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THE RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL  
TO THE GROUP

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# THE BEHAVIOR PATTERN AND THE SITUATION

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## ABSTRACT

**The behavior pattern and the situation.**—The paper refers to four standpoints which may be employed in the investigation of behavior problems: (1) the attitudes, (2) the values, (3) the forms of adaptation, (4) the total situation, and indicates the interaction of these factors in any concrete process. The situational procedure is emphasized and illustrated from the fields of child study, psychology, psychiatry, delinquency, education, and mass-psychology, with a statement of types of problem which it is desirable that sociologists should approach through the situational procedure.

The lines of social research have largely converged on the question of behavior reactions and the processes involved in their formation and modification. It appears that the particular behavior patterns and the total personality are overwhelmingly conditioned by the types of situations and trains of experience encountered by the individual in the course of his life. The question of heredity remains a factor, but this is also being studied in terms of behavior; it is, in fact, defined as the phylogenetic memory of experience—memory organically incorporated.

In approaching problems of behavior it is possible to emphasize—to have in the focus of attention for working purposes—either the attitude, the value, or the situation. The attitude is the tendency to act, representing the drive, the affective states, the wishes. The value represents the object or goal desired, and the situation represents the configuration of the factors conditioning the behavior reaction. It is also possible to work from the standpoint of adaptation—that is, how are attitudes and values modified according to the demands of given situations.

Any one of these standpoints will involve all the others, since they together constitute a process. But I wish to speak at present of the situational procedure as having certain experimental, objective, and comparative possibilities and as deserving of further



attention and elaboration. As I have said, the emphasis of this standpoint by no means obscures the other factors; on the contrary, it reveals them. The situations which the individual encounters, into which he is forced, or which he creates, disclose the character of his adaptive strivings, positive or negative, progressive or regressive, his claims, attainments, renunciations, and compromises. For the human personality also the most important content of situations is the attitudes and values of other persons with which his own come into conflict and co-operation, and I have thus in mind the study of types of situation which reveal the rôle of attitudes and values in the process of behavior adaptation.

The situational method is the one in use by the experimental physiologist and psychologist who prepare situations, introduce the subject into the situation, observe the behavior reactions, change the situation, and observe the changes in the reactions. Child rendered one point in the situation more stimulating than others by applying an electric needle or other stimulus and made heads grow where tails would otherwise have grown. The situational character of the animal experimentation of the psychologists is well known. The rat, for example, in order to open a door, must not only stand on a platform placed in a certain position, but at the same time pull a string. A complete study of situations would give a complete account of the rat's attitudes, values, and intelligence.

The study of behavior with reference to situations which was begun by Vervorn, Pfeffer, Loeb, Jennings, and other physiologists and was concerned with the so-called "tropisms," or the reaction of the small organism to light, electricity, heat, gravity, hard substances, etc., was continued, or paralleled, by the experiments of Thorndike, Yerkes, Pavlov, Watson, Köhler, and others with rats, dogs, monkeys, and babies as subjects, but until quite recently no systematic work from this standpoint has involved the reactions of the individual to other persons or groups of persons. That is to say, the work has not been sociological, but physiological or psychological.

Recently, however, there have developed certain directly sociological studies of behavior based on the situation. These are

either experimental in the sense that the situations are planned and the behavior reactions observed, or advantage is taken of existing situations to study the reactions of individuals comparatively.

We may notice first the significant work of Bühler, Hetzer, and Tudor-Hart<sup>1</sup> upon the earliest social reactions of the child. Working in the Vienna clinics they divided 126 children into 9 groups of 14 each, the first group containing children 3 days old and under, and the last group containing those 4-5 months old, and experimenting with sound-stimuli they observed the rate at which the child learns to separate out and give attention to the human voice among other sounds. All the children noticed all the sounds (striking a porcelain plate with a spoon, rattling a piece of paper, and the human voice) sometimes, but the reaction of the newborn to noises in the first weeks is far more positive than the reaction to the voice, even to loud and noisy conversation: 92 per cent of frequency to the noises and 25 per cent to the voice. But in the third week the proportion is about the same, and in the fourth week the reaction is more frequent to the voice. The first positive reaction to the voice, other than listening, is a puckering of the lips, a sucking movement. The quality of the voice or the person speaking is at first of no significance. A child of three months when scolded angrily laughed gleefully. As yet angry tones had not been associated with punishment. A voice of any kind meant feeding.

Working with another group of 114 children, not newborn but borrowed from nursing mothers at a milk depot, placing them together in groups of two or more, and giving them toys, the most various reactions were disclosed in the unfamiliar situation. Some were embarrassed and inactive; others were openly delighted; some pounced upon the toys and paid no attention to the children; others explored the general environment; some robbed their companions of all the toys; others proffered, exchanged, or exhibited them; some were furious in the new situation, already, in the first year, positively negativistic. It is impossible to say to what degree these children had been conditioned by association with their mothers and how far the reactions were dispositional. But it is plain

<sup>1</sup> Charlotte Bühler, Hildegard Hetzer, and Beatrix Tudor-Hart, *Sociologische und psychologische Studien über das erste Lebensjahr* (Quellen und Studien zur Jugendkunde). Jena, 1927.

that by the end of the first year the most positive personality trends had been established. At this early age the experimenters think they distinguish three main personality types: the dominant, the amiable or humanitarian, and the exhibitionist, or producer.

Situational work of this type is now being carried on in several child-study institutes in the United States, and is foundational for the work in which we are more directly interested. Anderson and Goodenough, for example, and their associates, working in Minneapolis and observing the reactions of children among themselves in spontaneous play, found that a given child participating in play actively with all the other members of the group successively might be found leading or dominating in 95 per cent of the situations, whereas another child, under the same conditions, was found to be in the leading position only 5 per cent of the time. That is, within a constant period one child is getting twenty times as much practice in meeting social situations in a given way as a second child. We have here a type of organization of behavior where not only the lack of practice but the habit of subordination will have the most far-reaching consequences in the development of efficiency and personality. Observations will now be undertaken by the same observers on the effect of the alteration of the composition of groups with the object of giving the less dominant children opportunity to assume more important rôles.<sup>2</sup>

Another item in the program of this institute is the study of habit formation in connection with games of skill. It has appeared that the children develop idiosyncrasies in their technique of throwing a ring at a peg. If an effort, however awkward, happens to be successful, the child tends to adopt and persevere in this method, regardless of his later insuccesses.<sup>3</sup> Evidently the fixation of many undesirable social habits has this origin. Whimpering, crying, lying, vomiting, bed-wetting have had an initial success in dominating the mother, and may become a part of the child's behavior repertory. It is to be remembered also that the initiation of one mode of reaction to a situation tends to block the emergence of

<sup>2</sup> John E. Anderson, "The Genesis of Social Reactions in the Young Child," *The Unconscious; A Symposium*, pp. 60-90.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

other types of reaction. Moreover, it appears from other sources that children are capable of developing dual and contrasting behavior reactions in different types of situations. Miss Caldwell, in Boston, working mainly with Italian children, has astonishing records showing consistently defiant, destructive, negativistic behavior in the home and relatively orderly behavior in the nursery school. And this duality of behavior is carried on for years—bad in one situation, good in another.

Freeman and his associates in Chicago are now publishing a situational study of the greatest importance based on the placing of about six hundred children in foster homes, in response, apparently, to the following challenge by Terman: "A crucial experiment," Terman says, "would be to take a large number of very young children from the lower classes and after placing them in the most favorable environment obtainable compare their later mental development with that of the children born into the best homes." In this experiment comparisons were made between results on intelligence tests which had been given before adoption, in the case of one group, and the results after they had been in the foster home a number of years. Another comparison was made between children of the same family who had been placed in different homes, the home being rated on a scheme which took into consideration the material environment, evidence of culture, occupation of foster father, education and social activity of foster parents. Both of these comparisons had held heredity constant, letting the situation vary. A third comparison held environment constant, letting heredity vary, that is, concerning itself with a comparison of the intelligence of the own children of the foster parents and of the foster children. The results, stated in a word, show that when two unrelated children are reared in the same home, differences in their intelligences tend to decrease, and that residence in different homes tends to make siblings differ from one another in intelligence. This study is limited to the question of intelligence, but it is obvious that a fundamental study of behavior could be made by the same method.

Esther Richards, of the Phipps Psychiatric Clinic in Baltimore, has been experimenting with psychopathic children by placing

them in homes and on farms and moving them about until a place is found in which they are adjusted. She discovered that there were whole families of hypochondriacs showing no symptoms of organic deficiency. To be "ailing, and never so well" had become a sort of fashion in families, owing, perhaps, to the hysterical manifestations of the mother. These attempts are rather uniformly successful as long as the parents remain away from the child. One boy had been manifesting perfect health and robust activity on a farm, but conceived a stomach ache on the appearance of his mother, which disappeared with her departure. And it is the prevailing psychiatric standpoint that the psychoneuroses—the hysterias, hypochondrias, schizophrenias, war neuroses, etc., are forms of adaptations to situations.

Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan and his associates, working at the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, Baltimore, are experimenting with a small group of persons now or recently actively disordered, from the situational standpoint, and among other results this study reveals the fact that these persons tend to make successful adjustments in groupwise association between themselves.

The sociologist has found the behavior document, the life-record, a very useful aid in exploring the situation and determining the sources of maladjustment. It is true that this introspective method has the disadvantages encountered in the taking of legal testimony. It has been shown by students of testimony that in case of false testimony the witness frequently brings a preconception, a behavior schema, to the situation, that he testifies egocentrically, overweighting certain aspects and adding perceptual elements and interpretations as a result of his own memories and experiences; his perceptions of the events of which he testifies are thus anticipatory and reminiscent. And he has also excluded from perception factors which he did not anticipate. The same holds in varying degrees of the human document. Shaw, working with the Juvenile Research Institute in Chicago, has pointed out that some of his subjects prepare dry and objective chronicles while others are mainly self-justificatory and exculpatory. A document prepared by one compensating for a feeling of inferiority or elaborating a delusion of persecution is certainly as far as possible from

objective reality. On the other hand, this definition of the situation is from one standpoint quite as good as if it were true. It is a representation of the situation as appreciated by the subject, "as if" it were so, and this is for behavior study a most important phase of reality.

The psychologists and social workers connected with the juvenile courts and child clinics, the visiting teachers, and other organizations are now preparing extensive records tending to take the behavior of the child in connection with all the contacts and experiences which may have influenced the particular delinquency or maladjustment. And finally the regional and ecological behavior surveys with which Park, Burgess, Thrasher, Shaw, Zorbaugh, and others are identified attempt to measure the totality of influence in a community, the configuration and disposition of social stimuli, as represented by institutions, localities, social groups, and individual personalities, as these contribute to the formation of behavior patterns.

The merit of all these exploratory approaches is that they tend to bring out causative factors previously neglected and to change the character of the problem. Thrasher's study of 1,313 gangs in Chicago changes the character of the crime problem, and this study merely opens up a new situation. Other researches, not yet published, will show that, recruited from the gangs, criminal life is as definitely organized in Chicago as the public school system or any other department of life, the criminals working behind an organization of "irreproachable" citizens. Shaw has studied the cases of boys brought before the juvenile court in Chicago for stealing with reference to the number of boys participating, and finds that in 90 per cent of the cases two or more boys were involved. It is certain that many of the boys concerned were not caught, and that the percentage of groupwise stealing is therefore greater than 90 per cent. This again throws a new light on the nature of the problem of crime. Again, Burgess and Shaw have studied the incidence of delinquency for different neighborhoods and find that in the so-called "interstitial zones," lying along the railroad tracks and between the better neighborhoods, the boys are almost 100 per cent delinquent, while in other neighborhoods

there is almost no delinquency. Burgess found one ward in a city of 12,000 population with about eight times as many cases of juvenile delinquency as in any of the other wards.<sup>4</sup>

These are examples of factors of delinquency which turn up or come to the front in the course of the exploration of situations. But with reference to the relationship of the factors, their distribution in the ratio of delinquency, or even the certitude that we are aware of all the factors, we are in one respect in the position of the person who gives false testimony in court. We overweight the standpoint acquired by our particular experience and our preconceived line of approach. In the literature of delinquency we find under the heading "causative factors" such items as the following: Early sex experience, 18 per cent for boys and 25 per cent for girls; bad companionship, 62 per cent for both sexes; school dissatisfaction, 9 per cent for boys and 2 per cent for girls; mental defect, 14 per cent; premature puberty, 3 per cent; psychopathic personality, 14 per cent; mental conflict, 6.5 per cent; motion pictures, 1 per cent, etc. Now it is evident that many young persons have had some of these experiences without becoming delinquent, and that many mentally defective persons and psychopathic personalities are living at large somewhat successfully without any record of delinquency; some of them are keeping small shops; others are producing literature and art. How can we call certain experiences "causative factors" in a delinquent group when we do not know the frequency of the same factors in a non-delinquent group? In order to determine the relation of a given experience to delinquency it would be necessary to compare the frequency of the same experience in the delinquent group and in a group representing the general non-delinquent population. It is now well known that the findings of Lombroso in his search for a criminal type went completely to pieces when Goring and others compared a series of criminals with a series taken from otherwise comparable non-delinquents. Lombroso's "criminal stigmata" are simply physical marks of the human species distributed pretty uniformly through the general population. Similarly, it is obviously absurd to

<sup>4</sup> E. W. Burgess, "Juvenile Delinquency in a Small City," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, VI, 726-28.

claim that feeble-mindedness or psychopathic disposition is the *cause* of crime so long as we have no idea of the prevalence of these traits in the general population. No subject is perhaps in so naïve and grotesque a position in this respect as psychoanalysis. The "Oedipus complex" and the "Electra complex"—the "fixation" of son on mother and daughter on father—are discovered and weighted by Freudians and made prominent sources of the psychoneuroses and of delinquency, whereas the clinical records show a multitude of cases where children with behavior disturbances are either indifferent to the parents or directly hate them. Again, with regard to economic factors as cause of crime, we find, for example, in the records of the White-Williams Foundation of Philadelphia (an organization dealing primarily with non-delinquent children) the same unfavorable economic conditions, broken homes, etc., which are usually assigned as "causative factors" in the studies of delinquency, but in this case without delinquency.

The psychiatrist Kempf, speaking of the diagnosis and classification of nervous diseases, has given the opinion that if twenty cases were given to twenty psychiatrists separately for diagnosis and their findings were sealed and given to a committee for a comparison of the results the whole system of diagnosis would blow up. And something of this kind would happen if students of delinquency, under the same conditions, attempted to name the causative factors in a crime wave or in the heavy incidence of delinquency in a given locality. The answers would certainly be weighted on the side of bad heredity, gang life, poverty, commercialized pleasure, decline of the church, post-encephalitic behavior disturbances, etc., according to the different standpoints represented.

Since the establishment of the first juvenile court in 1899 there has been a very careful elaboration of procedure with reference to the treatment of the young delinquent—systematic study of the case, oversight in the home or in a detention home, placing in good families, psychiatric social workers, visiting teachers, attempts to improve the attitudes of parents toward children, recreation facilities, children's villages and farm schools—and there is, I think, a general impression that there is a steady improvement, an evolu-



tion of method, and a gradual approach to a solution of the problem of delinquency. But there is no evidence that juvenile-court procedure or any procedure tends to reduce the large volume of juvenile delinquency. This is not surprising in view of the present rapid unstabilization of society connected with the urbanization of the population, the breakdown of kinship groups, the circulation of news, the commercialization of pleasure, etc. But it is more significant that the methods of the juvenile courts, when applied by their best representatives and in the most painstaking way, cannot be called successful in arresting the career of children who once appear in court, that so many first offenders become recidivists and eventually criminals. Healy and Bronner, who were the first court psychologists, and whose work commands the highest respect in the world, have recently reviewed this point on the basis of the records of their cases during the past twenty years in Chicago and Boston. They say:

Tracing the lives of several hundred youthful repeated offenders studied long ago by us and treated by ordinary so-called correctional methods reveals much repetition of offense. This is represented by the astonishing figures of 61 per cent failure for males (15 per cent being professional criminals and 5 per cent having committed homicide), and 40 per cent failure for girls (10 per cent being prostitutes). Thus in over one-half the cases in this particular series juvenile delinquency has continued into careers of vice and crime. . . . This is an immense proportion to be coming from any series of consecutive cases studied merely because they were repeated offenders in a juvenile court. It represents a most disconcerting measure of failure.<sup>5</sup>

They mention that no less than 209 of the 420 boys whom they knew when they appeared in the Chicago juvenile court had later appeared in adult courts, and of these 157 had received commitment to adult correctional institutions 272 times. The first court appearance is thus not to be regarded as the initiation of a reform, but in many youthful offenders it appears as a sort of confirmation or commencement ceremony initiating a criminal way of life. There are, indeed, many records of positive successes under juvenile court treatment, especially among the cases of Healy and Bronner, but the most successful workers confess that they do not

<sup>5</sup> Healy and Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking*, pp. 201-2.

know how they obtained their successes, whether through their own efforts or through spontaneous changes in the child.

Now there is reason to believe that we are deluded or not properly informed as to the efficiency of other behavior-forming situations and agencies on which we are confidently relying for the control of behavior and the development of normal personality. We assume that good families produce good children, but certain of the experimental nursery schools, selecting their children carefully in order to avoid material already spoiled, find nevertheless that they have drawn from the best families a large percentage of problem children. Our school curricula, based on reading ability and lesson-transfer, drive many children gifted along perceptual-motor lines into truancy and delinquency. It would be possible to show by cases that the home and the school are hardly less unsuccessful behavior-forming situations than the juvenile court.

Naturally the greatest amount of attention, up to the present, has been given to the study of abnormal behavior in the forms which come to public attention, become a nuisance; but behavior difficulties are widespread in the whole population, and it is certain that we can understand the abnormal only in connection with the normal, in relation to the whole social process to which they are both reactions. The same situation or experience in the case of one person may lead this person to another type of adjustment; in another it may lead to crime; in another, to insanity, the result depending on whether previous experiences have formed this or that constellation of attitudes.

The answer is, we must have more thoroughgoing explorations of situations. In our planning we should include studies and surveys of behavior-forming situations, measurements of social influences which will enable us to observe the operation of these situations in the formation of delinquent, emotionally maladjusted, and stable personalities and determine the ratios. A plan of this kind, which has been discussed by some of the sociologists present, proposes to take selected localities or neighborhoods in given cities, including, for example, the interstitial zones where delinquency is highest and the good neighborhoods where delinquency is lowest, and study all the factors containing social influence.

A survey of this kind would involve a study of all the institutions—family, gang, social agencies, recreations, juvenile courts, the daily press, commercialized pleasure, etc.—by all the available techniques, including life-records of all the delinquent children and an equal number of non-delinquent children, for the purpose of tracing the effects of the behavior-forming situations on the particular personalities.

It is known also that cities and other localities differ greatly as total behavior-forming situations. Healy and Bronner estimated, for example, that their failures in Chicago were 50 per cent and in Boston only 21 per cent. The difference is certainly not due in the main to differences in juvenile-court procedure, but to differences in the attitudes of the population, and this in turn to differences in the configurations of social influence. The juvenile court of Cincinnati has excited interest by the fact that it institutionalizes very few children, uses foster homes rarely, has only a nominal probation system, and is thought nevertheless to have greater success than other cities. The court procedure in Cincinnati is not elaborate; the co-operative agencies are not well organized. Nearly all the youthful offenders are simply turned back into the community. Is the relative success in this situation due to lack of too much zeal, to a refusal to treat and classify the child too promptly as delinquent? Is the large and stable element of German and German-Jewish population a factor in the situation? Rochester, New York, is the only city in the country where the visiting-teacher organization is incorporated in the public school system. What is the efficiency of this effort to treat the child in the predelinquent stages of his behavior difficulties? An inventory and measure of the social influences of selected cultural centers taken comparatively is thus very desirable.

