the world. He was not even held responsible for selecting his own wife. Rather the family insisted on performing that service for him. He was not expected to found a family and make a career. He was merely called upon to take his place in a family already established and fit himself to carry on the family fortunes and uphold the family honor in accordance with a long-standing tradition.

In the modern world this is all changed. The individual is less concerned about the family honor and the family fortune than he is in preparing himself to become an efficient cog in the economic system and a conspicuous figure in a society that is no longer local or even national. Not duty, nor conformity, but efficiency is what the modern world demands and rewards.

It is under conditions such as these that the modern form of the *tedium vitae,* which the psychiatrists call neurasthenia, seems to occur. But it is significant that "the brain fog," "mental exhaustion," and undefined *malaise* of which so many patients complain is

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

[15] W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 79; W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston, 1923), chap. iii, "The Individualization of Behavior," pp. 70–97.

not due, apparently, to overwork, in the ordinary sense of that word. In fact, work which makes some new demands upon attention and interest of the individual may alleviate the patient's condition. This condition is due, according to Janet, to the effort necessary to maintain tension on a higher level than that which the individual is accustomed or has the capacity to sustain.[16]

If one asks what, in general, are the acts which, as Janet says, are costly, and for that reason, so frequently result in mental and moral bankruptcy, they are actions which arouse conflicts; actions which require deliberation under conditions where, for various reasons, it is difficult to reach a decision.[17] In many cases "the basic disorder is the depression caused by struggle with a difficult moral problem."[18]

In other words, mental exhaustion is due not so much to the effort to act, as to the effort to act in conformity with the accepted social code and in a manner consistent with the individual's conception of himself in a social situation or in a society. In that case, the patient may be cured by falling in love, by religious conversion, by going abroad, or by seeking adventure in some new region of experience. He may finally take up golf. In other words, the neurasthenic may be improved if not cured by rest, by isolation, by excitation, and what Janet calls liquidation, that is, by psychoanalysis; by anything, in fact, that lowers tension and reduces what one might describe as the overhead costs of living.

Mental conflicts, however they may arise, do not always terminate in a neurosis or in any other condition that would ordinarily be considered pathological. As conflicts arise because the individual finds it difficult to live in the world in which he finds himself, he may solve his problem by contriving a means of escape. He may get a divorce, or go on a pilgrimage, as was customary in the Middle Ages, or he may, like St. Anthony and the hermits of the fourth century, withdraw from the world altogether.

One of the ways in which men and women escape from the world in modern times is by joining or founding a religious sect, where they live, like the Mormons, the Mennonites, and others, in more or less complete isolation from the world. One may solve his problems

[16] Pierre Janet, *op. cit.*, p. 244. [17] *Ibid.*, p. 450. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 480.

as the Christian Scientists have sought to do, by reading the *Christian Science Monitor,* where nothing disturbing is recorded, neither crime, disease, or death, and in general, by denying the existence of anything that should not happen.

Religion has always been concerned with the problem of evil but the solution which Christian Science offers is at the same time the most recent and, in some respects, the most naïve. At any rate, it is facts of this sort that justify a statement of Ernest Jones, in his discussion of the relations of abnormal and social psychology, that "the social institutions studied by the one discipline are the products of the same forces that create the neurotic manifestations with which the other is concerned: they are simply alternative modes of expression."[19]

Mental conflicts often have their sources in cultural conflicts. The man or class that seeks to rise from a lower to a higher cultural level; the immigrant who seeks to settle in a foreign community, meets with discrimination and prejudice because he is identified with a race or nationality which is regarded by the native peoples as inferior—inferior mainly because different. The stranger, though he may be accepted as a utility, is rejected as a citizen, a neighbor, and a "social equal." A social equal, as ordinarily defined in America, is one that you will be willing to have your daughter marry.

The criterion of social equality would be defined in more liberal terms if social equals were defined as those whom daughters and particularly sons, sometimes contrary to the wishes of their parents and in face of the general disapproval, do actually marry. At any rate, it is at the point where marriage is interdicted that caste begins. It is when peoples of divergent races and cultures seek to live within the limits of a cosmopolitan society and escape the limitations of class and caste that, under the conditions of modern life, what we call cultural conflicts take place.

Miller, in his interesting volume, *Races, Nations, and Classes,* has pointed out that most nationalist movements have their origin in the difficulties and the frustrations of a struggle for status, the consequence of which he describes as an "oppression psychosis." "The outstanding result of the oppression psychosis is to create a

[19] Ernest Jones, *Problems of Personality,* p. 24.

group solidarity which is far stronger than could be created by any other means."[20]

As a matter of fact, most cultural conflicts and the racial and nationalist movements in which they find expression, whatever their ultimate source and origin may be, are precipitated by the fact that some exceptional and otherwise amiable individual was snubbed and ill-treated, not because of his individual deserts, but simply because he was identified with some racial and cultural minority regarded as inferior—all right in its place, perhaps, but constituting in the eyes of the dominant people an inferior caste. Having experienced in his own person the ignominy and the wrong to which his fellow nationals were subjected, he makes their cause his own.

Gandhi, the Indian patriot and prophet, is a conspicuous instance. It was his long and bitter struggle for the liberties of the Indian settlers in South Africa that made him the most influential and intransigent leader of the Indian nationalist movement. No doubt he found at home, as other nationalist leaders who have made the same pilgrimage abroad have found, a seething mass of discontent to which he could appeal and which gave a moral backing to what was at first a purely personal sense of injury. But this is an episode which has been repeated again and again in the history of racial and national movements in every part of the world. It is an incident of the process of socialization by which the individual identifies himself with and becomes incorporated in the group.

It is interesting to note in this connection that most nationalist movements have had their origin abroad.[21] Many of them, notably the Irish and Lithuanian, may be said to have had their birth in America.

"There are in the United States," wrote Miller in 1924, "more than twenty million people who are more or less psychopathic on account of one or all of the forms of oppression previously or at

[20] Herbert Adolphus Miller, *Races, Nations, and Classes,* The Psychology of Domination and Freedom (Lippincot, 1924), p. 36; see also H. A. Miller, *Race and Class Parallelism,* The Annals, Vol. CXXX, *The American Negro* (Philadelphia; November, 1928).

[21] Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (New York, 1922), pp. 49–50.

present active in Europe."[22] This estimate is probably based upon the number of people either foreign-born or of foreign parents in the United States. This number in 1920 was 29,407,293. Subtracting the Nordics, whose psychosis, if any, is different, the number remaining might well amount to the twenty million of Miller's estimate. Even if this estimate of the number of persons in America whose national sympathies and loyalties were aroused by the war in Europe, one may still question the accuracy of Miller's statement of their state of mind.[23] It was very doubtful whether the mental state of the most ardent national minorities in the United States can be described as in any real sense pathological at this or any other time.

Looked at from the point of view of their ultimate consequences, the efforts of minority groups to assert themselves in response to the prejudices which they invariably encounter in a foreign country may be regarded on the whole as beneficial if not beneficent. In any case, the disposition of immigrant peoples to unite, in order that as Agaton Giller, a Polish patriot put it, they may "be morally and nationally raised" and thus better qualified to represent their native land abroad, is not in itself something to be deplored.[24]

The rise of nationalist and racial movements within the limits of a state, like the rise of sects and religious orders within the limits of a church, strike me as a natural and wholesome disturbance of the social routine, the effect of which is to arouse in those involved a lively sense of common purpose and to give those who feel themselves oppressed the inspiration of a common cause.

At bottom what we have in these so-called cultural conflicts is the struggle of socially handicapped or culturally inferior peoples to improve their status. The effect of this struggle is to increase the solidarity and improve the morale of the "oppressed" minority. Oppression is always more or less of a subjective matter and it is doubtful if the conflicts to which it gives rise would be as fruitful as

[22] Miller, *Races, Nations, and Classes*, p. 38.

[23] See C. C. Playne, *The Neuroses of the Nation*, for a more extended statement of the mental condition of the people of Europe at the period of the outbreak of the World War.

[24] See Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted* (New York, 1921), pp. 135–36.

they usually are if they were not accompanied by the incidental animosities which such struggles inevitably provoke. This sense of inferiority which seems to be identical with the so-called "oppression complex" is probably a more or less inevitable incident of the cultural process everywhere.

It seems that, if the oppressed minority is to rise and take possession of its own soul, some one must do the oppressing. The oppressors as I have known them, in the Philippines and in Korea, for example, strike me as a harassed, overworked, and, on the whole, as a well-intentioned type of person. A great deal is expected of them and they get very little appreciation for what they do accomplish.

Furthermore, the oppressed nationalities, like persecuted sects, have certain compensations. As individuals they have within the limits of their sect or their nationality a sense of security and dignity that they do not have outside. At the worst, the sectarian or the nationalist may become either a religious martyr or a national hero. Finally, a new religious order within the church and the new nationality within the empirium of the state tend, in most cases, to create a new society with a code and a culture peculiarly their own. Each may be regarded as a new bud on the old trunk of the social organism. It is in such conflicts as these that society renews its life and preserves its existence.

On the other hand, cultural conflicts when they do not provoke mass movements are likely to manifest themselves in family disorganization, in delinquency, and in functional derangement of the individual psyche.

Evidence which has been accumulating from many different sources indicates that it is difficult for individuals to maintain a stable personality except on the basis of a stable society. The delinquent boy is frequently a product of a broken home. Studies of delinquent children made by the Institute of Juvenile Research in Chicago and under the auspices of the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston indicate that one reason for juvenile delinquency, particularly among immigrant peoples, is the difficulty of maintaining family discipline in a "mixed community," that is to say, in a commu-

nity where the family mores are not supported by the custom and tradition of the community.[25]

The life history documents of immigrant peoples, many of which have been published in recent years, have revealed the manner and extent of the inner moral conflicts to which immigrants and frequently immigrant children are subjected in making the transition from the cultural tradition of the home country to that of the new. All these facts indicate the intimate relationship which exists between the personality of the individual and the cultural and tradition of the community and the people among whom he has found himself.

Cultural conflict seems to be an incident of cultural assimilation and the result is that those persons who are, so to speak, in transit become the melting pot or melting pots in which the cultural processes take place. This is the case in a peculiar sense of the so-called marginal man, i.e., the individual who finds himself on the margins of two cultures and not fully or permanently accommodated to either.

The typical marginal man is a mixed blood, an Eurasian, mestizo, or mulatto, i.e., a man who by the very fact of his racial origin is predestined to occupy a position somewhere between the two cultures represented by his respective parents. If, in addition to this, the two races of which he is a product are so different in their physical characteristics that he bears on his face, as is true of the mulatto and the Eurasian, the evidence of his mixed origin; and if, in addition to that, the mixed blood occupies, as he always tends to do, a separate caste or class—in such a situation all the factors are present to produce a specific type of mentality—i.e., intellectual and moral qualities, which are characteristic of the cultural hybrid or the marginal man.[26]

Much the same consequences ensue, however, in the case of the

[25] See, for example, Case 17, Series I, of the Judge Baker Foundation Studies: "Stasia and Stanley Andrews" (Boston, 1923). See also W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *op. cit.* (Boston, 1920), Vol. V, *Organization and Disorganization in America.*

[26] Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology,* XXXIII (May, 1928), 881–93.

individual who is the product of parents representing two widely different cultures, particularly if the two groups are endogamous and do not intermarry as in the case of the Jew and the Gentile or even Catholics and Protestants.

Studies now in progress in Hawaii, where there has been a great deal of intermarriage between Europeans, Asiatics, Malays from the Philippines, and the native Polynesians exhibit in a very interesting way conflicts in culture and changes in personality which take place in the opposite situation. In this case conflicts arise in the family as a consequence of intermarriage of individuals representing different traditions and cultures. In all these different situations, changes in mood, temperament, and outlook on life, though they do not ordinarily express themselves in behavior that is ordinarily regarded as pathological, do represent changes that are profound and significant and suggest that studies in clinical psychology may be of very real importance to the understanding of social and cultural changes. They suggest also that the investigation of cultural changes and cultural conflicts may throw some light upon the functional disorders of the individual psyche.

CONTRIBUTION OF PSYCHIATRY TO THE STUDY OF GROUP CONFLICT

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a prolegomena to a new approach to the problem of group conflict. The problem involves the possible interrelation of two conceptual systems, one for the group (sociological), the other for the individual (psychological). The sociologist inclines to state group conflict in terms of culture contacts and antagonisms of groups due to ideas (collective representations) and practices held in common by certain classes, nations, or larger culture groups. Conflict arises in terms of divergent interests of groups. The psychoanalysts tend to state conflict in terms applicable to the individual. For the latter conflict arises in terms of opposing trends in personality A brief review is offered of each of these two conceptual schemata An examination of the contrast in standpoint is made, showing the possible intercorrelation of the two for a more complete analysis of the sociological process known as group conflict. Especially pertinent is the disparate view of the place of culture patterns as opposed to individual experience in setting the stage for group conflict.

I

Group conflict as a form of social interaction is as universal a social process as is co-operation and other forms of sympathetic social interplay. It is an important form of socialization. The sociological treatment of conflict sooner or later concerns itself with the relation of group conflict to the individual. According to Park and Burgess mental conflicts arise from the cultural and group backgrounds to which the individual is exposed.

From the point of view of intergroup relations two dimensions may be described. The first of these is the contrast made clear to Sumner between the we-group or in-group and the others-group or out-group. The in-group is characterized by a sense of unity and solidarity, by loyalty, mutual aid, and common interest. The attitudes of the in-group members toward the out-group are characterized, psychologically, by indifference, avoidance, and antagonism, the latter running all the way from mild fear and disgust to intense anger, profound fear, and violent opposition.

The second dimension of group organization is that pointed out by Cooley in his distinction between primary and secondary groups. Park and Burgess have indicated that there is another form of association, a kind of subprimary group, which is even more inti-

mate and perhaps more important than the family or other traditional primary groups.

> Such are the relations between mother and child, particularly in the period of infancy, and the relations between men and women under the influence of the sexual instincts. These are the associations in which the most lasting affections and the most violent antipathies are formed. We may describe it as the area of touch relationships.[1]

Social conflict finds its expression largely in the in-group versus out-group interaction, and in both primary and secondary group relations. Let us now turn to examine the Freudian view of conflict.

II

Whereas group conflict is looked upon as a collective interaction, the problem of conflict in the Freudian psychology is, of course, a question of mental or intraindividual conflict.

We cannot here enter into even a brief statement of the intricacies of the Freudian psychology. But certain general formulations must be noted.

Out of his work of helping neurotic persons to adjust more adequately to themselves and to others, Freud early posited three levels of mental life: the *conscious,* or current awareness; the *preconscious,* or the consciously recallable associated memories; and the *unconscious,* the submerged reservoir both of original impulses and of repressed feelings and ideas.

Freud's technique of dream analysis and of free fantasy exposed to him the profound conflict between the demands of the external world, made known to us largely through consciousness, and the demands of the internal world of native impulse and repressed feelings and ideas. The demands of the world outside Freud termed the reality principle. Those of the internal urges he thought were dominated by the pleasure principle. The pleasure principle is particularly closely allied to the libido or sexual impulses which are repressed as the person adapts himself to his social world or the reality principle. Mental conflict arises from the opposition of these two forces.

[1] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to Science of Sociology* (2d ed., 1924), p. 56.

Further study, especially of neurotics and homosexuals, brought Freud to a reorganization and extension of his systematic psychology. His investigations in narcism led to a modification of his schema of personality. I refer to the conception of three panels of personality; the *id,* the *ego,* and the *superego.* The id corresponds roughly to the basic natural urges. It is the seat of the unconscious. It operates on the pleasure principle. The ego arises from contact of the organism with the outside world and is largely that area taken up by the conscious and the preconscious. It operates on the reality principle. The superego is an extension of the ego and is largely the outcome of modifications made inevitable by the conflict of the id impulses with the demands of the reality principle.

Out of consideration of the relations of the ego to the libido trends, Freud went further in his systematic conceptions. He came to view the personality in its relation to itself and to the outside world as an energy system. This fund of energy seems to be directed along two major lines. One he called the libido, love, or life-trend or instinct; the other, the sadistic, destructive, or death-trend or instinct. These exist in an opposing dual relation to one another. The principle of ambivalence finds new meaning in the recognition of this basic bipolarity.

A brief outline of the life history of the individual will permit us to see how these various concepts are used to help us to understand and to conceive of the personality as a natural phenomenon.

(1) At the outset the infant is controlled by his physiological tensions, urges, instincts, or prepotent reflexes—call them what you will. The organism operates on the pain-pleasure level. There is no inhibition of biological responses. The sphincter activities go on naturally and without any blocking. The nursing act, likewise, takes place as the result of direct needs. But the mother-nurse, another individual, begins very early to interfere with these natural processes. It is the mother who satisfies the hunger needs. She can force a temporary blocking of overt response by putting the child upon a time schedule. She also regulates the child's overt expression of his eliminative needs. Still the mother stimulates pleasurable reactions. She cares for the infant, rocking him to sleep, bath-

ing him, stroking, and fondling him. Nevertheless at this early stage the reactions to the parents, especially the mother, are rather diffuse and non-specific. The pleasure principle is increasingly blocked by the introduction of its opposite, the reality principle. That is, the adult insists on adjustment to the social patterns. Thus is laid the groundwork for the first mental conflict.

(2) Gradually the child passes over into a second stage. The diffuse, general concern with feeding and sphincter reaction begins to concentrate more and more upon the pleasures derived from the stimulation of sexual and erogenous zones. The genital phase arises. This is accompanied by an intensification of love for the mother-nurse who although insisting upon certain controls nevertheless continues to care and protect the child. The mother now definitely becomes the object of the child's libido or sexual urges. The child identifies himself pretty completely with the mother as object of love. She seems to belong to him and him to her.

The course of this mother fixation does not run smoothly. In the first stage the father as well as the mother is an object of affection. Now the former begins to loom up as a rival for the mother's attention. A strong negative response is set up. The father blocks the full expression of object-cathexis (mother attachment), and anger and fear reactions toward him come into play. Strong sadistic, death wishes are built up toward him. There arises the Oedipus phase of social interaction. The child is for the first time in a serious quandary. Two sets of conditionings are in conflict. They tend to inhibit each other in terms of the well-known principle of inhibition of conditioning by the rise of a second conditioning. According to the Freudian psychology, there is a fusion of libido and ego impulses toward each parent. The conflict in the boy arises because he cannot openly express his love for his mother as he still loves his father and yet ambivalently hates him as well. Rickman states the matter thus:

In the Oedipus stage the boy experiences erotic genital desire for his mother; this cannot come to expression because of the interference of the father, he cannot put up a fight owing to three factors, (1) his affectionate feelings for his father, (2) physical weakness, (3) that any expression of erotic desire for his

mother would endanger his genitals (castration fear affecting both ego and libido).[2]

This castration fear is a generalized fear that the father will somehow injure the child in such a manner that he can no longer love the mother. Instead of working out his hatred and sadistic death wishes on the father directly, the boy short circuits them by a process of introjection, a form of conditioning now possible with the growth of intellectual abilities—imagination and memory. He sets up the father image within himself. The love of the external object, the father, is replaced by internalized identification. Yet the matter is not a simple substitution of external perception for internal image. Within himself there is now the image or replica of the conflicting elements in his relations with both father and mother. One section of his libido object is in the feminine rôle of the mother. The libido which was directed to the father in this matter can still be retained while ambivalently he can turn the sadistic impulses toward the father image now located within himself. That is, the hostility toward the father is directed to the ego which has taken up his image. This father image is "plied with imperative orders" and the fusion of the libido and death impulses of hostility afford an outlet for libidinous gratification in sadism—only the victim is now the self.

It is here that the superego becomes differentiated from the ego. In our culture the father is the authority in the family. Obedience is demanded of him. He represents to the child the field of reality and knowledge. There is, in fact, a dual relationship built up in this process of introjection. The child is told to be like the father in some matters. In others he is told that he must not be like him. Certain things permitted the father are obviously denied the child. At the outset the child who naturally operates on an all-or-none principle of id-impelled behavior cannot grasp this divergence. The superego represents, really, the conditioning process by which the Oedipus complex is repressed. Through this process the rivalry and hostility toward the father is thrown back upon the self. Freud puts it thus:

[2] John Rickman, "The Development of the Psycho-Analytical Theory of the Psychoses," Supplement No. 2 of *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 1928, p. 48.

The superego retains the character of the father, while the more intense the Oedipus complex was and the more rapidly it succumbed to repression (under the influence of discipline, religious teaching, schooling, and reading) the more exacting later on is the domination of the superego over the ego—in the form of conscience or perhaps of an unconscious sense of guilt.[3]

(3) We thus pass imperceptibly into the third phase, the post-Oedipus. The conflict which has been made easier by conscience and sense of guilt is further resolved by the rewards of social conformity, by dreams, autistic reveries, and a whole host of substitutive reactions of compensatory and sublimative sort. The inhibition of the boy's open love for the mother finds new outlets in other persons as his circle widens to his filial relations, friends, and other adults.

It is important to note that the superego which began as a differentiation of the ego becomes through the growth of the ego relations, that is the reality adjustment, more and more pushed back upon the unconscious. It becomes associated with the feelings and ideas in the unconscious of the id. In the further growth of personality mental conflict will largely be fought out in the arena described by the ego operating on the reality plane and the superego dominated by id impulses and early conditionings of the Oedipus phase of growth.

The fear of chastisement originally based upon the castration complex becomes more fully the sense of guilt marked by sensitiveness to ridicule and punishment by social opinion of one's fellows and of the teachers, preachers, and others who serve as parental surrogates. The groups of persons to whom one becomes attached have superego formulations like one's own. The common social-moral feelings rest upon this common identification.

(4) In the process of growing up, then, the child moves away from the intensity of the "father-hate and mother-desire" patterns of behavior. He spreads his affections and his hostilities to others. With the arrival at puberty the rigors of the early superego regarding sexual attachment to the opposite sex begin to give way. The boy arrives at heterosexuality. He is able to attach himself to members of the other sex of his own age, to find a libido object outside the family circle.

[3] Sigmund Freud, *The Ego and the Id* (1927), p. 45.

One further factor need be mentioned. In this normal development[4] there is a return to the dominance of the ego and the reality principle. This change is doubtless facilitated by the fact that the inhibition of aims, both mother-love and sadistic hate of the father, find new objects in the larger social world. So, too, compensation and sublimation play an enormously important part in this final development. Moreover, the rationalizations accepted by the group help to cover up many of the cruder expressions of the unconscious id impulses of jealousy, rivalry, and sadism, wherever these find socially accepted forms as in cut-throat economic competition, religious prejudice, and nationalistic patriotism. Thus the id impulses in their biological untamed, amoral forms are now directed, through ego formulations, to more satisfactory goals of adult social living.

Likewise the fully developed ego realizes the handicaps of the infantile superego. Along with heterosexuality there must go a growth in self-assurance and independence. Self-criticism is impossible. A sense of what one can do and what one cannot do marks maturity. One realizes that one cannot "have his cake and eat it too." The magic of infancy gives way to a recognition of objective cause and effect. Then, too, the rise and dominance of ego-goals and values of productive personal and social satisfaction are tremendously significant. The neurotic adult and the neurotic criminal are alike persons who have not attained this stage.[5] The paradisaical glory of infancy—exemplified in the myths of the ages, our own being the Garden of Eden story—gives way to a new fusion of activities—work, love, and conflict on a social-cultural plane.

III

With this brief outline of the Freudian view of personal growth as a background, let us turn to see what relations there may be between mental conflicts within the personality and conflicts of groups dealt with by sociology. That is, does systematic psycnoanalysis

[4] Only the course of the male development has been given in this outline. The growth of the female personality follows somewhat more complex patterns. For our purposes here this may be ignored.

[5] See F. Alexander, *The Psychoanalysis of the Total Personality*, 1930, No. 52 of "Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs"; and F. Alexander and H. Staub, *Der Verbrecher und seine Richter*, 1929. (The latter is about to appear in an English translation.)

offer us any clews to a more intimate understanding of the social process called group conflict?

In approaching the problem of correlating these two concepts of conflict, we must recognize that a complete picture of any social process must take into account the life histories of the persons who are involved in the same. Certainly cultural and group processes do not operate in a vacuum any more than do individual ones.

We must point out that there seem to be contradictory ideas regarding the relation of the personality to the group life in which it is immersed. The psychoanalysts are largely concerned with exposing the mechanisms which arise in the earliest years. They put their emphasis upon what Lasswell calls the "private" life of the individual. This "private" life they look upon as non-social, because they tend to use "social" in the narrow sense of community and public relations. These private patterns of behavior develop in the first years of life out of parent-child and other family contacts. They rest upon what is essentially person-to-person interaction. Sociologists and social psychologists justly point out that such early relations are social in the proper sense of that term. One can hardly speak of these early habits and attitudes as "private" if one means by that that other persons do not play a part in their inception and development.

On the other hand, the sociologist is concerned with group relations. He is pretty apt to give much attention to those groups which touch what Lasswell calls the "public" life, that is, to secondary associations involving community contacts, political interests, economic activities, and the whole gamut of cultural objects. The psychoanalysts are inclined to criticize them for their ignorance of the importance of these earliest parent-child contacts, "the area of touch relationships," as Park and Burgess call them.

Thus while the sociologists accuse the psychoanalysts of neglecting the cultural factors in the rise of personality, the latter, in turn, point out the importance of what might be called the precultural social interactions of the early years. They hold that the basic patterns of life organization are laid down before culture forms reach the child or, at least, before they very thoroughly get under way. Only afterward, moreover, do these "private" patterns get attached

to culturally acceptable objects. Lasswell has stated this in his treatment of political leaders. We begin with "private motives" which are displaced in the course of development upon "public objects," which displacement is always rationalized in terms of "public interest," that is, the interests of the respective groups.[6]

Among the sociologists, Burgess seems to sense this contrast between the earlier influences and the later ones in his differentiation between the "personality pattern" and the "social type" as found in the individual. The former "is a natural product of forces in the constitution of the individual and in his childhood situation," the latter does not refer to mechanisms, but "to attitudes, values, and philosophy of life derived from copies presented by society."[7] In other words, the fundamental mechanisms of person to person relationship are laid down very early, while what I have called the content of behavior, the objects of social reality, are acquired relatively later.

This conflict of view seems to be superficial. We should recognize two sets of conditioning in the process of interaction. For the want of better terms I have called one of these "personal-social," and the other "cultural." The former comprises those stimuli-response interactions outside the conventionalized framework of culture and outside institutionalized group life. The most potent operation of this sort of interaction, however, is precisely in the beginning years of the child's life when the "personality pattern" is being laid down. It should not be denied that the form of parental control, which is partly cultural, directs the channels in which these relations may go. Yet the treatment of helplessness of the child, of his over-powering desire for the mother's love and attention due to the pleasure principle, and of his tremendous sadistic impulses toward the father —these can scarcely be attributed entirely to cultural conditioning. They may be said to be social but precultural.

The recognition of the dual types of conditioning makes possible an adequate interpretation of the Freudian conception of the displacement of "private" motives upon "public" objects. In the

[6] Cf H. D. Lasswell, *Psychopathology and Politics* (1930), pp. 74–77.

[7] Cf. E. W. Burgess' discussion of the case of Stanley in Clifford Shaw's *The Jack-Roller* (1930), pp 193–94.

course of personality growth, as we have sketched it in the Freudian manner, the movement toward adulthood and independence depends upon the reconditioning of these early personal-social, precultural habits and attitudes upon cultural objects recognized as valuable by the various groups to which one becomes attached.

Let us now retrace briefly personality development with the larger view of group life and culture before us to see that early conditioning sets the pattern for subsequent participation in group life.

Affection for the mother, the authority of strength of the father, and the impending rivalry and death-wish for the latter seem to be social psychological patterns independent of culture.[8] In short, such basic impulses as love, anger, and fear seem to be universal. Everywhere antagonism grows up alongside of love. The Oedipus pattern, then, gives us the clew to all conflict, mental or intraindividual as well as person to person and group to group.

One of the factors in social life which the Freudians ignore is the dual nature of group life which we indicated in describing in-group versus out-group attitudes. The recognition of this social-cultural duality is highly important in getting us from the individual's own mental conflict to conflict attitudes built up around other persons and especially around groups and their culture objects.

The in-group versus out-group relationship becomes the first social setting upon which this intrafamily rivalry and love may be displaced. The family is truly the prototype of all subsequent social action. Not only does the individual as he passes beyond the Oedipus phase find the image of the father within himself as an object of hate, but, through the very important mechanism of projection, he is able to thrust this hatred outward upon other objects. Here the cultural patterns of group cohesion and solidarity for the in-group and avoidance, dislike, hatred, and violence for the out-group step into the picture. The social organization and its cultural precipitates, therefore, furnish the objects upon which the projection of

[8] This is a generalized formula. Where certain matriarchal systems are in vogue doubtless the rivalry for the mother's interest is centered more largely in some other adult object than the biological father. Doubtless in many such cultures it is fixated on the maternal uncle, who, as with the Hopi, exercises many functions of authority which in our culture fall to the father.

antagonism and sadism take place. These social-cultural objects doubtless relieve the tensions in the individual produced by the original introjection during the Oedipus period.

It is in the disappearance of the Oedipus phase that the wider group contacts begin to become important. The superego is not entirely a result of personal-social conditioning of parent-child interaction. Group organization and culture furnish additional support to the parental taboos. True enough conscience grows out of fear and anger toward the father coupled with his and the mother's inhibitions upon unlimited libido expression toward the mother. But in the course of time this inhibiting mechanism of conscience is supported by neighbors, teachers, preachers, and others. Reik's little son defined conscience well as "a feeling within me but the voice of somebody else." As the range of group contacts expands, the range of conscience spreads with it.

As one arrives at secondary group membership, the pattern of love versus hate is carried into these forms of social life. Public objects of conflict then appear. It is notably present in the field of economic life. It is most violent perhaps in international warfare. It is evident within the area of political life with the rise of parties and the development of public opinion. It is nicely illustrated at a relatively impersonal level in litigation. It is everywhere apparent in race and religious conflicts.

The form which group conflict takes parallels in a remarkable manner the development of the antagonistic, sadistic, death-impulses within the personality. In the pathology of personality the homosexual and paranoid expressions provide us a picture of the play of these impulses in their extreme form. The paranoic is dominated by his sadistic impulses which he projects outward upon other persons. His intense self-love is only matched by the violence of his hatred for his supposed enemies.

The paranoid pattern is very widespread. The so-called litigious type known to lawyers is familiar. There are always people on the lookout for the slightest infraction of their "rights." They go to law upon the least provocation to secure "justice." In fact, there is evidence that strong paranoid trends are common in many attorneys, especially in those who spend their lives defending criminals, prole-

tarian radicals, and other socially "persecuted" individuals. So too, as Lasswell has shown, political agitators are largely narcissistic and possess many of these paranoid traits. Still we should not throw stones! The roots of sadism are deep in everyone. In any serious group crisis these submerged trends in all of us come to the surface. This is witnessed in mob behavior whether it be a religious inquisition, a lynching bee, a race riot, or nationalistically organized mobs in war-time.

Groups run a kind of scale all the way from mobs and crowds through audiences and other temporary collectivities to the more institutionalized groups which we see in primary and secondary form. In all these we find the ambivalent relations of love, sympathy, mutual aid, and co-operation toward the in-group and sadistic hate and violence toward the out-group. The degree of expression of these depends upon the nature of the interaction. In a crisis in which group survival is at state, violence is more on the surface than when the relations are those of compromise, accommodation, or avoidance. Thus in mobs the repressed hate, selfishness, and fear come directly into the open. In the ordinary institutionalized groups these are canalized into milder forms. Prejudice, disgust, and symbols of differences keep these hidden fires aglow until a critical situation fans them into open conflict. Within the in-group itself, moreover, factional rivalries drain off the antagonisms which, once a crisis arises with an opposing out-group, are displaced upon the enemy. Thus person to person and clique to clique rivalry and the differences of public opinion provide within constitutional bounds an outlet for some of the sadistic impulses until these may be directed more openly upon the out-group.

Certain religious aspects of conflict relationships may be mentioned. The in-group ideals are imagined to be perfect, to be free of evil. The in-group purposes are divine. God, in fact, is the projected and elaborated good and loving father who adores his children and smites their enemies. The out-group is imagined to be evil, full of sin, and dominated by the devil. This duality again represents how the social organization takes over the sense of guilt and the desire for punishment and by spreading it to the out-group frees the individual of its onus. The disguises of this social-cultural ambivalence

may be varied, but they seem pretty universal. The conflict of darkness and light in Zoroastrianism, and of God and the devil in Christian theology are cases in point. The primitive distinction between benign and malevolent magic show the same thing. In international warfare the forces of the enemy are always linked with satan and one's own with divinely appointed aims. In the capitalist-communist conflict the same thing is apparent. As Sumner once remarked, " 'Wall Street' takes the place which used to be assigned to the devil." In Russia bourgeois capitalism is rapidly replacing the rôle of satanic evil for the Russian children who are coming under soviet instruction.

One thing further remains to be pointed out. In-group versus the out-group interaction furnishes the individual with a remarkable opportunity to integrate his behavior at both a high and a low level. That is to say, his unconscious id impulses of hate and sadism come to the full expression upon the enemy, the out-group. At the same time love for the in-group and its values furnishes the best opportunity in adult life to express uninhibited the deeply repressed mother-love. The significant thing is that these violences are socially acceptable.

In conclusion, this recognition of dual influence in personality and in-group organization raises some nice problems for social reformers. Utopian dreamers seem universally to ignore the place of conflict in life and fail to give it a place in their elaborate day-dreams of future blissful states. They want, like children, to escape the burden of hatred for the father (authority principle) and to live in a world made up of nothing but sweetness, mother-love (pleasure principle), and light. Is it not interesting that the most loud-spoken adherents of peace and international amity describe themselves as militant pacifists? They work off their sadistic impulses in fighting for the cause of peace. It does not take a psychoanalyst to see, by the way, that these same persons are frequently the easiest to stampede into war violences by the simple tricks of displacement of the object of antagonism to the out-group nation which threatens the existence of their own country.

One difficult question seems to remain. What of Oriental pacifist behavior and of the non-violent, quietistic groups in our own cul-

ture? Two phrases seem to me to answer this question. Even the Gandhi movement is called "passive resistance." It is resistance and antagonism just the same. The only trouble is that the British out of their cultural conditioning do not know how to deal with this form of conflict and opposition. If only the "beggars" would fight back, then with machine gun and poison gas the British could settle them in a hurry. Peaceful protest groups nearer home are neatly described for us by the very title of Professor Case's volume about them: "non-violent coercion." It is simply that their antagonism has been modified and doubtless sublimated. Moreover, it is, in part, still directed toward their own group in the factional and personal differences among them.

Conflict may be an unpleasant fact, but it is one with which we shall have to reckon. It is rooted, not alone in our culture, but lies, as Freud seems to demonstrate so well, deep in the very nature of man.

THE ORIGINS OF CONFLICT IN THE HUTTERISCHE COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

The Hutterische Bruder are a sectarian communistic society comprising thirty-two colonies, four in South Dakota and twenty-eight in Manitoba and Alberta, which trace their origin in 1528 to the Anabaptist movement in Moravia. Their history and culture formation is a record of crisis, persecution, and frequent migration into isolation. The community life is greatly restricted in contact and is on a simple culture level. It is controlled by a religious oligarchy at times verging on autocracy. It is a primary group par excellence but without the control of gossip. Adult quarrelling is almost unknown in recent years. The individual is submerged in the community. The extreme solidarity of the community, together with its isolation, provides a good set-up for the study of community conflict origins. Conflicts in the Hutterische communities may be divided into two major types, outside and internal. They are caused by the enmity of the family and the community, the desire for money operating as a beginning point for the introduction of individualism into communism, and lastly, the breakdown of isolation.

Although little heard of, the first communistic community to be founded is still in existence with solidarity unimpaired.[1] It is the longest lived and the strongest of the several hundred experimental community utopias which have come and mostly gone. As a society made up of a number of communities, it has passed the last half-century of its over four centuries of existence in the James and Missouri River valleys of South Dakota. Its extreme degree of mutual aid and isolation make it a unique and laboratory-like set-up for the study of community. This analysis of the more important internal conflicts in the Hutterische communities is a part of a larger study now being made of factors in their common life.

The Hutterische Brüder, Hutterians, or Hutterites, all of which they are commonly called, originated as a sectarian communistic society in Moravia (now modern Czechoslovakia) in the year 1528 as a part of the Anabaptist movement, which itself was a product of the Protestant reformation. Their practice of community of goods, always incidental to their religion, began as an emergency measure in the pooling of their possessions while in flight from Nicolsburg

[1] Preliterate communal organization, ancient village communities, the Russian mir, Chinese familism, and monasticism originated, of course, before 1528, but are of a different type.

in 1528, and has as a religious basis Acts 2:44, 45.[2] Created in crisis and developed in unprecedented martyrdom,[3] a culture arose which with few lapses has been largely adhered to for over four centuries. The colonies today present the striking phenomenon of sixteenth-century crisis and culture projected into twentieth-century American life. They have passed through two periods totaling approximately 115 years when individual was substituted for common ownership of property.[4]

The four centuries of history of the existing Hutterische communities may be divided into five periods. They are now entering a sixth. A little less than a century (1528–1622)[5] was spent in Moravia, approximately a century and a half (1622–1770) in Transylvania and Wallachia (now Rumania),[6] a little over a century in Russia (1770–1873), over a half-century since 1874–77 in South Dakota, and since 1917 the movement has been to Manitoba and Alberta, Canada. Hutterian history has fortunately been preserved in their own chronicles, written in longhand and discovered only recently by historians. The *Grossgeschichtbuch,* recording early history, went to press in Vienna in 1923, edited by Rudolph Wolkan, under the title, *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder.* The *Kleingeschichtbuch,* covering later centuries, is now in press in the same city.

In viewing their history, dramatic though their chronicles are as the record of a unique type of group conflict, space permits here only the briefest résumé of one aspect, their persecution, which is essential for interpretation of the present community solidarity and conflict. The first intense period of persecution began in 1535, resulting a year later in the martyrdom of their leader, Jacob Huter. This had hardly subsided when a second period of persecution began in 1548, to be followed (1565–92) by the "ideal period for the

[2] "And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need."

[3] John Horsch, "The Hutterian Brethren, 1528–1929. A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (April, 1929), II, 97–102; Johann Loserth, "The Decline and Revival of the Hutterites," *ibid.* (April, 1930), IV, 93.

[4] 1686–1761 and 1819–59.

[5] Except 1548–52 when banished for a short period to Hungary.

[6] Some went to Hungary, later to be converted to Catholicism or driven out.

church" during which their numbers increased from the original two or three hundred to between twelve and fifteen thousand living in from forty to fifty Brüderhöfe or communal communities. In 1605 an invasion of the Turks, Tartars, and Hungarians caused the destruction of sixteen Brüderhöfe in three months, the death of 81 members, the enslavement of 250 others, and the confiscation of much property. In 1619 an army of King Ferdinand of Austria invaded Moravia, destroying twelve and devastating seventeen more of the colonies, resulting in death, destruction, violation, and enslavement of women and children. By 1621 one-third of the membership was lost by death through sword and plague, and the number of colonies was reduced to twenty-four. Five years later less than a thousand members were left. Subsequent events include another Turkish invasion (1664–65), persistent attempts to force baptism of children (1725), an attack by the Jesuits (1759–60), and expulsion by the Empress Maria Theresa, including an attempt to put their children in orphanages. The *Geschicht-Buch* records an enormous number of martyrs, giving their names and places of execution.

From Russia the Hutterites came to Dakota territory in 1874–76, and established three Brüderhöfe in what is now southeastern South Dakota. By 1918 these three had increased by a process of colonization to seventeen. In 1917, because of distrust of their German culture (although they had been separated from Germany for many centuries), their conscientious objection to war, and their restricted participation in outside affairs, external conflict arose which started the Hutterites on their latest trek in search of a location for their utopia, this time in Canada. In 1922 the Hutterites numbered 2,622 living in twenty-six colonies. At the present time they live in thirty-two colonies—three in South Dakota, twenty-nine in Canada —and are estimated to number well over 3,000. Of the three remaining in South Dakota two plan to move when they can sell their land, and the third, Bon Homme colony located on the Missouri River between Yankton and Springfield, has no present plans for moving.

An interesting aspect of the Hutterian colonization process is the beginning of what in the future very probably may be three sects

within the sect. The cleavage is being formed not on the basis of conscious conflict but through the relation of the offspring colonies to the three original South Dakota colonies, as shown in the accompanying diagram.

THE THREE CLEAVAGES OF HUTTERISCHE COMMUNITIES*

I. The "Schmiede Leut' "

Bon Homme	Milltown	James Valley, Blumen Gard, Rosedale	Iberville
	Huron	Ihorndale	
	Maxwille (or Maxwell)	Barrickman	
	Bon Homme (Can.)		

II. The "Darius Leut' "

Wolf Creek	Jamesville	Ost-Cardston, Richards, Spring Valley	
	Lake Byron		
	West-Raley	Pincher	
	Rosebud	Bysieker	
	Stand Off	Grenum	

III. The "Lehrer Leut' "

Old Elm Spring	Rockport	Rockport (Can.)	
	New Elm Spring	Milford, Big Bend, An un-named colony	Miama
	Old Elm Spring (Can.)		

* The underlined colonies are in South Dakota (1931). All others have gone to or were colonized in Canada since 1917.

The "Lehrer Leut'," which takes its name from the school teacher leader of Old Elm Spring community, is the most liberal. Its members wear buttons instead of hooks and eyes, associate more easily with outside people, and look more favorably upon community use of automobiles. The most conservative group, the "Schmiede Leut' " colonies and their colonized offspring, branched off from Bon Homme colony which was led from Russia by a blacksmith. The "Darius Leut' " take their name from the leader, Darius Wal-

ter, who brought Wolf Creek colony from Russia. Unification within each of the three groups is developing along economic, social, and religious lines, although checked temporarily by the movement to Canada. Corporation charters, which were removed by Supreme Court decision in South Dakota, have been renewed in Canada. Business records for the three groups are kept separate. Gifts and business transactions such as loans occur between colonies of the separate groups, but seldom between colonies outside their own group. Social correspondence and visiting, largely because of closer kinship, occurs more between colonies within the separate groups than without. Policies are determined largely within the three groups, although an attempt is made once a year to have a representative meeting of all colonies. There is a tripartite "we group" consciousness developing within the larger distinct Hutterian "consciousness of kind," and the process is in the making.

As a background let us turn to a brief picture of a Hutterische colony. One comes upon a Hutterische colony at the end of some forgotten road, or a winding road in a well-wooded river valley makes a sudden turn and the panorama of stone buildings, apparently innumerable geese, quaintly garbed people, and Oberammergau-like bearded faces makes him wonder if he has been magically transported into Central Europe of reformation times. Closer observation, revealing tractors, grain elevators, and other modern machinery out of place in the picture, soon dispels such an illusion. For, dwelling in this old-world seclusion, are up-to-date farmers who read the trade journals, utilize the laboratories of their state university, and consult the expert advice of their state college of agriculture. Closer inspection reveals the minute order which governs the place.[7] There are the two-story, stone, kitchenless apartment houses, uniformly furnished, each providing living quarters for a dozen or two families. One sees the spacious common dining-hall with a kitchen at one end, the building serving as church and school, the large massive barns of stone and wood, the bakery, old grist mill, laundry, broom shop, tannery, carpenter shop, smith shop, apiary, and kindergarten. This latter institution, created cen-

[7] From this point on, the description and analysis is largely based on Bon Homme colony.

turies before the modern kindergarten, each day assumes responsibility over children who are two and a half to six years old. As one goes about, the plan of the place unfolds. It is a community, an area of nearly adequate service, within a neighborhood. The spirit of the place is co-operation and organization. Each woman knows that out of each twelve weeks she will spend one week in the kitchen and one week in the bakery, and that out of each three weeks she will spend a week milking cows and a week washing dishes. Among the many occupations held by men there is a cattle boss, a sheep boss, a hog boss, and over all agriculture a farm boss. Supreme over all things temporal is "the Boss," and over things spiritual is the minister. These are counseled and checked by a group of five to seven elders known as "headquarters." If in the rise of natural leadership the minister or the "boss" comes to assume control, the oligarchy of elders tends to verge upon an autocracy of natural leadership. The sovereignty of the leader seems to rest in the sense of security the members of his colony have as a result of the decisions he makes for them. The other social controls of the community are unique adaptations to the needs and conditions peculiar to the community. Although a primary group par excellence, gossip does not exist as a form of social control. "What right has one child of God to talk about another?" they question. The nature of the social controls responsible for the exceptional, in fact historically unprecedented, solidarity of this community is much too great a subject for inclusion in this paper.

Most unique in the community is its lack of conflict. This very lack creates a significant field for the study of conflict in its origins and less complex forms. Adult quarreling in the community is practically unheard of in recent years. The individual tends to become submerged in the community. Modern individualism, like tobacco, arose since the community culture patterns were cast and is taboo. This solidarity is particularly striking when one realizes that several hundred communistic communities have come and for the most part have passed out of existence since the Hutterische origins in 1528. What are conflicts which ordinarily destroy this type of community life, and which the Hutterites have thus far been unable to survive? A few comparisons throw some light. The Shakers disagreed among

themselves over retention of outworn folkways and mores and were slowly and steadily destroyed by their celibacy. The Hutterische, by enforced migration into isolation, have had their mores protected from change too rapid for readjustment and reintegration. They have had no sex taboos necessitating celibacy, and through colonization have solved the problem of increased population without resorting to celibacy. Leadership has been another important factor in conflict and solidarity in community life. The Doukhobors[8] faced near disaster when leaderless in a period of migration to and very difficult adjustment in a new country. Oneida community suffered from a change in type if not in quality of leadership and from a decline in the original drive which created the community. A prominent citizen of the Amana Society gave the writer as major factors making for disorganization in that community, "the lessening influence of the founders on each succeeding generation—I would place that first—and second in importance, a constantly increasing influence of outside ideas." Zoar's beginning of decline dates from the death of their founder-leader, after which problems of declining prosperity and of increasing outside contacts, individualism, and insubordination became greater than could be met.[9] With the Hutterites, severe persecution held them together during the period of their early history, until the time when their mores had been so strengthened and crystallized that the sanctity of custom supplied the momentum to carry them through times of weak leadership. The Hutterische communities, up to the present time, have survived, but have within their community life the germs of future conflict. The account of their external conflict with county, state, and nation cannot be given here. It is primarily an analysis of culture conflict, and has in it the drama of life and death in war-camp prisons and of a losing battle in the Supreme Court for the right to retain their charter as a corporation.

Foremost among the internal conflicts in the Hutterische community is the natural enmity existing there between the institutions, family and community. We witness in the Hutterische community

[8] Maude Aylmer, *A Peculiar People, the Doukhobors*, p. 173 (New York: Funk & Wagnalls).

[9] E. O. Randall, *History of Zoar Society*, pp. 47–54.

a sociological battle between two basic institutions, with the community at least at present holding the upper hand. The community is an enemy of the family because first of all it defunctionalizes the family. In this it resembles the effects of modern urbanization upon family life outside. In the Hutterische community the economic unity of the family is practically nil. The father of a Hutterische family has no more economic responsibility for his own family than for any other family in the community. The mother has no economic function in preparing the food for her own family. These functions pass to the community kitchen and dining-hall. Children are not habituated to look to the family for support, and do not learn the home economics of household management. The one or two rooms in which a family ordinarily lives and sleeps are hardly adequate for development of home loyalty and family "we group" consciousness. The head of the family is not directly master of his domicile, for such policies as whether he shall have more room for an enlarging family or less room for a decreasing one, are determined by the elders. The community also takes over almost completely the educational function of the family. At the age of two and a half the child passes out of the care of the mother for most of the day, including meal hours. A great part of the problem of disciplining children and youth is left to one appointed for that purpose. The "boss" of the colony tends to absorb in a patriarchal way the authority of the father. The common reply in Bon Homme colony is, "Ask Mike," referring of course to the minister-"boss." The community also absorbs social functions of the family. Family privacy is little known, for community members are constantly entering and leaving without knocking. Work and social contacts within the community are almost always on the larger group basis, although visiting follows kinship lines.

But the family is also the enemy of the community. When an issue arises, loyalty to the family is very likely to be greater than loyalty to the community. The Hutterische community, in spite of centuries of culture control, cannot prevent the innate drive of parental love from putting family loyalties first. Because the community taboos dolls and allows insufficient money for candy and simple toys, rifts of deep-seated origin lie simmering underneath. The con-

flict, although of paramount potential significance, is only latent. The community partially meets it by becoming more liberal in distributing candy as a community function.

The family, in the Hutterische community, becomes the point of invasion of capitalism into communism.[10] It has long been recognized that the family tends to demand recognition of private property.[11] Oneida community in abolishing the conventional family, was, from the standpoint of preserving communistic community solidarity, theoretically right, although this was not its major purpose in so doing. In the past, both celibacy and communism of wives, as well as the "complex marriage" of Oneida community, have operated to check the challenge of the family to the community.[12] Dowie, founder of Zion City, required his followers to sign a vow "that all family ties and obligations . . . . be held subordinate."[13] The fact remains that all men and all families are not equal and that differences in ability, temperament, and needs arise to demand recognition. Systems of nearly complete communism of goods, such as the Hutterische communities, have been able to keep these differences from developing beyond a minimum. Systems of partial communism of good, such as the Amana Society, by leaving room for greater recognition of differences in economic status, result in greater individualism.

The desire for money and its purchasing power, already referred to in connection with the Hutterische family, is of even wider significance as a potential cause of conflict. Contrary to conditions in the world outside, security is not a factor in it, but in actuality serves as a check upon it, since anything which threatens the solidarity of the community, threatens the security of the individual member. Among the children money is simply a symbol of candy credit. Among adults, in addition to functions already referred to, it is a symbol of increased freedom to secure more of the expanding life revealed by increased contacts with outside society. That the danger of the desire for money to the community solidarity is fully

[10] The Hutterische communities in their relationships with the outside world are distinctly capitalistic.

[11] Karl Kautsky, *Communism in Central Europe*, pp. 16–17.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Quoted by Mark Sullivan in *Our Times*, III, 497–98.

realized by Hutterische community leaders is attested to by this statement made by one of them: "It happens to the younger boys. They wish money. But we watch that. Kill it out as soon as it happens. Don't allow them to do it. Money and idle time are bad."

Other conflicts arising are: (1) a recognized discrepancy between the outworn folkways or mores and present conditions. The use of automobiles and the permitting of one's photograph to be taken are taboos which are becoming seriously questioned. Folkways and mores are cast off by an interesting process of rationalization. (2) Social control conflicts over work assignments, strictness of management, punishment for infraction of rules, and distribution of privileges such as making trips to nearby towns. (3) Conflicts caused by increasing contacts with outside culture, initiating the beginnings or nuclei of nebulous conflict groups around new behavior patterns.

Germs of internal conflict in the Hutterische communities may, in conclusion, be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Defunctionalization of the family by the community.
2. Usurping of loyalty from the community by the family.
3. Desire for money to spend on one's own children.
4. Desire for money to purchase marginal goods not supplied.
5. Permission to make trips out of the community.
6. Irksome survival of out-lived folkways and mores.
7. Unpleasant work assignments.
8. Strictness of management.
9. Disapproval over administration policies.
10. Question of the supremacy of leadership between the "boss" and the minister.
11. Punishment and discipline.
12. Policies regarding purchase of land.
13. Policies regarding liberalization—product of culture conflict.
14. Introduction of new culture patterns—product of culture conflict.
15. Influences arising from employment of outside teacher and labor.
16. Conflicts of children at play.
17. Jealousy, potential but now individually controlled.
18. Mental conflicts and desires unsatisfied by the community.
    a) Postponement of marriage, and non-marriage.
    b) Desires for cars, travel, and light-colored dresses "with flowers."
19. Realization by some parents of the lack of opportunity for superior children.
20. Emergence of sect-like groupings produced by colonization.

Lastly, it should be pointed out that in spite of the long history and present solidarity of this community, the principles of communistic living exemplified in it are hardly applicable to the great society. Values to be sought in such a study lie more largely in the contribution to theories of community association. Communal living, to be successful, requires great sacrifice. Such a sacrificial spirit can exist only when motivated by a powerful drive. In the history of communistic communities thus far, only religion has furnished such a drive. The world at large is not religious enough to be sacrificial enough to make the Hutterian type of communism successful.

DIVISION ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

DO PAROLE PREDICTION TABLES WORK IN PRACTICE?

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During the past few years several studies have been made which have sought to develop methods for predicting the probable conduct of men released on parole. Especially significant are the pioneer studies of Professors Burgess[1] and Glueck.[2] Last year the writer completed a similar study of the Minnesota parole records.[3] The results obtained were highly comparable to those of the earlier

It has been customary to take these actual violation rate percentages—experience tables, as it were—as measures of the expected future violation rates, other things remaining the same by assumption. The experience tables of the past thus become the expectancy tables of the future. This, however, involves the necessity of predicting outcome in the same group of cases on which the experience tables have been constructed, which becomes simply another form of the age-old fallacy of reasoning in a circle. The question of whether the experience tables of the past actually give a measure of the parole violation that may be expected in the future must be answered by more crucial tests than by merely assuming that other things will remain unchanged. This is the problem of the present project.

The workability of parole prediction has been approached from three angles. (*a*) by applying tables worked out on a group paroled before July 1, 1927, to a group paroled from the same institution since that date; (*b*) by employing one of the clerks in the Minnesota Parole Department to score the records of men paroled since July 1, 1927, using the schedules worked out by the writer on the earlier group, to see if the same predictions can be made as when the writer does the scoring; (*c*) by having one of the parole agents make a subjective "common sense" rating (on a four-place scale) of probable outcome of the current parole

[1] E. W. Burgess, "Factors Determining Success or Failure on Parole," in Bruce, Harno, and Burgess, *Parole and the Indeterminate Sentence* (Illinois Parole Board, 1928), pp. 205–69.

[2] Sheldon Glueck and Elinor T. Glueck, *500 Criminal Careers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930).

[3] G. B. Vold, *Prediction Methods and Parole* (Hanover: Sociological Press, 1931).

studies. Inmates whose score placed them in classes at the upper end of the scoring scale were 100 per cent non-violators; those at the lower extreme violated in over 86 per cent of the cases.

cases at the time the parole is voted, which cases are then scored according to the schedules already worked out and comparisons made between the predicted outcome and the agent's rating. The predictions thus made, as well as the agent's rating, can then later be compared with the actual outcome on parole. The present paper is a preliminary report on the first phase of this project.

To date, the records of 282 men, paroled from the Minnesota State Prison between July 1, 1927, and July 1, 1929, have been scored on the basis of the same schedules that were used in constructing the Experience-Expectancy tables for the earlier group of 542 cases paroled from the same institution before July

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF ACTUAL PAROLE VIOLATION IN A GROUP OF 282 CASES PAROLED FROM THE MINNESOTA STATE PRISON 1927–29 AND THE EXPECTED VIOLATION ON THE BASIS OF EXPERIENCE WITH A GROUP OF 542 CASES PAROLED FROM THE SAME INSTITUTION 1922–27

Point Scale Using the Burgess Method of Scoring	Number of Men in Each Score Class	Number and Percentage Expected to Violate Parole on Basis of Experience with 1922–27 Group of 542 Cases		Number and Percentage in 1927–29 Group of 282 Cases Who Actually Did Violate Parole	
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
21 and over	9	..	....	..	....
19–20	21	..	....	..	....
17–18	22	..	....	..	....
15–16	36	..	....	2	5.6
13–14	40	3	7 8	4	10 0
11–12	47	7	13 6	6	12 8
9–10	42	14	33.3	11	26.2
7– 8	33	12	34.6	16	48.5
5– 6	24	14	59.3	17	70 8
4 or less	8	7	86.1	7	87 5
Totals	282	57		63	

1, 1927 An attempt has thus been made to determine for each man his chance of parole violation, judged by the experience with men similarly classified in the group paroled before July 1, 1927. This is in effect doing what the Parole Board might have done had it made use of such prediction tables at the time the parole was granted. The detailed results appear in Table I below:

The violation rate for the 1922–27 group of 542 cases was 24.7 per cent. If the same rate were to hold for the latter group of 282 cases, one should expect 70 violators of parole. Using the experience table for the 1922–27 group, it is possible to predict 57 violators in the group of 282 cases—an error of 13 cases. Out of the total group of 282 cases this represents a 4 6 per cent error. The actual experience violation rate, however, in the 1927–29 group of 282 cases is 22.3 per cent (or 63 cases) and not 24 7 per cent The difference between 63, the number actually violating, and 57, the number expected to violate, is 6, or a

2.1 per cent error. This would seem to indicate that the principal error that appears is due to the changed rate of parole violation for the institution. Parole prediction seems to have worked within the limits of about a 2 per cent error.