There is a type of behavior reaction going on every day before our eyes which has to do with the participation of masses of the population, often whole populations, in common sentiments and actions. It is represented by fashions of dress, mob action, war hysteria, the gang spirit, mafia, omertà, fascism, popularity of this or that cigarette or tooth paste, the quick fame and quick infamy of political personalities. It uses language—spoken, written, and

gesture. It is emotional, imitative, largely irrational and unconscious, weighted with symbols, and sometimes violent. It is capable of manipulation and propagation by leading personalities and the public print. Its result is commonly and publicly accepted definitions of situations. Its historical residuum constitutes the distinctive character of races, nationalities, and communities. This is the psychology of the evolution of public opinion and of social norms. As long as the definitions of situations remain constant and common we may anticipate orderly behavior reactions. When rival definitions arise (as between the wets and drys at the present moment) we may anticipate social disorganization and personal demoralization. There are always constitutional inferiors and divergent personalities in any society who do not adjust, but the mass of delinquency, crime, and emotional instability is the result of conflicting definitions. When, as Justice McAdoo says, a large number of young men in New York City have made up their minds that they will live without working, this is a new definition of the situation and the formation of a criminal policy.

Now these expressions of public opinion, the rise of common attitudes, the establishment of a group morale, the culmination of emotional outbursts, and the formulation of more deliberate policies have also a situational origin—one in which the situation is weighted with pre-established attitudes, with conflicts arising over definitions of situations and influenced by the propaganda of word, print, and gesture, and it is desirable that selected types of behavior-forming situations should be studied along these lines.

And, finally, I will not here emphasize the point which I have attempted to exemplify in a particular study, that it is desirable to extend our studies of this situational character to the large cultural areas, to the races and nationalities, in order to understand the formation of behavior patterns comparatively, in their most general and particular expressions.

# THE PLACE OF THE COMMUNITY IN SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

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## ABSTRACT

The place of the community in sociological studies.—Three methods of community study are considered: (1) The survey has limitations for general sociological import in its reform purpose, the isolation of phenomena studied, and the general lack of any follow-up which would indicate the effectiveness of the survey as a factor in public opinion or in stimulating social change. (2) Descriptive studies of local community life as a whole attempt to get at social processes, showing their relations to the interests, personalities, habits, and social behavior of the inhabitants. Such studies are organic in character; institutions are related dynamically and functionally to community situations; attention is given to the rôle of personality; and the interaction of social groups is not neglected. (3) A third method of community study may be called ideological. The garden city as a synthesis of science and utopianism shows the necessity for thinking through nearly all problems of community organization. Various types of study might be undertaken to illustrate the processes of the integration and disintegration of social groups within the community. Experiments looking toward a larger degree of integration among economic groups through co-operatives, shop councils, and so on, are of fundamental significance, but they are slow to develop. More immediate prospects are to be found in relation to leisure-time activities and programs. The community must find itself and assert its autonomy and individuality.

It is anomalous that thoroughgoing studies of the human community as a sociological group have been somewhat neglected. To be sure, there are valuable monographs on some primitive communities. Kulp has made an illuminating study of the Chinese village community, showing the impress of familism. Notable studies have been made of neighborhoods by McKenzie, Woods, and others in the settlement field. There is a growing literature relating to community organization with reference to particular problems such as poverty, crime, family life, boys' gangs, and the assimilation of the foreign-born. Professors Thomas and Znaniecki have laid bare the inner life of the immigrant community in their memorable work on the *Polish Peasant*; and the functioning of the urban environment in relation to special problems of group life is being admirably demonstrated in a series of studies coming out of

the University of Chicago Department of Sociology. Rural communities are being explored with a truly sociological method by Galpin, Wilson, Taylor, Hawthorne, and others; and the small town has been studied by Williams, Douglass, and Brunner. Furthermore, the literature of that original type of community study, the social survey, is voluminous, though recent examples of this sort are somewhat lacking, and one has the feeling that the vogue of the social survey, at least in its traditional form, has about run its course. Notwithstanding the valuable sociological material in all these different kinds of study, there is abundant opportunity for further work on the community that would reveal, not only detailed facts with reference to particular problems, but also the community as a social whole, indicating social processes and ways by which it is influenced by the general tendencies of our times.

Before discussing the sort of studies that would bring to light this larger view of the community we may give some attention to that time-worn question: What is a community? It is, of course, a more or less permanent assemblage of people in a given place. It must evidence a certain degree of social co-operation if it is to survive. Taxation, the maintenance of police and fire protection, and of schools are among the more elementary communal affairs that the incorporated community is obliged to undertake, not only for survival, but also because the larger political unit, the state, compels it to do so. Legally the community is under the necessity of exercising common functions, presumably in the interests of all its members; though whether they are efficiently performed in a truly communal spirit depends upon a variety of factors that are beyond the range of legal compulsion. Indeed, as we depart from the sphere of strictly governmental affairs, at least, under our social system, and consider other organized interests within the community, such as business, religion, recreation, and those matters which are the concern of racial, class, and cultural groups, one is forced to entertain other ideas of the community than that of a place where people have common interests.

The common loyalties of citizens are ordinarily obscured by divergent interests that separate the community into rival or even hostile groups. Under these conditions the community becomes, in

a sense, an object of exploitation by group interests, much as the home is *used* by an individual member of a modern family as a place to feed or to hang his hat. In both cases there is a lack of moral unity which, in theory, we attribute to any well-integrated group. Certain practices of modern industrial corporations present notorious examples of the sort of thing I mean, as when the cotton mills move to the South, where child labor is more available. Or again, when religious denominations insist upon inflicting churches of their faith upon an already overchurched community, the point is further illustrated. It will be seen that these groups that thus exploit the community have a stronger allegiance to like groups in other communities than they have to the particular ones where they settle. We are familiar with the idea that under clan organization in primitive society, though clan members may be territorially separated, living in different communities, in times of crises they stood together. In other words, the kinship bonds were stronger than those of the local community. The tendency of civilization has been, as we know, to obliterate kinship as the social nexus, and it is customary to say that political or territorial bonds have been substituted. But the point that I am making is that in modern times, with the great facility of communication and the extreme mobility of people, the local community is competing with non-localized group interests for the allegiance of people, and that social integration is often stronger between interest groups in different localities than it is within the community. Thus, in times of crises conflict groups in the community are reinforced from without; employers' organizations throughout a whole state will pool their resources to crush a strike, and so will labor unions combine to maintain it; fundamentalists, nationally organized, send in spellbinders to blight the intelligence of the community; advertising is nationally directed and conspires with local tradesmen to induce people to consume, not what they need, but merely what is produced.

There is happily another side to the picture. Not only are the divisive interests of the community strengthened through outside affiliations, but so are some of its more genuinely co-operative tendencies. For example, a group of Finnish co-operators in Brooklyn

secure money for their co-operative apartments, not from local bankers, but from a co-operative bank of their own nationality in Fitchburg. Or again, the movement of social work has been from nationally conceived programs to local experimentation. This has been of good effect, except where there is danger of destroying the initiative of the local community. Of course, where these social service agencies take on the garb of vested interests and come to a clash in the community, as when the community fund group and the charity organization people quarreled in Columbus, spurred on by sympathizers from their respective national organizations, the outcome is as disintegrating for the local community as any other sort of group conflict. On the whole, however, social service programs are in effect unifying and integrative with respect to the constructive forces in the community. Where these programs do rouse conflict it is with the exploiting and degrading influences with which the struggle is necessary, inevitable, and unending.

One may view this process that we have been describing from another angle if one says that the autonomy and individuality of modern communities is perpetually threatened by the fact that their behavior patterns are established by the more general tendencies of the times. Their feverish desire for growth is a phase of that infantilism which has settled upon us in America like the plague. Or again, the ideals of the community remind us of the current materialism, as when a small town near Detroit chooses as its motto for 1928 "100 per cent pavement." The point is further emphasized by the mental habits of our luncheon clubs, which are induced by the prevailing atmosphere. One is not at a loss to account for the enthusiastic support of these organizations. Their good fellowship, their sentimental song-singing and back-slapping familiarity, as well as their loyalty to many unselfish enterprises in the community, all afford an outlet for genuinely human qualities long since blocked up by competitive business, sterile religion, and our socially disorganized cities. Yet there is danger that their perpetual good cheer may be as stifling to any fundamental thinking about the community as the "hallelujahs" of a revival meeting are to sound theological thought.

This dependence of the community for its approved types of



behavior and its forms of social organization becomes more rather than less pronounced with its increasing size. As Mr. Lewis Mumford points out, some of our New England towns are even today the most gracefully distinctive of American community types; whereas our cities continue to sprawl in a sort of barren uniformity, their inner life promising as little for regeneration as their outward appearance.

However, having said our worst, we should remind ourselves that this fashioning of community life in accordance with the time-spirit may lead to something besides merely futile imitation. Innovating as well as routine ideas of community organization are afloat on the currents of the air, and there is always the possibility of their evoking an effective response from intelligent and socially minded groups within the community. Garden cities, regional planning, the community theater, the community church, social centers, the co-operative movement are all germinating ideas, looking toward the establishment of the community as the creator of values, restoring the sense of continuity and wholeness to the lives of citizens in a time when the cohesiveness and strength of other socializing groups appear to wane. As Professor Cooley says in his recently published volume, ". . . The local community . . . was to almost everyone before the industrial era, and still is to the majority of mankind, the most evident and cherished seat of a continuing system of life. . . . In England the continuity of life used to be apparent in the establishments of the gentry, serving as a symbol for all classes. With us, it seems, the community must supply such symbols, which will be all the more revered as our life is individually shifting and precarious."

A striking example of the community as the symbol of social integration has recently come to my attention in an account of a reunion of the natives of the little Swedish community of Vista, Minnesota. For some time I have been interested in the literature descriptive of the life of the pioneers on American soil, and I have the feeling that there were real values in their experience which are overlooked by Mr. Mumford in his recent criticism of some of their ruthless habits. At any rate we have this from a description of a reunion of the descendants of the original settlers of Vista:

Hardships and privations tended to draw the settlers together in their own defense. The people of the Swedish community were on friendly terms with settlers of other nationalities and other religions who lived near them. On the west was a group of Yankees. To the northwest were some German families, and to the east was a Norwegian settlement. All of these people gathered together at times for celebrations of one kind or another. An old-timer tells how the Halvorsons, Johnsons, Hansons, Larsons, Nelsons, Hokansons, Petersons, Schmidts, Goetzenbergers, and Stearns used to go the rounds, the four nationalities meeting each Sunday at one of the homes to eat johnny-cake and mush and have a real visit. It was the custom for each family to bring its own plates, knives, and forks, etc., if they had them.

The children were reared in the spirit of friendship, and were required to strictly observe their religious obligations. As one result of this careful rearing, the public records give no account of any man in this community having ever been arrested for crime of any sort.

The narrative ends with a genealogy, including the original settlers and their descendants. It is, to be sure, only one of the countless minor epics of immigrant pioneer life on American soil. It is a story that never can be repeated; and one wonders where the new traditions are being formulated that shall continue to endear men to the communities from which they have sprung.

If we have thus far indicated something of the nature and significance of the community as a sociological group, we may devote the remainder of our discussion to methods by which it may be profitably studied. I shall here refer to three methods: (1) the survey; (2) descriptive studies of local community life as a whole, revealing the community in action; (3) ideological, or in terms of some preconceived, ideal plan for community organization.

The local community survey attempts to give a stereopticon view of different aspects of community life, such as housing, public health, poverty, and so on. The outstanding example of this type of study, such as the Pittsburgh survey and Booth's *Life and Labour of the People of London* do present something more than a static picture of conditions, especially if one pieces together their various parts and does a good deal of reading between the lines. As a rule, however, the more explicitly detailed the survey becomes, the less one gets of the general setting or of the processes through which the community has evolved up to the time of the survey. Moreover, the survey gives one almost nothing of the "psychology

of the situation," of which much has been made in studies of individual behavior, but which is of as much importance in community situations. I once made a survey of the traditional, perfunctory type in relation to certain problems of a small town. I have often wished to write a supplement to this effort, for I know that what was written gave no indication of the really interesting things about that particular town. If these were set forth, that is, the class antagonisms, public opinion, and dominating traditions, one could almost infer from this sort of portrayal many of the facts concerning poverty, public health, housing, and recreation that were actually revealed. May we not say that no survey which does not show how the community functions, and its group organization, can have much content that is really sociological? A final point about surveys is that seldom is there any follow-up study to show the effective impress of their findings. We know almost nothing of surveys as factors in social change. Inasmuch as to effect this has been their sole cause for being in most cases, the lack of such data is a serious omission in this mode of inquiry.

More promising in this connection is the regional survey which studies the problems and growth of an area, including a number of communities and their interrelationships. The recent English social survey of Tyneside is an example of this sort. It studies the natural history of the area, the interdependence of towns, movements of population, and the economic foundations of the region. It is one of extreme misery, and yet the wage levels, unemployment, and the rest are given a large and significant background. Again, we may say that without such community analysis in terms of epochal developments detailed facts that are gathered appear to be sundered from their significant relations.

We may now consider the rôle of descriptive studies of community life. These involve the community case history which attempts to get at social processes within the community, showing their relation to the personalities, interests, habits, and group behavior of the inhabitants. If the survey be regarded as a portrait of particular phases of community life, the case history is a kind of motion picture of significant events. These are seen, not in isolation, but are viewed organically in relation to the social psychology

of community life. Institutions are related dynamically and functionally to community situations, and attention is given to leadership and to the interaction of social groups. Such studies may best be made by the aid of "participant observers" rather than by outside experts, as in the case with the usual survey. We are told that to study a primitive group one must needs live with the natives for years in order first to acquire their language. So, too, the modern community has its peculiar ways, which must be sympathetically understood by one who would interpret its life.

Revealing studies of this character are often made by novelists, who in this respect may be regarded as our best sociologists. In the stories of Hugh Walpole, Sinclair Lewis, Johan Bojer, O. E. Rølvaag, and Sherwood Anderson, among contemporary novelists, as well as those of George Eliot, Jane Austen, and George Macdonald of a former period, one finds one's self interested, not only in plot and characterization, but also in types of community life. No formally sociological study could be half so revealing of the conflicts and mores of a small English cathedral town as are the novels of Walpole; and the very term "Main Street" has come to connote a dreary aspect of contemporary civilization.

However, most of us are not novelists, and there is a place for professedly sociological analyses of communities. One that I have used for a number of years in class work is Williams' *An American Town*. The categories under which this study is made are somewhat procrustean, yet one does get from it a clear picture of the transition of an American community from the easy-going democratic stage of village life of fifty years ago to the ambitious, commercial and industrial town of a later period. Many excellent studies of the same organic, evolutionary character have been made of immigrant community life in both urban and rural districts, the one by Louis Wirth of the ghetto being especially distinguished among the more recent examples. Finally, I refer to the possibility of encouraging students to make descriptive analyses of their local communities, after acquainting them with some of the more notable types of published studies. Most of us know of really creditable examples of student work in this field. I have one in mind of a student from the Kentucky hills who wrote on the transformation of

her native village through the discovery of coal, and the coming of the operators. The questionable methods by which the land was bought, the strife between the county authorities, who were controlled by the mine owners, and the town officials, who tried to assert their own dignity and autonomy, the social desolation occasioned by the ingress of immigrant and Negro laborers, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the ineffective resort to revivalism to restore local morale—all these elements in the situation were portrayed with admirable simplicity and directness, and seemed really to get at the heart of a distressingly typical American scene. If we can carry the students beyond the dramatics of such a situation to an apprehension of the definitely sociological principles involved, we shall never be at a loss for effective teaching material. We here find abundantly illustrated the processes of social change, social conflict, co-operation, adaptation, group formation, public opinion, social valuation, degeneracy, and the effects of communication and of isolation. Truly, we have no lack of laboratories for our science; all that we need is to improve our technique for using them.

A final word may be said concerning the scientific validity of such studies. As I see the matter it may be impaired from two sources. First, the use of a language rather than a statistical medium for social interpretation requires a high degree of literary competence along with a sound knowledge of sociological concepts. Unless one has a sure hand, knows what to include and how to organize the material, no very convincing picture can be drawn. For training in accuracy of observation the student might well be referred to some of the studies of insect communities that have been made by naturalists. It is to be noted that the best of these have been accompanied by a literary power which in no way impairs their scientific merit. Another source of danger in such community studies is the common one of prejudice or bias on part of the observer. Herein there appears to be a sort of dilemma. It is that unless one is thoroughly immersed in a situation that he is to describe, he may not have the sympathetic insight so necessary for any kind of social intelligence; on the other hand, to be so immersed is liable to give rise to bias. After all, this difficulty is germane to the very nature of sociological studies. Objectivity is not to be obtained

through ignorance or the absence of feeling; on the contrary it is to be gained through a highly informed intelligence accompanied by a profound sensitivity to social values. The more people we can turn out with these qualities (always assuming, of course, the bounty of nature) the richer we may expect the literature of sociological community studies to become.

The third type of community study to which I shall briefly refer I have called ideological. I mean the sort that cuts loose from existing community patterns and conceives the whole problem of community organization from fresh points of view. In this class of community studies belong the utopias; first, those which have appeared in literary form, of which several hundred have been listed by Professor J. Q. Dealey; and secondly, those which have reached the stage of actual experimentation, of which a score or more have appeared on American soil. The vogue of literary utopianism affords a most interesting approach to the study of sociology. It links up easily with the study of ethics and of certain dramatic periods of history, and impresses the student with the undeniable truth, that the good life, which is the goal of the normative sciences, is to be attained largely through favorable types of social organization. Moreover, the records of actual experiments with utopianism, such as are to be found in the history of the movement, presents the student with the opportunity to analyze the social structure of such communities, to study their inner life, and to account for their varying degrees of success and failure. It is, to be sure, for the most part a record of failure; but then, it is to be remembered that their very reason for being was the inability of existing modes of social organization to satisfy the aspirations of men. May we not say that as the teachings of social science find embodiment in the society of tomorrow, the impulse toward utopianism will wane, as Macaulay said that the scientific spirit would atrophy the poetic motive in literature. Meanwhile, utopianism presents a fascinating aspect of the human mind, and inasmuch as our social technique will ever fall short of completely embodying our ideals, utopian formulas will never quite lose their attractiveness for some men.

A type of community experimentation that links the utopian motive with a severely scientific method is to be found in the mod-

ern garden city. There are well-known examples of this kind of community in Europe, and the initial stages of the movement are to be seen in America today. I have in my possession the most interesting minutes, giving a summary of the discussions of problems connected with a proposed garden city in the eastern section of the country. These discussions were held at a series of conferences of the Regional Planning Association of America at the Hudson Guild Farm in October, 1927. Without entering into the details of this conference, I may refer to the fact that here were a distinguished group of technical men and women, thinking through the problems of the structure and social organization of a proposed community actually from the ground up. Among the questions discussed were the location of the community, its financial basis, its size, its relation to government, its physical lay-out, the kinds of education and recreation which should be fostered, the sorts of industry to be encouraged, its cultural opportunities, its racial composition, its housing, and its social relationships. After reading these minutes one feels that utopia is somewhat more than a dream! As for the possibilities of a material community of this sort, there is no serious problem, for an industrial corporation can build one overnight. But the rest is stark innovation, so far as America is concerned. However, not a single item in the program is mere day-dreaming. If fifty years of social work, city planning, and educational experimentation do not suffice for helping us to build a rational and satisfying community, provided that we can start *de novo*, then the labors of two generations has been futile, and, to use the vernacular, we may as well "return to our business at the old stand." But too much wisdom and intelligence were represented at this conference to cause us to fear such an outcome. Its type of idealism offends no intellectual sensibilities except, perhaps, those of some of our realtors.

We may now summarize the drift of this discussion. It is that in our systematic sociological studies we can well afford to give more attention to the community. In etymology and by formal definition, the term "community" suggests a special type of integrated group. But as we have seen, this supposed integration is more or less frustrated through the internal organization of the

community which subdivides into interest groups that have a stronger allegiance to like groups elsewhere than they have to the local community. This functioning of special interests—religious, economic, or otherwise—over wide areas is facilitated by the mobility of people and by the increase of communication. The result is that the community life is fashioned by the generalized behavior-patterns of the times which become focused in the local community. The confusion, strife, and dearth of integrative behavior that is to be found in the local community reflects, therefore, the general life of our times of which the community is a sort of microcosm. In so far as these general tendencies have genuinely co-operative elements, these, too, become represented in the community; and the problem is to make the community through its institutions and customs the creator of social values, so that it may become more of a symbol of unity, restoring wholeness and continuity to life. Sociologically, community life has been analyzed by means of the survey, by descriptive studies of social processes within the community, and from the point of view of ideological concepts. From our present perspective the last two of these methods appear to be more promising than the first, though the regional survey does embody organic principles that reveal community life as a whole.

A final word remains to be said as to the relation to the foregoing of the National Community Center Association. This organization, as I see it, has been engaged less in aggressive propaganda on behalf of community centers than it has in keeping alive an idea. This idea is that a desirable type of localism can be fostered through neighborhood organization and active community centers which can help withstand the forces of disintegration by nourishing local autonomy and individuality. Localism is not dead, though it has been well-nigh buried alive. It needs to be resurrected and directed, with its gossipy, provincial, and brutal forms suppressed though the provision of morally and intellectually satisfying channels into which the team spirit may flow. If our organization can continue to keep this idea vital amid the somewhat discouraging ups and downs of actual community centers, we may still hope to make a contribution to what is sometimes called "American civilization."



# BIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION

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## ABSTRACT

**Biological foundations of social integration.**—The fact that the organism behaves as an orderly whole suggests the existence of integrating and ordering factors of some sort. Physiological investigations of recent years show that in all except the simplest organisms, which apparently represent merely a surface-interior pattern directly dependent upon environment, physiological integration results from the establishment of a physiological dominance, a leadership or government in the protoplasm composing the organism. Experiment demonstrates that this dominance constitutes a real ordering and intergrating factor, an actual government. The primitive dominance represents an autocracy or a ruling class, but with the progress of individual development and of evolution, physiological integration becomes increasingly complex. Secondary governments arise in various parts, all subordinate to the general government, and the government becomes increasingly representative; that is, the subordinate parts are increasingly able to influence the dominant regions. In the higher animals and man we find an almost inconceivably complex and highly efficient mechanism of physiological government which is representative to a high degree. To the biologist social integrations examined in the light of the physiological processes appear, not as something new and unique, but as the further development and complication of the behavior of living protoplasm, of which organisms are the most general expressions. The foundations of social integration seem to him to lie, not in the simplest social processes in man or in the animals, but in the ability of living protoplasm to react to their environment, to transmit the effects of such reaction, and to keep some record of past reactions which influence the character of later behavior.

Before proceeding to consideration of my subject let me make it clear that I speak as a biologist. It would be an unwarranted venture for me to attempt to do otherwise. As I understand it, the invitation to take part in the program of this society came to me simply because my field of investigation has had to do with some of the problems concerned in the integration of living units into orderly wholes, and because the physiological processes of integration have seemed to me to be suggestive in their relations to the processes of integration among human beings. I shall attempt to tell you something of what the biologist has learned or thinks he has learned about the physiological processes of integration which make organisms orderly wholes, and to indicate very briefly how certain aspects of social integration appear to him in the light of

what he has learned in his biological investigations. Social integrations represent the highest development of integrative processes among living units, and a consideration of the question whether they have any relation to the simpler physiological integrative processes may be of some interest to the sociologist. It will be convenient at times to use sociological terms for biological phenomena; in fact, it is sometimes difficult to avoid using them; but I shall attempt to restrict their use to those cases in which it seems to be justified biologically, whatever the sociologist may think about it.

*Physiological correlation.*—In the rather recent past biology was so largely concerned with learning about the structure of living things and the functions of their different organs that it gave little attention to the problem of the unity and order which makes the organism what it is. The unity and order were ignored, taken for granted, or sometimes translated into some sort of pre-established harmony. Some biologists wrote of the "organism as a whole," or of the influence of the whole upon its parts without knowing very clearly what they meant, beyond the fact that a wholeness of some sort was evident, and that a unity and order, a harmony of some sort, existed among the parts. With the development of the experimental method, however, it became possible to throw some light on the nature of this order and wholeness. In the simpler organisms it is possible to separate parts from each other without killing or seriously injuring them, and so to determine their reactions when separated. It is also possible to put parts together in arrangements different from those in the ordinary individual and to determine how they behave under such conditions. And since the susceptibility of different regions and organs to external agents differs, it is possible to inhibit the activity of certain parts without much affecting others, and to observe the changes which follow. On the other hand, we can stimulate certain parts and observe results and we can isolate certain substances produced by particular organs, for example, thyroïdin, adrenalin, etc., and determine their action. These and various other lines of investigation have established the fundamental importance of what is commonly called physiological correlation for the unity and wholeness of the organ-

ism. Physiological correlation consists in the physiological influences and actions of parts on each other, in short, of all the physiological relations between parts.

The factors in physiological correlation fall into two great groups: the transmissive and the transportative relations. The transmissive relations consist in the transmission of energy changes from one part to another. For example, mechanical effects are transmitted in every movement of the body. Transmission of heat, of chemical and electric energy also occurs, but more important than any of these is the transmission of the complex physicochemical process called excitation. All nervous control, all mental activity, is associated with such transmission. This transmissive group of correlative factors represents what we may call the processes of communication between parts. Transportative correlation consists in the transport in mass of substances from the part producing them to other parts. These transportative factors represent the barter and exchange, the commercial relations between the various parts. The organism is then not a mosaic of independent parts, but consists of the parts plus all the relations between them, and the wholeness, the unity consists rather in the relations than in the parts themselves. It is not enough to demonstrate the existence of these physiological relations between parts. We must investigate their origin and the changes which they undergo in the course of individual development and of evolution.

*The simplest organisms.*—The simplest organisms, certain bacteria and some other forms, appear to have no definite parts other than the surface and the interior. Because of its exposure to an external medium, the surface differs from the interior. Since the surface is the medium of relation and exchange with the external world, it exercises a certain control over what happens in the interior. But we find that surface and interior in such organisms are interchangeable, that is, the interior is capable of transforming into surface if it is exposed to the external medium, and parts of the surface buried in the interior soon become like other internal parts. In other words, the pattern of such organisms is directly dependent on relation to environment, and changes as the relation changes. Evidently then the integration of surface and interior

into an orderly whole does not occur autonomously in the protoplasm of such organisms, but results from the reaction of the protoplasm to its environment. The pattern of such an organism is a behavior pattern: it represents in each case the behavior of a particular kind of protoplasm under certain environmental conditions.

*Axiate organisms.*—All organisms except the simplest show, in addition to this surface-interior pattern, another integrative pattern which we call axiate, that is, they possess physiological polarity and symmetry. Polarity and symmetry are expressions in the mass of protoplasm or cells which constitute the organism of orderly arrangements and relations which are referable to certain so-called axes passing in certain directions in the body. The polar axis is the chief or major axis, that is, the direction along which the primary or major order arises. Ordinarily it is the longitudinal axis, the anteroposterior direction in the body. The axes of symmetry represent secondary orders in other directions.

Since polarity and some sort of symmetry are fundamental features of the structure and the functional relations of parts of the organism, the problem of their nature has engaged the attention of many biologists. In the past they have often been regarded as inherent in the molecular structure of the different protoplasms, and as perhaps analogous to the polarity and symmetry of crystals. The experimental investigation of recent years not only affords no support to this view, but indicates that polarity and symmetry are not expressions of static molecular structure in the substratum of life, but rather of the dynamics of life itself. All the evidence indicates that polarity and symmetry in their simplest terms consist in a quantitative differential in physiological activity and in protoplasmic condition associated with it, that is, the processes of living, or certain of them, are going on most rapidly at one end of such an axis, and from this end their rate decreases along the axis. These differences in rate of living at different levels determine the formation of different organs. For example, the head, and primarily the brain, develops from the most active region of the polar axis and the regions of the central nervous system posterior to the head from the most active regions of the axis of symmetry. Other organs arise in definite order along the axes. The order and arrangement of or-

gans depend on the quantitative differences along the axes, but the kinds of organs which develop in a particular case depend upon the hereditary constitution of the protoplasm concerned.

Moreover, many different lines of evidence indicate that such a differential or gradient does not arise autonomously in the protoplasm, but rather as a reaction of the protoplasm to a differential in its environment. In the protoplasms of many of the simpler animals it is possible on the one hand to obliterate previously existing polarity or symmetry by decreasing the differences in activity at different levels of the axis and, on the other hand, to determine new axes of polarity and symmetry by establishing new regions of high activity through the action of external energies on the protoplasm. In this way we can obliterate previously existing axiate patterns and determine new ones in other directions and literally make the individual over. So far as our observations go, it appears that in nature also polarity and symmetry do not arise autonomously in protoplasms, but originate in reaction to environmental differentials, for example, in the differential relations of the different regions of the egg to the parent body or to other environmental factors.

If these conclusions are correct, the patterns of living things, that is, the structural and functional orders and relations, originate in the last analysis in the reactions of protoplasms to environment. They are, in short, behavior patterns. According to this view organisms represent the most general and fundamental behavior-patterns of protoplasms, and these patterns become the foundations of the more specialized forms of behavior. The establishment of a new persistent axis of polarity or symmetry in a cell or a cell mass represents a record in the protoplasm of reaction to environment. This record of past behavior becomes a fundamental factor in determining the character of all later behavior and may even persist through cell division and various reproductive processes and so become hereditary, but such inheritance is obviously not Lamarckian inheritance of acquired characters. Is not such a record of past reaction, together with its effect on all later behavior, the most general biological form of learning by experience?

*Physiological control or dominance.*—Granting that organis-

mic pattern originates as a behavior pattern, a record of experience, the question at once arises, How does a quantitative differential in physiological condition bring about integration, How does it determine the wholeness of the organism? We find that when we establish a region of high activity in a cell or a cell mass by the local action of external energies such a region influences adjoining regions within a certain distance, that is, the activity locally induced does not remain sharply localized, but spreads to adjoining regions, the effect decreasing with increasing distance from the point of origin. The active region then becomes the dominant factor in determining a gradient in activity. It exercises a control over regions within a certain distance from it because it is the chief factor in determining the degree of their activity. This influence of an active region on adjoining regions is apparently due primarily to the transmission of energy changes from it and it is probable that electric currents resulting from the differences in condition between it and the adjoining regions are factors in such transmission. This relation between a more active and a less active region appears to be the foundation of physiological dominance or control. Such dominance and subordination of parts in one form or another is a characteristic feature of physiological axes. Experiment shows that it is an essential factor in determining the positions and proportions of parts along the axis. It represents the first step in physiological integration beyond the surface-interior pattern. From it develops in plants the control which the growing tip exercises over other parts in preventing their development into new growing tips like itself or in determining their growth in certain ways as subordinate parts, e.g., as lateral branches. That the growing tip does actually control in such cases is shown by the changes which occur when the tip is removed or inhibited. Buds which were previously inhibited now grow out, lateral branches transform into main stems, etc. The growing tip of the plant represents the most active region of the axis and its dominance depends on its activity. In animals the head, that is, the region of the brain and the chief sense organs, arises from the most active region of the polar gradient, and out of the primitive dominance of the active region in the earlier stages develops nervous control.

In its more primitive protoplasmic forms and in the nervous system physiological control depends on the transmission of energy changes rather than on the transportation of substance, that is, it represents communication rather than commerce between the parts concerned. But as the different organs become increasingly different in constitution the chemical reactions in them become different in character and give rise to different substances. These differences which take place both in individual development and in evolution provide a basis for transportative relations between various parts. A product of the activity of one may be transported to, and influence the activity of, another. In short, with the progress of differentiation commercial relations become possible within the organism and increase in variety and complexity. Such relations, however, are not fundamental factors in physiological integration, for they are not possible until a certain degree of integration and differentiation is present.

The dominant region represents a real physiological leadership, a government. It is the pacemaker in development and the primary factor in physiological integration wherever it persists long enough to be effective. The reality of this leadership cannot be too strongly emphasized. This conception of dominance is in no sense speculative, but represents a physiological fact established by many different lines of experimental evidence. By means of experimental methods we can depose existing leaders and establish new ones with effects on the organism similar to those which occur in any integration dependent on leadership or government.

According to this conception of the organism, the unity and order are not pre-established in the protoplasmic constitution, but develop out of protoplasmic behavior. Only the simplest sort of integration is possible without definite and more or less persistent dominance, that is, leadership. In the surface-interior organism where there is no such leadership differentiation is of the same simple and primitive character as in a herd of animals surrounded by other animals that seek to attack, or an old-time wagon train surrounded by Indians. In organisms of this sort temporary leadership sometimes develops, e.g., an amoeba may send out a pseudopod and begin to move in one direction, and in the herd or the

wagon train something may start a break in a certain direction and an axiate pattern arises temporarily.

In the axiate organism the dominance or leadership of the most active region becomes more definite and more permanent. This dominance initiates an orderly course of development and differentiation, the relations of different regions to the dominant region determining what part each shall play in the organism. In many of the lower organisms the persistence even of the structural pattern depends throughout life on the control exerted by the dominant region. In such forms it is possible to demonstrate, by cutting the animal into pieces, that the parts possess other capacities than those which have been realized in their development as parts. For example, every level of the body may be capable of forming a head, but as long as it is subordinated to the dominant region, the head, it has no opportunity to develop as a head, but is forced to develop into something else. The capacity for leadership is there, but the opportunity is lacking as long as the original leadership persists. In many other forms this is true only in the earlier stages of development. In the more advanced stages the structural pattern becomes relatively fixed and physiological control is concerned primarily with function of the various parts.

In many of the simpler organisms, and particularly in the earlier stages of development, dominance may be limited in range by the primitive character of the processes of transmission, that is, with primitive means of communication, physiological leadership is effective only over a relatively short distance. This means that the size of the mass which can be integrated into an individual is also limited. The limit of integration cannot exceed the range of effective communication. This limitation of the range of dominance makes possible what we call physiological isolation of parts. For example, if growth in length continues beyond a certain limit the body becomes too long for complete control by the dominant region, and the part farthest away from that region loses its characteristics as a part and begins to develop into a new individual. That is, it develops a new leadership either from that part of the mechanism of government already present or directly from its own relations to environment.



If, on the other hand, the activity of the dominant region, that is, the effectiveness of the leadership, the government, decreases, the range and effectiveness of control decrease and parts of the individual may become sufficiently isolated, even without growth, to give rise to new individuals. If the original dominance disappears completely, the organism may separate into its constituent cells, and each of these may begin a new course of development if it is able to develop a dominant region from the part of the original mechanism of control which it contains or if it acquires a new dominant region through its relations to environment. If the dominant region is removed, its functions may be taken over by the parts most closely associated with it, but before they are able to attain full control isolation of some part and reproduction of a new individual from it may begin. In social integrations of various sorts, particularly among the more primitive, similar situations arise. The personal leader may be weakened by age or disease or may die, or institutional dominance may change from an actively integrating force to a mere formal control. It is a familiar fact that such conditions favor the appearance of new groups from parts of the old, or the complete disintegration of the group into its constituent units.

In the organism we can block the process of control on its way from the dominant to the subordinate region; we can, so to speak, cut the wires. As a matter of fact, we do not need to cut them, for it is possible in certain cases to block physiological control by merely cooling a short portion of its path and so decreasing the activity of the protoplasm there to such an extent that it does not pass on the message. This procedure also isolates physiologically the subordinate part concerned and may bring about the development of a new individual from it. I scarcely need point out that isolation of parts in this way is the physiological prototype of certain social processes of reproduction. The blocking in one way or another of communications from the leader or the government may bring about reorganization through revolt or otherwise.

And finally, by increasing the activity of a subordinate part it is often possible to develop within it a new leadership which is effective in determining a new integration in spite of the original domi-

nance. In plants, for example, buds which happen to be exposed to particularly favorable external conditions may develop as new axes in spite of the dominance of the growing tip. In other words, environment favors the development of local government in such a part, and we see similar situations arising in social groups.

Cancer consists of cells of the body which have undergone change in some way not yet understood so that they do not react to physiological control. Such cells have become complete anarchists. They live as individual cells and do not integrate into orderly wholes. They are extremely active cells, and have for some reason run wild. It is of interest to note that conditions are particularly favorable for the appearance of such cells in the old individual in which physiological control is not as effective as in the young. Investigation concerning the cancer problem is directed primarily toward discovering first what makes these cells run wild, and second, how to get rid of them or make them behave normally again, after they have run wild. Investigations into certain political situations have objectives very similar to those of cancer research, though the method of procedure may differ widely.

This account of the processes of physiological isolation is not speculative, but a statement of physiological fact. The various processes of physiological isolation of parts determine the forms of asexual reproduction, budding, fission, etc., which occur in the plants and the simpler animals, and physiological isolation and reproduction can be induced experimentally by all four of the methods described previously. The art of pruning and trimming plants is based entirely on the relations of leadership or dominance and subordination, and many of the lower animals which resemble plants in their branching form can be similarly pruned and trimmed with essentially similar results.

*The development of integration.*—The axiate organism, at least in its simpler forms, begins as an autocracy, or, if we speak in terms of individual cells, the multicellular organism usually represents government by a ruling class. I mean by this statement that the dominant region determines the behavior of other parts, but is itself independent of them, at least as regards the development of its general structural pattern. The dominant region in such forms

develops in advance of other parts and is able to develop even though other parts are entirely absent. For example, small pieces of such organisms may develop into nothing but heads. They are leaders with nothing to lead. In many of the lower forms we find by cutting the body into pieces that every level is capable of developing into a head when it is isolated from the parts anterior to it. In such cases every level has the capacity for leadership, but under the usual conditions only one level has the opportunity to become the actual leader.

In the simpler organisms and in early stages of development the control is usually limited in range because of the primitive character of the means of communication, but with the development of special organs of communication, e.g., the conducting tissues in plants, the nervous system in animals, the range of control and the size of individual which can be integrated increase greatly and become indefinite, that is, the nerves can conduct impulses to indefinite distances and the actual size is limited by other factors. With this improvement in the means of communication in the course of individual development and of evolution, the primitive autocratic character of leadership in the organism undergoes change. The range of dominance is not only increased, but it also becomes possible for the subordinate parts to communicate with the dominant region and to influence its behavior. The head is no longer independent of other parts, but the further development of its structure and its function is determined in part by the other organs of the body.

With still further advance in development and evolution integration becomes still more complex. Leaders of various organs arise, but are still subordinate to the leader in chief, the brain. There is in the heart, for example, a leader, a pacemaker, which determines the rhythm of the beat. This pacemaker arises from the most active region of the embryonic heart. If we remove it or inhibit its activity another region becomes the pacemaker, but is not, at least when it first becomes the leader, as effective as the original leader. We find similar pacemakers controlling the muscular activities of the alimentary tract and other axiate organs of the body.

In the higher animals there develops in the central nervous sys-

tem an almost inconceivably complex mechanism of communication and control with a hierarchy of centers, or bureaus, each with a limited dominance and subordinate to those of higher rank, and all subordinate to the cerebral cortex. Physiological integration in the higher vertebrates can be compared only to a highly developed representative government with an elaborate system of bureaus for attending to the needs and demands of the various parts of the body.

Although we know little as yet concerning the differences in different nerve impulses, we can see that different nervous communications are handled differently in the central nervous system. For example, a local stimulation, a tickling of the skin or a slight prick, gives rise to an impulse which goes into the spinal cord and is handled there as a routine matter by one of the subordinate bureaus and the order is sent out for the contraction of certain muscles to remove the part from the source of irritation. This is what we call a reflex, and does not involve consciousness. A more important or more urgent communication from some organ may be passed on to a higher bureau and the return communication may have reference not merely to this particular communication but to others which have reached the bureau at about the same time or which have left records in the nervous structure to serve as precedents. If the communication is sufficiently important, or if the action of the lower bureaus does not meet the situation, it may be relayed to successively higher bureaus and may finally reach the cerebral cortex. Even when the communication is handled by a lower bureau, information concerning it is often sent to the cortex. The cortex has often been likened by neurologists to a parliamentary assembly combining the functions of deliberation, legislation, and the judiciary. The communications from the cortex have reference, not only to the state of the body as a whole at the moment, but to the records of past states. That is to say, their character is influenced, not only by the communications which are coming in at the time, but by the records in the nervous system of past communications. In short, the nervous system of man and the higher animals represents an almost inconceivably complex mechanism of government, representative to a high degree and remarkably efficient. The organism as a whole is comparable to a great na-

tion-state, but with relatively rigid class distinctions. Between the different classes complex commercial relations have also arisen in the form of transport of nutrition, oxygen, and waste products, of internal secretions, so-called hormones, etc., and these also play a part in the further differentiation of the various organs. Such organisms have progressed a long way toward democracy from the primitive autocracy or government by a ruling class.