Care must be taken not to overemphasize the results from this limited number of cases. The general trend would seem to point, however, to the conclusion that reasonable accuracy may be expected in applying prediction tables to actual parole practice. If further research should bear this out, it would seem that application of prediction techniques should be among the next important developments in the administration of parole.

SOCIAL CHANGES IN WALWORTH COUNTY, WISCONSIN: A STUDY OF TRENDS IN TOWN-COUNTRY RELATIONS

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This project is a study of changes and trends in the town-country relations of twelve service centers in Walworth County, Wisconsin, from 1914 to 1929, that is, since the original study of these relations, *The Social Anatomy of the Rural Community,* made by Dr. C. J. Galpin in 1914

Setting of county.—Walworth County, 576 square miles in size, in the market milk area of southeastern Wisconsin included in the Chicago milk shed, is about 70 miles from Chicago and 35 miles from Milwaukee. Other characteristics of this county are: 156 miles of concrete roads, 98 per cent of the farm families have an auto or a truck, 90 per cent receive a daily newspaper—three-fifths of which are from the urban centers of Milwaukee and Chicago, 66 per cent have radio sets in their home, and 88 per cent have telephones.

Three of the county service centers included in the study are places of about 3,000 population, one is of 2,000, four are between 700 and 900, and the other four are unincorporated places of from 75 to 600.

Method of study.—To determine trends in town-country relations, twelve service centers of Walworth County were restudied in the fall of 1929 in such a way that the information obtained could be compared legitimately with that assembled in 1914 by Dr. Galpin. In each case the information was gathered according to families from informants in each of the several service centers. In 1914 it was obtained by a local person in each town or village while in 1929 it was obtained by a field worker from the Experiment Station who worked all centers studied.

Maps were made for the service areas of library, milk marketing, high school, church, groceries, dry goods, and banking of each of these twelve centers. One set was made for 1914 on the basis of the data gathered at that time. Another set of maps was made from information gathered by the use of similar schedules in 1929. A third set of maps was constructed in which the 1929 map was superimposed upon that of 1914, thus showing the changes that had taken place in the service areas in the past 15 years.

The next step was to employ a planimeter to measure in square miles the amount of shifting that had taken place in the size of the service areas for each service. Four separate measurements were taken: the size of the 1914 service area, the size of the 1929 service area, the expansion of the 1929 area over that of 1914, and the contraction of the 1929 area from that of 1914.

While the total area served by a center usually increased in size, yet certain parts served in 1914 were lost during the 15-year period. The area gained in the 15 years is the expansion figure; the area lost is the contraction figure; and these two items added give the figure called total change.

The figures for the Whitewater milk-marketing area illustrate the results of the planimeter measurements. The size of the 1914 area was 24 square miles; the 1929 area was 53 square miles. The change that had taken place in 15 years consisted of 31 square miles of expansion and 2 square miles of contraction, or loss of area, since 1914. The sum of the two latter figures, or 33 square miles, gives the total amount of change that has taken place in 15 years.

In order to have a check on the accuracy of the results of the data obtained from town informants, information was collected directly from over 1,000 farm families in the county. This constituted a well-distributed 50 per cent sample. Besides acting as a check, this information furnished a basis for explaining some of the changes in town-country relations that appeared on the maps.

Finally, a selected sample of 125 farm families living in areas of pronounced change on the periphery of the Elkhorn service area was interviewed concerning the reasons for the changes that had taken place in their town-country relations This direct contact with rural families gave the most valuable clues in evaluating the data of the study.

Preliminary results of the study.—As the chief purpose of this paper is to describe the methodology of the project, only a few of the tentative results of the study and an illustration of the factual material will be given.

There is a specializing process taking place in the service centers of Walworth County. These centers are reorganizing to perform the services they are best fitted to perform in the present situation, and, in doing so, they are becoming more dependent upon the nearby urban centers for the efficient rendering of these services. This process is bringing about changes in the structure of rural localities:

(1) The most prominent change shown by the maps is an expansion of the trade areas, particularly for those centers with a population of 750 or more Table I (columns 4 and 5) illustrates the situation in regard to milk-marketing areas. Some of the larger centers have on the whole a greater percentage of expansion than some of the smaller centers, but, other than this, there doesn't seem to be a pronounced relationship between size of center and percentage of expansion.

(2) Overlapping in trade areas has also materially increased since 1914.

(3) With the exception of the milk-marketing service, the control of which has been removed from local people, the services that have changed the most are those that are relatively more specialized—library and high school. The influence of this specializing process shows up particularly when the planimeter measurements are classified by services for all the centers studied (columns 4 and 5, Table II).

New methodology needed.—The mapping process tends to become less accurate as the rate of change increases for the services that have a tendency to become specialized. Nevertheless, the use of this process and the planimeter enables the research workers to get an objective measure of the amount of change that has taken place in the Walworth situation in the past fifteen years.

A trend toward a decrease in intensity of services given by a center to an area and an expansion of the areas are two processes that must be considered when using the method employed in this project. The expression of the service area change in square miles per service center suggests the basis for an index of social change.

TABLE I

MILK MARKET SERVICES

Towns and Population	Size of Area 1914	Total Change in Area since 1914	Expansion of 1929 Area over 1914	Percentage of Total Change	Percentage of Expansion
Whitewater (3,463)	24	33	31	137	129
Delavan (3,298)	54	22	17	40	31
Lake Geneva (3,070)	35	40	28	114	80
Elkhorn (2,335)	33	58	54	176	164
Walworth (920)	16	18	15	113	94
East Troy (763)	14	25	20	179	143
Sharon (733)	14	9	7	64	50
Genoa City (683)	12	5	5	42	42
Darien (600 est.)	18	11	5	61	28
Lyons (300 est.)	10	11	9	110	90
Honey Creek (200 est)	4	3	2	75	50
Millard (75 est.)	3	3	0	100	0
Total	237	239	193	100	81

The size of the areas is expressed in square miles per service center. The percentage of total change is found by dividing the amount of total change by the size of the area in 1914 Percentage of expansion is determined by the same method.

TABLE II

TOTAL AMOUNT OF CHANGE IN THE TWELVE AREAS ACCORDING TO SERVICES

Services	Size of Areas 1914	Total Change in Areas since 1914	Expansion of 1929 Area over 1914	Percentage of Total Change	Percentage of Expansion
Village library	134	233	213	174	159
Milk marketing	237	238	193	100	81
High school	225	189	149	84	66
Churches in center	317	191	113	61	36
Groceries	509	230	172	45	34
Dry goods	535	201	118	38	22
Banking	579	170	94	29	16

The size of the areas is expressed in square miles per service. The percentages are calculated the same as in Table I.

If studies of service or trade areas with emphasis on the boundaries are to continue, a more refined method of determining the service areas is needed. Attention needs to be given to mapping zones of concentration of trade, starting at the center and working out. With the coming of improved communication and transportation it is very doubtful if it is practical to lay too much stress on the determination of the boundaries of trade and service areas. Instead, it is probably time to stress ways of measuring a center's influence in terms of the inten-

sity of its drawing power as a trade and service center rather than determining only the area of its influence. For example, it is interesting to note: that the farm people of Walworth County use on the average nearly four trade centers per family, that there are more rural people buying from cities than from crossroad centers, and that more are buying through mail order than from either cities or crossroads. For every six families who buy from mail order, there are five who trade in cities and four who trade at crossroad stores.

A suggested theory of change.—From this study of the changes in the structure of rural communities and their trade areas it may be concluded that the shifts are due to changes in rural families' consumption habits and to their new service centers. The reasons for these changes in the consumption habits may result from wants being stimulated or developed by ease of mobility and by contacts with the outside world. Contacts come to the immediate locality in which rural people live by newspapers, radio, visits to cities, people going to the cities to live for a short time and returning with new ideas.

The search for the satisfaction of aroused wants is one of the outstanding forces that is changing the structure of the rural community. This reasoning assumes a certain lag on the part of the local service agencies in meeting the needs of rural people; also, that local merchants and service agencies are forced to change by competition from the outside. This, of course, means that many satisfactions are first sought in the centers of dominance from which the stimulation originated.

In a word, wants are stimulated in some center of dominance and disseminated from that center by diffusion through communicational channels. This process of diffusion proceeds by jumps from center to center over the country, each center disseminating these wants to the people in its own hinterland.

COMMUNITY STUDIES IN CINCINNATI

JAMES A. QUINN, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

We have organized a program of community studies in Cincinnati for the purpose of learning more about the urban community as a type of human association. We have taken the ecological frame of reference of natural urban areas as the point of departure and as the most important organizing principle of the program although we have constantly subjected it to critical scrutiny.

The specific projects upon which we are reporting must be understood, not as detached units of study, but as integral parts of a larger organized scheme. Like the tiny, colored tile from the elaborate mosaic, each project, when isolated and detached becomes less meaningful, but when placed in proper relationship to the other units achieves new significance in and of itself and, what is more important, contributes an essential part to the completion of the larger picture. It is the larger theme—the nature of the city—which is the center of interest in the Cincinnati program of community studies.

Most of the effort to date has been directed toward securing the basic facts necessary to constructing the ecological framework of Cincinnati. The task of keeping these materials accurate and complete is an unending one. The projected plan recognizes the necessity for continually adding to and revising the ecological data.

The first major project was the preparation of a research tract map which districted the city in close conformity with the natural areas and which afforded small, permanent units for the collection and comparison of data. This project was reported last year by Mr. E. E. Eubank.

The tract map, while fundamental, was not the only necessary aid to research. Most of the social data for the city reposed in the files of private citizens, governmental bureaus, social welfare agencies, business firms, religious and educational institutions. This data was relatively useless for ecological studies until it could be distributed in terms of the research tracts. The need for some effective means of distributing this data led to the preparation of a research directory by which any street address in the city could be easily and speedily located in the proper tract without use of a map.

The research tracts are now the basic units of population data for Cincinnati. They were used by the United States Bureau of the Census for the 1930 decennial enumeration. They also have been adopted by the Cincinnati Board of Education for the collection of the annual school census. These latter materials are particularly significant in that they furnish annually comparable data concerning an important population group classified by age, sex, color, nationality, and grade.

Incidentally, the director of the school census used our research directory for the purpose of checking the work of his enumerators. He distributed among the various research tracts the Cincinnati children who at the time of the school

census were enrolled in the public, parochial, and private schools and found that in the more mobile districts the enumerators had missed more than 30 per cent of the children. If these field enumerators were as careful as those who took the federal census, considerable doubt is raised concerning the accuracy of the census population data.

We have completed several studies of the distribution of institutions including schools, churches and missions, hospitals, clinics and dispensaries, social service centers, commercial recreation resources, hotels, and rooming houses.

The distribution of transportation systems and of industrial, commercial, and residential sites was carefully surveyed in 1924–25 by the United City Planning Committee. We recently made a limited number of studies of local areas which showed changes in the type of land utilization since that time but have not extended these investigations to the city as a whole. We have studied trolley, bus, and automobile transportation and have plotted time-cost zones, measuring out from the central business area. These zones need careful checking and refining "Topographic" time-cost maps of this sort are necessary to make Cincinnati comparable with other cities of less rugged topography.

We have plotted on spot maps many types of social data which have helped to characterize the local areas and to locate problems for intensive research These data include dependency, boy and girl juvenile delinquency, major crime, divorce, insanity, infant mortality, certain communicable diseases, unemployment, and mobility.

Most of these data are being collected annually or biannually for the purpose of studying trends. We are gradually accumulating historical facts which help to portray the growth and changes of the city as a whole and of the various areas. Areas of foreign-born and Negro population have been roughly marked out and some of them subjected to careful study.

A study of Negro invasions into white residential areas affords one approach to the study of social conflict and is given special mention here because social conflict is the general topic for these Christmas meetings. It must be remembered, however, that the center of interest in this representative project was not "social conflict" but the "nature of the city."

In this study we obtained the exact location of Negro and white residence by house to house visitation. The color of the residents and the number of families were recorded for each address on 3×5 cards. Detailed maps were prepared for each block. From these we constructed a summary cross-hatch-map which showed the areas of solid Negro and solid white residence and the transitional areas by percentage of Negro population.

Interviews with tradesmen and old residents gave some indication of the history, speed, and direction of the invasions. Social data relative to divorce, delinquency, and dependency were examined on spot maps to discover possible relations between them and the margins of invasion.

The study is projected to extend over several years. Data like the above will be collected at two- or three-year intervals in order to discover precisely how fast and in what directions the invasions are proceeding and what changes in the

culture of the areas, the attitudes of invaders and invaded, and the types of social problems seem to be associated with the phenomenon of Negro invasion. Case studies of persons and groups and ethnological surveys of areas will also be needed. The findings must, of course, be interpreted in light of related community studies.

Three items arising from the study of invasions may be offered tentatively. (1) Invaders unconsciously use the tactics which army generals use in the field, i.e., they thrust into a new area along lines of least resistance. The sector between lines of thrust is then subjected to pressure from three sides and gradually pinched out. (2) Barriers to Negro invasion vary significantly with the type of area being invaded. (3) There is no conclusive evidence that social disorganization increases along the margin of invasion.

Land values in Cincinnati have not been studied systematically due to the nature of local records which makes the task a highly technical one. It is hoped that this project soon will be made possible through the co-operation of a group which controls the services of a number of experts in this line.

We have constantly striven to formulate our Cincinnati community studies so that they will help to verify, amplify, limit, or correct certain of the ecological hypotheses which previously have been published.

Due to its rugged topography, Cincinnati presents an interesting but perplexing problem of organization as a natural urban area. The scheme of concentric circles which fits Chicago so nicely is sadly disarranged among Cincinnati's hills. Good residence areas are sometimes closer to the central business section than are areas of workingmen's homes Adjacent communities, separated by precipitous bluffs are frequently of the most sharply contrasting types.

The topography sometimes leads to an inversion of the concentric circle zones in specific areas. In East Mount Auburn, for example, the transportation system loops around the area with no important street passing through it in any direction. The outer zone of this area consists mainly of cheap workingmen's homes dotted here and there by a good, old single-family residence which has been maintained against the invasion. Just inside this outer zone is a smaller one in which two-family apartment houses of a much better type predominate. The very center of the area consists of an island of good single-family residences ranging in price from $15,000 to $45,000.

Many other interesting areas which at first glance seem to challenge the simple concentric zone conception of urban organization might be described if space permitted.

May I, in closing, stress again the fact that the projects which we have mentioned are merely units in the development of a continuous, systematic program of study of the phenomenon, the urban community, particularly as represented by Cincinnati. The program covers both for the city as a whole and for its various areas, the ecological distribution and trends of (*a*) population and its elements, (*b*) institutions, (*c*) land values and types of land utilization, (*d*) indexes of social life, and (*e*) personality types. Detailed sociological researches are being and will be conducted with this ecological frame of reference.

WAWOKIYE CAMP: AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF GROUP ADJUSTMENT

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The social sciences thus far have contributed very little generalized knowledge of the primary group. Before any considerable progress is made in both technique and method of manipulating groups for educational, recreational, and other purposes, some means must be found to measure the interaction between the individual and the members of his group.

One of the difficulties in the study of social phenomena has been the failure to delimit observations, after the manner of experimental sciences, by isolating certain factors for intensive study. Research has been limited mostly to the group in the normal urban or rural settings where a multitude of factors is involved. The Wawokiye study attempts to overcome this in a measure through a very intensive study of sixty boys in a camp specifically organized for research purposes under the division of group work of the School of Applied Social Sciences, financed with the assistance of the Cleveland Foundation.

What has been called group adjustment may be taken to mean mutually satisfactory interaction between the individual and the group. The fundamental aspects of this interaction may be defined as (1) the group acceptance of the individual; (2) the individual's acceptance of the group.

The group acceptance may be viewed in two ways: It may be measured by the extragroup estimate of the individual's acceptance, through a rating of the group status of the individual by an outsider—observer. It may also be measured by the intragroup judgment of the group status of the individual, as determined by the subjective appreciation of him by the other members of the group. When these two measures coincide, it may be said that the degree of the group acceptance of the individual is established.

The individual's acceptance of the group may be viewed likewise in two ways: it may be measured by the estimates of outside observers as to whether the group is a satisfactory medium for social expression of the individual; it may also be measured by the subjective appreciation of the group by the individual as a means of satisfying individual needs. When these two measures coincide, it may be said that the degree of the individual's acceptance of the group is established.

The group adjustment of an individual is a process carried on in time. It is a function of his various natural endowments, as well as of the specific make-up and activities of a particular group at a particular time. There is probably no universal group adjustment. All adjustment is specific and particular. Our approach to the study of the problem has been a situational approach as distinguished from a generalized approach, such as the study of so-called social intelligence.

Under the supervision of two research assistants, eight counselors led the group activities and made observations during two five-week camp periods. There were thirty boys in each period.

The following data were gathered:

1. Counselor's ratings. A five-point scale for a unitary estimate of the boy's adjustment to a tent group and to the camp as a whole and the revised Vineland Adjustment Score Card were employed.

2. Personal distance votes. These were ballots marked by the boys indicating the desirability of certain companions for certain social situations, such as—What five boys do you prefer as your tent companions? What five boys you would like to take for overnight hikes, etc.?

3. Group records. A running narrative account of morning activities engaged in by tent groups—five boys to a tent—and other accounts of miscellaneous activities such as camp fire, tent discussions at night, etc.

4. A check of activity-grouping, recording what every boy in camp was doing and with whom he was doing it, taken every twenty minutes throughout the afternoon and evening—comprising some 17,400 observations.

5. The following tests: (*a*) Terman; (*b*) Sweet's Personal Attitudes for Younger Boys; (*c*) Recreational Interviews as developed by the Bureau of Juvenile Research, Chicago; (*d*) Sims Score Card for Socio-Economic Status; (*e*) Brace Motor Co-ordination Test; (*f*) Furfey Test for Developmental Age.

6. Case histories.

7. X-rays for determining anatomical age.

8. Complete medical examinations.

The specific problem under consideration for 1930 was the development of the means of measuring the first aspect of group adjustment, namely, the group acceptance of the individual. In making this report, I shall confine myself to the progress made thus far in elaborating the data. In this elaboration, three sets of our data have thus far been utilized; counselor's ratings, personal distance votes, and the twenty-minute checks.

The ratings represent estimates of the individual's acceptance as viewed by the counselors; the personal distance votes represent intragroup judgment of individual's acceptance in certain social situations; the twenty-minute checks comprise a body of objective observations—what did the boys do and with whom did they do it? The relationships between these three factors may be noted in Figure 1.

The reliability of these data is of paramount importance. By reliability of a measure is usually meant the consistency with which a given thing is measured. In case of personal distance votes the study of reliability is difficult because the object is a dynamic entity. The personal distance changes with time and with the situation. In correlating the total number of votes cast for a given individual in succeeding votes, we found that the shorter the interval between votes, the higher the correlation. Furthermore, the correlations were higher between identical situations. The coefficients of reliability ranged between .83 and .96

for the tent-preference votes in the case of minimum and maximum time-interval.

Under ratings, the rating scale was found to have a reliability coefficient ranging from .60 to .86, intercorrelating the scores of the six counselors who were rating. It should be said, at this point, that every correlation mentioned in this study is the raw correlation. We found that the Vineland scale was more reliable for younger boys than the rating scale. The correlation between the rating scale and Vineland is consistently between .72 and .83. An index of the group acceptance of the individual, as estimated by extra-group observers, was made by weighting the ratings in proportion to the respective reliabilities.

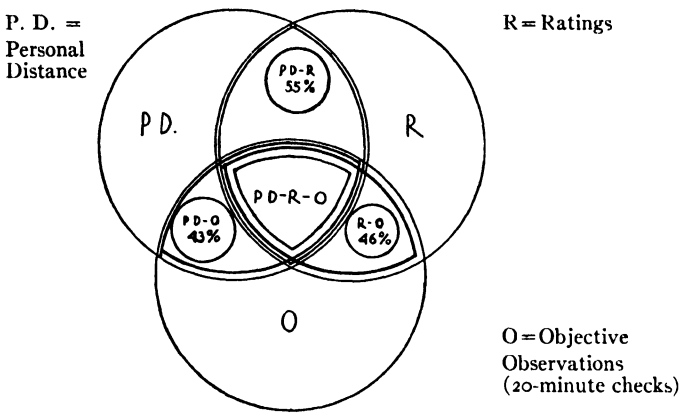

FIG. 1

The next question is the validity of data. By validity of a measure is usually meant the fidelity with which it measures whatever it purports to measure. Three methods might be employed for validation.

1. A mutual validation of ratings and personal distance.

2. A theoretical validation of each measure as used for instance by Hartshorne and May.

3. A validation by the objective records.

The validity and reliability of the objective records is practically beyond question. Our plan of validating the ratings by objective records and validating the personal distance votes by objective records, we consider one of the main points of our study.

The validity of the personal distance measure, as determined by the first method of validation, namely, the mutual validation method, is between .70 and .77. The validity determined by the theoretical method is between .96 and .98. The validity on the basis of relationship to objective observations is provisionally .64. Since the individual's acceptance of the group, or the satisfaction as-

pect, was omitted this year from our study, it would be unreasonable to expect a much higher correlation.

The theoretical validity of our ratings, or, in other words, the estimate of group acceptance made by counselors, is between .75 and .92. The validity of ratings on the basis of objective observations is provisionally .60.

As to tentative conclusions: since the correlation between personal distance and ratings is .77, the common area of what we may tentatively call desirability and tolerability is approximately 55 per cent. Since the personal distance or desirability correlates with a part of objective records of activity grouping, not lower than .60, the common area between them is about 43 per cent. And since the ratings or tolerability correlate with the same part of objective records to about .64, the common area between them is in the neighborhood of 46 per cent.

It may be seen that with the further study of group adjustment in which an attempt is made to get at the aspect of the individual's acceptance of the group, an index can be constructed for the measurement of group adjustment that will have high reliability and validity and will eliminate the exceedingly cumbersome techniques of objective observations.

MEASUREMENT OF RACIAL ATTITUDES

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The problem of the measurement of attitudes appears to be, not so much the construction of a scale, but, as in the question of the intelligence tests, determining what the scale measures. Defining "intelligence" as a capacity or ability is, from the standpoint of measurability, not very much different from defining attitude as a tendency or disposition. This study began in an attempt to develop a method for measuring racial attitudes. It had to be assumed both that an attitude could be defined and that, once defined, it could be measured. However, the objective was really more than the solution of a problem in method: the practical aim was to identify characteristic modes of behavior and thinking in a given situation and to observe their quantitative distribution. This carries the assumption, of course, that any given response to certain verbal stimuli will provide an index to probable behavior in the actual situation. Granted, then, the inevitable difficulty of distinguishing with clear-cut precision between a purely emotional response and one that is qualified by other factors, rational, intellectual, ethical, and what not, it is to be considered that these conflicts may also be characteristic of behavior itself, and as such, basic to human nature. From the point of view of this study it is not extremely essential whether what is being measured is to be called an attitude or a highly probable attitude, so long as the end results tend to be the same.

Attitude is defined as a total tendency to act, and opinion, as the verbal expression of this tendency. At least two possible sources of conflict which may color the response are present: (*a*) in the personal factor which must be associated with testing, and (*b*) in the type of associations released by the stimuli. A subject may respond in a manner which aims to please, but without revealing his real attitude; or he may be more strongly motivated by intellectual judgment or by some abstract notion of what is right and proper than by personal feeling, as when one responds to the motivation of patriotism in the face of personal revulsion to war, or, negatively, to a decision based upon Christian principles in the face of a powerful impulse to combat. Conceivably these very factors may determine the character of the individual as tolerant, liberal, sentimental, or impulsive and lacking in restraint. In consideration of the problem, then, of identifying with any exactness these basic motivations to behavior, it would be difficult to find a more convenient set for experimentation than the Negro-white relations in the United States. Here there are closely defined behavior patterns. The degree of isolation of the Negro group in America, the historical and traditional associations, and the emotional elements generally present, provide an excellent opportunity for studying the configurations of mutual sentiment. There is more likelihood that persons questioned will indicate truth about their feelings. In fact, in the ordinary situation there is not only willingness to reveal

personal feeling but a desire to impress it upon others. The varying background of these situations offers a basis for comparison and for examination, to a certain extent, of the content of the mores regulating these relations in different settings. Moreover, apart from the experiential observation, there are available other quite objective indexes of the basic disposition to action in actual behavior as recorded in the institutions set up. The absence or frequency of clashes, school appropriations, press items, legislative action, contact as measured by degrees of political and social participation in the life of communities, all lend themselves to measurement. The usually high emotional content of most racial situations and the wide acquaintance with those factors which seem to be important in regulating relations, the very closeness of the question may tend to counterbalance, in part, some of the advantages, and as a suggestion of this difficulty one need only observe the variance of views regarding what is a proper attitude in race relations. It is evident that if any important measure of objectivity is to be achieved the validity of any purely statistical measurement must be established by full reference to the character of the materials dealt with. The approach, accordingly, is conceived as essentially both quantitative and qualitative. It is possible for one to have one feeling toward Negroes considered as a group and another toward individual Negroes, or quite different attitudes toward different individual Negroes. The question of the individual temperament of the subject enters frequently in a quite whimsical manner, so that it becomes tedious to distinguish between an attitude which is racial at base and one which is founded upon personal tastes alike effective where the element of race is not present. The importance of myths and stereotypes, of the transference of emotional tone, is thus involved, and becomes a vital part of the problem. Similarly there enter the elements of social and economic status and personal interests to be aided by any well-set emotional appeals, fear and group or individual insecurity, sex and a large and powerful cluster of elemental emotions, of conditioning in childhood.

The limits of this paper will permit only a sketchy reference to method and first results. These are projected without finality and with the indication of many debatable issues. A conscious effort has been made to assemble the material in a manner that will be useful to students for reworking or for further extension. The most notable advances in quantitative measurement of such data have been concerned with issues quite apart from race—politics, prohibition, pacifism and militarism, and the church; Dr. Rice's approach to the study of political attitude through political statistics interpreted as objective indexes of subjective values; Drs. Allport and Hartman's procedure for measuring a typical opinion and motivation leading up to Thurstone's significant contribution in suggesting the need of and constructing a rational base-line. He employs as a unit of measurement for a scale of attitudes a device adapted from the psychophysical method of determining equal-appearing intervals in a linear continuum which may be expressed as the standard deviation of the dispersion projected on the psychological scale of attitudes, by a statement of opinion, chosen as a standard.

The present study employs, in part, Thurstone's device as the basis for measurement of attitudes and opinions regarding racial contacts, biological questions, Negro traits, proposed solutions, and specific cultural situations. A second device attempts both to check the emotional validity of the scale and register finer gradations in response to situational propositions regarding the same general categories, marked as true, partly true, false, no opinion. Further, it attempts to approximate the relation between specific racial attitudes and degrees of group contact, direct and indirect; and finally to register evidences of the influence of such factors as age, sex, years of schooling, religious denomination, political party affiliation, and immediate ancestry. There is a scale for the attitude of white persons toward Negroes and for Negroes toward white persons. The criterion of "favorableness" and "unfavorableness" was used in the construction of the scale, the smallest number representing the least favorable attitude and the highest number the most favorable attitude toward Negroes considered as a group. Objectivity in the establishing of equal intervals without subjective bias was aided by selecting an equal number of white and Negro readers from northern, southern, and western states. The final selection of statements of opinion for the scale contains advantages and possible disadvantages. As the scale stands it is possible actually to score as low as 1.3 and as high as 10.4. A high degree of "favorableness" to the group may be registered both with and without the implications of personal intimacy. It is also possible, theoretically, to indicate what might be interpreted as a "liberal" attitude as distinguished from a sentimental attitude; a tolerant attitude without sentiment or sentimental attitude without liberality.