In these higher forms of physiological integration the size of the individual is not limited by the means of communication, as it often is in the lower forms, for in the higher forms communication is possible over indefinite distances. In man and higher animals size is limited by the decrease in capacity for growth with the progress of differentiation. In a young developing organism the additions to body substance exceed the losses through breakdown; the protoplasmic birth-rate exceeds the death-rate; but as the organism ages its metabolic activity decreases and it merely maintains its size instead of growing, and finally in extreme old age the protoplasmic death-rate may exceed the birth-rate. In the lower forms parts which are physiologically or physically isolated and reorganize into new individuals undergo more or less rejuvenescence. Their metabolic activity increases; they resume growth; and the new individual formed is in all respects younger than the organism of which it originally formed a part. Increased vigor in consequence of social reorganization is a common phenomenon.

*Physiological integration of higher orders.*—In the plants and in many of the simpler animals individuals arising as buds in consequence of partial escape from the control of the original dominant region do not entirely separate, but form a complex of individuals. The stems and branches of plants and the branching plantlike forms of certain animals are complexes of this sort. In these complexes of individuals various degrees of integration similar in character to those already considered appear. In some such complexes the component individuals are all alike and the whole is a mere aggregation of individuals without dominance or appreciable integration, except perhaps temporarily. Very commonly, however, dominance and subordination among the component individuals develop, and the whole, or various parts of it, may be integrat-

ed into an individuality of higher order than that of the members which compose it. In some cases the original individual gives rise to the others by budding and retains its leadership throughout the life of the complex; in others each new individual becomes dominant for a time and then gives place to another. The relations between the component individuals of such a complex are concerned in determining its growth form and other aspects of its behavior. Among the plants, for example, the fir and the spruce and related forms are cases of continued dominance of a single leader, the growing tip of the main stem. This growing tip determines the growth of all buds as lateral branches which are more or less bilaterally symmetrical while the branches are radially arranged on the main stem. If the growing tip of the main stem be cut off or inhibited the uppermost lateral branches or some of them change their form of growth and become new main stems and assume dominance over the whole. In such trees as the elm, on the other hand, various leaders of approximately equal influence arise sooner or later and a spreading crown consisting of more or less similar axes results. Physiological integrations of this spreading sort are better adapted to a sessile life rather than to an actively motile habit and have developed most extensively among plants, but various sessile animals, for example the corals and some of their relatives, as well as some other animal forms, have developed complexes of this kind. For actively motile organisms which progress through their environment instead of spreading out in it a more compact and efficient integration than this is necessary.

*Social integration among animals.*—Various degrees of truly social integration, or at least what the biologist regards as social integration, occur among animals, and some of them differ from the physiological integrations chiefly in that they take place between components which are not in protoplasmic continuity. They range from mere aggregations without integrating factors other than the common reaction of all members to some environmental factor to groups with various degrees of leadership or control. Herds of various species often assume a more or less definite surface-interior pattern in the presence of their enemies. In other

cases real leaders exist and more or less definite and persistent integrations occur.

In connection with integrations of this character, whether in animals or in man, the question of the significance of sex and the family arises. The family appears, at least as a temporary or periodic integration, rather widely among animals, and in some cases is surprisingly persistent. From the biological standpoint, however, the family does not seem to have the importance for integration which has been assigned to it by some sociologists. The sex relation and the relation of parent and offspring afford a biological basis for limited association of individuals, and it is evident that because of their general occurrence in some form or other these relations may play a part in integrations which may equally well arise independently of them. Various social integrations may develop out of the family, not because it is a necessary or fundamental factor in their origin, but merely because it antedates them. Undoubtedly the family has played an important part in the history of social integration, but in what we may call the physiology of social integration it seems to the biologist to possess only a limited significance. Among animals, as among men, some social integrations develop in relation to sex and the family while others are obviously independent of them. Some animal species in which the family is well developed show little or no other social integration, while others in which the family scarcely appears develop definite social groups.

The social insects, particularly the termites, bees, and ants, seem to represent social integrations developing, at least in part, on the basis of sex and the family. These societies are matriarchal, but the leadership is apparently in no sense personal. The queen mother has become an institution around which the society centers. Wheeler has suggested that social life among the insects originated in the exchange of nutritive substances including secretions and excretions, but it seems more probable that much of this exchange has arisen secondarily in the development and complication of family relations. I am inclined to believe also that the lack of plasticity and the complete subordination of the individual to the society which is characteristic of the most highly developed insect societies

are in some measure due to their development on the basis of sex and the family. Integrations developing on this basis must, it seems to me, be relatively rigid and unplastic because the possibilities are rather narrowly limited. In the most highly developed ant societies these possibilities of integration on a familial basis seem to be more completely realized than in any other case.

*Conclusion.*—In this brief consideration of integration I have endeavored to show that the organism represents, first of all, a behavior pattern in the cell or cell mass of which it consists. Physiological integration is not an autonomous process, but originates through relation and reaction to environment. The likeness of different individuals of the same species apparently results, first from the fact that their protoplasms are similar though not identical as regards hereditary constitution and potentialities, and second from the fact that environment has been to a considerable degree standardized for each species in the course of evolution. If we alter the environment beyond the normal range we alter the course of integration and the resulting individual. In short, the organism appears to be the expression of an integrating and ordering institution which originates in the most general relations and reactions of living protoplasms to environment. The organism is inconceivable except in relation to environment, and that means that it is inconceivable except in terms of behavior. Integration is not the mere aggregation of units, but rather the development of definite relations between them. The relations, not the parts, are the real integrating factors. The organism is not merely the sum of its cells or organs, but of these plus all the physiological relations between them, and to the biologist the same appears to be true of human society. A cell as a part of an organism behaves differently and is therefore different in some way from that cell isolated. The biologist finds it difficult to believe that the individual human being as a member of a social group is the same as that human being isolated from the group.

In both the organism and society the primary factors in integration appear to be the transmissive rather than the transportative relations, that is, communication rather than material or commercial exchange. Communication does not require special organs



of transmission, but may take place through various physical media, and whether it occurs through living protoplasm or some other medium is unimportant. Apparently all that is necessary for the beginning of orderly integration in protoplasm is a quantitative difference in rate of living and the possibility of communication. Dominance or leadership in its most general physiological form apparently originates in the more rapid liberation of energy. The personal leader among men may not always have a higher metabolism and liberate energy more rapidly than those he leads, but in consequence either of his relation to the particular situation or his heredity or past experience he reacts to the situation in such a way as to develop an integrating force, usually psychological rather than physical. In social development we see leadership becoming impersonal and institutional, but in all cases the dominant conception is the one most effective in determining integrative behavior of different individuals with reference to a particular situation. To the biologist social integration appears first of all as behavior of living protoplasms, and the evidence at hand seems to indicate that from the behavior which integrates the individual organism into an orderly and definite whole to that which integrates a nation, a church, or other social group there is essential continuity. The foundations of social integration seem to him to lie, not in the simplest social integrations among men, not in the social integrations among animals, but in the ability of living protoplasms to react to environment, to transmit the effects of such reaction, and to maintain records of past reaction which influence present and future behavior. In human society new forms of dominance appear, new means of communication are developed; but in spite of such differences the fundamental principles and laws of social and physiological integration appear to be essentially similar in that they both represent general behavior patterns resulting from the reactions of living protoplasms to their environments.

# ORGANIC PLASTICITY VERSUS ORGANIC RESPONSIVENESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERSONALITY

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## ABSTRACT

**Organic plasticity versus organic responsiveness in the development of the personality.**—Plasticity, organic, neural, or mental, expresses the widely accepted view that organic and mental life are molded by their environments. The basis of the other viewpoint of organic responsiveness lies in the following facts: (1) the stimulus does not convey energy to the organism, but serves only to release contained psychophysical energy; (2) the organic structures are selective in their relation to environmental stimuli, responding to some and not to others; (3) in like manner the kind of response made is determined, not by the stimulus, but by the nature of the organism; (4) the stimulus is not correlated with the response, except through the nature of the reacting body. To the concepts heredity and environment must be added that of physiological process, a variable which expresses the variable ways in which a given set of genes may interact with various environments, or in which various genetic combinations may interact with a given environment. What is thus true of stimulus and response on the organic plane seems to be true also on the psychic plane. In spite of enormous potential variations in habit, motor, emotional, and intellectual structure, each individual selects, within limits, those stimuli to which he will respond, responds to them in his own way, and thus evolves a personality which represents the response of his particular neural system to his own world. This view in no way controverts the view that the individual would be more or less different from what he is had he been in a different social medium. But it avoids the fallacy that the social medium can shape any given genetic constitution after a predetermined model. It finds the dynamic factors in personality development in the internal energies, predispositions, and response tendencies rather than in the social milieu.

The terms "plasticity" and "responsiveness" are designed to express two different ways of looking at the interaction of a living organism and its environment. They represent two more or less opposed psychological viewpoints. They may also be used to express different viewpoints with respect to embryological development and with respect to post-natal physical growth. These same terms may, in fact, be applied also to physicochemical interrelationships. In their broadest implications, therefore, they take on a certain philosophical quality, in the sense that they represent a broad viewpoint under which many aspects of nature may be unified. It is this broader viewpoint and its general significance which is set forth with extreme brevity in this paper.

Let us note the significance of these terms, first on the physico-chemical plane. If I put water in a pan and subject it to moderate heat it evaporates. This is a reaction more or less peculiar to water, for many chemical combinations would under similar conditions behave quite differently. We say in common parlance that water evaporates or turns to vapor under the influence of heat. Such an explanation is not entirely satisfactory to the inquisitive mind, which also wants to know why water acts that way. We can only answer that that is the nature of the combination  $H_2O$ . Such behavior is a characteristic trait of this particular chemical combination. If we have at hand some other chemical combination whose properties are unknown to us, we cannot tell in advance how it will behave under any given physical conditions until we have tried it. When one reflects on the great variety of ways in which different elements or compounds behave under the influence of heat, moisture, pressure, contact with acids or alkalis, or other environmental conditions, he perceives that like conditions produce unlike effects in different substances. It is still proper to speak of the said conditions as causes of the varying results, so that we may say the same cause produces different results. These differences are of course due to the differences in the natures of the substances involved. In terms of plasticity or response we would have to say that the different substances responded in different ways to the same environmental conditions.

If we take a look at embryological development we reach a similar conclusion. Every organism develops an organic pattern according to its own nature. The same environmental medium, such as sea water, abounds with different forms of life. Each form reproduces after its own kind and draws its portion and kind of nourishment from the common environment. But we must not lose sight of those cases, the oft-cited sea-urchins and others, where an alteration of the medium results in some alteration of development. Professor Jennings, in his *Prometheus*, has recently laid marked stress on such cases. In contrast with the earlier statements of Mendelism, Jennings and others lay great stress upon the well-established fact that a given set of genes will produce more or less different traits under different conditions of development.

This variability of development is usually referred to as "organic plasticity." The point I wish now to make is that the term "differential organic responsiveness" more accurately describes what actually occurs.

Let us pass over the fact that Professor Jennings takes back most of his extreme statements before he gets through and adopts a position scarcely distinguishable from that of the informed eugenicist. Let us also get away for the moment from the heredity-environment problem, and note more closely what happens in these cases where environmental change is accompanied by change of organic pattern. Take for illustration the well-known case of the alteration in the number of legs of the fruit fly under the influence of different temperatures. We note first that this reaction is peculiar to this particular fly. Other flies do not show the trait. There is no general tendency for alterations in temperature to produce alterations in the numbers of legs of flies in general. Nor do other animals, insects, fishes, birds, or mammals, show any tendency to react in the way the fruit fly does to this particular environmental condition. In other words, there is something about the particular protoplasmic constitution of the fruit fly which causes it to respond to a change of temperature in this peculiar way. The change in organic pattern is really a response of this particular protoplasmic constitution to a special stimulus. It could not have been foretold on the basis of any knowledge gained from the study of other animals. Once discovered, however, it tends to be repeated under like conditions with the regularity we expect in the case of scientifically established phenomena. It is a response as characteristic of this particular physicochemical compound as evaporation is of water.

This illustration seems to be typical of all the cases cited by Jennings and others. Of them it seems possible to make the following assertions: (1) organic structures are selective in their relation to environmental stimuli, that is, they respond to some and not to others; hence we may say that *the nature of the organism determines whether or not a response shall be made* to a given stimulus. (2) In like manner, we may say that *the kind of response* made to a given stimulus is determined, not by the stimulus, but by the

nature of the organism. This is only stating in different terms the point just made that different organisms react differently to the same stimulus. It is a good deal of a question, in the light of such a fact, whether we use exactly the right term when we say that the stimulus *produces* the response. A more exact statement would be that the stimulus *arouses*, *elicits*, or *releases* the response. (3) The stimulus does not seem to be correlated with the response, or in any way integrated therewith, *except through the nature of the organism*. There seems no known reason why a change of temperature should result in such a peculiar alteration of the organic pattern of a fly as a change in the number of legs. In general one may suppose that an alteration of temperature is equally likely to produce more legs, fewer legs, or no change at all. As far as we can go in explanation is to say that it is in the nature of the peculiar protoplasmic constitution of the fruit fly to respond the way it does to the given stimulus. In exactly the same way we would explain that the formation of water by two units of hydrogen and one of oxygen is due to the nature of these elements; that is, these two elements are so constituted that they respond to certain conditions by forming water, and they are the only elements that do so. Likewise the various protoplasmic structures found in living nature seem to have peculiarities of reaction uniquely their own. Their nature alone explains why they respond as they do to certain stimuli; their nature, that is, their physicochemical constitution, alone accounts for the connection between certain stimuli and the responses elicited.

If now we bring these points together we are in position to query whether it is not more or less inexact to speak of organic plasticity. This term implies that the environment molds the organism to its own pattern. If, however, the environment molded the organic patterns we should expect the organisms of a given environment to be much alike. We note, on the contrary, the greatest variety of plant and animal forms in the same environment; at the same time there are even large similarities between different organisms in different environments. On the other hand, it is also true that the same organism in different environments develops differently. Change either the organic constitution or the enviroing stimuli and the end result is changed. It seems to many students

that consequently the two factors play an exactly parallel rôle. This is scarcely true, for the simple reason that the environment cannot produce in the organism a response which it is not in the nature of the organism to make. The selective and limiting quality of the organism in determining whether a response shall be made, and if so, what, seems inviolate.

Would we not then be on safe ground in holding that the environmental stimuli furnish opportunity for the expression of different potentialities contained in a given set of genetic factors? The environmental stimuli would still be looked upon as true causes of the organic development because they are essential conditions thereof. But the view here taken would put the organic constitution in its proper position as the active and delimiting agent in the developmental process. The organism is not a piece of plastic clay which can be molded according to any and every sort of environmental stimulus and pressure. It is rather an actor adjusting himself to his stage setting, behaving differently, to be sure, in different settings, but never losing the primary trait of utilizing the setting according to the bent of his own peculiar genius.

This view is strengthened by another consideration, namely, that the stimulus to which the organism responds does not furnish the energy displayed in the response. The stimulus serves as a release of the energies contained within the organism. The latter is thus dynamic in relation to its environment, rather than static.

This is true in a very important sense even as regards food, which may be viewed as the essential and yet external source of all organic energy. For example, each organism selects from among the various food elements of its environment those which satisfy its bodily cravings. What is food for one may be poison for another; what one rejects or casts out as waste may be eagerly seized by another as the source of a thriving organic system. On the human plane the point is illustrated by the difference in the food selections by different members of the same family at the same meal, and by the changes in food cravings which occur in the same individual from age epoch to age epoch in consequence of changes in bodily chemistry and metabolism. Moreover, the manner in which food is utilized is also largely a matter of organic or individual idiosyncrasy, as is also the reaction to drugs and alcohol.

But, it may be asked, what has all this got to do with the development of the human personality? The answer is that it has much to do with it, provided the propositions laid down for an understanding of the relation of a physical organism to its environmental stimuli apply also to stimulus and response on the psychic plane. Here the potential variations in the habit systems that any given neural structure may acquire is more or less varied, just as the physical traits are more or less variable. It seems impossible in last analysis to think of mind and personality as existing *in vacuo*. The evidence that they rest squarely on psychophysical structures is generally admitted. Consequently we should expect a very close analogy between the way organic traits are built up through the interaction of their hereditary protoplasm and their environing media, and the way their habit systems are organized through the interaction of their psychophysical structures and the environmental stimuli. It would seem, then, that precisely the before-mentioned propositions apply equally well to both sets of phenomena.

In any case, we can test the validity of our basic propositions on a low psychic plane by considering first very simple organisms. Such unicellular creatures as the amoeba and paramoecium, though living in precisely the same medium, have quite different and quite characteristic modes of behavior. Each expresses itself in its own way. Each responds to a very limited number of the possible stimuli in its environment. These primary propositions remain true as we move up in the animal scale to more and more complex neural systems. At all levels there is a selection of stimuli to which the animal will respond, and the response is characteristic for each animal because in the very nature of the case the animal must respond in ways laid down by its psychophysical structures.

What shall we say, however, of the fact that the behavior of even the lowest organisms is "modified by experience"? We may note, in the first place, that such modifications, like the unmodified reflexes and instincts, are characteristic for each organism. Learning for an amoeba is not the same thing as learning for a paramoecium, so far as learning expresses itself by overt behavior in improved reaction to, or adaptation to, experienced situations. On these lowest levels each organism responds selectively to the pos-

sible stimuli of the environing medium, responds thereto in characteristic ways, and evolves a set of habits which are equally characteristic of it under the given conditions. As we ascend the psychic scale the range of possible modifications multiplies rapidly; the elemental reflexes and instinctive reactions, which presumably represent the behavior patterns laid down in the psychophysical structures, may be blocked altogether or have their energies redirected along different channels.

But at all psychic levels we again discover that the environmental stimuli cannot *create* a response which the organic structures are not prepared to give. The first responses are due to the release of energy within the organism; the conditioned responses are likewise due to a similar release of energy, but the energies now flow along more or less different paths. These paths, however, are laid down by the organic structures, so that the habits resulting from experience for each organism take on a character outlined and limited fundamentally by the organism itself. These habits are also determined in large part by experience. I am not interested to deny that. I am, however, interested in showing that the whole chain of habit formation is rooted in the organic structure; that the organic energies are capable of redirection only along lines laid down in the hereditary constitution or the organic pattern.

At the same time we must not lose sight of another important aspect of the matter, namely, that only a part of the potentialities of any organism can be developed. If the same baby could grow up successively (or simultaneously) in two different media, he would undoubtedly be more or less different; he might, in fact, be very different. But in actual life he necessarily grows up in one cultural medium and not in the other. The end result, therefore, is one and not the other. Only a fraction of all his potentialities in thought, feeling and overt behavior are elicited by the particular stimuli to which he has been subjected. Likewise, the simple unicellular organisms may never have occasion to give expression to all the tricks contained potentially in their systems. That much very clearly depends on the environment. The organism is not plastic in the sense that the environment *molds* it willy nilly; and yet, the



organism becomes a different set of reaction habits in different environments.

But at all levels of psychic life it remains true that (1) responses are characteristic of each type of organism; (2) the nature of the response is peculiarly determined by the organic constitution; (3) the process of conditioning and habit formation rests upon the selective and differential action of the individual neural structures. First responses to stimuli flow along the lines of least resistance laid down in the nervous system by genetic factors; there are no other channels. To the extent, therefore, that early stimulus-response experiences become conditioning factors for later stimulus-response behavior they contain as an implicit and ineradicable element the bias due to the original nature of the organism. If the first response conditions the second, and the second the third, and so on, and if the organic structures determine the nature of the response to the first stimulus and also play their part in the conditioning process, then there would be a definite tendency for the nervous structures to give a certain character to the habit system of each organism, whether animal or human.

The so-called "plasticity of behavior," it would seem, must in the last analysis rest upon plasticity of structure; but we have seen that what appears on the organic plane to be plasticity of structure is in fact variable responsiveness to stimuli. It would follow that the habit systems which individuals develop represent their own more or less unique responses to the numerous stimuli about them. It is because of this dynamic relation of the human organism to its environment that such unlike individuals come from social media as nearly alike as it is humanly possible to make them. All such individuals are variants of the statistical average man of their community. While they, to a large extent, share a common culture, it is also true that each of them reveals a distinct personality. As we watch the evolution of our children we observe each of them weaving an individual garment of behavior patterns out of his differential responses to the cultural environment. The bright ones respond to a greater variety of stimuli than the dull. Those with special aptitudes respond to stimuli that leave others wholly unaffected. We are accustomed to say that the bright children absorb

more of their environment, but it would seem to be sounder to say that the bright ones, by responding to a wider range of stimuli and by more adequate responses, adjust themselves more perfectly and on a higher plane than the dull ones.