The questionnaire has been applied to about 5,000 white persons, individually and in groups, and the Negro questionnaire to about 3,000 Negroes The latter group will be increased to a corresponding total of 5,000. These groups were taken in New England, middle atlantic, southern, border, middle western, and far western states, with a reasonable number of foreign born. The first tabulations seem to show an interesting correspondence with observation of the geographical distribution of these attitudes, at least as regards the extremes of these manifestations in behavior and social institutions. When these scores are arranged in a frequency distribution there is wide overlapping for all sections, with a distinct shifting skewness. For the student group the geographical differences are significant but not extreme. The mean for the total group being 6 06; for southern states, 5.6; for northern states, 6.2; for far western states, 6.2; for middle western states, 6.4, and for foreign-born students, 6.7. It may be noted that while there was a range of 2 to 9 in all sections, and from 2 to 10 in northern and middle western states, the dispersion of the scores was not great. If we take a selected group, from a northern state, as, for example, the Brookwood College and Rand School, which are liberal labor groups, the mean of the scores is considerably above the average for the northern states as a whole, 8.25 as compared with 6.1, and for a student group from Mississippi, 4.9 as compared with 5.6 for the southern states as a whole. The indexes to the difference involved a number

of factors not always obvious. Contact, group interests and the relation of these to liberal or conservative attitudes on non-racial interests, the mores, individual backgrounds, the pressure or absence of other disturbing factors such as economic rivalry appear to have important influence. Certain professional classes, for example, register a high degree of favorableness, but no higher than a self-conscious labor group with a strong common opposition to capital. Similarly there are professional classes and professional individuals who register very low, just as there are individual workmen, whose adaptations have been made to situations involving a high degree of favorableness, who register high. Educators, sociologists, social workers tend to score high, reflect a critical attitude toward stereotypes, are often more tolerant, less bound by traditional patterns, but their degree of favorableness may be influenced by factors which determine liberalness on other public or personal issues. There are frequently low scores which are related to the powerful pressure of surrounding institutions, and the principle of self-interest in these situations. It is significant that, however arranged and whatsoever the group in question, men tended to score lower than women .4 of a point for the entire group, 8 of a point for southern groups It is interesting, further, to note what might be referred to as attitude blocs. Beyond a neutral point in either direction there are successive stages of resistance —areas not to be transgressed. In one direction, for example, there is bare tolerance of the Negro group as citizens, with not too clearly defined rights; another level includes acceptance of a measure of economic rights but not politics; another includes educational but not political rights; another political but not social rights; another includes theoretically all rights but in the direction of a separate culture; another includes all rights in the same culture. The same blocs mark the strength of the mores regulating relations. and indicate in a general way the order in which these are dissolved.

EXPERIMENTAL COMPARISON OF A STATISTICAL AND A CASE HISTORY TECHNIQUE OF ATTITUDE RESEARCH

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This is a report of an experimental comparison of one statistical and one case history technique of research on social attitudes.

The statistical method investigated is that which has been developed by L. L Thurstone, professor of psychology at the University of Chicago. The method employs a test of attitudes toward a particular object such as war, the Negro, prohibition, the church, union labor. The test comprises a set of statements, each of which has been assigned a scale value on a linear attitude continuum by an application of the psychophysical method of equal-appearing intervals. A person's attitude score is obtained by merely averaging the scale values of the opinions which he indorses.

If valid, the Thurstone technique promises to be a very important tool of research in the social sciences. Though necessarily somewhat complicated in construction, the Thurstone test is simple in application. The test can be taken in about fifteen minutes. The easy method of computing scores enables a clerk to get several hundred indexes in less time than it would take to analyze a handful of case histories. The test supplies indexes whose relationship with a variety of associated factors, such as sex, age, economic status, home background, education, social participation, etc., can be studied quantitatively and directly. All that is necessary is to get a large number of cases. The sample then may be broken into groups and these groups again into smaller subgroups for the purpose of holding constant experimentally the qualitative background factors which cannot be held constant mathematically by partial correlation. Statistical analysis of these smaller subgroups doubtless can be aided by using some of the new techniques developed by R. A. Fisher and others.

The principal criticism of the Thurstone method, and of other statistical devices for measuring attitudes, is that they do not measure attitudes. Instead, it has been said, they measure opinions, which are thought to be rather capricious indexes, subject to the whims of every vagrant wind. Attitudes, it is believed, are shut up and subjective, perhaps capable of revealing themselves to a student skilled in sympathetic introspection, but not yielding to the open sesame of such a simple device as a test.

On the other hand, the case history methods of studying attitudes have certain rather obvious advantages. The more we know about an individual's background and overt behavior over a period of time, the more accurate we ordinarily should be in interpreting what his attitude is. We see his opinions not in abstraction but in their cultural setting. Of course, the utility of the case method is limited by the time and labor which it takes to collect and analyze the cases. Frequently enough cases cannot be studied in any single investigation to yield

more than preliminary hunches. In a problem in social research there are usually several factors or variables, a thorough analysis of which requires a large number of cases so that sets of adequate subsamples may be obtained in which certain factors are relatively constant. However, even as an exploratory device or as a device to illuminate the "why" of correlations found by quantitative methods, the case method has been called into question, because of lack of objectivity. It has been said, for example, that several interpretations of the same case may differ as widely as several psychoanalytic analyses of the same dream.

Summing up, we have on our hands two *ifs*. It may be said that an attitude test produces quickly and cheaply a set of indexes of enough people to make possible a study which holds constant a variety of factors associated with attitudes, but that the study may be worthless *if* the test does not measure what it purports to measure. On the other hand, the case method, so useful in suggesting preliminary hypotheses and in throwing light on the why of correlations quantitatively ascertained because it studies the individual's behavior and feelings in his own cultural setting, also may be dubious *if* competent investigators fail to agree in their sympathetic introspections.

The experiment here reported is an investigation of these two *ifs*. Only a few of the findings can be reported here. The detailed methods used and an attempt to appraise theoretical implications of the findings will appear in a forthcoming paper in the *American Journal of Sociology*.

H. N. Smith's test of attitudes toward prohibition (a test constructed by the Thurstone method) was given to 238 students of the University of Chicago. The test evidently measured *something* consistently, as two parallel halves of the test yielded a reliability coefficient, using the Spearman-Brown formula of .94, about as high as the reliability coefficients of many intelligence tests.

Each of these 238 students wrote an account, in about a thousand words, of his or her experiences and feelings from childhood to the present day in connection with prohibition laws and in connection with drinking liquor one's self. The students wrote anonymously and their documents were matched with the test sheets by the use of code numbers. The student was not informed of the precise purpose of the experiment, and, of course, no premium was placed on consistency between the test and case history.

Each of the 238 case histories was read carefully by four judges, who were graduate students in sociology at the University of Chicago, selected by a committee of the faculty on the basis of their experience in the interpretation of case materials, their acquaintance with the theoretical literature on social attitudes, and their supposed insight into human nature. Each judge, without knowledge of what another judge had done, made two ratings as to each paper. He did this by checking with a cross, somewhere along a five-inch graphic rating scale, the favorableness or unfavorableness of the subject's present attitude toward prohibition laws; and also by checking with another cross, somewhere along another five-inch graphic rating scale, the favorableness or unfavorableness of the subject's present attitude toward drinking liquor himself or herself.

This numerical score was then transmuted into relative terms by using a standard measure, $z=\frac{X-M}{\sigma}$, in which X was the score, M the mean of all the 238 scores assigned by this particular judge, and σ the standard deviation of these 238 scores. The four ratings of an individual's attitude were added to provide a composite index.

These indexes, like the scores on the Smith test, apparently measured *something* consistently. The judges agreed in their interpretations surprisingly well. The reliability coefficient, using the Spearman-Brown formula, was .96.

It was feared, however, that the conditions of the experiment might have been exceptionally favorable to high agreement. Would two laymen, for example, without knowledge of the theoretical literature on attitudes and with strong personal feelings on prohibition, agree in their interpretation of the documents? We asked the superintendent of the Illinois Anti-Saloon League and the secretary of the Illinois Association Opposed to Prohibition to read a random sample of 99 cases. Again, to our surprise, we found that the ratings by these two men agreed almost as closely with each other as with the ratings of our four judges or as did the ratings of the four judges with one another on the same 99 cases.

It was evident, then, that *something* had been measured reliably by the case history technique, just as *something* had been measured reliably by the test. These somethings each had been presumed to be attitudes. But were these two somethings the same?

At least a first approximation to an answer was found by correlating the test scores of the 238 individuals with the composite ratings by four judges as to attitudes toward prohibition laws. The correlation was .81, which became .86 when corrected for attenuation. It is quite apparent that if the judges of the case histories were getting at attitudes the test was too. At least, this would seem true with respect to the particular continuum—favorable to unfavorable—abstracted for purposes of study. Whether use of a different attitude continuum would result in less, or more, agreement, awaits further inquiry.

Several other checks tended to strengthen, rather than weaken, confidence in a conclusion that the two methods were getting at pretty much the same thing. There was no exception. To cite only one example: The correlation between attitudes toward prohibition, as measured by the test, and attitudes toward drinking liquor one's self, as measured by the case histories, was .58. This checks very closely with the correlation between attitudes toward prohibition laws, as measured by the case histories, and attitudes toward drinking liquor one's self, as measured by the case histories, which was .60.

The tentative conclusion, if confirmed by further research, is (1) that the Thurstone method of measuring social attitudes yields indexes which are quite comparable with indexes obtained independently by a case history method, and (2) that different interpreters of cases can agree in their inferences as to attitudes, at least in inferences of the not-too-complicated type made in the present investigation.

NEGRO NEWS IN THE WHITE NEWSPAPERS OF PHILADELPHIA

GEORGE E. SIMPSON, TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

Almost everyone is sure that the Negro is ignored in the white press. This study is an attempt to discover how much and what kind of Negro news gets into the five white newspapers of Philadelphia. Each newspaper was sampled every eighth day, Sunday omitted, from the first day of January to the end of June in the years 1908, 1918, and 1928. The data for the *Daily News,* a tabloid, are for only one year (1928) because it was not published prior to 1925. The years 1913 and 1923 are to be included later Thus far the study covers all of the non-advertising material in 295 newspapers. There are 881 cases (2,480 column inches).

TABLE I

MEAN PERCENTAGES OF NEGRO STORIES IN FOUR WHITE NEWSPAPERS OF PHILADELPHIA IN WILLEY'S TEN CATEGORIES, 1908, 1918, 1928*

	1908	1918	1928
I. Political and administrative news	13.1	12 0	3
II. Economic news	1.6	2.3	0
III. Cultural news	8.3	3.7	14.9
IV. Sensational news	63 4	58.8	52 7
V. Sports	7.5	6	18.3
VI. Personal	2.5	6.2	1.2
VII. Opinion	3.6	6 4	2.2
VIII. Human interest	1 3	0	0
IX. Magazine material	0 2	5	4 7
X. Miscellaneous	1.1	2 7	2 2

* Five papers in 1928 *Daily News* was not started until 1925

The quantitative analysis includes averages for the number of column inches and cases per issue for each newspaper and for each year and a statement of the number of stories in which Negro terms were used in headlines, "leads," etc. On the qualitative side the news items were classified according to Willey's categories and subcategories. A list was made of the Negro terms found in the stories The city editors of the five newspapers, as well as several reporters, were interviewed for the purpose of getting their policies on Negro news.

In the newspaper, the *Philadelphia Record,* and in the year (1908) in which the most Negro news was printed, this news was less than 1/8 of one page per issue, or about $_{6}^{1}{}_{0}$ of all of the non-advertising material. The Negroes constitute almost $_{1}^{1}{}_{0}$ of the population of the Philadelphia area. It must be said, however, that Negroes are unimportant in white newspaper circulation.

Table I gives the distribution of non-advertising items in Willey's ten main categories for the four white newspapers of Philadelphia taken together, according to the sampling done for the years 1908, 1918, and 1928.

Tables II–VI presents summaries of the number of column inches, cases, headlines, and leads for the various newspapers in the three years used in this study.

TABLE II

Summary

(295 Philadelphia Newspapers)

	Bulletin			Daily News	Inquirer			Public Ledger			Record			All		
	1908	'18	'28	'28	'08	'18	'28	'08	'18	'28	'08	'18	'28	'08	'18	'28
C. In	188	119	173	82.5	161	136.5	189	225 5	94	161	481	136.5	333	1055.5	486	938.5
Cases	70	59	65	30	40	38	55	86	48	60	162	71	97	358	216	307
T.C.I.	..	489	..	82.5	..	486.5	..	..	480.5	..	..	950.5	..	..	2,480	..
T.C.	..	194	..	30	..	133	..	..	149	..	..	330	..	..	881	..

TABLE III

Column Inches per Issue

	Bulletin	Inquirer	Public Ledger	Record	Daily News	All
1908	8.17	7.0	10.25	20.91	..	11.6
1918	5.4	6.2	4.08	6.2	..	5.46
1928	7.52	8.2	7.02	14 48	3 6	8 16

TABLE IV

Cases per Issue

	Bulletin	Inquirer	Public Ledger	Record	Daily News	All
1908	3.04	1.73	3.9	7.04	..	3.93
1918	2.68	1.72	2.08	3.22	..	2.42
1928	2 82	2.4	2.61	4.2	1.3	2.67

TABLE V

Column Inches per Case*

	Bulletin	Inquirer	Public Ledger	Record	Daily News	All
1908	2.68(2)	4.02(3)	2.61(1.5)	2.92(2)	...	2.94(2)
1918	2.01(1)	3.59(2)	1.96(1.5)	1.92(1.5)	...	2.25(1.5)
1928	2.66(2)	3.43(2)	2.69(2)	3.43(2)	2 75(2.5)	3.05(2)

* Numbers in parentheses are median averages.

Some of the Negro terms found in this study are: colored slugger of white women, "Jim Crow" cars, former slaves, Negro rapist, black magic, nigger, negress, chocolate-coated employee, African cannibals, mulatto, clever little chocolate, persons of color, cullud folk, "chocolate front," our "coffee creams," the color line, ebony artists, dark-skinned foe, dusky gladiator, anti-Negro, coons, race riot, darky, Blackamoor, sable scrapper, blots, dark folk, brunette battler, heavyweight shadow, high-yellow flapper, golden-brown chorine, Ethiopian.

It is difficult to tell what impression of the Negro the white reader gets from Negro news stories, and what effect Negro news has upon the attitudes of white people toward Negroes. It must be remembered that these stories cover a long

TABLE VI

HEADLINES AND LEADS*

	Bulletin			Inquirer			Public Ledger			Record			Daily News	All			
	1908	'18	'28	'08	'18	'28	'08	'18	'28	'08	'18	'28	'28	'08	'18	'28	All
I. . .	35	14	38	18	13	28	29	31	38	72	46	54	24	154	104	178	440
II. . .	4	2	0	1	2	0	8	3	0	7	2	4	0	20	9	4	33
III. . .	7	20	2	14	15	4	39	8	4	76	19	15	2	136	62	27	225
IV. . .	3	2	16	4	5	4	2	3	11	3	1	14	0	12	11	45	68
V. . .	6	21	7	2	3	18	12	4	8	6	3	10	2	26	31	45	102

Negro term in headlines in 258 cases, in lead (or series) in 440 cases, in headlines or leads (or series) in 698 cases.

* I—stories with Negro terms in leads, but not in headlines; II—stories with Negro terms in headlines, but not in leads, III—Negro terms in headlines and leads, IV—Negro terms in neither the head nor the lead, but in a major part of the story (major part defined as one-fourth or more of the space in column inches, or an extremely important part in the story), V—Negro terms in neither the head nor the lead, but in a minor part of the story (minor defined as less than one-fourth of the space in column inches).

period of time and that they are scattered through columns and columns of other news. Newspaper editors claim that they print the sort of news that their readers want. One cannot say just how accurately newspapers reflect the attitudes of their readers or how much, in turn, the social attitudes of the readers are affected by what they read in their newspapers.

CHANGES IN THE CONTENT OF MINNESOTA NEWSPAPERS

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In 1860 the *Monticello Times* used a quarter-inch headline over one column on its first page to announce the secession of South Carolina; in 1929 the *Sherburne County Star-News* flaunted 24 inches of headline on its first page to announce a local bank robbery. The country weekly, ordinarily presumed to be practically stationary, has changed in its absolute size, in the type of news presented, and in the manner of presenting that news. This study deals with changes in both the country weekly and the city daily in Minnesota, but only preliminary results of an analysis of the former are now available.

Some country weeklies were published in Minnesota before 1860 and over 450 were being published in 1929. On the assumption that there might be differences in papers as one proceeded out from the metropolitan center, the state was zoned out from the Twin Cities, and a 6 4 per cent sample of the papers in each hundred-mile zone was taken. Since conclusions could be drawn with greater certainty if the same papers were used throughout the period, the first papers founded in each zone and still existing in 1929 were chosen. The issues of the first week in February, the second in May, the third in August, and the fourth in November were taken for the decennial years from 1860 to 1920 and for 1929. The final sample included 4 papers for 1860, 6 for 1870, 14 for 1880, 19 for 1890, and 29 for each of the later years There were 18 papers which were available for each year from 1890 through 1929 and these, upon separate analysis, showed no significant differences from the entire samples for the respective years.

The reading material in the papers was measured in column inches and classified according to the set of categories developed by Professor Willey.[1] The type of news presented in the country weekly has become increasingly different from that in the city daily. From 1870 to 1929, the percentage of shop-set news which was national or foreign in origin decreased from 42 per cent to 4 per cent. In non-shop-set news, state news increased while national and foreign news decreased. Most country weeklies have become in the main local papers and form a non-competing class with the city daily. However, the average percentage of reading material which was shop-set was only 74 per cent in 1929, and the range was from 20 per cent to 100 per cent.

Changes in news content reflect the changing functions of the country weekly, as well as changes in what is considered news. Within shop-set news categories, the average proportion of space devoted to both governmental news and editorials decreased. Sensational news increased until 1880 and then decreased throughout the remainder of the period. Sports news increased consistently, as did cultural news, including religious, educational, and amusement items. Eco-

[1] M. M. Willey, *The Country Newspaper*, pp. 134–41

nomic news increased until 1880 and then remained fairly stable until the post-war years, when the proportion again increased. Personal news increased rapidly until 1900, since which time it has remained fairly constant. It was the largest single category from 1890 through 1929.

In 1860, the country weekly was a political and an editorializing organ; today the more successful weeklies are local papers, stressing the activities occurring in their own communities. Sensational news, especially news concerning the crimes of local persons, ordinarily receives little or no attention. In 1900, the ready-print pages of most country weeklies brought news of the Boer War, the Boxer Rebellion, and the subjugation of the Philippines; in 1920 few country weeklies had either ready-print or boiler-plate material telling of the European situation and only one carried such news on its first page.

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE OF SHOP-SET NEWS AND EDITORIAL MATTER IN THE SEVEN MAJOR CATEGORIES

Category	1860*	1900	1929
Governmental	45.25	15.25± .96	7.78± .59
Editorial	28 68	14.98±1.60	9.51± 40
Economic	7.61	12.11± .88	16.71± .76
Cultural	3 49	11.15± .79	16 80± .83
Sensational	7 28	6.74± .54	5 42± .48
Sports	0 08	1.72± .35	3.70± .14
Personal	5.94	32.81±1.89	36 77±1.28

* Since there were only 4 papers for 1860, the standard errors of the means were not computed.

Changes in the manner of presenting news have been fully as great as those in news content, although they are more difficult to study quantitatively. Country weeklies have followed the city papers in the use of the headline to play-up news. The amount of headline and body was measured separately for each item, and the total headline divided by the total body to give a head-to-body ratio. These ratios were computed separately for first page, body of paper, and total paper, thus giving measures both of the increased use of the headline and of the increased tendency to play up news on the first page. Until 1929 the head-to-body ratio was always less for shop-set than for non-shop-set material, and after 1880 it was always higher on the first page than in the rest of the paper. The average head-to-body ratio for shop-set news on the first page increased from 2 per cent in 1860 to 20 per cent in 1929, while the average ratio for the rest of the paper increased from 3 per cent to 9 per cent. In all years both the absolute and relative variability among different papers was greater for the first page than for the rest of the paper.

Another method of measuring first-page play-up is to ascertain the type of reading material which "makes" the first page. An index of emphasis was constructed by dividing the percentage of all news of any one category appearing on the first page by the percentage which all news on the first page constituted of

all news in the paper, and multiplying the result by 100. This index is greater than 100 in case there is front-page play-up. These indexes were computed only for 1900 and the following years. The indexes for personal and editorial news were always below 100. The indexes for economic, sensational, and sports news increased consistently from 1900 to 1920, those for editorial decreased, and those for governmental, cultural, and personal remained about the same. If we rank the indexes for categories from highest to lowest, governmental, cultural, personal, and editorial decreased in rank between 1900 and 1920, economic and sensational retained the same rank, while sports news increased from lowest rank in 1900 to highest rank in 1920. Sensational news ranked second highest in all years.

A random sample of 10 of the papers composing the 1920 sample was remeasured in order to determine the consistency of measurement and classification. The average number of column inches of news in the original and the recheck measurements differed by less than 1 per cent of the original average, while the average proportion of news which was shop-set differed by only .02 per cent. The differences between head-to-body ratios for first page, rest of paper, and total paper for both shop-set and boiler-plate news were in no case significant. In the source of news, the only significant difference was that for boiler-plate foreign news in the entire paper. Within shop-set news, the only differences that might be regarded as significant were those for total personal news, total governmental news, and total editorial matter. For the former, the chance of as great or greater differences was 2 in 100, while for the latter two it was 5 in 100 The inconsistency in personal news is probably due to differences in detecting other than personal news in the columns of short items which compose so large a proportion of the news of the average country weekly. The inconsistency in governmental and editorial material is due to the common habit of country editors of expressing their opinions when printing news, especially of a political nature. In boiler-plate material there were no significant differences between the original and the recheck proportions for either governmental or editorial, the greatest differences being those for personal and economic. In no case are the trends previously mentioned altered by substituting the recheck averages of either absolute amounts or proportions for the original averages of the total sample for 1920. An independent classification of four issues of the *Northfield News* by the writer and another graduate student yielded no greater differences than the writer's own recheck and show the greatest inconsistencies in the same categories.

THE SELECTIVE FACTOR IN THE PRESENTATION OF CRIME NEWS

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Previous investigations have attempted to ascertain the newspaper policy of crime reporting by comparing the total amount of space allotted to crime news as compared with total reading matter. The former studies have considered crime as a generic term which embraces a group of homogeneous elements Crime, however, consists of an aggregate of dissimilar units having one attribute in common—the violation of a prescribed code of behavior which entails more or less definite penalties For a more adequate knowledge of the presentation of crime news, it is necessary to construct a classification of crime categories and to analyze the component parts of this phenomenon

The varying degrees of newspaper emphasis accorded the particular types of crime, for a given year or for different years, indicate that a selective factor is operating. The intensity of crime news display may depend not only upon the nature of the offense but upon the locality of the occurrence and of its subsequent adjudication Accordingly, the analysis should discriminate between the crime news items which apply to the area of publication ("local") and to those which refer to other vicinities ("outside"). The functioning of the selective factor in each class of crime news may be appraised by ascertaining the proportional amounts of inches allotted to the various categories in the entire daily or on the front page and by determining the average size of the news accounts. Each method involves certain limitations which may impair the validity of the results. The usual methods employed for deriving crude space percentages assume that the source material (the frequency of crime committals) is uniform for the various crime categories. In the measurement of the size of items, a particular type of crime may derive undue prominence if a few outstanding items are intensively portrayed, while the bulk of the items pertaining to this category are inadequately reported

A more refined analysis of "local" crime news is made possible through the utilization of a control—the court records. By relating the proportional number of arrests to the proportional amount of space allotted to a corresponding crime, a re-valuation of the crude space percentages is facilitated. Ratios may also be established between the percentages of arrests and the space devoted to the repetitive portrayal of arrests of a given crime category subsequent to the first presentation ("follow-ups"), in order to determine the force of the selective factor from another angle. It is further possible to appraise the changes in the policy of crime news reporting for various periods through a comparison of the number of arrests and the number of newspaper mentions for corresponding types of crime. The portion of the more extensive study which will be presented today will be confined to this last phase of analysis. The entire issues of the

Minneapolis Tribune, Journal, and *Times-Star* were examined for the years 1890, the split year 1904–5, and 1921.[1] The names of the persons and the associated arrests for the three years were recorded, and the actual number of newspaper mentions which related to the specific arrests were computed for each crime category. Ratios were established between the number of newspaper occurrences and the total number of arrests for the particular types of crime for each given year. Percentages of "newspaper appearances" were thereby derived.

Some adjustments were necessary in the treatment of the court records There appeared in the police dockets, on certain days, a clustering of several names concerned with the same offense. These names were often grouped together in one news item which made mention of the offense. The violations had reference to raids and concerted campaigns instituted by the police.[2] The procedure followed in connection with these "group arrests" was to record only the names of the principals involved in a raid and to consider the number of arrests associated with a campaign as one In both instances, it was thought methodologically sound to eliminate from reckoning the remaining names found in the court record and in the newspaper mention. The analysis of the court records remained uninfluenced by the news accounts which consisted of merely a descriptive head and an enumeration of names pertaining to the same type of offense, and the news space devoted to court calendars.

When the arrests for all "local" crimes are considered, it is found that the percentages of "newspaper appearances" decrease about one-third in 1904–5 and one-half in 1921 when compared with the preceding years. A striking fact to be observed is that while the number of arrests for 1904–5 and 1921 are about one and one-half and three times greater respectively than for 1890, the actual number of newspaper mentions which appear during the last two periods is less than for the first.[3] The decline in the percentages of "newspaper appearances" is characteristic for each of the major categories as well as for practically all of the specific crimes.

Among the particular types of crime, murder and manslaughter hardly fail to gain appearance in every possible instance They are the most highly favored crimes for presentation. The percentages for the group of property crimes which are characterized by deceit (embezzlement, fraud, and forgery) are outstanding in this category during 1890; they show an important decline in 1904–5, and diminish substantially in 1921. The property crimes which usually involve

[1] The *Minneapolis Times* became defunct in September, 1905. This necessitated a split year: September 1, 1904, to August 31, 1905. In 1921, the *Minneapolis Star* replaced the *Times* as the third paper which was examined for this study.

[2] These violations have reference to commercialized vice, narcotic and gambling raids, and concerted campaigns for the arrest of the violators of pure food, traffic, liquor, and weights and measures laws.

[3] The number of newspaper mentions are: 3,059, 2,624, and 2,737 for the years 1890, 1904–5, and 1921, respectively.

violence (robbery and burglary) appear to a somewhat better advantage in 1904–5, and together with malicious injury to property in 1921 materially ex-

NUMBER OF ARRESTS AND PERCENTAGES OF ARRESTS APPEARING IN THE NEWSPAPERS: *Minneapolis Tribune, Journal, Times (Star)*, 1890, 1904–5, 1921*

	1890		1904–5		1921	
	Arrests	Percentage of Appearances	Arrests	Percentage of Appearances	Arrests	Percentage of Appearances
Murder	3	100.00	6	100.00	24	91.67
Manslaughter	3	100.00			18	94.44
Assault	660	36.06	606	20 46	633	8 21
Other			3	33.33		
Total	666	36 64	615	21.30	675	13 48
Robbery			21	100.00	342	71.93
Burglary	51	78.43	147	72 79	237	41 35
Larceny	1,134	55 47	1,407	46 84	1,605	22 37
Embezzlement	18	94 44	84	50 00	132	17 42
Fraud	57	77.20	60	68 33	384	17 19
Forgery	27	100 00	84	71 43	267	24.34
Malicious injury to property	12	33.33	87	28 74	42	57.14
Total	1,299	58.58	1,890	50 53	3,009	29 28
Rape	6	83 33	66	74 24	111	19 82
Fornication-adultery	111	34.23	45	33 33	99	2.02
Bastardy	72	50.00	78	6 41	351	.57
Bigamy					12	75 00
Commercialized vice	1,092	30 59	888	18 58	1,260	9 44
Other	72	34 72	84	23 81	66	12.12
Total	1,353	32 37	1,161	21 88	1,899	8.53
Judicial	66	31.82	102	32.35	114	28 95
Political	75	92 00				
All other offenses:						
Food-drugs	30	23.33	159	20 13	369	16 80
Narcotics			6	50 00	123	59 35
Drunkardness	6,978	4 00	10,374	1.94	14,241	00 80
Liquor	258	75 97	354	47.18	2,034	26.20
Disorderly conduct	1,407	21.40	1,194	15 08	2,505	4.95
Vagrancy	1,725	10.81	2,550	11.25	2,016	2.79
Gambling	129	49 01	264	39 39	855	14.85
Traffic	441	17.23	498	6.63	13,743	2.23
Violation against city ordinances	597	31.83	750	21.87	1,230	10 08
Non-support	45	48.89	264	12.12	873	2.18
Miscellaneous	282	31.21	534	8.99	162	3.10
Total	12,063	12.65	16,947	7.38	38,751	4.05
Grand total	15,422	19 85	20,714	12.67	44,448	6.16

* The arrests for each category in this table are multiplied by three since the three Minneapolis newspapers are considered in their totality.

ceed in importance the group of crimes which are associated with deceit. Rape is the most significant sex crime presented during each of the three years. In

contrast with the first two periods, the percentage for this offense shrinks appreciably during 1921. Bastardy, which ranks second among the sex offenses for 1890, diminishes to practical insignificance during 1921. The declines in the percentages for commercialized vice and "sex other" are materially less than for rape, bastardy, and fornication-adultery in 1921 as compared with the former periods. The more sensational of the sex offenses in 1921 appear to have diminished in editorial preference in favor of what may be termed the milder sex crimes. Offenses against the judicial administration, a category of minor importance, is presented quite uniformly during the three periods. About one-half the actual newspaper mentions for any given year are assigned to the major category "all other offenses." The percentages of "newspaper appearances" are by far the lowest since the bulk of the arrests are most highly concentrated in this category. Liquor, an outstanding offense in this category during the first two years, is outranked by narcotics in 1921. Although there is a wide variation in the importance assigned to gambling as compared with city ordinances in 1890, the difference for 1921 is slight. Non-support, which is presented significantly in 1890, receives but minor consideration during the last period.

From this brief analysis of crime news pertaining to the Minneapolis area it may be observed: (1) that the editorial policy of crime reporting shifts in the relative prominence accorded most of the crime categories during the three periods; (2) that there has been a decrease in the intensity of crime-news presentation during each of the successive periods (especially from 1904–5 to 1921). These conclusions are further reinforced by the following additional methods of analysis which are employed in the more extensive study:[4] (1) when, for corresponding local crimes, the percentages of arrests are related to crude space percentages in the consideration of all space allotted to these crimes, or that which is assigned to "follow-ups"; (2) when bases of comparison are established for the front-page display and the average size of the news items for each category in the "local" and "outside" classes.

[4] Ph D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1930

INFLUENCES OF METROPOLITAN CENTERS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD SUNDAY OBSERVANCE

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Anthropologists have suggested that culture elements or patterns have a geographic point of origin, termed a "culture center," and that they tend to be dispersed concentrically over an area, until a natural barrier or a spreading wave of a conflicting culture pattern is met. The spread is characterized by diminished progress according to the resistance encountered and by a deviation of type from the center of influence to the boundaries. This segregated geographical area so characterized is known as the "culture area."[1] It is a question of great interest whether these hypotheses, developed out of the study of primitive cultures, have any validity when applied to modern western civilization It is with such an attempted application that this paper deals.

There is a general consensus of opinion that two of our largest metropolitan centers, Philadelphia and New York, only ninety miles apart, differ in many of their cultural elements. In a seminar of which the writer was a member, this popular assumption was taken as a hypothesis to be tested by a variety of indexes of social attitudes and opinions.[2] Among these my investigation sought to determine whether, in the intervening state of New Jersey, it was possible to demarcate areas of influence by these centers, with respect to opposing culture patterns concerning the operation of motion picture theaters on Sunday. That is, in New York, theaters are open In Philadelphia, they are closed What is the situation in the intervening territory or zone, and where does the geographical line, if any, distinguishing the two policies fall?

The problem of procuring reliable data offered many difficulties. With the co-operation of the New Jersey Council of Religious Education, its general secretary, and its twenty-one county presidents, a questionnaire was distributed to a selected number of protestant ministers and Sunday-school superintendents in 210 communities of approximately 1,000 or more population The following questions were asked

Are the moving picture theaters in your community open on Sunday? Check (√) which: All _____
Some _____
None _____

[1] Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, pp. 55–61; Stuart A. Rice, *Farmers and Workers in American Politics*.

[2] Some of these are cited in *Statistics in Social Studies*, Stuart A. Rice (ed.), p. 191n.; also cf. *Measurements of Social Attitudes and Public Opinion, A Summary Report* of the Institute of Methods of Rural Sociological Research, U S Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics (Washington, December 31, 1929—January 4, 1930 [mimeographed by the Bureau], p. 19.

In which seasons of the year are the moving picture theaters in your community open on Sunday? Check (V) which: Spring _____
Summer _____
Fall _____
Winter _____

If possible, list the towns in your vicinity in which you know that the moving pictures are (A) open, (B) closed, on Sunday:

Remarks:

A 74 per cent return was secured from the questionnaires and the information obtained was supplemented from other sources. In all, data concerning 193 communities became available.

The outline map of New Jersey here presented (Fig. 1) shows diagrammatically which of these communities had open and closed Sundays. The closed circle was used to indicate closed Sundays and the open circle to indicate open Sundays. Attention may first be given to indications of the influence of New York on adjacent communities. Regardless of section 8 of the Vice and Immorality Acts, which provides that interludes, farces, plays, ... shall not be exhibited on Sunday in the state of New Jersey, the majority of the municipalities in that state within the metropolitan area of New York regulate their own Sunday observance. With a few exceptions the prevailing sentiment of the people in these communities is in favor of open Sunday in conformity to the New York custom.[3] Even in communities which have closed Sunday theaters in this region is this true. A few quotations from the remarks on the questionnaires will indicate the nature and strength of the sentiment in the New Jersey communities. "Discussions have taken place on this subject throughout Bergen County, several referenda have been held and each time the theatres have won"; "A straw vote conducted by the Chamber of Commerce gave 8 to 1 in favor of Sunday shows." The questionnaire from Newark contained this remark, "Theatres are heavily patronized on Sunday, to close them would be an impossibility, and if it were not, the action would create a storm of protest which would damage the influence of the church without compensating advantage." It should be noted again that the preceding statements are by clergymen. The opposing forces in the church organizations fail to bring an observance of Sunday laws.

If we shift our view to the southern portion of the map we get quite a different perspective. The police department of Philadelphia will not violate the Vice and Immorality Act of 1794 in Pennsylvania and issues permits for Sunday performances of any kind where money is raised by the sale of tickets or donations. Since the church is ever on the defensive any attempt of the commercial interests to open Sunday in Philadelphia is forcefully attacked. This Philadelphia influence is evident in those communities in New Jersey bordering Philadelphia. Numerous attempts have been made by theater and business interests to open theaters on Sunday but the opposing forces of the law and church are of sufficient strength to keep the theaters closed. Only one town within the neighboring

[3] Sunday moving picture shows have been legalized after 2:00 P.M.

counties was reported open. This exception is apparently due to the high percentage of foreign population and the vested interests of a large amusement

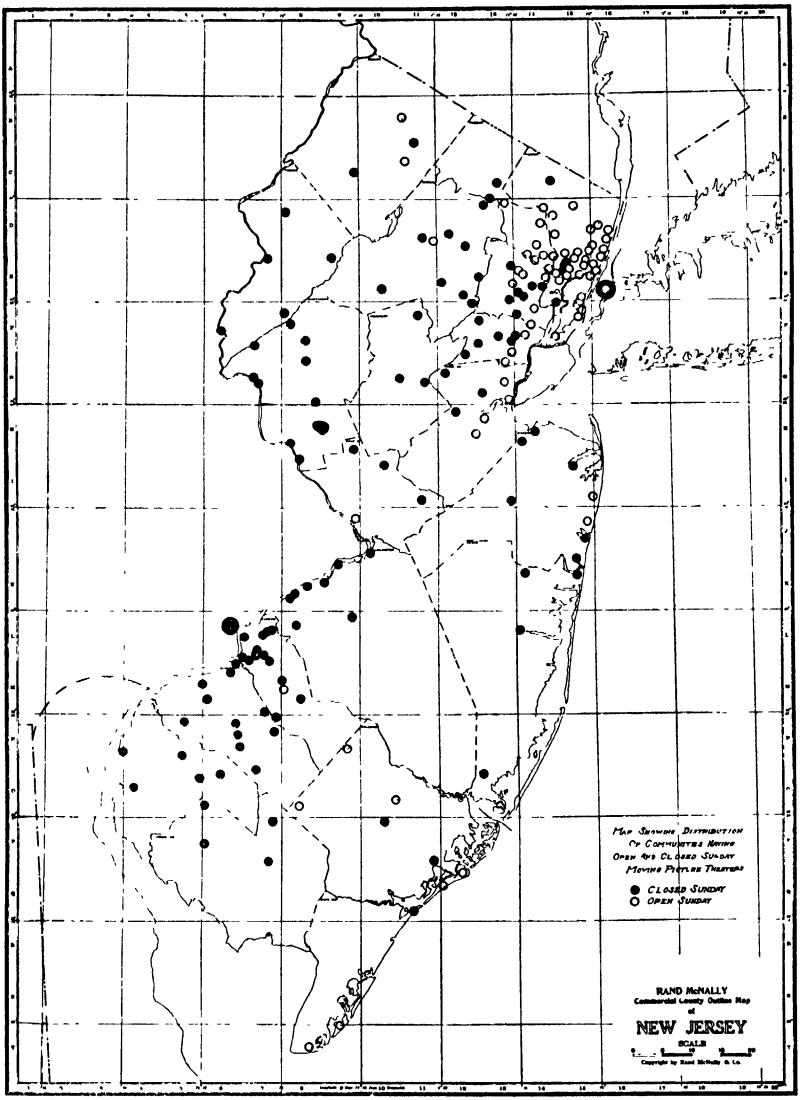

FIG. 1

park. Most questionnaires from this area contained such remarks as, "I know of no towns near us that have Sunday moving picture shows." The passive tone

of the replies from the Philadelphia region was such as to indicate the comparatively little social conflict on the subject in them as compared with the northern communities.

For reasons which seem obvious open Sunday prevails in most of the Atlantic shore communities. The largest and most popular pleasure and health resort is Atlantic City, whose theaters are open during the entire year. A comparison between a road map and my map of distribution will show a number of the towns along the main highways leading from Atlantic City with open Sundays. My interpretation of this fact is that Atlantic City is another center whose influence is diffused along the arteries of travel. This supports the contention that the process of diffusion in western culture is closely related to lines of transportation and communication, thereby departing from the anthropologists' concentric pattern.

In conclusion, it can be contended that, while the hypotheses with which the study began have not been established, the results are consistent with them. Zones of demarcation could not be drawn, but it is clearly evident that the attitudes of New Jersey residents, in the vicinities of the two great cities at its borders, are in accord on this question with the prevailing attitudes of these cities. Inadequate allowance could be made for the influence of indigenous secondary centers, such as Trenton, but in the case of Atlantic City an independent center of diffusion is suggested.

SECTION ON RURAL SOCIOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

THEO. B. MANNY, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

In line with the action of the Section at its annual business meeting in 1929, the program arrangements for the 1930 section meetings were radically changed. The number of section meetings was reduced. In order to have more time for discussion at the two section meetings planned for 1930, the six papers to be presented at these sessions were published as a *Year Book of the Section on Rural Sociology* in co-operation with the general society. This Year Book, known also as *Publication of the American Sociological Society,* Volume XXIV, Number 4, was mailed out to all members of the Society in November, 1930 The papers contained therein were given as ten-minute abstracts in the section meetings and the balance of the available time given over to discussion. The plan seemed to work fairly well, so much so that the section ordered its Executive Committee to continue the same method of operation for the 1931 meeting.

In addition to these two section meetings, the Rural Sociology Section had its usual joint luncheon with the American Farm Economics Association. The topic for this session was "A Social and Economic Program for Submarginal Agricultural Areas." Profesor J. A. Dickey, whose paper appears elsewhere in this volume, presented the sociologist's viewpoint, and Professor G S. Wehrwein, University of Wisconsin, represented the farm economists. His paper will appear in the *Journal of Farm Economics.*

The Section on Rural Sociology this year adopted a set of by-laws for the purpose of more clearly defining its structure and its relationship to the parent society. A copy of this action is included in the present report, as are also the minutes of the annual business meeting, committee reports, and the minutes of a meeting of the newly-elected Executive Committee of the section.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, HOTEL HOLLENDEN, CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 30, 1930

The annual business meeting was called to order at 4:45 P.M. with acting chairman Manny presiding. The minutes of the previous meeting (December 30, 1929) were read and approved.

The Steering Committee made the following report on items committed to its attention at the meeting of last year:

a) Through a circular letter the attention of a larger number of persons has been called to the Rural Sociology Section, and a membership invitation ex-

tended to them. By this process twenty-five new members were secured for the parent society, and $132.00 was obtained from Section members as voluntary contributions for the support of the *Year Book*.

b) Definite offers of co-operation were made to President Hoover's committees on Child Health and Protection, and Social Trends.

c) The question of the publication by the Section of the Charles Horton Cooley memorial brochure was reviewed. A recommendation was made that the matter be dropped.

Some of the members were unwilling to abandon the original plan of publishing the brochure. After further discussion a committee was appointed to reconsider the matter of publication. The committee was composed of Ernest Burhman, chairman, J. H. Kolb, and Eben Mumford.

The report of the Research Committee was read and accepted.

The report of the Extension Committee was read and accepted.

The report of the Population Committee was read and accepted.

There was no report from the Committee on Teaching.

A motion was carried that the secretary be instructed to prepare a list of those who have received research fellowships in rural sociology, and to report this list at the next meeting.

As instructed by the meeting of last year the Steering Committee presented a set of by-laws for adoption. After discussion and revision the by-laws were adopted unanimously.

The question of the continuation of the Year Book plan was raised. The chairman quoted secretary Burgess as saying that, in his opinion, our Section could have space in the *Year Book* another year if it desired. It was understood that other sections might enjoy the same privilege in the use of the *Year Book*. A motion was carried that the Rural Sociology Section continue the use of the *Year Book* for the next year.

A motion was carried directing the secretary-treasurer to pay $100.00 to the general Society to help defray the expenses of the current *Year Book* (published November, 1930).

The Resolutions Committee presented a resolution expressing appreciation to Dr. B. Youngblood for the efforts he has made to secure a specialist in rural sociology on the National Experiment Station staff.

The Committee on Nominations presented the following names: for chairman, T. B. Manny; for vice-chairman, Edmund deS. Brunner; for secretary-treasurer, H. J. Burt; for members-at-large of the Executive Committee, Fred C. Frey and A. F. Wileden. No nominations were made from the floor. The persons listed were unanimously elected.

The meeting adjourned at 5:55 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

H. J. BURT, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Rural Sociology Section

BY-LAWS OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGY SECTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I. NAME

SECTION 1. This organization shall be known as the Rural Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society.

ARTICLE II. OBJECT

SEC. 1. The object of this organization shall be the encouragement and development of research, teaching and extension activities in the field of Rural Sociology.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 1. Membership shall consist of those members of the American Sociological Society who indicate Rural Sociology as a field of interest.

ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS

SEC. 1. The officers shall consist of a chairman, a vice-chairman, and a secretary-treasurer. These shall be elected by a majority vote at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

SEC. 1. There shall be an Executive Committee composed of the officers, and two members-at-large. The members-at-large shall be elected by a majority vote at the annual meeting.

SEC. 2. The duties of the Executive Committee shall be to co-operate with the parent society, to arrange the annual meeting of the organization, and to perform such other duties as it seems to the best interests of the organization.

SEC. 3. The Executive Committee shall have power to fill vacancies in its membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect.

SEC. 4. The chairman shall have power to appoint temporary committees (including a nominating committee) as the need arises.

SEC. 5. Other committees may be created by vote of the organization.

SEC. 6. The nominating committee shall select at least one member of the retiring Executive Committee in the list of nominations which it submits. No member of the Executive Committee can be continued on this committee more than two years in succession.

ARTICLE VI. EXPENDITURES

SEC. 1. The Executive Committee, unless otherwise provided, shall control the expenditure of all funds.

ARTICLE VII. MEETINGS

SEC. 1. There shall be an annual business meeting held during the general meeting of the American Sociological Society.

SEC. 2. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII. QUORUM

SEC. 1. Twenty-five members shall constitute a quorum of the organization.

SEC. 2. Three members shall constitute a quorum of the executive committee.

ARTICLE IX. AMENDMENTS

SEC. 1. Amendments to these By-Laws shall be submitted over the signatures of at least ten members, and adopted by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any regular or special meeting.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Your committee on research has made no attempt to catalogue all the research projects now under way, as this is done by the Committee on Research Projects of the American Sociological Society.

With regard to the status of research under the Purnell Fund at the Agricultural Experiment Stations of the Land Grant Colleges, it begs to quote from the annual report of the Subcommittee on Research in Rural Social Organization under the Purnell Fund, made to the Committee on Projects and Correlation of Research of the American Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities in November, 1930, as follows:

Although research in rural sociology under the Purnell Fund has made considerable growth since it became available in 1924, it has been by no means what might be desired or reasonably expected. In 1924–25 there were 34 active sociological projects, and in 1929–30 there were 46, but at present there are only 26. During the whole period, there have been 69 active projects, 36 of which have been completed. The decrease in number by no means represents a decrease in the amount of work, but rather a consolidation of some projects and the discontinuance of some upon which little or no progress had been made.

In 1925–26, 11 states had one or more sociological research workers, while in 1929–30, this had increased to 21 states. In 1924–25, there were six research workers in rural sociology at the stations, whereas in 1929–30 there were 26. However, according to data furnished by the Office of Experiment Stations, the total allotments by the Stations for work in rural social organization for the year 1930–31 is only $80,293. Although this does not include state funds expended for the same purpose, it represents only 2.8 per cent of the total Purnell Funds appropriated to the states, and seems a rather insignificant proportion for so important a field of research, and particularly when it was specifically mentioned in the Purnell Act.

In considering the future development of work in this field, we feel that it will be influenced by how well it can take care of the following factors:

First: emphasis on projects outlined to suit apparent needs in the particular community, county, or state, as well as attention to purpose for making these studies, and the active interest and co-operation of organizations and individuals who are involved in the situation which is the subject of research.

Second: possibilities for higher degrees of correlation between farm management, home economics, agricultural economics, and rural sociology, looking toward synthesized results.

Third: the possibilities of interstate co-operation to stimulate pointed study, to provide comparable data, but not to direct administratively.

Fourth: effectiveness of definite contact with extension work to stimulate use of results as well as to guide new studies.

Fifth: the degree to which the reports of research throw new light on the fundamental facts of human association in rural areas with such scientific objectivity and

interpretation as will lead to the application of such knowledge in the improvement of the social organization of rural life.

The division of farm population and rural life of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture, has continued its annual study of the movement of population to and from farms in the United States, and has completed a statistical analysis of the farm population associated with size of farms, with value of farm land and buildings, with mortgaged owner-operated farms, with location of farms on kinds of roads, based on the *1925 Census of Agriculture*. A study of farm fire-fighting organizations is appearing soon as a Farmer's Bulletin, and an inventory of the small rural industries and handicrafts of Knott County, Kentucky, is under way. The field work has been completed of a study in trends in the relations of Ohio farmers to membership in state farm organizations, and is being prepared for publication. This is an investigation into the cultural backgrounds of members of organizations, ex-members, and non-members, to determine the influences which affect farmers favorably for membership in co-operative associations. This is the third unit of study into the psychology of farmers in relation to associative effort.

Concerning the increasing amount of rural social research by non-governmental agencies, we would note the following:

The Institute of Social and Religious Research, with the co-operation of the president's Committee on Social Trends, has well under way a project of national scope entitled "A Study of Rural Social Trends." It is largely based on a resurvey of most of the counties and all the villages studied in 1920, and 1924–25, and the general scope is identical with that of the reports published on these earlier investigations. This is the first extensive attempt to resurvey identical field projects in order to discover changes and determine trends.

Under the leadership of Dr. John D. Black, subcommittees of the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture of the Social Science Research Council, are preparing a series of monographs on scope and method of research in various fields of rural sociology. Through another subcommittee, of which Dr. E. deS. Brunner is chairman, and Miss Josephine Brown is the executive secretary, a rather comprehensive survey of the need for research in rural social work has been conducted and a plan for experimental research in this field has been prepared.

Recently Dr. Brunner has published[1] a report on research work carried on at non-state colleges, which shows a considerable amount of rather significant research which is rarely published. Most of this research is carried on by students, but there is much of it which would be of permanent value if it could be accumulated and made available to others.

A few of the theological seminaries are coming to see the value of research for their students and as a basis for teaching and are conducting careful studies

[1] E. deS. Brunner, "The Teaching of Rural Sociology and Rural Economics and the Conduct of Rural Social Research in Teachers' Colleges, Schools of Religion and Non-State Colleges," *Social Forces*, IX (October, 1930), pp. 54-57.

of local problems affecting the church; as, for example, a study of "The Religion of 200 Dairy Farmers of McHenry County (Illinois)" made by the Chicago Theological Seminary and a study of "Rural Religious Leadership" in the same county now under way. Where seminaries cluster about great urban centers, their resources for rural research might be turned into co-operative projects. A few of the State Federations of Churches have made careful surveys of the rural church situation in their territories, and there is large opportunity for assistance in the direction of such studies so that they may reveal the essential facts and be scientifically interpreted.

Your committee believes that if resources and leadership could be made available that there is an opportunity for conducting research of considerable value on such topics as the rural community and the rural family, by means of carefully prepared outlines which could be used by teachers of rural sociology who could supervise the studies of their students, and which might then be interpreted when a sufficient volume of these studies had been accumulated by the central leader directing them. It might also be worth while to consider the issuing of some of the best of these local studies as a mimeograph series for limited circulation, if funds for such a project could be secured.

Your committee also wishes to call attention to a few lines of research, which seem worthy of more extensive study than has yet been given them. Studies of rural-urban relationships are needed to show in a detailed way the interrelationships and interdependencies existing between these two major groups of the population. Each year the points of contact between these groups are increasing and it is important that facts be made available which will lead to mutual understanding and co-operation rather than conflict. The determination and better understanding of the social attitudes of farmers is essential to many programs of rural betterment. Research in this field demands the co-operation of social psychologists, but should be inaugurated by rural sociologists as rapidly as opportunity occurs.

With the exception of notable work by the universities of North Carolina and Virginia, little has been done by rural sociologists in the field of rural government. Sociological data on human ecology with regard to the relation of county, village, and township, may have great significance in working out forms of local government better adapted to existing needs, and needs study in other regions. Finally, there is a growing demand for careful descriptive studies of the rural family, both farm and village. We are coming to have a fairly adequate knowledge of the standard of living of the farm family, but concerning the family relationships, the influence of the family on its members, and the changes which family relationships are undergoing, we have little data, and there are only a very few attempts at discovering adequate techniques for exploring this most important but elusive subject.

Respectfully submitted,

DWIGHT SANDERSON, *Chairman*
C. R. HOFFER
CARL R. HUTCHINSON

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EXTENSION

The Committee on Extension during the past year has consisted of Director R. K. Bliss, Extension Service, Iowa State College, chairman; D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois; and A. Z. Mann, Garrett Biblical Institute. Its aims have been:

1. To develop through the U.S.D.A. Extension Service and the Committee on Extension Policy of the Land Grant College Association an official national meeting of extension sociologists.

2. To encourage the employment of a national rural sociologist on the extension staff of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

3. To co-operate with the American Country Life Association in developing a national country life conference.

Progress has been made along each of these three lines. Members of the committee, and at least three-fourths of the state extension sociologists were active in the development of the 1930 National Country Life Conference at Madison. They are making plans to attend the 1931 conference at Cornell.

Attention has been focused on the need for a national extension rural sociologist. A formal resolution has been sent by the state extension workers to Director C. W. Warburton of the U S D.A. Extension Service emphasizing the need.

The great achievement of the year has been the holding of an official Conference for Extension Rural Sociologists in which this group have agreed upon a statement of objectives. A brief statement of these objectives follows.

The general objectives in agricultural extension have been stated as . . . . "diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics and encouraging the application of the same" More adequate incomes, the co-operative spirit, the wise use of leisure time, and higher standards of life are results to be desired.

Rural sociology extension contributes to the attainment of these general objectives by developing with rural people the science and art of living and of working in groups, through assisting them in.

1. Analyzing their larger community situations.
2. Thinking through the principles underlying their group relationships.
3. Discovering needed adjustments.
4. Planning for desired improvements.
5. Developing practical methods of procedure.
6. Applying these methods.

This development is concerned with individual adjustments and with such group adjustments as:

1. The individual and the group in relation to the cultural environment.
2. The family group in its inner and outer relationships.
3. Voluntary interest group relationships (e.g., farmer clubs and associations, recreational groups, etc.).
4. Co-operative group relationships (e.g., membership morale).
5. Town and country relations.

6. Local governmental groups in relation to tax-supported institutions (e.g., schools, libraries, hospitals, public welfare, etc.).

The general objective is to stimulate and guide activities contributing to the development of human values and rural talent, and to assist rural people in developing and co-ordinating their various groups and institutions in relation to their priority and emphasis in community building.

OTHER RESULTS OF THE FIRST RURAL SOCIOLOGY EXTENSION WORKERS' CONFERENCE

At the suggestion of Dr. C. B. Smith, chief of Co-operative Extension Work, U.S.D.A, a committee was appointed to co-operate with the national office in the development of a bulletin to be published by the U.S.D A. Extension Service. This will present the objectives and plans of work in the states which have already employed Extension Rural Sociologists. Members of this committee are: A. F. Wileden, University of Wisconsin, chairman; D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, B. L. Hummel, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, E. L. Kirkpatrick, University of Wisconsin; and C. J. Galpin, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Since it is universally agreed that there is need for the closest of co-operation between research and extension, definite consideration was given to the research available for use, and to the outstanding needs. A committee appointed to make a study of the research most needed for extension, and to report at the next meeting, is composed of: Fred Boyd, University of Missouri, chairman; Eben Mumford, Michigan State College; T. B. Manny, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Also a committee on measurements of results in rural sociology extension was set up with the following membership. Fred Boyd, University of Missouri, chairman; A. F. Wileden, University of Wisconsin; and R. C. Smith, Ohio State University.

The group accepted the invitation of Director Nat. T. Frame of West Virginia to hold its next meeting at Ogleby Park following the 1931 A.C.L.A. conference (August 21).

To continue a unity of plans the following officers were elected: W. R. Gordon, Pennsylvania State College, president, and W. H. Stacy, Iowa State College, secretary.

H. K. BLISS, *Chairman*
A. Z. MANN
D. E. LINDSTROM

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON POPULATION

The Committee on Population of the Section on Rural Sociology of the American Sociological Society secured the co-operation or the consent of the Federal Census Bureau to tabulate the population for the unincorporated villages in a selected number of states. It is impossible at this time to state the success of the undertaking owing to the inability of the Census Bureau to deter-

mine just what may be done with the reports that were secured from the census enumerators on account of the difficulty of always knowing just the limits of the village.

The Committee wishes to call attention to the fact that certain of the recommendations which were passed at the meetings in 1928 and 1929 are being limitedly followed by the Census Bureau in tabulating and presenting the data of the *1930 Census*. This has not come as a result of the work of this Committee but from the general demand to provide more adequate information concerning farming and other rural population.