I have been careful throughout to use language which in no way denies very great importance to the cultural environment in which the individual evolves. I am quite willing to say that the cultural factor alone accounts for such differences in motor, emotional and intellectual habits as those of members of the Old American stock today and of a century ago; and such differences are indeed extensive. I have reiterated that in different media a given individual would develop more or less differently. But the reason is, not that he is molded by his environment, but that different environments release different potentialities contained within his original nature.

This view opens the way to a sound philosophy of education, for by suitable research we can discover what kinds of stimuli produce the desired types of response and behavior patterns. We may even say that we can control the developmental process by controlling the stimuli which excite it. We might in time develop a system of child training which would produce desired results, always assuming that the genetic constitutions of the children involved were good. Under those circumstances it may not seem to make any difference whether we speak of molding the child's nature or giving the child an opportunity to express himself. Nevertheless, it seems to represent a more accurate picture of the operation of causal factors to say that a perfected scheme of education will establish environmental conditions in which the child organism will so shape itself as to conform to our intentions. Society cannot create personalities, nor develop them, but it may some day be able to establish a social medium in which a larger number of individuals, endowed by nature with high potentialities, will develop themselves into splendid types of personality. But even in the best of cultural media the coarser genetic constitutions will remain wholly immune to the finer stimuli about them.

# THE PERSONALITY OF MIXED BLOODS

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## ABSTRACT

**The personality of mixed bloods.**—The personality bears a definite relationship to the character of the major group in which the individual holds membership. It is also conditioned by the individual's place and rôle in the society. As an incident in the contact and commingling of peoples, various mixed-blood groups have arisen and perform a characteristic function in the group life. Because of the peculiar status of mixed-blood groups and the rôle of mixed-blood individuals in an interracial situation, the mixed bloods develop characteristic personality traits and approximate definite personality types.

It is a matter of common notoriety that human groupings of any size and permanence, historic and contemporary, bear distinguishing and characteristic marks. As a result of ethnic contacts and intermixture supplemented by the selective action of diverse environments upon variable organic traits, they come to differ in racial constitution. As a consequence of culture contacts and the fortuitous appearance of exceptional men in definitive situations, groups differ in their material culture and institutional arrangements as well as in the fundamental social organization. To the extent of its historic continuity and in terms of its historic experience, every group develops and perpetuates a body of tradition that contributes to the psychological aggrandizement of the group and operates as an independent factor in determining survival and growth. In the congeries of groups each has a status determined by its historic rôle. As a consequence of its historic activity and present status there is elaborated a conception of the group and its place in the social order that operates as an independent factor in the determination of future status and subsequent rôle. Each major human grouping has an individuality and a personality which are characteristic and unique.

It is also a fact commonly recognized that the individual personality bears a definite relation to the group membership: the

characteristics of the group are impressed upon its members. This is obvious on the biological level, where the physical features and the mental constitution which identify the individual with the racial group are patent evidences of his ancestry. It is perhaps equally obvious that his language and thought-forms, his moral code, his political conceptions, and other culture values are a consequence and an evidence of his group affiliation. But it is not alone nor chiefly in his native traits and culture characteristics that the member mirrors the group. These are important, to be sure, inasmuch as they operate to determine the number, the type, and the frequency of contacts, but membership in a group operates in more subtle ways to condition personality. The personal status of the individual and his consequent conception of himself is conditioned by the status of the major groups with which he is identified. The individual is an Englishman, a Negro, a Jew. Each group has a well-defined status in the existing social order, and membership carries with it a corresponding prestige. The individual's conception of himself, perhaps the most important single item in the determination of personality development, is commensurate with, and is the counterpart of, the prestige of his group.

But the personality of the man is also a function of the part he has to play in the group in which he holds membership. This rôle is determined by a complex of factors, both individual and social. The biological facts of race, sex, physique, and mentality are certainly basic; they set limits to the originality of the personality and, by setting the limits of social contact and cultural participation, determine its richness. They are, however, of no greater importance than the facts of economic class, educational status, family connection, and other conventional demarcations which give status, direct activity, condition attitudes, and limit personal achievement. By virtue of race, sex, and class, the individual has a certain status in the group and, consequently, a certain conception of himself, a confidence or a timidity, that operates to condition his behavior. He is aware of his own position in the group as well as of the position of his group in the larger society. In terms of these more or less constant factors he develops a philosophy of life appropriate to a tolerable existence in the situation and a body of behavior re-

sponses in general accord with his definition of the total situation.

Of particular significance to the present inquiry—the personality of individuals of biracial ancestry—are the biological traits of race in their determination of personal status and opportunity, the relative status of the mixed-blood group, and the mixed blood's conception of himself and of the place of his group in the society.

Incident to the contact and commingling of races and peoples has been the appearance of individuals of biracial ancestry. Where the culture level and political status of the groups are not wide apart and where the racial crossings take place within the forms sanctioned by the sex mores, no stigma attaches to the offspring. Where the physical similarity of the blending groups is close, the hybrids may bear no revealing marks of origin and pass as individuals in the interracial situation. Even when the intermixture is between sharply contrasted types, if the cultural status be similar and intermarriage tolerated, the hybridized individuals, though bearing the hallmark of their origin, may, especially in an urban and cosmopolitan environment, lead individual and culturally unobstructed lives. Such hybrids are not without interest, biological and sociological, but they do not form segregated groups, hence they lie outside the orbit of present interest.

But when the mixed-blood individuals are the result of temporary relations between members of races that differ in social tradition and culture status as well as in physical type they are not only variant physically, they are branded socially. The biological marks of origin set them apart from other elements of the population and serve as an ever present reminder that sex taboos are violated and caste integrity threatened. The emotional tension consequent upon the violation of the tribal mores finds relief in behavior inimical to the dignity and self-respect of the hybrids. Outraged tribal sentiment demands a victim. In the circumstances the mixed bloods are unable to participate on equal terms in the culture life of either group.

In some historic situations the halfbreeds have been excluded from one, and in others from both, parent groups. In the one case they are associated with the culturally and politically inferior race; in the other they are literally outcasts and lead an economically

precarious and culturally isolated existence. As their numbers increase they tend to be formed into a special caste intermediate in physical type and polygenic in culture. This group unity, at first imposed by external forces, may develop into a functional solidarity as the individual struggle for status and self-respect strengthens the internal bonds. Sometimes this hybrid group is repressed and its importance ignored; sometimes its development is encouraged in order that it may be utilized as an instrument in the manipulation and control of the native race. In either case the hybrids sentimentally idealize the culturally dominant group and seek recognition from, and admission to, it. The mixed blood's hysterical and insistent knocking at the white man's door is a familiar sound in every biracial situation. Its disguises are many, though its objective is ever the same. When an American mulatto intemperately abuses the white man and fervently thanks his God that no drop of Anglo-Saxon blood courses through his veins he is displaying a familiar mechanism but deceiving only the psychologically uninitiated. The mulatto student who recently remarked, in a discussion of the darker and less refined members of the race, that, "No white man can despise the dirty animals as I do," differs from the mulatto who idealizes the lower orders only in candor and in the absence of self-deception.

But a mixed-blood group occupies a strategic position and comes to play a distinctive rôle in the political situation. It functions as a buffer and intermediary if the policy of the dominant race encourages its separation and gives it recognition as an independent social reality. It functions as an aristocracy and furnishes leaders for the native race if the policy of the dominant group refuses formal recognition and discourages the class separation. But in any case, regardless of the prevailing policy and independent of any design, the mixed-blood group comes to function as a cultural intermediary in the interracial situation. In terms of function in the inclusive social and political organization the group gets recognition and comes to have a clearly understood, though generally not a formally defined, status. The group develops the body of folk lore and tradition, the set of beliefs and prejudices, that a tolerable life in the situation demands. It develops a body or rationaliza-

tion, couched in terms of the prevailing social emphasis, to explain in the least unflattering way the group status and rôle that evolved in response to the requirements of the situation. With variations suited to, and understandable in terms of, local differences in culture standards and philosophies of life, every mixed-blood group conforms to a single general pattern. They manifest common culture characteristics; they occupy similar caste status; they play comparable rôles; they exhibit the same psychological characteristics and type of mind. They define the objective of collective endeavor in identical ways; they strive for the same objectives by use of the same methods. In brief, every mixed-blood group conforms, psychologically and culturally, to type.

The mixed-blood individual is thus born into a peculiar and complex environment of which his personality development is the subjective aspect. Aside from any biological determinants of personality development, the importance of which is recognized but which are not here under consideration—personality is determined by the type of interaction possible within the institutional and traditional limitations imposed by the fact of group membership. The original and originally undifferentiated reaction equipment differentiates, under the influence of environmental stimulation, into socially defined attitudes and wishes. The wishes must find their satisfaction within the conventional patterns set by the group, and there results, in consequence, a characteristic personality norm. There is, to be sure, a considerable range in the ability of individuals to conform to cultural patterns, and a somewhat wider variation in the conventional obstacles to free participation. Certain individuals, because of native deficiency or because of early conditioning, are incapable of making the adjustments demanded in any normally complex social life. There are also differences in individual accessibility to cultural stimulations that go with the accidents of sex, family connections, economic status, formal education, and other incidents of imperfect social organization. But back of these minor variations is a common experience that gives a personality norm about which the variations arising from original and conventional differences tend to fluctuate. The sociological aspect of personality is a product of interaction, and the basic

similarity in the cultural status of mixed-blood groups results in the formation of a characteristic personality type.

Where an arbitrary social fiat excludes the individuals of bi-racial origin from participation in the social and cultural life of the politically dominant group, the alternatives are a special caste organization or a cultural identification with the backward group.

In the latter case, where the mixed bloods fail of social recognition, they come to occupy a status, more or less definitely aristocratic, within the cultural minority. The biological fact of relationship to the politically dominant group gives a prestige and assures a preferential status. They are born into an assured social position. They compose, more or less exclusively, the group from which leadership emerges. The status is understood and accepted, the ethnic and class differences are realized; the mixed-bloods' conception of themselves is that of the native proletariat. Where the mixed bloods are thus identified with the native group, there is no conflict between the individual wishes and the socially enforced standards. There is no divided loyalty and no conscious effort to escape status. The mixed bloods in this situation are accommodated; they are conventional persons. They have surrendered the socially disapproved individual wishes and have accepted more or less completely and absolutely the standards imposed by the overgroup. In this case they display no personality characteristics of distinctive type. They are identified in sentiment and interest with the minority group, and the sociological characteristics of personality are determined by their status and rôle in that environmental situation rather than by the hybrid group to which they belong biologically.

But the hybrid leader of the native group is not necessarily a philistine. His identification with the native race may be an individual adjustment providing a practical resolution of the conflict between his wish complex and the requirements and limitations of the social order. He may achieve a socialized realization of his wishes through a re-creation of the situation. In such case the result is what Thomas has termed a "creative man." In the American race situation, the case of Booker T. Washington is known to everyone, but he was merely the best known of many mulattoes



who have achieved the status of full manhood through a sublimation of their wishes and an identification of their interests with those of the black folk.

But the individuals of mixed blood are not always, nor usually, able to resolve the conflict between personal desires and social taboos. Denied admission to one group, they are unable to accept the alternative, identification with the other. They are unable to sublimate the wishes to effect a socialized realization. Superior in fact and in their psychology to the natives, they are at the same time inferior in fact and in their psychology to the caste from which they desire recognition. They may form a separate caste, but the essential conflict remains; regardless of political status, the personal wishes cannot get satisfaction within the socially sanctioned forms. Denied recognition by the one group and refusing to be identified with the other defines a conflict that the typical mixed blood is unable to resolve in either a philistine or a creative reconstruction. The result is a characteristic and clearly defined personality type. It should be emphasized that this personality type is not a biological consequence of racial intermixture, but a sociological phenomenon resulting from the fact of divided loyalties.

The mixed-blood individual is in a fundamental sense a member of different and exclusive groups. Each group has its rules and definitions in accordance with which the wishes must find their satisfaction; each impresses a set of beliefs and behavior standards; each develops a body of sentimental loyalties. As an aspirant for membership in the culturally advanced group, the mixed blood approves and upholds its ideals and standards. But as a member of a special caste or as an unaccommodated member of the excluded racial group, he embodies the ideal and standards of the minority. Thus, within the individual, incident to the real or potential membership in opposing groups, there is mental disorder, a conflict between opposing group loyalties. In last analysis the conflict is between opposing groups; the mental conflict is but the counterpart of the external situation. The covert conflict is irresolvable so long as the mixed-blood is denied admittance to the idealized group and remains unaccommodated to the other.

Individual escape takes varied forms, which do not require enumeration here. The tendency to overcompensation for inferiority status is familiar to every observer of racial and social phenomena, as is also the tendency toward formalism, bohemianism, egocentrism, and introversion.

The mixed blood is thus an unadjusted person. His immediate group has no respected place in the society. In ideals and aspirations he is identified with the culturally dominant group; in social rôle and cultural participation he is identified with the excluded group. He is, in consequence, a man of divided loyalties. It is only when the resulting conflict is resolved by the mixed blood's accommodation to the socially defined place—membership in, and leadership of, the backward group—only when he identifies himself with it, participates in life on that basis, and finds the satisfaction of his wishes in that group organization that he escapes the conflict resulting from his divided heritage. It is only through an identification of himself with the social group to which the social definitions consign him that he can find a tolerable life and develop a wholesome personality.

# DIVISION ON SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

## A PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF MAGIC

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### ABSTRACT

**A psycho-sociological interpretation of magic.**—The purpose of this paper is to show (1) that magic is in its pure form the attempt of one person to impose his will directly upon the will of another person or object, (2) that the illusion of direct imposition of will was due to the peculiar character of the primitive definition of self and of objects, (3) that the difficulty of the technique led to the use of indirect methods or instrumentalization, (4) that the control of instrumentalization led to psycho-physical analysis of instruments and of environment, and (5) that this led in turn to the development of a naturalistic or scientific explanation of control which is gradually superseding the theory of magic or direct personal or will control. The execution of the paper involves an analysis of the relation of the individual to the social and other objects in his environment. Anthropological data are omitted because of space limitations.

Among primitive people and young children the sensory definition of objects in consciousness is secondary in importance to the affective consciousness which is conditioned by the objects.<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the dominant consciousness and definition of objects in the primitive mind or experience is social rather than physical. Even those objects which we now call physical or inanimate tended primitively to be social by analogy and association with human objects or persons. Owing to the fact that the first contacts of the child which are significant enough to integrate his organic responses as wholes are had with other and older human beings, and since these contacts or relations are carried on largely in the form of integrated attitudes, his consciousness is at first predominantly attitudinal. He perceives the attitudes of others toward himself because of their significance for his survival. Consequently, what he perceives of others is primarily attitudinal, and his sensory contacts with them are organized around his and their attitudes rather

<sup>1</sup> No specific parallelism of individual and race development is implied.

than in independent detached units or integrations. Perception is significant primarily in so far as it aids him in mapping out persons as attitudinal objects which can thereby be differentiated from other attitudinal objects which are the sources of his comforts and discomforts. He defines others primarily in terms of his subjective reactions to them. They are moral objects, i.e., "good" or "bad"; or aesthetic objects, "pretty," or "ugly"; or a mixture of the two, "nice" or "horrid," etc. He carries these attitudes over to physical objects associated with people and to those which actively affect him in similar ways. The young child has no impersonal definition for what we call physical objects. To him all objects are social or personal. We may say, then, that objects are defined by the child in terms, first of the receptive or feeling attitudes which they call forth in him, and secondly, in terms of the anticipated receptive attitudes which he expects them to produce in himself. In this second phase of the definition of objects, that by anticipation, the sensory differentiations and perceptions play a larger rôle, for he begins to distinguish bodily and facial expression as indicators of attitudes in others. In the course of time the anticipatory definition largely replaces the completed receptive attitudinal definition. That is, the object is defined in terms of what he expects it to do to him, before its effect upon the self is experienced. The superior advantage for survival and comfort of this sort of definition is sufficiently obvious and serves to explain why the third method of the definition of social objects arises, that is, definition in terms of the perceived physical and verbal attitudes or preparation for action of the object toward ourselves. In this way the subjective or affective aspect of the definition of social objects becomes closely identified with the sensory or perceptual content of the objects in experience. But the definition of social objects never becomes wholly sensory or perceptual. To the young child and to the primitive man, who has not learned to interpret his social world naturalistically, his affective or evaluative responses toward this objectively perceived attitude continues to be dominant in his definition of the object. It is for this reason that he describes it as good or bad, kind or unkind, nice or horrid, etc., before he describes its physical appearance or language.

The self, which apparently is not at first distinguished from others, is also defined initially in terms of the receptive affective responses to the behavior of others. This receptive attitudinal definition of the self is helped out by such objective physical definitions as is possible at early stages of the development of self-consciousness through kinaesthetic, tactual, temperature, visual, auditory, and other sensory differentiation and description of one's own body. But the passive attitudinal response of the self to other objects does not persist indefinitely. The organism adjusts to the outside world in reciprocal response, and as the self becomes more fully integrated, the adjusting response becomes increasingly active. Consequently the definition of self, almost from the time it is effectively integrated, is in terms of aggressive affective attitudes or the expression of will. Self-consciousness, in becoming differentiated thus from object or social consciousness, comes to be defined therefore in terms of aggressive affective attitudes, while consciousness of the social object is ultimately in terms of its perceived attitudes interpreted or evaluated in terms of anticipated affective experiences of the subject. Thus in both self and social consciousness there is a secondary sensory or perceptual, possibly conceptual, element to which the affective attitude is attached. In the case of the social consciousness this objective sensory content is not only differentiated from the sensory content of self-consciousness, but it is likely to be even more prominent.

Where the self personality has been repressed and unduly dominated and has never had an adequate opportunity to develop into active self-expression, the aggressive affective attitude may be very weak, almost non-existent. Frequently we characterize such selves as wanting in personality, or as will-less, or as buried in others. But in the normal personality, where the self-feeling is strong, there is a marked urge to dominate one's environment, that is, the other persons or social objects with which one is in contact. The central problem of control of the environment for the child, and, we may infer, for the primitive man, is to render the attitudes of others subservient to his own will, that is, to impose his will upon them in so far as he has developed a will in opposition to their at-

titudes. In so far as other objects give only satisfactions and offer no protests or rebellion there is no occasion for conflict of wills, or even for the differentiation of an active self-feeling over against the active attitudes of opposition in others. But in the lives of the average person there certainly is sufficient occasion to develop self-assertion, and fortunate is he who does not have so much opposition as to repress or break his self-feeling and render his will inactive.

The primitive method of asserting our wills over those of others, to speak in subjective or affective attitudinal terminology, is that of magic. Primitive man, like the child, has not yet developed sufficiently a psychophysical analysis of his world, particularly of the social objects with which he deals, to enable him to adopt a mechanistic or naturalistic interpretation of causation or control. Consequently he attempts at first to assert his will over others by direct methods, later by more indirect ones, but always by personality means. The essence of magic is that it involves an attempt at a direct transfer of will not unlike the supposed direct transfer of thought of the clairvoyants. Thus the theory and practice of magic are based on the apparent ability of the individual to command the wished-for response through the direct and unaided instrumentalization of the wish, the word, or force. In its purest form magic is (attempted) action by fiat. Because desired responses apparently and actually follow such direct instrumentalization without other perceived causes, the primitive man believed the attitude response of the other person or object was caused directly by his own attitude or will. His ignorance of the mechanism of conditioning and of the laws of chance prevented any other causal explanation.

Of course this theory of control is illusory. As the environments to be controlled become increasingly complex and less personal, or more mechanical and physical, even the apparent success of the more direct exercise of the will becomes less obvious. Accordingly the control methods employed are made increasingly indirect, until finally, with a better understanding of the mechanics of physical nature, the control processes eventuate into mechanistic manipulation of the physical environment. A naturalistic control

supersedes an attempted personalistic one, and magic merges into science.<sup>2</sup>

This increasing use of indirect mechanistic processes to achieve the end desired, although undertaken originally from the standpoint of the theory of magic and without any appreciation of its ultimate effect upon this theory, may be called the process of instrumentalization. How it leads over to a naturalistic interpretation of causation and a mechanistic or science theory of the control of objects may be illustrated by explaining briefly a few of the major types of magic.