Respectfully submitted,

BRUCE L. MELVIN, *Chairman*
C. LUTHER FRY
WARREN S. THOMPSON

RURAL SOCIOLOGY SECTION

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, HOTEL HOLLENDEN, CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 30, 1930

The meeting was called to order at 10 P.M. by Chairman Manny with four members present.

It was decided to have two regular Section meetings, and a joint luncheon meeting with the farm economists, for next year. Since several of our men are now in the Orient it was proposed to build the theme of the joint luncheon on conditions in Asia, if that seems feasible when the time arrives.

It was agreed that not more than three papers should be presented at each of the Section meetings. The work of membership solicitation, continuing the plan of the present year, was delegated to A. F. Wileden.

The Committee authorized the reimbursement of the Rural Sociology Department, Columbia, Missouri, for stamps and mimeographing used during the year in carrying on the business of the Rural Sociology Section.

The following committees were appointed:

Population
W. S. Thompson, *Chairman*
B. L. Melvin
C. Luther Fry

Research
C. E. Lively, *Chairman*
B. L. Hummel
Walter A. Terpenning

Extension
W. R. Gordon, *Chairman*
W. H. Stacy, *Secretary*
E. L. Kirkpatrick

Teaching
Newell L. Sims, *Chairman*
(Miss) Stella Brown
T. L. Harris

The meeting adjourned at 11 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,
H. J. BURT, *Secretary-treasurer*
Rural Sociology Section

A SOCIAL PROGRAM FOR SUBMARGINAL LAND

J. A. DICKEY, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

A social and economic program for submarginal lands implies a conscious program for social control with respect to the utilization, acquisition, and ownership of submarginal lands, and the human developments arising out of its use. Such a program may be the result of direct legislative action by the federal, state, or local government, or it may take the form of indirect action by state or federal advisory commissions or agencies. In some cases, it may take the more subtle form of public approval or acquiescence of semi-public or private effort. This paper is concerned only with a social program as it relates to submarginal land in private ownership.

The term "submarginal lands" in this paper refers to agricultural lands in private ownership wherever the earnings of the farm family, as a result of the yield per acre, the small number of units of the farm business, due to the limits set by the type of enterprise or the topography, are below the level necessary to maintain those activities which affect human personality and character such as education, health, religion, and recreation at a standard conducive to the welfare of society.

At the outset, we might ask ourselves what are some of the considerations of public interest that appear to justify an attempt to influence the course of the development of those activities such as schools, churches, health, and recreational facilities which affect human personality, and which we hereafter will refer to as social utilities, accordingly as distinguished from leaving it to the free play of individual and local community initiative. Admittedly, such a course constitutes a radical departure from long-established policies and must be justified by considerations of paramount significance.

In the first place, the public interest in submarginal areas is in connection with the quantity and quality of the products produced and consumed in these areas. These areas not only produce food and fiber but provide population for other farming areas and for the city as well. The efficiency with which the food and fiber is produced as well as the quality of the population is of paramount public concern. Social utilities serving the farmer's interest affect, in a large way, the efficiency with which both food and fiber are produced and the resulting quality of the population. The public interest, accordingly, is directly served by any program that has as its objective the maintenance of social institutions and agencies in these areas of a character comparable with American ideals.

Secondly, the low density of population, the shifting of population, and quite often the rough topography characteristic of submarginal areas, lowers the degree of efficiency with which tax funds are expended and makes such areas high-cost areas from the standpoint of maintaining social institutions and agencies. In one sense of the term, agricultural lands that are submarginal from the stand-

point of production are usually submarginal from the standpoint of consumption. This condition may require a policy of ultimate abandonment. If we can assume that a definite policy of land utilization on the part of local, state, and national interest is soon to emerge, that will have as a part of its program the orderly abandonment of submarginal lands, a social program would serve as a means of preventing, as nearly as possible, submarginal areas from producing submarginal citizens during the period of abandonment and at the same time facilitate abandonment by developing interests that would enable the population to more readily adjust itself in a new environment.

While a social program would recognize the necessity for ultimate abandonment, it must also recognize, as is pointed out later, that abandonment of submarginal areas in itself may not prove a solution to the economic and social problems of the farm people or better serve the interests of society as a whole unless the population leaving submarginal lands by so doing improves its economic and social standing.

Thirdly, it is evident that the shifting of agriculture of all types to those regions best suited by reason of climate, soil, topography, and other resources and the increased use of machinery, will result in a considerable amount of submarginal land being utilized for agricultural purposes, for a number of years to come. Just what proportion of the farm population will continue on submarginal lands cannot be satisfactorily estimated, but it is apparent that a considerable proportion of the farm population will continue indefinitely to occupy submarginal lands Public interest requires whatever program that will enable these people to foster and develop as many interests as possible which promote economic and social efficiency in order that they may contribute the most possible to the progress of the nation whether residing permanently on submarginal lands or in time in other environments.

Social adequacy of the people on any agricultural land requires the maintenance of those institutions and agencies of whatsoever kind and standard necessary to stimulate and serve the growing interests of the present generation, and to provide the basis for a more efficient citizenship of the future. Obviously, the standard of these utilities, on the average, cannot be placed on a plane higher than the farm business can support together with whatever public support may be essential to insure that the interest of the public welfare is protected. In this connection, two considerations, which provide the basis for a social program for submarginal agricultural lands, arise. First, it appears that the public has not accepted the measure of responsibility in connection with the social welfare of the people of submarginal areas that its interest, as previously set forth, requires. "A national program for the improvement of country schools, having as its goal the placing within the reach of every country child as good a school as is within the reach of any city child, would do more good and less harm than most programs of farm relief."[1] But the interest of the public is not fully served until it includes consideration for health, roads, recreation, libraries, power facilities, and in some measure, religious education.

[1] T. N. Carver, "Rural Depopulation," *Journal of Farm Economics,* January, 1927.

Secondly, for all time the dollar of the farmer, whether on submarginal or supermarginal lands, but to a much greater extent on submarginal lands, has purchased less of most commodities, especially those that might be termed social utilities, than the dollar of the urban dweller.

On this basis the principal characteristics of a social program for submarginal agricultural lands include: (1) obtaining a higher degree of efficiency in the expenditure of the income available for social utilities, and (2) extending federal and state support for schools, to include health, roads, libraries, recreation facilities, and reforestation. Such a program is so general that it may be accepted without serious objection. But, to put such a program into practice is not as easy as merely stating it. Just as cleared land precedes production, similarly, a workable comprehensive social program will not be enacted until the ground is cleared of obstructions. It shall be our purpose, mainly, to examine these obstructions rather than to elaborate a social program.

FORCES WHICH OBSTRUCT THE PUBLIC'S UNDERSTANDING OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR A SOCIAL PROGRAM FOR SUBMARGINAL AGRICULTURAL LANDS

Lack of a land utilization policy—One of the most important obstructions results from our "laissez faire" attitude toward land utilization based upon the assumption of the classical economists that private initiative in the selection of land for agricultural utilization results in the greatest individual and collective good This policy has resulted in public lands being turned into privately owned land as expeditiously as possible, beginning first with the attempt to sell land and ending by giving it away, largely on the single condition that it be used for agriculture. Such a policy seems to imply that each farm would be a self-sufficing unit and that our agricultural society would be composed of many economically independent organisms, but socially united to form a rural community. Under such a policy the more farmers the better, since there would be more neighbors to support better schools and build better roads. Whatever merit this policy may have had under a self-sufficing agriculture and a non-commercial standard of living is lost under a commercial type of agriculture and a pecuniary standard of consumption. So long as such a conception of agriculture as an industry prevails and no co-operative federal, state, and local policy of land utilization develops, it will be difficult to develop any comprehensive social program on submarginal lands that would justify any very great increase in public financial aid.

Lack of a policy of utilizing agricultural lands abandoned for taxes.—The policies of state governments of passing on to unwary farmers lands abandoned for taxation is not conducive to the maintenance of social utilities adequate to serve the interests of the farmer on submarginal lands; neither does it aid in clarifying the public's responsibility to the farmer on submarginal agricultural lands. Institutions maintained in such areas are always high-cost institutions, and the ability of the people to support institutions is at a minimum. On the

other hand, the interest of society requires that some form of assistance be provided to aid in maintaining social institutions and agencies, for once an agricultural area is settled abandonment is so slow that social starvation may occur before abandonment is complete. "An agricultural region may be settled very quickly, but, if a mistake is made, abandonment is an exceedingly slow and painful process. In most of the areas, abandonment has been going on for fifty to seventy-five years and is yet far from complete."[2] The opportunity of the state to avoid this dilemma lies largely in discouraging settlement on lands abandoned for taxes, rather than encouraging settlement.

No adequate method of defining submarginal areas.—Very little is known as to what criterion should be used in determining the margin which may become the basis of public policies. The classical definition of the extensive agricultural margin, namely, land where the yield is just about equivalent to what the requisite labor and capital can command in alternative employment and leave enough for the land to equal at least what it would earn in the next most advantageous use, may be suitable from an individual point of view, but unsuitable from the standpoint of public policy. As indicated by the definition of submarginal lands at the outset, there are lands on which the yield per unit of cost is sufficient to meet the prevailing rates for the instruments of production, but on which, due to the small number of units possible as the result of the type of enterprise, such for instance, as in the case of cotton in much of our upland cotton areas, the amount per family is so small as to make these lands marginal when balanced against the cost of social utilities essential to the welfare of the farmer and society. In one area in the upland section of Arkansas, the total number of days of work per farm family was 281 and net return per day for the 281 days of family labor was $1.52 plus a house to live in and other farm perquisites These lands from the standpoint of the classical definition of marginality are not marginal, but from the standpoint of citizenship they are destined to produce submarginal citizens. In fact, most of the increase in the amount of land becoming submarginal is due to the improvement in the standard of living in other areas.

There are still other areas, so located with reference to villages and towns, where the yield is below that necessary to meet current charges for labor, capital, and land, but where the cost of obtaining social utilities is such as to make these lands more desirable from the standpoint of maintaining a representative standard of living than lands on which a higher earning is possible.

In the area previously referred to, about 25 per cent of the farmers had sufficient areas in the unit of operation that they were able to obtain slightly more than 800 days of work per family, giving them a net family income equal to that of the average farmer on better land. If, however, this area was farmed on the basis of successful farms there would be such a low density of population and lack of coherence that the opportunity for social utilities anywhere near com-

[2] Lawrence M. Vaughan, *Abandoned Farm Areas in New York* (Cornell University, Ithaca, New York), Bulletin 490, p. 250.

parable with those of farmers in other areas and the people in urban areas would depend quite largely on public support. The highest degree of efficiency in the use of local tax moneys would not likely provide this area with anything but the most meager social utilities. We are greatly in need of a method for determining more adequately than has been developed thus far the degree of marginality of agricultural lands with both the economic and social points of view considered

What of the farmer and his family after abandoning the farm?—We know very little of the comparative opportunities in other fields for the farmers who are to abandon marginal lands. One study of abandoning farm areas shows that 49 per cent of the people leaving submarginal areas became farmers on other lands, leaving 51 per cent going into other occupations.[3] This is about the only material showing what became of the people who abandoned submarginal lands If we assume that the 49 per cent succeeded in establishing themselves on better lands and as a result the good of society was better served by the change, we know nothing as to whether or not the interest of society was better served by the urbanization of the remaining 51 per cent. We know definitely very little of the conditions in which this 51 per cent find themselves in urban areas. We do not know whether or not they added to the problem of unemployment of the working people already in cities. The movement from rural areas, in the past, has been spasmodic largely at the peaks of industrial prosperity and usually arriving in cities just in time to add to the impending group of unemployed. In fact, abandonment of agricultural lands seldom becomes a problem of rural economists and rural sociologists except near the bottom of the troughs of an agricultural depression.

Is a rural population essential to society: if so what is the proportion most desirable?—This raises the whole problem of the lack of a policy regarding the balance of population between rural and urban. Would the interests of the rural and urban society be better served if a certain proportion of the population remained rural? If so, what is the proportion? Are we justified in leaving to a "laissez faire" policy the matter of determining what proportion of our population should be urban and rural? It is not the intention of this paper to attempt to answer these questions, but merely to show the relation of a policy regarding the balance of population as between rural and urban to the problem of a social program for submarginal areas.

From one point of view, a proportion of the population sufficient to produce the food and fiber of the nation together with whatever of these products may be profitably exported might be considered the proper proportion of rural population. On this basis, the proportion of rural and urban population depends, mainly, upon the efficiency with which agriculture is conducted and the increase of population, particularly in our own nation. Exactly what proportion of the population is required on this basis is not known. From past trends in the rate of increase in the efficiency of agriculture and the increase in population, rural

[3] *Ibid*, p. 261.

population is likely to decline still further. It has been suggested that perhaps 15 per cent of our population located on better lands is sufficient to produce the food and fiber of the nation. Such a tendency does not warrant any necessity for uneasiness, on the average, as to our supply of food and fiber, or any expectation of the disappearance of the rural population in the future, or a complete urbanization of the agricultural world. But there are other considerations that it may imperil.

We are not only concerned with the proportion of our population that is rural from the standpoint of our food and fiber supply, or from the standpoint of the rural people themselves, but from the standpoint of urban society as well. In this connection, rural values and ideals play an important part in urban progress Just how important it is difficult to measure. One author, following a rather lengthy presentation of rural-urban contrasts, concludes,

> that the rural population, compared with the urban, is not worse in bodily traits, in health, in vitality, in mentality (when the bulk of the urban population is taken), in religiosity, in morality, in sociality, and in artistic sense. On the contrary, the vast body of the data existing rather suggest that the rural population is somewhat better in some of these respects than the bulk of the urban population. In so far as good health, strong vitality, sound common sense and intelligence, manifolded direct experience, low criminality, firm religiosity, strong and clean family life, political cautiousness and sound conservation, relative immunity to radicalism, anarchism, and revolutionism with their satellites, development of private initiative and responsibility, and developed artistic sense, are positive values for any society, the existence of agricultural life and the rural world are positive values for any society.[4]

Unquestionably, the progress of urban society is very definitely linked with the quality of the surrounding rural population In ways quite different but similar in the functions they perform, the cities contribute to a healthy rural growth. Rural areas need the cities as places where the surplus of rural population may go and thus relieve the pressure of overpopulation in agriculture In other ways the cities serve the needs of rural society The interests of these two worlds are coexistent. In other words, we may find ourselves in need of whatever rural population is essential to enable both rural and urban society to function individually and collectively as the most positive means of progress possible.

Any program of abandonment of submarginal lands that does not take into consideration the interdependence and complimentary nature of the rural and urban worlds will not, in the long run, prove to be a very great improvement over our present "laissez faire" policy of land utilization. So dependent is the welfare of the city upon an efficient and wholesome outlying rural civilization that it may be essential to "go so far as to say that some measure of pecuniary advantage should be sacrificed in favor of keeping a country rural to a considerable degree.

[4] Sorokin and Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (Henry Holt & Co., 1929), p. 608.

In other words, a nation can afford even to burden the city industries a little and subsidize rural life."[5]

It is apparent that considerable research on the part of sociologists is essential to aid in the development of a comprehensive policy of land utilization.

Standards of living in relation to efficiency in production.—The point of view of a large part of the industrial world, as indicated by recent tariff policies, that the lower the standard of living that exists on farms the cheaper will be the supply of foods and raw materials for industry stands in the path of developing an adequate social program for farm people in submarginal areas. This point of view results partly from the fact that foreign markets for manufactured goods have been growing at a faster rate than the market provided by the farmer. As a consequence the manufacturer is more interested in the farmer as a factor in the cost of manufactured products than as a consumer of manufactured products. This point of view fails to take into consideration the fact that efficient production of food and fiber is not dependent on a lower standard of living and that the manufacturer is to quite an extent dependent upon the submarginal agricultural areas for labor, the efficiency of which affects the cost of manufactured goods.

Other obstructions.—There are still other obstructions of more or less minor importance standing in the way of the public recognizing its responsibility in supporting a social program for submarginal areas. As a result of the tremendous improvement in industrial technique many city people still reason that the agricultural depression is the result of the failure of the farmer to apply so-called scientific methods. This is true especially of city people who formerly lived on farms, or were reared on farms, and who have moved to the city, but have failed to keep pace with the developments that have occurred in agriculture. So prominent has the so-called scientific method become that it has led to a tendency to neglect the part that land plays in agricultural production. Apparently, the scientific methods are expected to produce adequate returns regardless of the differences in soil characteristics.

The idea persists in the minds of many people that agriculture is still in a self-sufficient stage and so long as farmers produce the bare necessities of life on the farm all is well with the farmer. The idea that food is all important applies only to primitive people. Such a conception of the problem results from the lack of any clearly defined statement of the rural life problem.

FORCES WHICH TEND TO PREVENT A MORE EFFICIENT USE OF THE INCOME AVAILABLE FOR SOCIAL UTILITIES

As previously pointed out, the farmer's dollar purchases less of educational, health, recreational, and other requirements in the form of social utilities than the dollar of other occupational groups. This difference in the purchasing ability of the dollar of the farmer and that of other occupations is quite largely due to

[5] John D. Black, *Agricultural Reform in the United States* (McGraw-Hill Book Co, Inc., 1929), p. 58.

the lack of a sufficient volume of business per unit as a result of the low density of population and the difference in time and space as they affect the farmer and those of other occupations. On the average, the population on submarginal lands is more sparsely settled than that on other areas. While these differences, due to the nature of the environment, will never be entirely overcome, there are some factors in the problem of increasing the efficiency with which the farmer's dollar purchases educational, health, and recreational requirements along with the other social utilities, that seem to lend themselves to improvement.

The local unit of government.—Whether the farm population on submarginal areas does or does not receive the public support, which the interest of society as a whole seems to warrant, in their struggle to obtain social utilities comparable with those of other areas the local administrative governmental unit is an important factor in determining the adequacy of social utilities.

As a result of some realization that larger units of local administration having sufficient population and wealth are needed to support rural institutions and agencies such as schools, roads, churches, health units, etc., there is a general reorganization of these single purpose units of administration in some regions The reorganization in the main is simply that of enlarging former units, and goes no farther in co-ordinating these single purposes about a common center than was formerly the case. Neither does this reorganization in any way solve the problem of improving the municipal apparatus of the farmer. In general the reorganization of the single purpose unit merely emphasizes the need for some type of municipal unit suitable to co-ordinate and organize the interest groups of the farmer. But, in general, the recent tendencies toward reorganization do not get at the roots of the problem.

Unquestionably, the farmer in many instances, is an important part of the urban municipality, especially in the more agricultural areas, and yet he has little or no part in it. Can the existing urban municipalities, recognizing the characteristics of American agriculture, develop the technique for providing the farmer with the type of municipal mechanism that his growing interests need? The question has not been answered, and it should form a large part of the research program of all research agencies.

Regardless of whatever the size or type of municipality that is finally to evolve, the efficiency with which tax moneys are expended and the standard of social utilities, in the meantime, depend upon the formation of a municipality equipped with the legal powers and an economic and social environment for efficacious home rule and other municipality mechanisms essential to promote and integrate all of the interests of rural and urban folk. The lack of a municipality suitable to serve the interests of the rural people stands like a mountain in the path of the progress of rural people, and the lower the density of population and the smaller the amount of wealth such as is characteristic of submarginal agricultural lands, the greater the obstruction.

A social program for submarginal areas that includes the maintenance of those institutions and agencies which affect personality at a standard comparable

with American ideals, depends upon the adequacy of the local municipality and the extent to which the public recognizes its responsibility to rural people. To enable the public to recognize its responsibility it is necessary to blast out of the way our "laissez-faire" policy of land utilization and substitute a comprehensive policy of land utilization that will recognize the interdependence and coexistence of a rural and urban population and the necessity of maintaining that proportion of the total population in rural areas that the best interests of the nation as a whole requires, even at some financial sacrifice on the part of urban areas. If, at the same time, we can remint our local government in such a way that municipalities are based on an efficacious home rule with the necessary equipment to promote and co-ordinate the institutional needs of all the people, we will have gone a long way toward providing the basis of a social program for submarginal agricultural land.

A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR SUBMARGINAL AGRICULTURAL AREAS

G. S. WEHRWEIN, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

The "submarginal area" treated in this paper is the cut-over area of the Lake states. It is characterized by, (1) scattered communities of farmers on good land, (2) small areas of timber which are rapidly disappearing, (3) regions of recreational land of high value—these three land-uses form the effective part of the tax base for the area—(4) areas of undeveloped good farm land now cut-over, (5) large areas of land submarginal for agriculture, also cut-over, (6) scattered areas of abandoned farms, some being submarginal land—the last three represent the non-productive land, all for sale, becoming more and more tax delinquent and reverting to the county or state for taxes—(7) a decreasing tax base as the non-productive lands become delinquent or become public property, (8) increasing governmental costs, partly due to the fact that towns, schools, roads, etc , were projected during a period of expansion, (9) a recession in many respects bringing social problems as well as problems of readjustment of land uses.

A suggested program will involve, among others, (1) agricultural settlement is not to be stimulated at the present time, but if there is any such movement, it ought to rehabilitate the partly improved farms on good land first and be close to settled communities to avoid road and school costs; (2) the rapid development and clearing of existing farms, (3) stimulation of the use of land for recreation, (4) reforestation of all land not suited or needed for agriculture by public and private agencies. Public action necessary: (1) physical and economic surveys of the counties of the area, (2) zoning, with directing land into its proper use, (3) economical development of schools, roads, in line with the zoning program, (4) taking title to all tax delinquent lands and converting non-agricultural public land into forests and recreational lands, (5) consolidation of schools or, better still, a county unit school system, (6) consolidation of towns and counties or abolish the town system entirely, (7) extend the system of federal and state aid for schools, roads, and include forestry, (8) proper taxation to stimulate private reforestation and to relieve farm and recreational land, (9) legislation which will relieve the county of its peculiar position (in Wisconsin).

ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS AND SOCIAL CONFLICTS[1]

C R. HOFFER, MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

SOCIAL CONFLICTS IN A RURAL SCHOOL SITUATION[1]

J. L. HYPES, CONNECTICUT AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

ADJUSTMENT OF CONFLICT AMONG TOWN AND COUNTRY CHURCHES[1]

ALBERT Z MANN, GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

A RURAL-URBAN CONFLICT SERIES[1]

EDMUND DES BRUNNER, INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH

INTERCOMMUNITY CONFLICT[1]

B. L. HUMMEL, VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

TOWN-COUNTRY CONFLICT[1]

WALTER BURR, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

[1] Published in full in the *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, Vol XXIV, No 4 (November, 1930).

SECTION ON SOCIAL STATISTICS

WELFARE AND INSTITUTIONAL STATISTICS IN THE UNITED STATES

HORATIO M. POLLOCK, NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HYGIENE

Notwithstanding the significant gains made in institutional and welfare statistics in recent years, we are still unable to answer many fundamental questions relating to dependency, delinquency, disease, or mental or physical deficiencies. We still lack data to enable us to evaluate the work of private and governmental agencies in the welfare field.

The collection of vital statistics in the United States points the way to the collection of better statistics in the welfare field.

It is accordingly suggested that provision be made for the annual registration of all individuals constituting the population of the country. For each individual there should be a genealogy record, a health record, a school record, an occupation record, a social relations record, etc. These would be permanent records and would be accessible for all legitimate purposes, including scientific study

A STATISTICO-LEGAL STUDY OF THE DIVORCE PROBLEM

L. C. MARSHALL, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

The development of institutional statistics should be in terms of the purposes which are to be served by the data. It is convenient to think of the purposes of judicial divorce statistics as being mainly two: (1) provision of data and reports for the information and guidance of the officials in the judicial system, and (2) provision of data and reports for the information and guidance of the general public, including in this public not only the ordinary citizen but also legislators and students.

The most cursory examination of our statistics of divorce indicates that in their present form they fall far short of these criteria.

A piece of work is now under way which looks toward the formulation and installation of a more comprehensive system of judicial divorce statistics—a piece of work now in process under the auspices of the Judicial Councils of Ohio (a "code" state) and Maryland (a "common law" state).

This work breaks into three parts: (1) finding out what should be included in such a system of statistics; (2) thinking through, for the underlying records and documents, an organization which would make the required data available; and (3) securing the installation of the system.

THE OBSERVABILITY OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA WITH RESPECT TO STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS, YALE UNIVERSITY

Probably the most illuminating studies in the field of social interaction have used some form of direct observation. Techniques of controlled observation are being developed which, it is thought, will produce data suitable for statistical analysis. Probably "significant" elements are selected for observation, defined in such a way as to have quantitative rather than qualitative similarity (the same *form,* rather than the same *meaning*). These units are recorded as they recur in situations involving social interaction. Control of the observer rather than of the situation is attempted. The criteria of control in observational techniques are the degree of agreement of observers, working simultaneously but independently, and the consistency of each observer with his own previous records of the same events (tested through observation of talking moving pictures).

Two attempts to develop techniques of controlled observation are described. In the study of the social interaction of young children, the general aim was to develop measurements of the relative proportions of overt activity of different individuals concerned with materials and abstractions, other persons, and the self. The material activities were first isolated Independent studies were then initiated to isolate, in timing techniques, the elements involving other persons These eventually resulted in the definition of units in terms of physical contacts made and received, and verbal contacts made and received. The self activities were defined in terms of talking to the self, other vocalization (whistling, singing, etc), laughing, crying, physical activity without materials, and no overt activity. Verbal activity was studied independently and analyzed (on a simple grammatical basis) in terms of reference to materials, other persons, and the self. Finally, a combined technique evolved.

The attempt to study social interaction in a simple industrial situation is still in the early stage of developing a technique. At the present stage, job activity, physical activity other than job activity, physical contacts, and vocalization (to persons and to the self) are recorded. Verbal activity is classified in terms of reference to the job, and to other activities. Records are made in terms of five-second intervals.

The problems involved in controlled direct observation are discussed in detail in terms of: (1) Quantitative versus qualitative similarity of units of observation, (2) Simultaneous observation as a test of reliability, (3) Consistency of the observer, (4) The sampling process, (5) The validity of such data for statistical analysis, (6) The sociological "significance" of data of this sort.

SECTION ON EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

GEORGE S. COUNTS, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The methods of controlling public education in the United States took their essential form in the days of the agrarian order. At that time the school itself was a social institution of minor importance serving the simple needs of a simple society. Under these conditions the school committee or school board, composed of a small number of like-minded neighbors, was quite competent to deal with the problems arising in connection with the conduct of the school.

The rise of industrial society has placed a severe strain upon the mechanism inherited from the past. In the larger centers at least the relatively homogeneous community has passed away and has given place to a community of enormous complexity and diversity of interest. Every American city of any size is cut across and divided by innumerable groups—economic, political, religious, cultural, racial—which seem to exhibit an ever increasing degree of self-consciousness and organization.

At the same time the school has grown and expanded until it has become a major social institution. And practically every powerful minority in the community endeavors to bend the school to its will. As a consequence in almost every industrial community the school is a bone of contention among these warring groups. Moreover, actual authority no longer rests with the board of education whose members are supposed to represent the interests of the community as a whole This body is merely the center upon which the most varied and conflicting forces constantly play. A major educational and political task of our time therefore is that of protecting the school from the heat of this struggle and also of making it sensitive to the more deep-flowing currents of social change.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

W. G. KIMMEL, COMMISSION ON INVESTIGATION OF HISTORY AND OTHER SOCIAL STUDIES

Organized labor has always maintained an active interest in the public schools. This paper includes a review of the activities of organized labor in its relations with the public schools since Curoe's study (1924), including recommendations on representation on boards of education; investigation of textbooks in the social studies, and plans of school organization; activities in behalf of teachers' salaries, teacher tenure, uniform compulsory attendance legislation, and industrial education. The plan of organization used by organized labor—national, state, and local—in relations with the schools is also described.

MINORITY CONTROL OF EDUCATION THROUGH LEGISLATION

NEWTON EDWARDS, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The modern school must operate in the midst of a large number of social groups, each with its own social values, and each desirous of having the school accept its values as true. An examination of educational legislation enacted during the past three or four decades reveals a growing tendency to prescribe the subjects and attitudes that shall be taught in the public schools. Such is the case especially with respect to subject matter which has to do with nationalism and with theories of social organization and political control. Certain well-organized groups have succeeded in getting enacted legislation which employs the purposes for which they stand. Many of the objects which such legislation seeks to accomplish are certainly laudable. Others, it seems, may be properly questioned In either case, the method is fundamentally wrong. In most instances the content of the curriculum should not be determined by statutory enactment; it is a matter to be determined by the proper school authorities. In the whole field of educational legislation there seems to be a great deal of confusion between legislative and administrative functions.

THE ITALIAN IMMIGRANT AND THE SCHOOLS

LEONARD COVELLO, DE WITT CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL

This paper analyzes the conflict which in New York City alone affects about 12,000 boys of Italian origin in the critical high-school period. It discusses the relation of the school to the immigrant home and the adjustments which are necessary. It shows further how the school in spite of its strategic position in the Italian immigrant community has generally held itself aloof and has not carried out its mission of conciliation. It explains the antagonism of the Italian parent toward American life, toward the long period of training in the schools, toward our emphasis on sports, etc It explains how this conflict is heightened by contrast between Italian education which the father knows and education as he sees it in America, and by the barrier which arises because of the lack of a common language in the home. The paper shows how the school can be a real conciliatory factor because of its close contact with all Italian immigrant homes and because it is the institution respected by the Italian immigrant. A whole program of activities is outlined for young men of Italian origin educated in America who can interpret American life to the immigrant parent and the immigrant parent to America The study of the Italian language which makes possible closer family solidarity and the merging of the old culture and the new is advocated because of its social value. And finally the paper shows how the teacher of Italian can assume a rôle of decided social significance and become the strongest link between American culture and the Italian immigrant family.

SECTION ON THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY

NOTES ON THE MEETING ON EXPERIMENTAL SOCIOLOGY HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

WILLIAM F. OGBURN, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

For a number of years past the Society has held special meetings on the teaching of sociology and at the past meeting it was decided that a special session be held on the very interesting topic of experimental sociology. This topic has not been on the program of the Sociological Society for discussion in recent years, if ever.

Professor H. C. Brearley of Clemson College, South Carolina, read a very interesting paper which he has had in preparation for a large part of the past year in which he summarized the different concepts of experimental sociology and also certain experiences in this field. In going through the literature he found more than twenty different conceptions of experimental sociology. He reviewed various attempts to experiment according to certain of these conceptions.

Professor Hornell Hart followed with a vivid account of certain newer experiments in sociology which have been tried out in recent years either by himself or the group that are associated with him at Bryn Mawr. These were varied and Professor Hart also described several new experiments in research and in teaching with which he is familiar.

The last paper was presented by Professor Dorothy Thomas of Yale University. For the past few years Dr. Thomas has been setting up controlled experiments in behavior, particularly group behavior, of children. This work was described and special emphasis was laid upon the importance of units of measurement, which are commonly found in the natural sciences and rarely in psychology, and upon exactitude in measurement.

Considerable emphasis was placed by various speakers upon the fact that experiment in a scientific sense means controlling all of the variables except the ones being studied. It was pointed out that certain statistical procedures achieve this result. Against the experimental method it was argued by Professor Abel of Columbia University that experiments were of little use in the social sciences because they are essentially artificial and therefore different from behavior in society which is the thing the sociologists are interested in. In general the discussion brought out in fairly sharp relief a few of the more important concepts of experimental sociology and this was probably the chief service of the meeting. The issues were clear-cut and, although no agreement seemed to be reached, it was felt that the issues involved in experimental sociology had been clearly brought to the fore.

THE TEACHING AND CONTENT OF INTRODUCTORY COURSES IN GENERAL SOCIOLOGY

ERVILLE B. WOODS, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Teaching.—Methods of teaching must be adapted to age, preparation, and purposes of students. *Who should teach the introductory course?* All members of the department. Participation in teaching the elementary course broadens the instructor's interests, corrects overspecialization, and integrates the work of the entire department, for which the course should serve as a general prerequisite. *What classroom methods should be used?* Lectures, informal oral discussions, projects, and field problems where feasible. Methods should vary with the personalities and aptitudes of the various teachers collaborating in the course. *What leading materials should be assigned?* A variety of sources is better than a single textbook.

Content.—Various approaches to the study of sociology are proper and inevitable. The principal desiderata in an introductory course may be said to be unity of content, reality, and vitality. *How may unity in the introductory course be assured?* By making one aspect of the subject central and relating the others to it. The cultural approach is suitable for developing unity of treatment. *How may a sense of reality be secured in the introductory course?* By emphasizing the identity of the culture-building factors and processes in all ages and circumstances Value of concrete ethnographic and demographic materials. *How may the introductory course be kept vital?* By stressing the contribution which sociological analyses of cultural situations are able to make to the understanding and control of social change today Need for a re-emphasis upon the dynamic note in sociological teaching.

INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY

R. E. BABER, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

A study of the introductory texts in the field shows five more or less distinct conceptions of and approaches to sociology. The four leaders show three—and possibly four—points of view and methods of treatment. The range of books used in this course the country over is remarkably wide and covers a surprising variety of subjects. A study of 20 of the more commonly used texts, from a list of some 45 used in over 500 colleges that were checked, shows how dangerously near we are to the claims of Heinz. While admitting that boundary lines between the social sciences must be flexible enough to adjust to changes in thought, is it too much to expect that the *central body* of each be autonomous enough to constitute a reasonably differentiated field of social research? We have thus far found so little agreement that a text written by one reputable sociologist is said by another, equally reputable, to be entirely outside the field of sociology. Teachers of the introductory course continue to wander disconsolately about the field, though with an occasional vague hope that something will turn up.

SOME SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE CONTENT OF AN ELEMENTARY SOCIOLOGY COURSE

F. H. HANKINS, SMITH COLLEGE

One might classify the principal content of courses now being given under the heads of social problems; outlines of social evolution; cultural evolution, its nature and processes; social interaction; social psychology, from the standpoints both of individual personality in a cultural setting and of group behavior; the history of social theories; detailed descriptions of local communities; and various compounds of the foregoing. In fact, all the texts and syllabi that I have examined contain a mixture of these ingredients, so that differences are largely matters of emphasis.

What we should strive for, in the introductory course, is, first, a somewhat comprehensive view of the main factors in social life and their action and reaction one upon another. These factors are commonly classified as physiographic, biological, psychological, and cultural. If the constant interaction of these factors is kept in mind, such study will give the student some insight into the complexity of social processes and of society as a going concern. Secondly, there should be some study of social organization and social control.

Finally, I think there should be some study of social evolution, both of special institutions and of the social aggregate in the large. Here the basic institutions may be singled out for special study, a special effort being made to give insight into recent developments and present trends in relation to the life of society as a whole. A year of intensive study is necessary for such a course if one is to avoid superficiality and to give the student time to synthesize his ideas. Within such a scheme there may be varying degrees of emphasis on particular cultural processes and upon the relations of individual development and of collective behavior to those patterns represented by the folkways and the mores

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A USEFUL APPROACH TO SOCIOLOGY

CARL A. DAWSON, MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Reformative zeal and controversial utterance are giving place to a dispassionate and objective presentation of the form and content of the Great Society. Situational approaches may be either a study of the social determinants in the development of the person, natural history of an institution, or the study of a community. An intensive analysis of any one of these sociological units calls for the employment, even if in different order, of all the main sociological concepts. At the present stage of sociological development the wise course seems to be the combination of these basic sociological units in a comprehensive system. All the important concepts are given a moderate degree of definition and are used as explanatory tools in analyzing the accompanying sociological descriptions of actual situations.

The initial realistic consideration of two contrasted communities helps the student to view objectively the social life of his own and other communities. This objectivity is still further enhanced by an analysis of the ecological processes whereby human beings and their institutions are located in space and time both from the point of view of the world as a whole and the local community. Due consideration is here given to the fact that statistical technique is most applicable to ecological data. This data, when given statistical form, constitute the most trustworthy indexes to the social structure that grows up about the ecological base.

The student is now ready to study the processes of social interaction which link together for concerted action the discrete units whether persons, groups, or institutions. The main lines of social interaction are determined by ecological position. As an integral part of this whole treatment cultural materials play a prominent rôle and fall into their natural place in a formally organized sociological system. The dangers of the wilderness of "cultural sociology" and of "problem sociology" are thus avoided.

The more extended discussion of personality, human nature, and social attitudes are kept in the background until the student has become reasonably familiar with the social milieu into which the plastic human organism is thrust and its behavior conditioned in accordance with social patterns. Social change with accompanying disorganization and reorganization of persons and their institutions rounds out this introductory text. The person plays a rôle in social change analogous to impulse in the formation of a new habit. Throughout the whole text the play of the sociological processes is seen in an actual world of human happenings.

A PROPOSED REORGANIZATION OF THE INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

MALCOLM M WILLEY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Contrasted with the other social sciences sociology as a subject and as it is taught to elementary students is characterized by indefiniteness. This arises in large part because students and teachers of the subject have been primarily interested in formulating concepts and developing theories Precision will come only when students are trained to work factual material, and to think in terms of the data of specific problems that are not now subject to investigation by the other social sciences. The field of sociology is the field of these problems that have not received the special attention of the economist, historian, etc. Rather than introduce students to sociology in a general, and usually highly theoretical, introductory course, or by means of an orientation course in which many "problems" are discussed in one term, it is proposed to abolish the general introductory course and bring students at once into contact with specific courses that shall each run for an entire term. Specific suggestions looking toward this are discussed.

SECTION ON THE COMMUNITY

AN ANALYSIS OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SCHOOL OF APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES, WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, IN TRAINING GROUP WORKERS AND DEVELOPING GROUP RECORDS.[1]

SUMMARIZED BY LEROY E. BOWMAN

Group work has emerged as a new unit of the fast developing family of specialties in the practice of social work. But the necessity for a clearer definition of "function," so called, is apparent. If this is not met in the group work field, group work agencies will remain in the former state of the case work movement where the untrained worker, mostly, the volunteer, was the principal medium, for activity and sentiment alone, the principal motivating factor. Back of the experience in group work at the School of Applied Social Sciences, there has been the recognition at one time or another of these basic considerations:

1. Limited generalized knowledge in the field of social phenomena as to the way in which the primary group functions.
2. A limited knowledge of group work methods and techniques
3. The necessity for vital contact with the field itself, without which additional and more specific knowledge is unattainable.
4. The illusiveness of objectives and "causes"
5. The immediate necessity for meeting the growing demand for trained workers

In 1923 a course was inaugurated which probably aimed primarily at meeting the urgent need of supplying trained workers. It soon became evident after a few years of experience that research facilities were imperative. More specific knowledge of group processes and techniques were absolutely essential to the development of sound group work methods capable of bearing up under the intellectual scrutiny previously mentioned. It was decided, therefore, to combine the "Group Service Training Court," as it was called at that time and a new group work and community organization experiment later known as the University Neighborhood Centers. It was hoped that, through the intensive work with the groups meeting under leadership of the Centers' staff, local leadership might be developed to the point of assuming responsibility for certain group leadership in the future. It was further planned to conduct research through keeping group records and records of neighborhood activity.

When the union was effected the task of the University Neighborhood Centers became threefold.

1. To develop as a teaching center.

[1] Summary of papers by W. I. Newstetter, Clara A. Kaiser, and Ida Levin of Western Reserve University.

2. To develop as a research center.

3. To develop as a production or service center.

The decentralized plan in the University Neighborhood Centers lends itself well for teaching purposes. A variety of subexecutive and supervisory positions in the various houses are possible which give the student a chance for real experience in the responsibility he will unquestionably meet in the field, namely, supervision. Through close co-operation with one of the case-working agencies in the district, we have been able to give our group work students actual experience in case work in its community setting. We want them to see social work whole. The period 1927–28 to date marks the second stage of development. In the fall of 1927 the faculty and curriculum were reorganized. The introduction of additional material in educational psychology and principles of group work, in character education, economics, adult education, experimentation and testing, vocational adjustment, group discussion, social philosophy, statistics, mental hygiene, special skills, social research, and thesis writing, was made. The student usually spends the summer in a camp or in some such work as playground leadership, or case work.

At present we have forty-four full-time students and fourteen field work centers including settlements, Y.M.C.A., Y.W C A , Campfire Girls, and institution churches. Most students are on a remunerative basis. We have not attempted to train specifically for settlement work, or Y-work, or community center work, but have tended to steer a middle course, with a major emphasis on group work and community organization.

The efforts to establish a curriculum and a teaching center for professional education in the group work field have been seriously handicapped by the fact that there is a great dearth of recorded data of the processes and techniques involved in group leadership The staff of the University Neighborhood Centers and the group work faculty realized that it was possible and desirable in a teaching center to give some time and thought to the problem of developing a method of keeping records of groups. The objectives might be stated as follows:

1. To evolve some fundamental principles of group work by the analysis of recorded experience through the establishment of certain cause and effect relationships.

2. To make use of past experience in evaluating the methods of work practiced by the group leader.

3. To provide case material which could be utilized in the cla s by the instructor as well as in conference by the field instructor.

There were some questions that had to be answered before a plan of procedure could be undertaken.

1. Who ought to keep the record?

In the first place, the injection of another factor into the group was believed to affect the interactions between the leader and the group. In the second place, it was believed that there was real education value to be derived by the student from the experience of describing the incidents occurring in the group of which

he was a part. The conclusion reached was that the leader himself should record the facts of the group's experience as objectively as possible and that he should also give his subjective interpretations of these facts.

2. How can a reasonable degree of objectivity be secured if the leader keeps the record of the group?

We felt that a suggested outline form for the record, emphasizing the importance of observing and recording overt behavior as it actually occurred within the group, would help.

3. What form should the record have?

It was decided to use the narrative method in place of the outline form. The outline has to do only with the weekly record kept by the leader based for the main part on the weekly meeting of the group. A face sheet with identifying information on the group as a whole is made out each year, and a roster of the members is also kept. Three times during the year a summary of the weekly records is made.

4. What procedure should be set up for writing record and what methods shall be adopted for supervision?

In 1928 a research department was established which was to be responsible for the analysis of the record which had been made and for the development and supervision of further work. Supervision was carried on in three ways: (*a*) through conferences with a member of the research department; (*b*) through occasional attendance at a group meeting by a member of the staff who would check the record written by the student with his own observations; (*c*) through the use of a rating sheet by which the record of the student could be checked for its inclusiveness and for irrelevant material.

5. What kind of data is of sufficient significance to be included in the record?

We finally established a number of categories which were incorporated into an outline form. One of the old records was rewritten by using this new form and it was found that much had been omitted which according to our new categories was significant. This process has been continued as we delve more deeply into the analysis of the records of group experience. In the five years during which the University Neighborhood Centers have been operating, records have been kept of 80 groups. These range from very brief records of a short-lived group to some veritable volumes on groups which have been in existence since 1926.

Supplementary to the group records, a system of keeping family records has been evolved. For the first time, in the second semester of the year 1929–30, a course in group analysis was offered as an elective for first-year students in the school. Two of the University Neighborhood Centers' records were selected as case material for this course. Three or four students are using the group and family records of the University Neighborhood Centers and Wawokiye Camp as source material for theses, bearing on various phases of group life. We feel that work up to this time has been very tentative and simply an exploration of the

field, and we are looking forward to results from other studies which are being made in the field.

Our attempts in correlating the field and academic work may be summed up as follows:

1. An orientation course giving information which is of immediate practical use to the students.
2. Formulation of a curriculum covering all phases of education necessary for group workers.
3. Academic instruction by experienced practitioners.
4. Field experiences which are varied and which have direct relation to the courses taught in the classroom.
5. Field instruction through observations and demonstrations followed by conferences with students.
6 Close relationship with co-operating agencies through consulting staff meetings and courses for agency supervisors as well as frequent conferences with the latter.

We are fully aware of the many problems involved in any such set-up as ours. Training in group leadership is still in the pioneering stage. There are not as yet available sufficient training centers with uniform standards, policies, and ethics such as there are, for instance, in the training centers in the medical profession. Much of the work of an organization, its standards and policies, depends upon its personnel, budget, and physical equipment. The educational experiences for students working in agencies which are underequipped are, therefore, necessarily conditioned by these limitations.

THE RECREATION COUNCIL PROJECT AT MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA

T. L HARRIS, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

About five years ago the West Virginia legislature enacted a law authorizing a tax levy for the purpose of creating and maintaining public recreation programs Morgantown Independent School District was the first governmental unit to make the provisions of this law effective. The two unique aspects of this program are: (1) It includes two distinct types of communit · city and suburban on the one hand, and a distinctly rural type on the other. (2) From almost the beginning, the program has been carried on under the general direction of a "Recreation Council," representing the local neighborhoods and all the more significant community groups. The active direction of the program has been in the hands of a trained executive, with both men and women assistants. A chief feature for the rural people has been a music festival held in the early spring. The rural members of the recreation council are usually active and loyal in the work of the council.

CONFLICT IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES

HAROLD A. PHELPS, BROWN UNIVERSITY

There are two potential areas of conflict: first, between social work and other social arts; second, between different divisions within the field of social work. When two or more agencies are supported by the community to perform essentially the same type of service, administrative conflicts may be traced to any one, or combination, of six sources: (1) agency policy, (2) organization, (3) federation, (4) treatment techniques, (5) personnel standards, (6) interpretation of problems to be treated. Two indexes are suggested as preliminary measurements of these conflicts (1) financial costs of the agency, (2) the agency's intake or case load. Conflict between different social agencies may be demonstrated by these indexes in any of the six contacts mentioned above.

COMMUNITY FORCES IN HAMTRAMCK

A. E. WOOD, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Hamtramck is an ethnic community, politically independent, but geographically buried in the heart of Detroit. With a present population of 56,000, during the decade 1910–20 it grew from 3,000 to 48,000, and had the largest percentage of growth of any city in the federal census. According to the school census 67 per cent of the heads of families have Polish nativity and 11 per cent are second generation Polish. Not only racially, but politically and socially, the life of the community is dominated by the Polish group.

No formal survey has been undertaken of this community, but data are being assembled gradually on many different aspects of the life of the community, having in mind the processes of adjustment of the dominant group to life conditions in the industrial area in and around Detroit. An informal group of Polish residents are serving as a committee on the study, and the data are being collected with the aid of graduate students in the University of Michigan, some of whom are of Polish descent.

Among the subjects upon which materials are already amassed are leisure time of children, adult cultural organizations, family case histories, mobility of population, juvenile delinquency, adult crime, attitudes toward Hamtramck of Detroit newspapers and of representative groups, demographic factors, such as birth- and death-rates, and health conditions, unemployment and its effects on family life, housing, the work of social service organizations, the outlook of the group toward American life, and so on.

An important phase of the study is the place of the public schools in the life of the community. Under new and competent leadership the schools have been reorganized and made effective centers of constructive influence in the cultural and economic life of the city. Among many disorganizing influences the public schools stand as a source of sympathetic and helpful leadership toward better

personal and social adjustment. Of great importance is the fact that the school program has been thoroughly assimilated and supported by the Polish group themselves, members of whom constitute the school board.

Many studies of immigrant community life have been content to portray only the disorganizing aspects and experiences. The unique phases of this present study are, perhaps, that besides the demoralizing conditions that affect the status of the group, the people, through active participation in constructive activities, and especially through the schools, are attaining toward wholesome and effective forms of self-expression.

SECTION ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

REACTIONS OF EX-MINISTERS TOWARD THE MINISTRY

H. G. DUNCAN, UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

This paper consists of a digest of one hundred and eleven questionnaires received from ex-ministers, giving their reactions to entering and leaving the ministry, and present attitudes toward the church. The reactions toward entering are grouped under "Desire for Service," "Response to a Call," "Influence of Church and Pastor," "Influence of Family," "Desire for a Profession," and the reactions toward leaving under "Larger Field for Service," "Inefficiency of Church Organization and Administration," "Intellectual Reconstruction," and "Consideration for Family."

A RESEARCH PROGRAM IN INTER-FAITH RELATIONS

BENSON Y. LANDIS, FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Religious groups are frequently in conflict with one another because of differing objectives, philosophies, and programs. The National Conference of Jews and Christians is a voluntary association of individuals who are members of the three religious groups and whose objectives is the improvement of relations between the faiths. The National Conference has organized an advisory committee on research which will endeavor to encourage individuals and organizations to do research in areas in which it is interested. The following is a partial list of suggestions for research: community case studies in problems of interfaith relations; social work and philanthropy under religious auspices; materials and methods of religious education as these bear upon intergroup relations; whether the curricula of "Americanization" create understanding or misunderstanding of various cultural groups; public-school practices with reference to religious holidays; occupational discrimination because of religious affiliation; discrimination in the academic world; propaganda efforts of religious agencies; missionary efforts and programs. Significant studies in these areas should yield findings of value to the educational work of the National Conference.

THE STRATEGY OF CITY CHURCH PLANNING

ROSS W. SANDERSON, INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH

The study seeks to discover some of the laws in accordance with which urban churches may be located and programmized. Social and economic trends in typical sectors of sixteen American cities, chiefly metropolitan centers, are being

examined as the background of church progress. Each district in the sector is given a relative ranking on the following factors during the last decade: increase or decrease of population, economic status of residents, population not readily assimilated in a white Protestant church, degree of commercialization in the use of land, health, dependency, juvenile delinquency, mobility of residence. Churches are located by districts and their rate of increase or decrease calculated with reference to published church membership, Sunday School enrolment, and total annual expenditures during the decade. The distribution of the churches with reference to each of the three criteria is determined, and the most non-modal churches are given specific study. Case studies of churches conspicuously progressing in spite of unfavorable trends in their immediate environment should help to establish the strategy to be employed if the church is to proceed in accordance with the general laws of urban progress.

A STUDY OF CHURCH UNION IN CANADA

C. E. SILCOX

To know of the success or failure of the United Church of Canada in the first five years of its life would have a peculiar interest for the American public. It has seemed wise to make an unbiased and scientific study of the whole movement. The purpose is not alone the scientific description of what happened and the interpretation thereof, but also such a description and such an interpretation as will be of particular value to the leaders in the American churches who wish to see their own problems more accurately. The study would seem to fall into three divisions. a religious history of the Dominion of Canada; the movement for Union, itself; and the reactions of other denominations to the Union movement. The expectancy as to the practical value of this study to the churches in the United States should be tempered, because of the difference in historical background and experience.

ASPECTS OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN RELATION TO THE CHURCH

ROBERT C. DEXTER, AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

The labor difficulties in the textile mills of the South have raised the question of the attitude which organized religion should assume in struggles between capital and labor. The widespread publicity given to the local churches in the textile mill villages which were in the main hostile to labor, and to the Federal Council of Churches and the Friends Service Committee, both of which groups furnished relief for strikers in Marion and are considering furnishing relief in Danville, has only emphasized a problem as old as the industrial revolution. The church is a social institution. Its membership includes both wage-earners and

employers and while it has other interests to serve, it is committed to a policy of justice and fair play as between differing groups and individuals in the community. Either the attitude of hostility toward the worker or definite commitment on general principle to his side is contrary to the highest ethical ideals of religion. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, for local churches in a community where there is industrial disturbance, especially if the community be small, to furnish to its constituents an unbiased statement of the case. That is the task of a larger body. If the church is to continue to serve as a bureau of standards of ethical values, it cannot escape the responsibility for presenting the facts and the ethical conflicts such as those in the textile industry.

DENOMINATIONALISM AS A FACTOR IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

H. RICHARD NIEBUHR, EDEN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

There are three main interpretations of the rôle of Christianity in the class struggle: the idealistic, which regards faith as the healer of divisions; the Marxian, in which the church is the supporter of special privilege; and the "Socialist," which pictures Christianity, historically, as a movement of proletarian revolt These interpretations correspond roughly to three types of Christianity. Mystic Christianity, highly individual in form, seeks to transcend division, often by nonresistance. Church Christianity is institutional in form, has hereditary membership, offers otherworldly salvation. It is allied with other dominant social institutions, is conservative both religiously and socially The privileged classes rule in it and use it both to meet their own religious needs and to suppress revolt. The sects, representing the third type, are the result of the impact of the Christian idea on the proletariat. They are associational in form, democratic in organization, often millenarian in their conception of salvation. Sectarian Christianity is the religion of religious and social revolt. Both ecclesiastical and sectarian Christianity are subject to modification by nationalism, changing economic status of membership and historical conditions of origin. Sects tend, as they mature, to become churches. In America church union may result from this tendency, the loss of previous national characteristics and the growing middle-class character of all Protestantism. The rise of a new sectarianism depends largely on the development of the class struggle. Communism appears to be a non-Christian sect.

SECTION ON THE FAMILY

EMOTIONAL TENSIONS DUE TO FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS: THE RELATION OF PARENTAL DOMINANCE TO PARENT-CHILD CONFLICT

MEYER F. NIMKOFF, INSTITUTE FOR MARRIAGE AND FAMILY GUIDANCE

Three elements in family life—intimacy, continuity, and duration of contact—offer a setting especially conducive to conflict among members of the family group. The nature of the parent-child relationship provides still a fourth element favorable to conflict, namely, parental dominance, a term here used, in the sense employed by Simmel, to indicate superordination of the parent and subordination of the child Parental dominance extends to three fields, the physical, the psychological, and the social. It is of two types: involuntary and voluntary, from which emerge two kinds of parent-child conflict, the first being natural and inevitable, the second for the most part being avoidable. Tensions inevitably accompany the normal adjustive process of the child. Natural tensions are heightened through inadequate adjustment, with reference either to the emotional setting for home life or to the parental guidance of the child's development Concentration upon control rather than upon the needs of the child intensifies parent-child conflict.

SOME PROBLEMS OF MODERN MARRIAGE AS VIEWED BY THE PSYCHIATRIST

GEORGE K. PRATT, M D., NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, NEW YORK CITY

Modern students tend to view marriage difficulties as complex situations composed of many problems. With newer knowledge it appears that perhaps some of the many problems in marital maladjustment do have a common denominator, after all

It is proposed to apply to the analysis of certain marital problems some pertinent aspects of the will-psychology theory of Otto Rank. Rank believes that much of the maladjustment between humans, whether in marital or other relations, finds a basic cause in a disparity between the participants' "self-will" and their "social-will." When too great a disparity or imbalance arises between the self-will to be different and the social-will to be similar, then follows neurosis as an objective manifestation of the mental conflict.

The application of this theory to the marriage relationship reveals two hazards; an excess of self-will in husband or wife may produce such a measure of

individualization as to preclude a satisfactory unity of feeling with the other. On the other hand, an excess of social-will with its powerful urge for attachment and emotional dependency may, by its very nature, light up dormant impulses to disunion in protest at such threats to individuality.

THE CHINESE FAMILY AS ARENA OF CULTURE CONFLICT

JANE NEWELL, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

The ancient Chinese family, characterized by its large size and clan-like form, its phenomenal solidarity, and its dominant place in the whole ethical and social system of the country, is yielding slowly to the impact of alien cultures of tremendous power and prestige. Familism is giving way, on the one hand, to increasing state control and, on the other, to increasing individualism. Among the stronger cultural invaders, Christianity emphasizes a thing alien to old Chinese psychology, the necessity of individual responsibility and personal salvation; feminism brings its insistence on the value of personality in women; capitalistic industry, its prizes for individual aggressiveness and its varied forms of personal property; while republicanism and sovietism wage their combined war on nepotism and familistic communism, educate and propagate a wider civic consciousness, and substitute individual suffrage and functional leadership for the power of the family and the authority of status.

Results of the conflict begin to show specifically in: (1) reduction of the size of the family group; (2) the liberation of women and their entrance in large numbers into industry, politics, and the professions; (3) changes in the law of marriage, divorce, and family relations, especially the new property rights of women and the changed nature of the marriage contract, to which now not the families, represented by the family heads, are parties, but only the two persons married; (4) the increasing number of divorces, and the new divorce privileges of women and their readiness to initiate proceedings; (5) the large volume of literature in the Chinese language drawing inspiration from Carpenter, Havelock Ellis, Bertrand Russell, Ellen Key, Marie Stopes, and many other Westerners, which is challenging every phase of the old family system and searching for new principles of ethics and proposing new expedients in etiquette and social relations.