1. The most direct form of magic is wish or fiat magic. Here instrumentalization is at a minimum. Perhaps few of us have not at some time had the experience of trying to wish a much desired object or event into existence. So vivid and real was it in our own consciousness, so obviously right and desirable, that it seemed as if it must be a fact, not merely an image or a desire. In certain pathological cases the wished thing does appear to the subject as reality. Sometimes, perhaps most commonly, wish magic employs a putative or symbolic instrument in the form of spirit, or divinity, in which cases the wish may be instrumentalized into the verbal form of prayer or conjuration. It is very difficult for the subject to make an objective test of the success of his wish magic. Besides being likely to forget or ignore the cases of failure to secure response, he is ignorant of the fact that frequently the putative response is itself the cause or conditioner of the wish attitude.

2. Force magic is also apparently a direct imposition of the will of one person upon another through direct physical contact and energy. The self-consciousness of will attitude in the subject is extremely strong in connection with the use of force, and success

<sup>2</sup> Of course there has always been naturalistic control over the great mass of simpler and more immediate physical objects and processes, where there was less opportunity for the mystical interpretation to take refuge in unseen processes. Such empirical controls largely antedated any *theory* of control, magical or naturalistic, but in many cases even these controls were clothed in magical or personalistic procedure after the personalistic interpretation, i.e., any conscious interpretation, of the world had once appeared. The theory of magic, like all theories of control, is relatively recent. But the theory of magical control is older than the naturalistic or scientific theory of control, based as the latter is upon psychophysical analysis of objects and mechanistic processes.

in making force effective in overcoming the object's resistance in kind is superficially self-evident proof of the transfer of "will." Since the child and the primitive man do not understand the mechanism of the conditioned response, they cannot realize that the "force" used is only the cue or conditioning stimulus which has been associated with the performance of the act through previous experience. If the pattern for the performance of the act were not already in the mind of the beaten person or not immediately induced there through the simultaneous use of conditioning language, no amount of use of force would secure the carrying out of the "will" of one person by another. The real cause of the act is not in the beating or the blow but in the previous habituation to the task, to which the present act of violence is merely the conditioning release. It is this which of course the savage does not understand. The use of force may itself be a powerful conditioning instrument leading to the future performance or avoidance of the response or behavior indicated.

3. The verbal command, threat, curse, incantation, etc., are only less direct or more instrumentalized forms of magic or imposition of the will. These magical methods probably developed originally in connection with the exercise of force magic. Their instrumentality consists in the fact that they serve as conditioning cues and thereby evoke the response desired. A violent command may so strongly fix the previously learned pattern in the attention that its accomplishment will occur almost automatically, as if by hypnosis or "as if by magic." Similarly, a violent threat may so strongly negatively condition the behavior that it becomes practically impossible to perform the act forbidden. The American Indians, like other primitive peoples, made frequent and effective use of the threat in this way and apparently looked upon it as a magical method or as having "uncanny" powers. The medicine man, primitive or modern, who holds his hearer and watcher in almost hypnotic trance and commands him to perform the rituals of his cult undoubtedly attributes magic or supernatural instrumentalization to his methods.

4. What is ordinarily called sympathetic magic is, in its various forms, but extensions of the forms just described briefly, but



with more emphasis upon the instrument, which in these cases is the conditioning cue or stimulus. That form of sympathetic magic which seeks to secure the result by contact, as in the laying on of hands and the consequent flow of some mystical "will" force or magic essence or quality or "virtue" from subject to object, or from object to subject, is obviously derived from the magic of force, now softened and transformed perhaps into affection or awe or reverence. As anger fades before love, the "will" or "virtue" or essence runs out of one object into the other and the second is become like unto the first.

5. Another form of sympathetic magic, finding application in many varieties or modes, is the attempt to produce the whole by means of the part, the act from the gesture or the magic word. The naturalistic or instrumental functioning of the part, the gesture, or the magic word or name is that these several parts condition or suggest the whole or representative act because of previous conditioning. Each of these has become the symbol of certain patterns which are so strongly conditioned in the behavior make-up of object individuals that the completed patterns tend readily to occur in action upon the appearance of the symbol or cue. The gesture is a foreshortened symbol of a complete act, so that its symbolization is natural. So is the part the symbol of the whole object or of the act to be performed. The name or the word is but a portion of the total descriptive context of behavior which has strategic emotional associations and position in the attention. The effectiveness of the "magic" depends of course upon the effectiveness of the symbolization or conditioning, and not upon any mystical mechanism.

6. The attempt to produce the real by means of the shadow, as in the case of pantomime, or by the pictorial representation, as in the art of the Cro-Magnons, illustrates a still further step in instrumentalization. Here the whole outline of the act or object is executed in imagination. The artist has mastered the sensory details of the object and of the process and can give it naturalistic definition, but his belief that the real will appear from the shadow or the picture shows that he has not yet mastered the mechanism of production. He still depends upon direct personal will causation. It is only another form of the attempt at creation of the act or object

through language. The difference is that here he speaks to invisible forms by means of a detailed picture of them and expects the picture to become physical embodiment, just as, he thinks, his words become incarnate in acts when he speaks commands or utters sacred names or performs a gesture which suggests the act as a whole. This magic by similarity is apparently more successful when directed toward the control of human behavior than toward the creation of new forms of life or toward the control of physical objects. Just how successful or unsuccessful any form of magic is, the primitive man can never know with exactness, because he has no objective or naturalistic methods of measurement. But in a vague sort of way the relative value of different forms of magic must be in some measure apparent to him.

7. Dire necessity leads primitive man to seek for the most effective magical instruments he can find. Somehow he must get control over a too-niggardly and refractory nature guarded by jealous or hostile spirits and over relentless enemies. Thus he hits upon chance associations of events which have greatly impressed him. Because some two striking events occurred together, each henceforth conditions the other in consciousness and the incidental one is erected into the cause of the one which is pursued as a primary object of behavior. Henceforth it is repeated as a magical instrument in the causation process. It is only to be expected that in this sort of random or *post hoc, propter hoc* selection of magical instruments there should be increasing success in the unconscious selection of factors in mechanical causation. As the mechanics of nature unfolds before man his selection of instruments, although explained by himself on the basis of a theory of magic, actually fits into a naturalistic process. As mechanical replace magical instruments, so in time will a mechanistic or scientific theory replace a magical theory of instrumentalization.

The growth of instrumentalization, which has already employed spirits and divinities, tends to extend to persons as instruments. Thus the medicine man or priest arises to perform the magic, and is selected on much the same basis of trial and error, chance, or *post hoc, propter hoc* determination. It is part of his function to perfect the instrument, partly by elaboration of mystery and de-

ception (he may himself be deceived) and partly by use of naturalistic causation as his specialized knowledge of instrumental processes renders him more familiar with naturalistic mechanics of causation. Ritual, which is the flowering of the process of instrumentalization in magic and indicates a fairly late development of magic, is largely the product of this specialization of the medicine man.

In the way here indicated, in this brief description of the forms of magic, the theory of direct personal or will causation on a mystical or supernatural basis gives way to the theory of direct impersonal mechanical causation on a naturalistic basis. And thus science tends to replace magic.

It is therefore the development of the instrument in magic that leads to a mechanization of the process of control and ultimately to a theory of science instead of magic as a method of control of objects. The employment of the instrument calls for a sensory and mechanistic analysis of both its content and its relation to other objects. This leads to the emergence in consciousness of physical objects and of a physical environment, where the instrument is itself physical. Thus a naturalistic interpretation of the function of the instrument is achieved and the process of instrumentalization comes to be looked upon as mechanical. Inanimate things are first mechanized, but the mechanization and naturalistic interpretation comes finally to be applied also to the simpler life-forms, such as plants and the invertebrates.<sup>3</sup> In our day we have begun to make a mechanistic interpretation of human behavior, or of the human instrument, with the result that magical belief and practice tend to disappear from the field of human conduct. Even the instrumentality of the priest comes in time to be interpreted naturalistically and

<sup>3</sup> Jacques Loeb gave a scientific and experimental account of this process for invertebrates earlier foreshadowed philosophically and aprioristically by some of the eighteenth-century thinkers. The early mechanical control of everyday objects and processes achieved by primitive man before the appearance of a theory of magic, hinted at above, was a purely empirical control and was not based upon the psychophysical sensory analysis which forms a part of the theory of science. On the contrary, when a theory of magic causation did appear after these empirical mechanical controls were established, in many instances it was applied by reversion to explain the empirical controls themselves, although later displaced by a naturalistic explanation.

his function is changed from that of supernatural to social intervention or mediation.

The control of industrial processes is now wholly mechanized in civilized countries. No one attempts to make shoes or automobiles by magic. Physical science has laid bare to all of us the processes of instrumentalization in industry. Some people among us still attempt to use magical processes of control over the larger physical or cosmical mechanisms, where the naturalistic explanation is not yet complete or is not generally known and supernatural personalities can be inferred as instruments. This is particularly true with reference to rain-making and control over climate. But few people in modern nations would still attempt to stop eclipses, or hold up cosmic luminaries, or turn comets from their courses. In personal relations also there is still some attempt to use magic, since the adoption of a behavioristic and naturalistic psychology still lags behind or is vociferously repudiated by the devotees of magic or near magic. But the largest survival of the use of magic is today in the field of social relations. A vast number of reformers and preachers still assume that they can make over human beings individually and collectively by the use of wishes, force, and words, or even by charms and emblems, instead of by means of a reorganization of the conditions of existence, i.e., by a change of the social environment. Our reformers still pour forth almost illimitable barages of words, of commands, threats, suggestions. Slogans and shibboleths are substituted for sense, platforms and resolutions for the transformation of social conditions, punitive and moralizing laws for constructive environmental prevention. This is the hey-day of social magic. Nearly a century ago a small group of social theorists began to see that a new society and new types of personalities could be produced only through the instrumentalized control of the environments. They preached the significance of the environment and the philosophy of its reorganization, but their chief reward so far has been to be scoffed at by the social magicians as materialists and infidels, and more recently as behaviorists. Their own experience illustrates their theory, viz., that wishes, words, and force in themselves do not create a new world, but come only to

be the cues to release responses which are developed by a deeper-seated instrumentalization which comes slowly into play, but also surely.

The psychological and sociological sciences are themselves latterly beginning to play a significant rôle in the replacement of magical practice and theory by naturalistic interpretation and mechanistic control. Having in large measure become free from the old personalistic metaphysics and mythology, which were the philosophic sanctions of the theory of magic, and now taking their cues largely from the underlying physical and biological sciences, they have begun to bring into play a naturalistic interpretation of human behavior, thus preparing the way for the employment of measurable control devices. This tendency is reflected especially in the applied psychological sciences of advertising, industrial or efficiency management, motion study, social work, mental testing, employment management, etc. It has also been used in attempts to work out naturalistic theories of ethics, scientific theories of education, co-operative enterprises, and other ideal schemes of behavior direction and social organization. In this category must also be placed the attempts of sociologists, economists, political scientists and administrators, anthropogeographers, and others to discover the natural conditions under which the most normal types of life can be lived and the most effective types of social organization can be consummated, and to construct standards of living and behavior and mechanisms of social control on the basis of these investigations instead of on the basis of subjective values and affective attitudes.

The only cure for magic, which still persists, is the more intensive and extensive application of the remedy which has always been in operation in some degree throughout the intellectual history of man. This is the extension of naturalistic and mechanistic principles of explanation to all phenomena, including human behavior. This can come only through the application of the methods of psychophysical analysis of phenomena in place of the methods of affective valuation and attitudinal definition of phenomena. In the human realm behavioristic science must replace spirits, personified Virtues and Vices, underived or innate conscience and instincts,

and a free will which knows no external guidance or control. This substitution has been going on so rapidly since the eighteenth century that the devotées of the old magic have cried out against it as an attack upon fundamental human and divine values—for one always associates what he knows with the fundamentals—while the advocates of the change reassure us with the statement that the new science will not only preserve the fundamental values, but it will aid us in discovering them.

## DISCUSSION

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Professor Bernard, in his highly suggestive paper, proposes three things: a new interpretation of the meaning of magic, a new outline of the chief stages in its historic development, and a new theory of the process through which primitive magic has been and is being changed into or replaced by objective applied science. He draws his evidence partly from the data of genetic and dynamic psychology, partly from the data of cultural anthropology.

As to the interpretation of magic proposed, Professor Bernard sees the essence of magic, magic in its pure form, in the attempt of one person to impose his will directly upon the will of another person or upon an object.

The wish to impose one's will upon another will or upon an object is certainly a constituent of magic. The attempt, however, to impose one's will *directly* upon another will or upon an object is a rather rare form of magic. I know, for instance, of no example of this form among the very primitive northern Canadian hunting tribes with whom I spend each summer, although they have many forms of magic by indirect methods or instrumentalization. Are we justified in singling out this one of the many forms of magic, and this a less common one, as magic in its purest form?

Again, the wish and attempt to impose one's will, whether directly or indirectly, upon another will or upon an object is only one element in the magic complex. An equally important, if not more important, element in the complex, the element that distinguishes magic from primitive applied science, true or false, is a certain consciousness of the supernatural with its affective counterpart, the feeling of awe or reverence or mystic thrill. Are we justified in singling out just one element of the magic complex—the will to dominate directly—and this perhaps the less characteristic one, and calling it the essence of magic?

As to the suggested outline of the chief stages in the historic development of magic, the hypothetical transition from an earlier direct imposition of will to a later imposition of will by indirect methods or instrumentalization, the hypothesis stands or falls with the factual evidence for or against it.

Professor Bernard has unfortunately been obliged, owing to limitations of time, to omit the anthropological evidence. We shall have to await its publication. I may only add that among the extremely low primitive hunters, the marginal nomads scattered over the inhabited globe, we find little or no direct magical imposition of will, and not such a luxuriant growth even of indirect imposition. As to which came first, the direct or indirect, the anthropological data do not appear to declare.

The psychological data adduced for the precedence of direct imposition are open to the exception that they appear, if my interpretation be correct, to assume a fairly exact parallel between the child and the savage. Such resemblances as exist between the child psyche and the savage psyche are usually superficial only. Essentially the savage is not a child in mind. He is just an

adult who has been educated into a culture pattern different from our own civilized culture pattern. His outlook on life is indeed commonly, though not uniformly, more tinged with the supernatural than is ours; but the difference, where it obtains, is mainly one of degree. And even the degree has often been greatly exaggerated. Many of our printed sources on the savage seem to picture him as eternally living in a world of supernaturalism. But when we go out and live with primitive peoples we find that 95-99 per cent of their activities are as humdrum and matter of fact as a business man's amateur tinkering with an auto or a radio set.

As to the proposed theory of the process by which primitive magic has been transformed into or replaced by applied science, it seems very difficult to draw any confident conclusion from the anthropological data at hand. Much—perhaps most—of our modern applied science represents, not a development of science out of magic, but just a gradual replacement of false applied science by true and valid applied science. As to the development of magic itself, the broad lines seem to point to a relatively scant growth of it among the very primitive marginal nomads, except among many of the Australians, whom, however, we suspect more and more of being not nearly as primitive as we used to think them. Magic reaches its zenith, not among the very low hunters, but among the much more advanced higher hunters and sedentary agriculturists.

Cultural anthropology needs and asks the help of psychology and sociology. Both have much in common with anthropology and both have much to contribute to it. But anthropologists feel strongly the need for extreme caution in interpreting psychologically and sociologically the positive data on culture. Recent American anthropology has been accused of being too timid about making hypotheses and interpretations. Perhaps the accusation has some justification in fact. But *chi va piano, va sano*.

Professor Bernard lays us under debt for his emphasis upon the rôle of the wish in the interpretation of magic. In addition he has offered a theory of the magic complex that by its simplicity and sweep calls for much more extensive testing than could be made in a five-minute discussion.



# PHYSIOLOGICAL TENSIONS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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## ABSTRACT

**Physiological tensions and social structure.**—The paper is a statement of a theory that social life is a product of learning to manage the visceral tensions in accordance with the requirements and usages of the family and of the social group. Beginning with the learning of the management of the hunger tensions, the pressures arising in bladder and rectum, the emotional responses evoked by shock, pain, surprise, and ambiguity of situation, and, with adolescence, the management of the specific sex tensions, behavior patterns are formed which are applied to the regulation, sustaining, and release of tensions arising in connection with the taboos on people and things which we call the sanctity of the person and private property. In so far as the taboos and immunities and the use of the institutional practices are differentially observed by each person according to his social, economic, political, racial, and sexual status, we have what we call a social organization. An organization is a term applied to a group of entities each member of which has a patterned way of responding to the other members of the group, be it social, political, economic or business, military or fraternal or biological.

This paper may be taken as a preliminary statement of a theory that social life is a product of learning to manage the visceral tensions in accordance with the requirements and usages of the family and of the social group. This learning takes place through the instruction given to the young, who, almost from birth, are subjected to adult supervision in the adjustment of these tensions, and in general the child is expected to learn to sustain, diffuse, and release his physiological tensions only as and if the group-sanctioned occasion and custom permit.

The first problem of this tensional control arises from the parental management of feeding, which requires the child to learn to sustain the hunger contractions of the stomach until the appropriate time for feeding arrives. He must learn, not only to sustain those tensions, but to regularize his metabolism so that he can assimilate and release sufficient energy to endure the intervals between feedings. Later he must learn to obtain food or the means thereto by work or effort undertaken in anticipation of these recurrent hunger tensions.

The second problem of tensional management confronting the child is to learn how to sustain the pressures arising in his bladder and rectum until the appropriate time and place for their release are presented. This problem calls for a progressive raising of the threshold of the sphincters and learning to respond to the accumulating pressures sufficiently early to permit the necessary warning to parents, and, later on, the appropriate activities for eliminations. To meet this problem adequately the child must learn to sustain these pressure tensions in accordance with the requirements of the group life. This and the hunger problems may be taken as the prototypes of his adult behavior, since they involve not only the ability to sustain tensions but to use these accumulating visceral tensions as the cue or stimulus to whatever activities are necessary to reach or achieve a group-sanctioned release. This means learning to deal with present situations and stimuli with due regard to their more remote consequences and their utility or disutility for tensional adjustment. In other words, growth to maturity calls for an increasing ability to respond to absent or remote situations which are adumbrated by the rise of visceral tensions and by their situational antecedents.

The next problem facing the young child is to learn the inhibition of the sympathetic reaction, which we call emotional response, evoked by shock, surprise, pain, and ambiguity or uncertainty. When stimuli of this character are received, the organism, as Cannon and others have shown, is profoundly altered physiologically, the sympathetic division of the vegetative nervous system becoming dominant. The immediate sympathetic reaction is, unless checked, followed by an accelerated and modified circulation of the blood, glandular activities especially of the suprarenals and thyroid, and alteration in the tonicity of the stomach and intestines. These physiological changes prepare the organism for greater effort, as in fighting or flight, or for quiescence, as in the death faint. They also render almost impossible any refined motor activity. The problem presented to the child by this susceptibility to sympathetic reaction and panic is that of learning to diffuse the tensions and increased physiological energy into overt motor activity, if they cannot be initially inhibited. This control is

achieved by learning an adequate motor response to such emotion-provoking situations, thus rendering the situation relatively innocuous. This is ordinarily possible only by the active assistance of the elders, who can protect, reassure, and calm the child until he learns some motor response or way of handling these situations effectively and socially. Every group has historically derived methods of meeting these situations, and if the child is reassured and assisted to achieve these approved motor responses to the world, he will be able to bring his sympathetic reactions under control. If not brought under control, the child may, with increasing strength, become potentially dangerous.

What we call the secularization of life is just this progressive development of tools and techniques for meeting situations which, before such achievements, were stimuli to emotional responses.

The child must also learn to employ the verbal stimuli of approval and reassurance as substitutes for the close tactual stimuli received in infancy, as in mothering, caressing, and cuddling. Along with that he must also learn to respond to disapproving verbal stimuli as substitutes for physical coercion and the blocking of responses not meeting with adult assent.

Finally, at the beginning of adolescence, the specific sex tensions make their appearance and present new problems of tensional management, since the youth and maiden, in Western society, are expected to refrain from release of sex tensions until they have reached full maturity. This means that they are called upon to sustain and diffuse their sex tensions and to avoid any approach to the person of the other sex.