THE ADJUSTMENT OF COLLEGE STUDENTS' FAMILY DIFFICULTIES

H. L. PRITCHETT, SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

Many of the difficulties of college students have their beginnings in maladjustments within the family. Many psychiatrists and mental hygienists in col-

lege situations have reached the conclusion that the family is the largest determining factor in the failure or success of the college student.

Studies in the social backgrounds of college students having behavior or personality difficulties, as well as those showing no difficulties, indicate a continuation of the same or similar attitudes and behaviors established during the early years in the family situation. The social controls employed in many families are those related to domination. These controls frequently lead to conflict, or to the possibly more unfortunate reaction of accommodation. The reaction of the student newly released from the domination of the home may be in the form of reckless expenditures, uncontrolled social behaviors, maladjustments to school programs, or the development of attitudes and activities which lead almost inevitably to scholastic difficulties and social maladjustments. Temper tantrums in childhood have a counterpart in the behavior of the college student. The dependent child seeks a similar relationship in the college situation and, finding none, usually succumbs very early in his college career. Deprivations, feelings of inferiority, and other defects in behavior or personality seem to be rather definitely related to corresponding influences in the home in ways which should interest college faculties and administrators in the contribution which mental hygiene can now make in their particular purposes and problems.

FAMILY PROBLEMS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

L. C. Pressey, Ohio State University

It is a commonplace that difficulties within the family are potent causes during childhood of such manifestations as delinquency, truancy, or failure in school work. It is often not realized, however, the extent to which similar situations influence students during their later adolescence when, as a matter of fact, reactions to social stimuli are particularly strong Every student is constantly reacting in one way or another to a group of people—his family—who are rarely seen by any members of the college community, but who are, nevertheless, influencing for good or ill the student's emotional balance and his level of academic performance. If the college campus is the stage, then much of what affects the student happens in the wings and is revealed only by the poor acting of the student

Typical home situations may be tagged with convenient labels as: (1) the "foreign-social-background" home, (2) the inadequately-financed home, (3) the recently-bereaved home, (4) the high-pressure home, (5) the "antagonistic-to-college" home, (6) the domineering home, (7) the "chronic dissension" home, (8) the "favorite-child" home, and (9) the "old-fashioned" home. Case studies of college students are given to illustrate the effects upon the student of some of these home conditions.

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF CONFLICT IN THE NEGRO FAMILY

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, FISK UNIVERSITY

Conflicts in the Negro family are of two types: (1) those which are similar to family conflicts found among whites with comparable cultural backgrounds; and (2) those conflicts which arise out of the peculiar conditions of Negro life in America. Of the first type are those cases of family discord which are caused by the rapid rise in the economic and social status of large sections of the Negro population. As a result of this process family conflicts arise because of the diverse conceptions of life held by members of the older and younger generations, and the members of the same generation. These forms of conflict are similar to those found among immigrant families. The second type of conflict is often due to the absence to a large extent of well-differentiated classes with established traditions defining behavior within the Negro group. Illustrative of this type of conflict are those cases of family discord between husband and wife which result from different standards of living appropriate to their status in the Negro group. Another phase of the second form of conflict is that due to differences in color, as between mulattoes and blacks. These differences when found in the same family determine the degree of participation in the white world. The result is often a difference in attitude toward the Negro group and a breaking-up of common interests in the family. The color factor may also cause conflict in the choice of mates, as, for example, when mulatto children marry dark people against their parents' will. Although one cannot determine quantitatively the extent of these conflicts, they are significant in the analysis of family conflict in the Negro group.

SECTION ON SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SECTION ON SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK[1]

M. J. KARPF, THE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR JEWISH SOCIAL WORK

In a discussion of a paper reporting a study of family relations at the meetings of the Section on Sociology and Social Work in 1929, Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield stated that family situations could not be adequately understood unless they were studied in their entirety from the standpoint of the relations existing between all of the members of the family. Recognizing the challenge of this view of research on case records as well as case work, the writer, as chairman of the Section,[2] invited her to present her point of view more fully in a paper dealing with the subject. The paper which she read at the meetings of the Section in 1930, on "The Situation as the Unit of Case Study," was the result.

Basing herself on the assumption that case workers need a more adequate knowledge of the interrelationships between clients and the physical and social factors impinging on them, she suggested that such knowledge may be more easily obtained by considering the unit of social treatment neither the individual nor the family, but the entire situation of which the individual and the family are a part. By the "situation" she means all of the active factors in the client and his environment which must be taken into consideration in planning the procedure for bringing about improvement. She holds that the "situation" is a more adequate and effective unit since by working through it the worker has more approaches to her problem and can work with many more factors with the result that if one does not yield, another will. Moreover, affecting the situation would be more lasting than affecting the client.

Each situation has certain prominent factors which are of major significance and by which it may be identified and classified. Some of these recur in other situations. These recurrent factors make possible the selection and identification of situation-patterns. Identification and classification would then be not on the basis of the individual or the family group but rather on the total situation which they present and of which they are a part.

[1] The papers and discussions presented at the meetings will be published in the June issue of *Social Forces*.

[2] The members of the Committee for 1930 were: F. J. Bruno, Washington University; F. S. Chapin, Social Science Abstracts; J. L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin; M. J. Karpf, Training School for Jewish Social Work, chairman; E. L. Morgan, University of Missouri; Stuart A. Queen, University of Kansas; Sydnor Walker, Laura Spelman Memorial-Rockefeller Foundation; Dale Yoder, University of Iowa.

One advantage to be derived from this approach, according to Mrs. Sheffield, is that it would enable and perhaps even force the case worker to think in terms of social processes.

The paper was discussed by Professor Stuart Rice, of the University of Pennsylvania, Professor Robert McIver, of Columbia University, Dr. Stuart Queen, of the Community Union in Detroit, Professor Ellsworth Faris, of the University of Chicago, and Professor Frank J. Bruno, of Washington University in St. Louis Linton Swift of the Family Welfare Association of America opened the discussion from the floor.

Professor Rice stated that the paper raised questions which strike at the very possibility of developing a social science. He pointed out that science depends upon repetition or recurrence of similar events or phenomena; that unless such recurrences can be assumed no science is possible. Since Mrs. Sheffield insists that the situation in its entirety must be studied and treated as a unit, scientific examination and treatment would hardly be possible because situations are not likely to repeat themselves. Rather are individual elements in the situations likely to recur. If the individual element is not to be the unit of study, classification and statistical treatment is impossible. These, according to him, are to social science what experiment is to the physical sciences. If Mrs. Sheffield's assumption is correct it seemed to him that the logical conclusion would be that the case method would replace statistics in social science. He stated further, that this holds true not only with respect to case work and the study of family relations but to the study of any social situation. No department of social science can escape from the dilemma which a utilization of "configuration" or "*gestalt*," and "functional situation" seem to impose.

Professor McIver devoted himself to a defense of the point of view expressed by Mrs. Sheffield by emphasizing the limitations of statistical methodology in the study of social situations. He doubted whether these can be effectively reduced to simple units for statistical manipulation. He argued that in social situations we do not have independence but relationships and that they are aspects rather than units. He was inclined to the belief that even the situations described and identified by Mrs. Sheffield are not quite adequate for sociological study for the "situation" itself is not a unit. The sociologist must approach it as part of a larger system.

Dr. Queen drew attention to the development which has taken place in social case work. At first case workers centered on the "individual"; later they came to a consideration of the "person"; more recently, "the family" became the unit, and now, "the situation" is to be made the unit of study. The situational approach differs in many respects from the psychiatric approach which is sometimes considered the antithesis to the sociological approach. However, instead of displacing sociological analysis it is paving the way for studies of interaction, interrelations, and social situations. Mrs. Sheffield's paper, he felt, performed a distinct service in calling the attention of case workers to the need of this broader interpretation of case work situations. Important as this new viewpoint

is, and hopeful as it may be for a deeper understanding of the problems with which the social worker deals, the situational approach nevertheless presents certain difficulties which he and a group working with him discovered in attempting to apply this concept to case studies. They found that the "situation" tends to become so complex that it is beyond the method of the sociologist as well as the social worker. The principal problems in this method of studying behavior relate to the definition of the social situations, to identifying them, to selecting their dominant features, to the isolation of relationships, the recognition of interactions, etc. He wondered whether so complex a unit as the situation could ever become manageable either for treatment or research.

Professor Faris called attention to the object of the paper, which was clearly to formulate useful conceptions for practical work, and only by implication to lay down principles for pure science. In dealing with a case the "situation" may be defined with increasing attention to partial aspects of the whole, while it might also be useful to enlarge the *gestalt* and to consider the economic or political aspects which might be relevant. In this sense and with this meaning it would be impossible ever to consider the "total situation" as an objective fact. Totality is subjective. The whole is only that degree of totality which is practically useful in any specific endeavor. In like manner, the classification of cases rests on the purpose. To classify, one must deliberately neglect differences and this neglect is justifiable when useful groupings can issue as a result.

Mr. Bruno hailed the situational approach as a godsend. He saw a certain amount of poetic justice in such an approach coming from psychology, which had been largely responsible for the emphasis in case work on the individual. This emphasis on the individual he ascribed to the fact that case workers are inadequately trained in the basic social disciplines. It is, therefore, that they were more ready than the psychiatrist and psychologist to accept as gospel the teachings of psychiatry and psychology much beyond their immediate worth.

If case workers were to accept this new approach he thought it would make for greater emphasis on the manysidedness of the interplay of social influences which impinge upon the client. It seemed to him that "the situation as a unit for case study" is the natural consequence and in a sense a continuation of Mrs. Sheffield's former contribution on "clue aspects" of case work But, he saw in it dangers which might make for errors in hypotheses and which would, if not carefully guarded against, lead the worker from the realities of the situation to a maze of influences with which she would not be able to cope. Nevertheless, he felt that the concept had great significance and was of fundamental importance to the treatment side of case work. It would force the workers to see a little beyond the "tragic figure" at the center of her field of vision and would necessitate a better acquaintance with the social action and interaction and relationships which make him what he is.

The second main paper dealt with "Culture Conflicts and Misconduct" and was read by Dr. Louis Wirth, of the University of Chicago. He recalled that in the history of criminology there were various attempts to explain delinquency

dealing with the different phases of individual and social life, so that emphases were placed successively on the biological, the psychological, and the social factors relating to the individual criminal. In proposing culture conflicts as another explanation he made it clear that he does not consider that all delinquency results from culture conflicts nor that culture conflicts invariably result in delinquency.

He stated that the conception of culture conflict as a cause is merely an extension of Healy's mental conflict, taking into account the social and cultural influences to a greater extent than did Healy. That there is need for calling attention to the rôle which these factors play in misconduct is evidenced by the fact that whereas case records contain detailed information on the biological, psychological, and psychiatric aspects, there is very little in them dealing with cultural situations.

Culture conflicts as a cause for misconduct may be most readily observed in the case of immigrant families and their offspring. According to Dr. Wirth, much of what is strange and baffling in the behavior of the immigrant, and especially his children, disappears if they are thought of as living in a dual cultural milieu. When the two or more cultures to which the immigrant is exposed are in conflict with each other, as they frequently are, the problem of adjusting these conflicts may be too much for the individual involved and misconduct may result. This is most likely to be the case with the second generation of immigrants, because the older generation has the mores of the group to control and guide conduct. The younger generation, however, have most likely broken away from these mores, and therefore do not have the stability of their elders. It is because of this that crime and misconduct are more frequent among second-generation immigrants than among the first generation

A study of culture conflicts must include a thorough knowledge of the cultures of the groups to be studied. In order to understand the rôle which culture plays in the life of the individual it must be borne in mind that each of us is a member of social groups, that each group has a culture of its own, and that not infrequently are these cultures grossly conflicting. The different rôles which we are called upon to play in these different groups may require an amount of adjusting to which some of us are unequal.

Dr. Wirth enumerated a number of situations which might result in culture conflicts and in delinquency. These are (1) membership in a group which sanctions conduct violative of the mores of another group of which he is also a member; (2) membership in a group which has different forms of conduct and where they have different meanings than in the dominant society; (3) membership in a group which is at odds with the larger society; (4) membership in a group where tradition and traditional practice do not conform to law, as in the use of alcohol; (5) living in an area which is in a state of flux and in which there are no stable forms of social organizations; (6) where the immediate family presents cultural strain, as in the case of parents belonging to different cultures; (7)

membership in a group which one considers inferior to the larger group and from which one cannot easily escape. Dr. Wirth had a number of suggestions to make for the treatment of misconduct so conceived. Therapeutic measures must be concerned not only with the individual and the situation but with a reconciliation of cultures. The essential thing to remember is to eliminate in so far as possible the tension between the different cultural situations.

This paper was discussed by Professor Floyd H. Allport, of Syracuse University; Dr. T. Wingate Todd, of the School of Medicine, Western Reserve University; Professor Edward Sapir, of the University of Chicago; and Dr. John Slawson of the Federation of Jewish Charities, Detroit.

Professor Allport is well known for his opposition to the group concept and to any theory of behavior based on it. In fact, it was his opposition that prompted his invitation to discuss Dr. Wirth's paper. He pointed out that while the concept of culture had value for large scale observations of human phenomena, it does not take the individual into account. As a psychologist he is primarily interested in the individual and places his emphasis "on the biological differences and habit systems within the individual himself." Such a point of view, he declared, is significant for understanding culture as well as the personality and makes for much more accurate prediction since it concentrates on the agent whose behavior is under consideration. In his view the idea of culture conflict is more confusing than enlightening. It neither lends itself to analysis nor is it useful for therapy. He insisted that the notion of culture conflict as a cause of misconduct is misleading, and that resolving the conflict will do very little for the individual concerned. Rather should the effort go into resolving the conflict of specific habits in the individual, i.e., "upon his antagonistic reactions to a single stimulus in two different settings." He suggested that consciousness of membership in conflicting groups should be abolished rather than emphasized through an explanation of the cultural differences involved. This would make for an easier adjustment than is possible by working through one's culture. While agreeing with Professor Wirth that a knowledge of both the cultural background and the present cultural milieu is necessary for an intelligent understanding of any problem of misconduct, he felt, nevertheless, that differences of cultural habits are contributory and not fundamental.

Dr. Todd, though a physician and physical anthropologist, was more kindly disposed toward the notion of culture conflicts. He suggested, however, that misconduct may be due in part, at least, to physical ill-being as well. In his judgment there may be other factors than cultural conflicts that would account for the high rate of criminality among second-generation immigrants. He cited an investigation in Cleveland showing that "the criminal districts are not necessarily the quarters of the alien inhabitants and their offspring, but the congested areas no matter what peoples they house." He stated that in his capacity as medical examiner in cases of juvenile delinquency he found that the delinquents differ radically in bodily development from the norm. He is not so much sur-

prised at misconduct as at the ability on the part of some of these youngsters to adjust satisfactorily and live within a code which is not suited to their physical and mental capacities.

Professor Sapir, though he recognized the importance of culture conflicts, differed with Dr. Wirth with regard to therapy. He decried the existence of dual cultures and stated that it imposed an unnecessary burden upon the individual and should be eliminated wherever possible. He went so far as to say that he did not believe in the wisdom of teaching American children a foreign language while they were learning English. The conflicts thus set up are not justified by the gains.

The third meeting, a joint session with the Committee on Social Statistics of the American Statistical Association, was a round table on "The Teaching of Social Statistics" led by Dr. Ralph G. Hurlin, director of the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation and lecturer on Social Statistics in the Training School for Jewish Social Work.

He raised the question as to what should be the purpose of a course in social statistics for social workers. Should it be looked upon as discipline? Should it aim to give case workers a critical point of view? Or should it aim to give them tools for treating quantitative data? He made it clear that the content of the course would depend upon the aim set for it. In like manner would the method of teaching vary with the purpose which the course or courses are to serve? If the aim is to provide students with discipline, a great deal of laboratory work and drill would be necessary. If, however, only critical ability and a point of view are to be developed, drill would be less important than analysis of statistical studies. Similarly, if the course aims to give intensive training in statistical procedures, it would have to be built up along lines different from those necessary if only a critical point of view is aimed at

In the discussion which developed, the following points were emphasized first, that since it is impossible to tell what type of work the future social worker would engage in during the first years after leaving school, it is necessary to make the course as broad and general as possible. The needs of the case worker differ from those of the case work executive; case workers in large organizations have different needs from those in smaller organizations in smaller communities. Second, that a course in statistics should give case workers an appreciation of the significance of the fact items which they are asked to collect for the purpose of accumlating data for statistical treatment and for statistical control. Third, that the social worker should be given some facility for using quantitative data and an attitude of caution should be developed in the use of data too limited for adequate statistical treatment, but too numerous for case study and case analysis. Fourth, that a course in statistics should be made compulsory because otherwise it is not likely that many students would elect it. It was felt by all those assembled that a course in statistics is essential for adequate training for social work and social study.

No agreement was reached in the discussion as to the content of an introductory course. The consensus of opinion was, however, that it should not go much beyond the treatment of averages, measures of variation, the problem of sampling, an introductory treatment of index numbers, measures of unreliability, and time series. If to this can be added also an introductory treatment of correlation, so much the better. By this was meant merely acquainting the student with correlation, the meaning of the coefficient, its significance and limitations, rather than developing facility in using this devise. It was felt, also, that it was desirable to give students some exercise in tabular and graphic presentation of data.

The relation of a course in statistics to a course or courses in scientific method was discussed It was suggested that statistics does not take the place of courses in scientific method, and that in addition to statistical method students should also be introduced to the various other methods of social research.

SECTION ON SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY

THE DETERMINATION OF THE "CRIMINAL THRESHOLD"

LOWELL S. SELLING, INSTITUTE FOR JUVENILE RESEARCH

The tendency of criminological study at the present time is toward individualization of the criminal, so that there has resulted a deviation from the gross concepts of early criminologists who attempted to find a common factor, either biological or sociological, in all criminals. The problem is still present of grouping offenders in such a way as to indicate whether they are desultory, occasional, or chronic violators. This cannot be done by examining them for possession of any single trait, but by the study of traits and influences common to offenders in any specific crime.

If the factors entering into the mental and social make-up of one hundred juvenile automobile thieves be studied, certain traits occur in approximately the same proportion among large numbers of these individuals. This can be indicated by laying off graphically the degree of influence of specific traits along abscissae, and the possession of these traits along the ordinates. A line joining these points will result in a profile, and it was found that the profiles of forty-two of these individuals resemble each other closely as do two other profiles slightly different in groups of thirty-nine and twenty-two. In studying the cases that do not fall in with these typical groups, it was found that (1) they are wrongly convicted, (2) abnormal factors come into play. By this method, one can formulate an expression or series of expressions typical of the violators of a specific crime, and it may be conceived that those whose profiles fall in one of the typical classes are more likely to commit this particular type of crime than one who has an atypical profile. The increase in susceptibility may be called the lowering of the criminal threshold; for, while any individual must be considered likely to commit any crime, the fact that he is less likely demonstrates a normal threshold, i.e., the usual resistance against crime. The difference in the degree of his various traits, considered in relation to one another, therefore, give a gross picture of the criminality of any individual.

THE VALUE OF SOCIAL FACTORS IN THE TRAINING OF THE DEFECTIVE CHILD

FLORENCE N. BEEMAN, MONTIFIORE SCHOOL

To be published in full in the *American Journal of Sociology*.

PERSONALITY AND CULTURE CONFLICT

ROBERT E PARK, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Printed in full elsewhere in this volume

PSYCHIATRIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE THEORY OF SOCIAL CONFLICT

KIMBALL YOUNG, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Printed in full elsewhere in this volume.

LABOR LEGISLATION

PUBLIC VS. PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

B. C. SEIPLE; COMMISSIONER OF EMPLOYMENT, CITY OF CLEVELAND

The maintenance of Public Employment Offices to provide intelligent information relative to available employment, and as a definite clearing house for the distribution of applicants for employment, is a direct responsibility of Government. The operation and supervision of this Service must, of necessity, be largely under local direction but the federal government has a distinct responsibility for the proper co-ordination of Public Employment Offices throughout the nation and should furnish a definite plan for uniform methods and procedure. Private fee-charging employment agencies have proved to be entirely inadequate to handle the distribution of employment. Most of the fee-charging agencies are commercial and their principal thought is to secure as large a fee as possible. Attempts at governmental regulation of these agencies have proved inadequate to entirely eliminate exploitation.

CONFLICT OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INTERESTS IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL INSURANCE

I. M. RUBINOW, CINCINNATI, OHIO

The history of the social insurance movement during the last 20 years offers interesting evidence of conflict of group interests, between the "private interests," of minority groups and the "public interests" of the prepondering majority. These conflicts were particularly sharp in the development of workmen's compensation, where the interests of the working masses finally prevailed against opposition of employers and insurance companies. In the field of health insurance the private interests of employers, insurance companies, the medical profession, and medical cults, succeeded in destroying the movement for a time. The same conflicts have recently arisen in connection with the movements for old age pensions and for unemployment insurance.

Analysis of these conflicts justifies certain general conclusions. Resistance of private interests is always rationalized under the disguise of consideration for public good, such as protection of the consumer, restriction of rights of the workingman and particularly as the un-American character of legislation. Also significant is the failure of the larger groups, whose protection is to be accom-

plished, to advocate such legislation with the same degree of energy which the opposition displays. It seems that the public requires education as to its interests. Here lies the function of the disinterested expert. Finally, healthy adjustment takes place to every system of social insurance after some years of experience so that the opposition is not only forgotten but even violently denied by the very groups which were active in such opposition. The lesson of history is that when public interests prevail they are cheerfully accepted and the value of the legislative measures recognized.

SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS

SUMMARY OF PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE JOINT LUNCHEON ON SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS

F. STUART CHAPIN, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Dr. W C. Curtis, of the University of Missouri, in charge of the Division of Biology and Agriculture of the National Research Council, spoke upon the experiences of the chemists and biologists in the development of abstracts' services in these sciences to serve as tools of research.

Professor Niles Carpenter, department of sociology, University of Buffalo, spoke on the subject of "Social Science Abstracts as a Tool of Research." He stressed the indispensability of the *Abstracts* as means of keeping up to date with the scientific literature of the field. In this connection he analyzed the 277 entries devoted to sociology in the December, 1930, issue of the *Abstracts*, assuming that the Grosvenor Library of Buffalo, New York, is typical of University libraries in general and that the issue analyzed was a fair sample of the *Abstracts*. He concluded that the sociologist who fails to use the *Abstracts* is missing approximately seven-eighths of the available current literature. If, however, the library mentioned is not accepted as typical the *Abstracts* still remain indispensable because the issue analyzed cited 163 references in sociology in foreign languages, chiefly from German, French, Russian, and Italian Further than this the *Abstracts* enable the sociologist to become familiar with significant developments in related fields and he can do this with minimum of effort and expenditure of time. Professor Carpenter suggested by way of improvement that the *Abstracts* should contain a greater amount of statistical material even occasional tables or graphs of outstanding significance

Professor Esther Cole, department of political science, University of Kentucky, continued the discussion. She stated that the *Abstracts* served for her three major purposes: (1) it has proved to be a constant aid in teaching university classes in political science; (2) it has enabled her to keep in touch with current materials in her field which are not otherwise available; (3) it has brought an ever broader realization of significant relationships between the various social studies. She stressed the value of the *Abstracts* to scholars whose remoteness from centers where bureaus of research are located was a handicap in keeping up with periodical literature. In this connection *Social Science Abstracts* served as a central clearing house for the worker in a specialized field. Highly technical studies are included in the abstracting chiefly by title or by a concise descriptive sentence. The *Abstracts* recognize the twilight zones between the various fields of knowledge, and urge the scholar to approach his own

problem in the light of these interrelations. Consequently consistent and fairly thorough reading of the *Abstracts* is found to be illuminating.

Professor Hornell Hart, department of sociology, Bryn Mawr College, stated that, though there was a time when an apprentice in social research would seek out some master in his field and would learn the traditions and techniques of his specialty from him, we now have begun to recognize that no single Aristotle, Comte, Spencer, or Ward can furnish adequate contacts with developments in social science. He said that scientific thinking is not confined to the countries which speak French, English, and German but intellectual co-ordination can only be effective on a world scale *Social Science Abstracts* has made it possible for the modern sociologist to keep in touch directly with the greater part of the matter published in English in his special field, and also in the other languages. In concluding, he stated that the sociologist who fails to read, clip, and file his personal copy of *Social Science Abstracts* is comparable to a man attempting to go into modern business who feels that he cannot afford to instal a telephone

Professor Susan Kingsbury, department of economics, Bryn Mawr College, said that the *Abstracts* might advantageously cover more German periodicals as judged by the December, 1930, issue as a sample The American scholar would depend upon the *Abstracts* for inclusiveness of foreign journals This would be particularly important with reference to Russian periodicals Dr Kingsbury felt that the *Abstracts* had not yet succeeded in reaching much of the important Russian material in the field of economics and sociology She felt that the service for foreign languages is more important than that for English and that the *Abstracts* should work toward greater inclusiveness of foreign journals

Professor Royal Meeker, of New Haven, said that he realized the tremendous importance of placing summaries of all important articles in the hands of students, teachers, and researchers in the social sciences, but was more than skeptical about the possibility of ever achieving success in this task. Dr. Meeker stated that he hailed the proposal with delight, but with many misgivings, for he was assailed with doubts He expressed his gratification to members of the staff of *Social Science Abstracts* for their brilliant success in establishing this journal He concluded by saying that there is a danger in the *Abstracts* as there is in all publications and that is that it lures the researcher to neglect his own work in order to read the impossibly vast literature available about the work of other researchers

INDEX TO THE SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS AND REPORTS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY 1906–30

PREPARED BY W. P. MERONEY
Baylor University, Waco, Texas

A valuable feature of the current volume of papers is the following index of the papers presented at the first twenty-five annual meetings of the American Sociological Society. The index refers to not only the papers and abstracts, which have appeared in the annual volumes of the Society, but papers presented before the Society which have been published elsewhere. After a diligent search, the places of publication of all but a few minor papers have been located. The index is published in the hope that it will be of distinct service to the members of the Society

The index was prepared by Professor W. P. Meroney, of Baylor University, at an obvious cost of painstaking effort and sacrifice of time. Professor Howard Odum made possible some clerical assistance necessary for the completion of the index To both, the editor, in behalf of the Society, wishes to express indebtedness —EDITOR'S NOTE.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.A. for L.L.	American Association for Labor Legislation
Abs.	Abstract of the Paper.
A.E A.	American Economic Association
A.J.S.	American Journal of Sociology.
A.P.S A.	American Political Science Association
A.S.A.	American Statistical Association
A.S.S.	American Sociological Society.
Com. Rpt.	Committee Report.
D.	Discussion
DP.	Dinner Paper, read to a Dinner Meeting
GP.	General Paper, read to a General Meeting
Jt.	Joint Session of Society with other or others indicated.
LP.	Luncheon Paper, read to a Luncheon Meeting
N.C.C.A.	The National Community Center Association.
N.S.S.E.S.	National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology
P.	Publications of the American Sociological Society.
PA.	Presidential Address, with group represented indicated
SP.	Section paper, read to section indicated.
Sum.	Summary of the Paper.
RT.	Round-Table.

EXPLANATIONS

1. Prior to 1922, all sessions of the Society were of a general nature and papers under these dates carry no specific designation; since that time the character of the paper is indicated by the above symbols. It seems of some value to be able to know at a glance at what particular group or section of the Society any paper was read. A brief word or phrase is used to designate the sectional meetings, following immediately after the S.P. or similar symbol, in the first parenthesis after the subject.

2. Presidential Addresses, not only of the presidents of the American Sociological Society, but of the co-operating societies in so far as these could be ascertained, are given. The particular group represented is indicated by the abreviation following the symbol PA. This is also true of other joint sessions.

3. The date of any paper may be ascertained from the volume number of the *Proceedings* (P) and the year following this which is the year of meeting and not the year of publication of the *Proceedings*. The year following the volume number in all other citations refers to the year of publication and the date of the paper is December of the previous year, except where otherwise indicated.

4. In many cases the title of the papers as given on the program have been altered on publication and the final title is the one given in the index. Where there is some doubt as to the exact identity of the published paper with the one on the program, this is indicated by prefacing the citation with the word "See."

5. Papers of the 1930 meetings of the Society, other than those appearing in the current issue of the *Proceedings*, have only the probable place of publication indicated

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