These lessons begin during the first and second years of life and call for the management and control of the several varieties of visceral tensions arising within the child. As the infant grows older and achieves locomotion he is brought into contact with an ever widening environment of things and persons presenting the stimuli for immediate release of these tensions or for arousing emotion. The same kind of problem is continually presented. Under the tutelage of parents the child must learn to refrain from approaching and using these stimuli, however freely exposed to his approach and despite the urgency of his visceral tensions. If hun-

gry, he must learn to sustain his stomach contractions and forego the easily appropriated food around him unless and until the elders give approval. If other persons intervene between him and the stimuli he seeks, or otherwise interfere with him, he must learn to refrain from approaching them or from attempting forcibly to remove them, just as he must learn to desist from approaching them for any direct tensional release. In other words, he must learn that each individual enjoys a varying degree of immunity from approach or invasion, which he must observe in all his behavior. Again, he must learn that objects and situations are likewise to be left untouched because they also are not to be approached or used, however strongly they exhibit stimuli to tension release. Such lessons involve the inhibition or repression of the naïve response, which is gradually learned under adult instruction: the parents frustrate the naïve response or inflict pain after such forbidden responses until the child learns to observe the parental prohibition even in their absence. In other words, the child is negatively conditioned until the stimuli of these things and persons are rendered partially impotent. To put it another way, the child, under the guidance and instruction of elders, learns to observe the differential taboos upon people and things which we call the sanctity of the person and private property. Private property is thus not a thing, but the learned behavior toward things.

We see then in early childhood how the institutional patterns of behavior are inculcated in the child as he learns to manage his tensions in accordance with the prohibitions and sanctions of the family life. The cultural tradition will, of course, set the general patterns, but the individual family life and circumstances will give these patterns their individual character and variations.

While the child is learning to observe these taboos he is also expected to learn how to behave toward others who find in him and his possessions sources of tensional adjustment. Thus he gradually learns that he, too, enjoys an immunity to approach or invasion differing according to each person and his status. Thus, toward his parents he may enjoy no immunity, being subject to their manipulations and control with scarcely any restrictions. Toward others he enjoys ordinarily the same degree of immunity that he must

grant to them, thus making possible reciprocal activities based upon the mutual observance or waiving of those immunities.

The child then grows up into the social life by learning his position and status in the group, as distinguished in this double manner of varying immunities of others to him and of varying susceptibilities by him to others. Toward every other person in the group, then, he has a more or less specific orientation, as defined more generally in family relationships, position, rank, office, and similar marks or signs of status. We might compare him to a chemical atom with a highly differentiated valence toward each other atom or like or unlike element. These he learns by often painful experiences in which his parents or other adults, as guardians and perpetuators of the group mores, see to it that he observes the prescribed patterns with more or less fidelity. He also learns from his contemporaries, especially as he grows older and begins to associate freely.

His lessons are not entirely those of prohibition and taboo, however, for he is also inducted into the institutional practices by his elders. While all things and persons are covered by their appropriate taboos, which he must learn to respect, the institutional practices of contract, barter, buying and selling, courtship and marriage, and similar rituals and ceremonies provide a method for lifting or setting aside, shifting, or removing entirely, the taboo which otherwise blocks approach. In every group life these institutional practices, usually employing specialized tokens and symbols, have been historically developed as patterns for the group-sanctioned approach to tabooed things and persons. They are essentially patterns of approach to the person or persons who must be placated, appeased, cajoled, or otherwise stimulated to set aside the taboo upon their possessions or person in favor of the individual making the approach.

The situation is something of this character: With every person and his goods protected by a taboo against appropriation, use, or coercion, the achievement of any objective or the obtaining of tensional releases must be sought through the individual who alone can waive the taboo protection covering those goods or himself. These approaches are provided in the institutional practices, duly

sanctioned by the group, of contract, barter, sale, courtship, marriage, and so on. The essence of the institutional practice is a formula for offering or promising (future offer) some thing or action designed as a stimulus to the person approached, to evoke from him the reciprocal response of giving the thing or performing the action sought, or promising to do so. This reciprocal response may be almost anything, but the important part of it is in the individual's waiving of the protection of his taboo or immunity in favor of another person. In so far as one person can supply the needs of another, he is in a position to exact as large a stimulus (consideration, the lawyers call it) as he can get, always subject to the possibility that another person may offer his goods or services for less.

To pursue the complexities of these transactions and negotiations among individuals would call for a treatise on economics, politics, and social relationships generally. It is sufficient here to emphasize that by virtue of these customs the approach to a goal or the achievement of tensional release is almost always through another person, to whom the appropriate institutional formula must be applied with sufficient stimuli to evoke the desired response.

In so far as the taboos and immunities and the use of the institutional practices are differentially observed by each person according to his social, economic, political, racial, and sexual status, we have what we call a social organization. For an organization is a term we apply to a group of entities, things or persons, each member of which has a patterned way of responding to the other members of the group, be it social, political, economic or business, military or fraternal or biological.

We have in social life the interesting picture of an aggregation of individuals, each with his tensional requirements, but with a learned inhibition against seizing the tensional releases present in such abundance in the persons and goods of the other members of the group. The institutional customs and practices, by imposing taboos upon the naïve approach to tensional releases or the invasion of another's person or goods, acts like a dam in a stream: they both hold back energy until it has accumulated sufficiently to perform work. In the social life, the prohibition against seizing

food or making a sexual approach to another, or coercing another in other ways, and the requirement that such taking or approach or coercion must be conditioned by the established institutional practice, operate to make the individual work for the achievement of his objectives. To use the figure of the dam, the taboos hold up the tensional release, until their energy has been made to yield, like the turning of the waterwheel, some work or accomplishment. Thus the group inducts the young into the laborious tasks of perpetuating and advancing the group culture, whatever it may be. When we recall the arduous labors of the past cultures in slowly conquering their environment and gradually bringing their members to the observance of these restrictions, it is clear that only such a damming of the waters could yield sufficient energy for such stupendous tasks.

We may then distinguish various cultures as we have already distinguished individuals and social classes, by the kind of tensional controls they foster, the taboos they observe on things and persons (and the immunities they enjoy from others), and the institutional practices they have established for the approach to otherwise tabooed things and activities. In the institutional practices we should include, of course, the means for enforcing the taboos and the use of the institutional practices (government) and the various practices employed to give the group the necessary endurance for these tasks (religion, art, and value-creations).

Approaching social organization and cultures in this manner, we find that the differences between so-called "high civilization" and more primitive groups is one largely of elaboration and refinement in these learned patterns of behavior. The material culture (tools and techniques) is, of course, also a learned form of behavior, addressed primarily to things and animals, thus enabling the group to manipulate the environment.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, feasible to examine various cultures as variations upon the single theme of response to environment and to persons, and thereby to bring into the range of objective observation and even experimental manipulation the basic events of civilization and social organization. We may perhaps discover then that different races have different capacities for sustaining tensions or diffusing them, as they have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*.

for releasing them. We know from available clinical records that individuals in a given culture vary in their capacity for learning these arts of tensional management, and it is more than probable that different races may likewise differ.

The management of tensions and the capacity to maintain the physiological energy for achieving a remote objective (i.e., responding to a distant stimulus) are achievements of no mean order. For they require, not only effort and the energy to sustain that effort, but the ability to forego the relaxation of tensions that are so ready to release to the first available stimulus. All the social virtues of courage, perseverance, strength, loyalty, virtue and chastity, and their multitudinous synonyms and derivatives are but aspects of the management of tensions. Hunger, pain, emotion, such as fear and panic, and sex desire, are all ready to betray man from pursuing the long-term achievements and goals set by culture. To raise crops and animals, to build houses and buildings, to establish a family and to nurture the young—these call for endurance, patience, and the postponement of immediate consummations for the future achievement. Everywhere we find man has invented methods of sustaining his efforts and reinforcing his continence against the ever present stimuli to relaxation. We call these aids to his long-term pursuits and tensional management his values. For whatever a man uses to keep himself at work, to ward off the panic or the lure of quick consummation while he carries on, is a value. Put in another way, we might say that any behavior addressed to a remote stimulus is a form of value behavior.

The rôle of values in the achievement of civilization is enormous. In every group we find these values, handed down from the past, with elaborations and refinements, exercising their tonic influence upon the lives of the group members. Perhaps the most extraordinary creation man has ever made was the conception of the soul and of a life after death, for at once he obtained a value of incalculable potency, but not too great for the tasks he had to face. With his efforts directed toward a distant goal, a stimulus of rare potency, with its promise of reward, peace, comfort, freedom from the ever present fear, hardship, and suffering, he could meet the situations of the day sustained as no other creature probably has ever been strengthened. The long association of the arts with re-



ligion testifies to the numerous aids and devices prepared as auxiliaries to this main value stimulus.

The significant fact about all values which exercise a widespread influence upon human behavior is that they are social. Indeed, the many rituals and ceremonies for reaffirming the value and its potency are the essential processes for giving the values their potency. And so we find group dances, meetings, prayers, rituals, ceremonies, and practices of every description repeated at stated intervals. Each repetition serves to re-establish and strengthen the individual's susceptibility to the stimulus of the value, thereby renewing its potency. So long as each person in his childhood and youth is instructed in these value responses, both as positive stimuli and as negative penalties in the form of threatened deprivation, he will be provided with an aid to the observance of the tensional controls required by the group mores. If, however, these traditional values lose some of their potency, their decline also threatens the observance of the established social customs and institutions, as we may see historically and in contemporary life. Probably the most effective agency for undermining the group values has been the progress of material culture, bringing tools and techniques for resolving precarious situations and achieving consummations that were formerly denied. With the development, for example, of modern medical practice to meet the exigencies of life, we are losing interest in religion as a consolation in proportion to our increased faith and dependence upon the physician to handle life's crises. Each such advance in material culture reduces the necessity for effort, renunciation, for postponement, and by so much changes the problems of tensional management. Every invention, every labor-saving device, every short cut and means of preventing the otherwise undesirable consequences of any activity (e.g., contraception) immediately alters the tensional problems and, through their newer solutions, modifies the social life. Social change and progress in material culture go hand in hand, as action, reaction, and interaction. The lag of institutional life behind the advancing material culture gives rise to our so-called "social problems," which can be solved only by accelerating the modification of the institutional life to meet the requirements of the material culture.

# "GROUP" AND "INSTITUTION" AS CONCEPTS IN A NATURAL SCIENCE OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA

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## ABSTRACT

**"Group" and "Institution" as Concepts in a Natural Science of Social Phenomena.**—This paper deals with the problem of whether it is possible to approach social phenomena with the methodology of natural science. An examination is made of social-science concepts, such as "group" and "institution," to discover whether these concepts themselves prevent the natural-science approach. The notion of the hierarchy of complexity of natural phenomena is employed, involving a plurality of levels.

The concept of group as denoting objects for natural science study is discussed in the light of the following natural-science criteria: (a) *Explicit denotation*. Phenomena studied by natural scientists obtrude themselves upon experience and are capable of being manipulated and reacted to by responses of discrimination and measurement no matter upon what level they are approached. Group phenomena and institutions do not obtrude themselves upon experience except at the immediately simpler level of their components, human individuals. (b) *Reciprocal action of parts*. In natural-science objects, the component parts at the simpler level have a reciprocal action, that is, their rôle or function and can be understood only in terms of the whole. This is particularly true of organisms. Certain kinds of social groupings satisfy this criterion fairly well, particularly the face-to-face community groups. Groups which are merely common segments of like responses (institutions) do not satisfy it, unless we consider society as a whole. (c) *Uniqueness of formulation and laws*. In spite of certain criteria common to all natural-science objects, each level of complexity, for example, the drop of water, the cell, the animal, etc., has unique properties and can be formulated in laws having terms different from those of every other level. Passing to social phenomena, however, we find no such uniqueness of formulation, but rather analogies which for the most part describe group behavior merely in terms of what the individuals in the group do under varying environmental conditions. The group is thus merely a repetition of the individual level, and in this sense is tautologous. (d) *Dependent viability*. Among the higher organic objects of natural science the component unit must depend for its continued life upon being a part of the whole organism. This in general is not true of social groupings. (e) *Total inclusion*. In objects which natural scientists study the parts are entirely included in the wholes. In many of the groupings of sociologists the whole does not totally include the parts, but is an abstraction of a feature of behavior common to all parts. An example of this is the concept of an institution.

The conclusion is suggested that the concepts of "group" and "institution" are incompatible with a natural-science approach to social phenomena *if we take them as denoting objects to be studied*. As orientation, however, of the investigator for purposes of describing the collective and interactive aspect of phenomena they are useful. Their most usual significance seems to have been in connection with the telic approach, for purposes of social control. No fault is found with this usage; but those who maintain that the telic approach is the only one possible in social science have no logical ground for this assertion until they have re-examined their concepts in the light of a natural-science methodology.

## THE NATURAL SCIENCE APPROACH

The possibility of reducing the complexity of social data to a natural science has been frequently called into question. Some scholars hold that social scientists should employ the same rigor of method and should strive toward the same objectivity and precision which characterize scientific work in general. Others assert that there exists between social science and natural science an intrinsic difference of aim and methodology, and that the work of social scientists should be not the discovery of laws, but the technique of applying scientific knowledge to the satisfaction of human needs. We are dealing, they say, not with objective units, but with the psychic activities of individuals in interrelation, and with values. Social science, according to some adherents of this school, is pre-eminently telic in character. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the position of those who make this latter claim, in so far as they assert that a natural-science perspective toward social phenomena is impossible. Two methods of attack are here open: either we may endeavor to state some actual formulations of social data in natural-science terms, or we may examine some of the substantive concepts of those who take the telic position, to see whether they may have defined them in such a manner as to preclude the natural-science approach. The writer has chosen the latter, and less direct, line of attack.

A few preliminary definitions are here in place. The term "natural science" is used to indicate the field studied by physicists, chemists, geologists, physiologists, psychologists, and students of related disciplines. By the "natural-science method" the writer means simply the way in which these scientists seem to him to work, that is, to select and to approach their objects of study. The term is here used in a restricted sense and includes but a portion of the activities of the natural scientist. We would exclude for our present purpose all applied science, all mere classification of natural objects where no new principle is discovered, and also the explanatory phases of geology and other disciplines involving a historic treatment. By natural-science method we indicate merely the kinds of objects selected (or definition of units) and the general manner in which they are treated. We mean that the investi-

gator looks at or into his material to see *what is there* and to discover *invariable sequences* between one identifiable happening and another. Such sequences as are found always to occur so long as other conditions can be kept constant are known as natural-science generalizations, or "laws."<sup>1</sup>

If one follows strictly the approach just described, the environmental objects one confronts will be found to have more than one level of complexity. A behavior psychologist, for example, looks at the human organism at first as a whole. He is interested in what people do and say, in other words, in behavior at the integrated, "human" level. If he looks more closely, however, with the purpose of discovering certain generalizations as a basis of understanding or prediction, he begins to see the parts of which the organism is composed, or at least to think in terms of these parts. He begins to interpret behavior through the generalizations which can be given him by the neurologist and the general physiologist. The physiologist, in his turn, describes the action of nerve and muscle fibers and then analyzes the cells of which they are composed, either actually or conceptually, into their organic, and finally into their inorganic, components. By the aid of generalizations in the fields of organic chemistry and physics the nerve impulse and muscle contraction are interpreted in the simpler and more universal terms of chemical dissociation, electrical polarization, and the like. The physical chemist, in his turn, peers into such phenomena as electro-magnetism and "ether conduction," seeking to identify a still more elementary plane upon which even broader generalizations can be discovered.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such laws are merely statements of a high degree of probability that a given phenomenon will recur under the stated conditions. More careful observations usually disclose exceptions; and these exceptions lead to further analysis and the making of altered and more widely applicable generalizations. Scientific laws are in no way forces or agents *causing* the particular phenomena which are said to illustrate or embody them. They are merely summaries of the experience of careful observers. We mean by the "natural-science approach" the *taking of an attitude toward the material studied such as to yield these new generalizations*. The moment such a generalization is secured, if one dwells upon it, makes deductions from it, or applies it to human purposes, the natural-science attitude, as we have defined it, at once disappears and a different attitude takes its place.

<sup>2</sup> An earlier and more detailed statement of this multi-level theory of natural science will be found in an article entitled "The Group Fallacy in Relation to Social

Ascending this hierarchy to the field of the sociologist, the question is naturally raised whether we have not in societal phenomena, as the sociologist defines them, a level of experience fitting into the natural-science approach at the upper limit of the scale, and offering a logical starting-point for the analytic process. Is society, which is the most complex level of organic existence, still a natural object, and, as such, material for natural-science investigation? We shall return to this question presently.

It is well, in passing, to answer the possible objection that in explaining the more complex level in terms of its constituents we thereby explain it away. According to the *Gestalt* theory the whole is not fully explicable as the mere sum of its parts; it has a unique existence which is not discoverable through analysis. With this position we readily agree. But it should be observed that when the natural scientist looks further into his phenomena, passing from the more complex to the simpler level, he is in no sense denying the reality of the more complex level. He does not maintain that because he passes in study from the animal to the tissue and cell, and from these to the atom, that he has fully accounted for the animal as a combination of these elements. He makes only two assertions: (1) The cellular and other organic and inorganic constituents of the animal are the only facts which are present to his senses when he makes his analysis; and (2) from a knowledge of the laws of these components he is able to make predictions, otherwise difficult or impossible to attain, regarding the vitality and behavior of the animal conceived as a whole.

This again is not *explaining* the organic level in terms of the inorganic, but merely expressing a probability of concomitance, based on experience, between certain occurrences at the two levels. Nor is the comparative reality of any two levels called into question. So far as human knowledge is concerned, a table is just as real as the various particles of wood which make it up, and these particles of wood are as real as any molecules, atoms, or electrons to which they may be conceptually reduced. There is, therefore, no reason for going any further downward in the hierarchy of na-

tural-science levels than the practical need of prediction upon the level of our main interest requires.

#### THE CRITERIA OF NATURAL-SCIENCE OBJECTS

Having defined what we mean by a natural-science approach, we shall now consider certain terms which are conspicuous in the social literature to ascertain whether they denote objects or situations capable of being studied by the natural-science method. In particular, we shall take the concept of the *group* in its several varieties, and shall add a brief analysis of the concept of *social institution*. For the purpose of testing such notions, the writer has attempted to find a number of criteria by which entities to which it is possible to apply natural-science method can be identified. Those which were finally chosen he believes to be fairly characteristic and definitive. Broadly speaking, no natural-science material is without them; and any material possessing them may become the object of natural-science study. To these criteria we have given the following names: explicit denotation, reciprocal action of parts, uniqueness of formulation, dependent viability, and total inclusion.

a) *Explicit denotation*.—In order to understand our first criterion let us recall a distinction made by psychologists between explicit and implicit behavior. Explicit responses consist, for our purpose, of skeletal movements which are capable of manipulating or modifying things in our environment. Implicit responses, on the other hand, consist of *abridged* skeletal movements, verbal reactions, and postures which we substitute in our thinking process for explicit contacts with objects. The phenomena studied by the natural-science method are characteristically things toward which one can make some sort of explicit reaction. They are stimuli for our responses of denoting, manipulating, measuring, weighing, and other discriminatory and graded reactions. There occurs the possibility of some explicit response to a natural object as a *beginning of every natural-science investigation*. Such investigations never begin from purely implicit responses. Something, in other words, always obtrudes itself upon our experience and presents to us a problem for study. Natural-science material is thus more than that which we can see, hear, touch, or smell. There is also the possibil-

ity of doing something to it and thus altering and refining our impressions from it. This means, in the last analysis, that we can obtain from the situation a *kinaesthetic* (or motor) experience arising from our manipulation of the object of study. Connected with explicit denotation is the important factor of verification of our experience by others, a check which guards against hallucination in the sense fields already named, and which is made possible only by our capacity for explicitly denoting the phenomena concerned.

One may object here on the ground that scientists often seem to be concerned with *implicit* activities, or mere conceptualization. The chemist speaks of atoms, yet he never saw one or responded explicitly to one. We cannot manipulate the planets, and yet we have a science of astronomy. The physicist is not explicitly responding to a "rise in temperature" when he takes readings from his thermometer. To this we reply that no matter how much the natural scientist may conceptualize his experience, there were at the outset certain phenomena which *were* explicitly responded to, and which remain, moreover, as a permanent possibility of explicit response in the work of repeating the experiment, checking predictions, and verifying conclusions.<sup>3</sup> There is on the whole good ground for believing that the efforts of natural scientists universally begin and are verified by reference to an explicitly denotable situation.

Let us now inquire whether the notion of the *group* will satisfy the criterion of explicit denotation. Suppose that a behavior psychologist, a physiologist, and a physical chemist were out walking together upon a dark night. Let us further suppose that each is incapable of experiencing or understanding the immediately simpler elements into which his proper field of study can be reduced. In other words, the behaviorist cannot look beyond the level of the entire organism; he cannot see nor conceive of nerve cells, syn-

<sup>3</sup> Although one never reacts to an individual atom, one can put a piece of iron in the fire or subject it to electric disturbances, thus manipulating atoms *en masse*. Although one cannot respond explicitly to temperature, one *does* respond to stimuli from explicit experiences, such as a vessel of heated water, from which the implicit notion of temperature has been derived. As for the astronomer, although he cannot manipulate the heavenly bodies, he can react explicitly to his instruments as they show a star crossing meridian, and make finer motor determinations as a result of this experience.

apses, glands, receptors, or motor organs. The physiologist, in turn, can view such structures and the cells of which they are composed, but he understands no principles of organic chemistry or electro-chemical action. The physicist sees only the phenomena of the latter field, and he in turn cannot try to analyze these phenomena further. Now let us imagine that these three companions encounter, without seeing him, a man stretched out upon the path. It is a safe assumption that all three will stumble over him. In spite of their peculiar limitations of scientific perspective, the body across the path would intrude upon the experience of all three, would become a stimulus for explicit denotation, and might become the subject of a natural-science investigation by each upon his own level.

Now let these three men be joined by a fourth, a sociologist, suffering from the same inability to penetrate below his own level. Assuming that level for the sociologist to be phenomena conceived in societal terms, such as culture patterns, customs, groups, and institutions, we should have the parallel condition that he would be unable to experience *individual human beings*, the components of groups and institutions at the immediately simpler level of analysis. We should now observe a strange result. Whereas his three companions would "bump into" the man in the path and would start on their respective methods of studying him, the sociologist would never encounter him at all. Nothing would have intruded upon his experience.

We may even suppose that the man on the path is an integral part of some societal relationship. For example, he may be an Indian youth fasting and dreaming of his totem in the forest, according to tribal custom; or he may be a sentry on the frontier in war time who is sleeping at his post. In this case our sociologist would remain entirely ignorant of the societal pattern. He could not discover tribal folkways, or the national group at war, because no phenomena would have intruded upon his experience to set him off by explicit behavior upon a course of investigation. He would be unable to develop any sociological formulations or laws. Should he set out to encounter and study a family, a chamber of commerce, a gang, or a church, he would be able to find none of them. With-



out the capacity for experiencing its components (individuals) there would be no starting-point from which he could begin to discover and describe the phenomena of his own level. We thus see that groups, customs, and institutions lack the criterion of explicit denotation which is characteristic of other levels of natural-science investigation.

In order to clarify this illustration a little further it is necessary to consider the following objection. Suppose, the sociologist might argue, that we keep the limitations of one-level experience for the four scientists the same, but place upon the path a single cell, rather than an entire man. In this case the physiologist and physicist with suitable microscopic technique would be able to observe it and react explicitly toward it. The behavior psychologist, on the other hand, would by hypothesis never encounter it, and hence would be no better off than the sociologist. To this we assent. But we answer that it is within human power to take the cell away, and put back an entire organism, thus bringing back to the psychologist the possibility of explicit denotation. It would be impossible, however, to remove the sociologist's limitation, in a corresponding manner, by substituting something else for the individual organism, for the question at once arises, What shall we substitute? Even supposing that some superhuman agency could place before him, not individuals, but a group or institution, the sociologist, unless superhuman, would be unable to see or react to it in the absence of the experience of individual organisms. It would be possible of course to place before him cultural objects, material equipment, etc.; but these could never be understood by him, in the absence of individual human behavior, as expressions of group or institutional life. Cultural objects are not identical with societal groupings, a point which will be discussed later. The criterion of explicit denotation as we have now applied it reveals itself, not as direct intrusion upon experience, but through the possibility of so manipulating the environment as to set the conditions whereby some phenomenon *will* intrude.\*

Our one-level sociologist may attempt to escape from his dilemma

\* In connection with developing this portion of the argument the writer wishes to acknowledge a helpful criticism made by Mr. Dale A. Hartman.

ma by turning the tables upon the natural scientist. He might argue that only through the concept of the nation can we understand the rôle or specific function of such an individual as a sentry. We answer that if one could not encounter the sentry there would be nothing for one to understand or explain. But his assumption itself is unwarranted. It is quite possible to understand the sentry's behavior while still keeping upon a level of a purely explicit denotation. We should in that case pass from one individual to another in the environing population and examine the habitual attitudes and motivation, not only of the sentry, but of other individuals whose words he obeys, and behind them the behavior of the individuals called the "president," "congressmen," "newspaper editors," "journalists," and the like. We should find, no doubt, that each of these was using certain verbal symbols signifying a "nation," but such a term may be considered merely as the manner in which they conceptualize their own behavior. Our problem is not the most convenient form of conceptualization for human control, but the determination of phenomena which so intrude upon experience as to admit of explicit denotation. And in this qualification we find the notions of group and institutions to be completely lacking.<sup>5</sup>

b) *Reciprocal action of parts*.—Philosophers have defined an individual as an object in which the various parts exhibit a reciprocal action. In other words, it is a unity. Taken in a general sense this definition becomes our second criterion of natural-science objects. At the simpler levels, beginning for example with electrons and atoms, this theory would amount to a statement of the interdependence of all natural phenomena. In solid bodies of appreciable size it is theoretically manifested as the cohesion of molecular units. At a different level it takes the form of chemical combination, of agent and reagent. Processes within protoplasm and minute organs within the cell show this interdependence of action. It is clearest perhaps in the metazoa, and especially in the higher organisms. The action of each part or organ can be understood only in reference to the behavior of other parts.

When we survey the phenomena which are called groups, we must recognize that they display the criterion of reciprocal action often in a striking degree, though never perhaps as fully as zoölog-

<sup>5</sup> In connection with the criterion of explicit denotation, see footnote 11, p. 99.

ical organisms. There is, moreover, a wide difference in the degree to which this criterion is present in different types of groupings. In a pioneer community in which responses are of the face-to-face sort, and in which each individual provides some unique service for the benefit of all, the reciprocal action may approach that of a biological organism. In the so-called derivative groups, however, at the other end of the scale, such, for example, as a professional association or a trade union, the behavior, being mainly of the common-segment type, is unadapted to the give-and-take of reciprocal activities. When we pass still further to classes, races, and sex groupings, we find that reciprocal action is either absent or present only in sporadic form, and not at all characteristic of the grouping in question.

*c) Uniqueness of formulation; (d) dependent viability.*<sup>6</sup>—Our third criterion refers to the fact that objects at different levels of natural-science study are unique both in descriptive properties and in the terms in which their laws are formulated. Take, for example, a river. We may study the river bed and channel, and note the laws describing the action of flowing water upon the rock and soil. Approaching at another level, we may take a vessel of water from the river and study it. We should here describe such laws as fluidity, evaporation, and crystallization, conceiving the phenomena upon the plane of molecular action. Again we may pass to the level of conceptualized atomic motion and consider the properties of the gases, hydrogen and oxygen, into which the level of hydraulic phenomena may be analyzed. The laws upon this plane are those of combustion and chemical combination. Beyond this may be conceptualized still another plane in terms of etheric motions and having to do with such unique phenomena as electromagnetic waves, heat, and light. In each of the levels considered we are dealing with an entirely unique set of laws and descriptive terminology. The phenomena of radio-activity, combustion, fluidity, and gravitation are in different realms of our qualitative experience. When we pass on still further to the organic levels the uniqueness is even more striking. The colloid substances, the phenomena of cell division, reproduction, and growth by assimilation are different from anything encountered in the inorganic series.

<sup>6</sup> The criterion of dependent viability is here omitted owing to lack of space. It will be dealt with in a later paper. See footnote 11, p. 99.

Entering into the field of psychology and describing the organism as a whole, we have again a distinct form of experience in animal behavior and its modification.

Turning now to the sociological plane, we have to inquire whether it is possible to characterize such entities as group and institution in terms which are unique, which are distinct, that is, from all formulations of the behavior of individuals. There are two broad types of theory regarding social entities which must be considered from the standpoint of this criterion. The first is the notion that the group or society is *not* upon a plane above the objects of psychological or biological study; it is itself an organism among other organisms. The second view is that societal entities are not organisms, but are upon a level above, or more complex than, the organic. Professor Kroeber's theory of "the superorganic" falls within this class.

Now it is obvious that our requirement of uniqueness does not apply to the first type of theory, since a distinct level for societal phenomena is not postulated. But it does apply to the second. The advocates of the latter view are faced with the problem of describing the superorganic and stating its laws in terms wholly different from those of any of the infrasocietal levels. Professor Kroeber and others have made ingenious attempts in this direction. They have dealt, however, not with actual groups, but with cultural objects. Such objects have been conceived by some as an indirect index of a possible superorganic level. A number of laws have been tentatively worked out, such for example as Kroeber's and Chapin's notion of culture cycles, Ogburn's laws of culture growth, Park and Burgess' law of zone-distribution in the growth of cities, Gresham's law in economics, and the law of business cycles. These laws, which are cast in terms of explicitly denotable phenomena, do tend in a sense toward uniqueness of formulation. They must, however, be stated in purely volumetric units of size, number, and the like, in such a way as to eliminate all factors of human use and custom. One may also admit the possibility of natural-science laws in this field without being required to conceive them as laws belonging to a superorganic realm of being. Such an interpretation is possible; but it is also convenient to regard them merely as laws of human behavior stated, through behavior products, in terms of quantity,

distribution, and change of such behavior. This view would perhaps be acceptable to some of the culture-sociologists mentioned above.

When we turn from these cultural formulas to frank postulations of the group as a datum of scientific study we see a clear failure to achieve a formulation which is both explicit and unique. LeBon's descriptions of the crowd, for example, are drawn in terms of individual psychology, as is shown by such words as "emotionalism," "credulity," and "intolerance." Tarde's law, stating that imitation proceeds from the higher social class to the lower, depends for its intelligibility upon our being able to distinguish between lower and higher classes. This distinction cannot be discovered in a groupwise approach, but only through observing the attitudes of submission or domination among the individuals. Mr. B. Warren Brown, in his *Social Groups* (pp. 134-35) announces twenty-two tentative statements which he considers to "serve as a starting-point" for a series of social laws. These statements are drawn in terms of what their author considers to be the elements of social groups. As soon, however, as we try to get some explicit connotations for Mr. Brown's terms, that is, to understand what such words as "structure," "contact," "homogeneity," and "membership" really mean, his laws descend to the realm of human behavior as exhibited by individuals.

The same type of criticism applies to the notion of "social control." Society is said to control individuals through folkways or institutions in the direction of conformity to a given type. But "power" and "control" are terms borrowed from the human plane of experience. Their use at the superorganic level fails to establish unique formulation at that level. These expressions are therefore tautologous; that is, they tell us nothing new as applied to groups.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. The following quotations: "An institution is a set of activities which society adopts as its deliberately accepted method of attaining a deliberately approved end" (E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 405). ". . . The power of the derivative groups, especially of the great abstract and relatively constant ones, such as the state, industrial, religious, educational, and scientific associations, is very great" (L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 422).

Power, control, social continuity, and social change are misleading if taken to indicate agent, or any conception other than mere description of phenomena. Natural scientists have long been hampered with anthropomorphic "forces" as principles of explanation, and have only recently begun to clarify these notions.

The matter of social control may be presented in another way. Let us state the influence of a group (B, C, D, E, F, etc.) upon an individual, A, as the fact that A responds to (is controlled by) B, C, D, E, F, etc. It may be true that he responds more quickly and vigorously to B and C, who, for example, may be judges or policemen, than to the other individuals; and that B and C derive their special ability to make A respond by the support of the attitudes of all the rest (A, D, E, F, etc.). So far we are on a purely individual-behavior level. Suppose, however, we draw a circle around B, C, D, E, F, etc., and say that it is not these individuals, but the group as such which is controlling A. In this case we violate both the criterion of explicit denotation (for it is impossible, *vide supra*, to show how one explicitly responds to a group as such) and the criterion of uniqueness (for any statement of the controlling action exerted by B, C, D, E, F, etc., as a group seems to be intelligible only as the acts of individuals).

The reason for this failure to achieve for social groupings the uniqueness characteristic of natural-science data probably lies in the limitation of our point of view. We are, ourselves, the components of which our groups are made; hence we cannot detach from them our own attributes and purposes. Our appreciation of groups is therefore subjective and telic. Then, too, our receptors are too fine and our distance too near to receive impingements from so vast an entity as society, or even from special groups.

*e) Total inclusion.*—Our final criterion is closely related to those preceding. In any object studied by the natural-science method the parts are entirely included within the whole. In a drop of water, for example, there are, to our knowledge, no atoms of hydrogen or oxygen which are not used up in their combination into water. They seem to be totally absorbed in the phenomenon of water or not present at all. When we use the concept "water," moreover, we do not mean anything *less* than the integration or combination of these parts; nor do we include anything *more*. Similarly, the liver, stomach, skin, or other organs are entirely present in any organism where they are found at all. The organism includes them all, and it does not include any organs which are elsewhere or within other organisms.\*

\* There are a few exceptions to this rule, such as periods of conjugation among protozoa and certain cases of Siamese twins

Turning now to the social groupings, we find almost no instance of a perfect or total inclusion of the parts within the whole. One may picture certain primitive, face-to-face groups as having practically all their activities in common and interdependent. Even such a grouping, however, does not include the individual's visceral responses of pleasure in taking a cool bath or viewing an impressive landscape. One may, of course, arbitrarily put a certain number of individuals together and say that we have a group including these entire individuals, together with all their activities, and nothing but them. But this is not what the sociologist means by a group; for in that case ten individuals, for example, selected at random from various parts of the world and suddenly placed together would answer as well as the most closely knit family or community. In almost every social group it must be recognized that the individuals have many interests and habits which are entirely without the scheme of the group life or organization. In closely knit community groups these activities may be relatively few; but in the so-called "derivative groups," such as a scientific association, a chamber of commerce, or a political party, more of the individual lies outside the group than within it.

In order to make the error of false inclusion clearer let us consider as an example the various connotations of the term "nation." We can derive from this word a suggestion of substantiality by thinking of one hundred million actual and entire individuals, completely or potentially interdependent, and reciprocal in their behavior. Our concept thus tends toward the ideal of total inclusion. Yet when the nation is thought of in any direct or functional sense we frequently find that the meaning has shifted, so that it is now regarded, not as the *totality* of the *entire* individuals acting reciprocally and in a face-to-face manner, but as a concurrence of certain limited, similar interests and feelings, or common segments of behavior, such, for example, as patriotism, directed toward some common symbolic object by millions of individuals who may in other respects be quite unco-ordinated. This altered concept, however, we still endow with properties characteristic of an organism at the level of total inclusion. We speak of the acts of our officials as representing the "policy" or "will of the nation." We state that

the nation "wages war," "concludes peace," and has certain "virtues," "ideals," "purposes," and "feelings" strictly human in character. Imperfect inclusion is here combined with tautology in giving substance to the notion of a super-individual being.

# CONCLUSIONS

Looking backward over this analysis we must remark a wide discrepancy between the materials with which natural scientists begin their investigations and the entities implied by the terms "group" and "institution." The concept of group (if limited to certain primary forms) and of institution (if we conceive of all the institutions within society as a whole) tend, it is true, to fulfil the requirement of reciprocal action. Neither notion, however, satisfies the criterion of total inclusion; while the idea of the secondary group is peculiarly misleading from this standpoint. With the questionable exception of objective culture phenomena, these concepts fail to meet the test of uniqueness of formulation at their own level. Most significant of all is their complete failure from the standpoint of explicit denotation.\* If group and institution are the only sort of concepts through which social phenomena can be defined, then we must conclude that social science is indeed in a sphere by itself, and that a natural science of social phenomena is impossible. The present writer, however, believes that a different approach, one which will fulfil natural-science conditions, is conceivable. There is no opportunity in the present paper for the development of this thesis.

While the group notion lacks the explicit character necessary

\* Certain writers have argued that the social group has as much reality as other compounds, such as a human personality, a drop of water, or a molecule, which appear upon analysis to consist merely of simpler elements in a particular relationship. Cf. W. D. Wallis, *An Introduction to Sociology* (pp. 150-55). Such an argument, however, is based entirely upon the criterion of reciprocal action of parts, and ignores the discrepancies of the group from the standpoint of explicit denotation, uniqueness, and total inclusion. If such writers are to prove the objective reality of the group they must therefore draw their evidence from some other source than analogy with natural-science objects. It should be understood, however, that the present writer is passing no judgment upon the question of whether groups are *real*. They may be quite as real as individuals. We are here concerned solely with their possibility of serving as objects upon which one may begin a natural-science investigation. We furthermore hold no brief for the future. We are dealing only with the present forms of human groupings and sociological concepts.



for an object of natural-science investigation, may it not serve, as some have suggested, in the rôle of a hypothesis for explaining the social behavior of individuals? Other hypotheses, such as the atom and the ether, also depict entities which lie well beyond the range of our perception. To this we reply that the group theory does afford a consistent logical system into which certain aspects of human behavior may be conceptionally fitted. It seems to the writer, however, to be a rather sterile hypothesis from two standpoints. First, since it cannot be approached explicitly, there is no possibility of discovering *how it operates* in producing its control over, or conditioning of, individuals; or, to speak more exactly, how its laws are related to the remainder of our scientific conceptions. Secondly, there is no possibility of progress toward its verification or refutation. The group remains upon an implicit, metaphysical plane, assailable only by the tools of logical definition. We *can*, on the other hand, approximate a verification or refutation of the atomic hypothesis; and it is this process which continually enriches our knowledge of the world we live in.

A connotation of the terms "group" and "institution" which the writer would suggest as fruitful is that of subjective guideposts, directing the observer toward the interactive and distributive aspect of human phenomena, a phase which the biologist and psychologist, concerned mainly with a single and typical individual, would miss. These terms would thus serve as a kind of directional map, or concept, which, though not a natural-science object in itself, would produce in the investigator an orientation toward a special aspect of natural-science objects. A great deal of useful sociological investigation has already been carried out in this spirit.<sup>10</sup>

There remains to be mentioned a prevalent viewpoint referred to at the beginning of this paper, a usage which accounts largely for our present methodological confusion regarding the group. The group notion has often been used in a *telic* sense under the illusion that the sphere of discourse was that of natural science. In much of the literature of social science the group represents the manner

<sup>10</sup> The possibilities of this viewpoint are well presented by Professor C. H. Judd in his *Psychology of Social Institutions*.

of approaching ends to be achieved with a plurality of individuals as our working tools. To conceive of human beings as a group, and to have them so conceive themselves, is for this purpose a more efficient procedure than to view them as individuals and as material for analytic study. We do things *with* a group, but we do not do things *to* it in the sense of overt or explicit action. But here we reach a parting of the ways. We must decide whether our aim is one of teleis or of natural science. If we decide upon the former, our concepts of group, institution, social control, and the like are valuable; and, providing we keep within their limitations, the natural scientist has no ground to challenge them. But the telic thinker in his turn must refrain from restricting the scope of social science to a method compatible with his own conceptualization. He must acknowledge a sphere in which his terminology may be useless and perhaps even an obstacle. For there are some who believe that, methodologically, all science is one, and thus commit themselves to a view harmonious with natural-science method. There remains for these the task of developing a consistent approach and of reviewing critically some of the earlier formulations.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Since this article has gone to press, there has been brought to the writer's attention a valid objection to the criterion of explicit denotation as used in our illustration of the man upon the path. The writer is, therefore, preparing a restatement of his thesis which, though retaining the importance of explicit denotation, will present this criterion in a different light. This restatement, together with certain amplifications which could not be included in the present article, will be published in one of the sociological journals in the near future.

# THE RELATION OF THE FARMER TO RURAL AND URBAN GROUPS

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## ABSTRACT

**The relation of the farmer to rural and urban groups.**—Prior to 1900 group life in the country was characterized by isolation; since then this has been largely removed by improved means of communication which have made possible a richer group life embracing larger areas of association. In the past farmers were rarely members of urban groups. At present there is an increasing integration of interests between the smaller cities and the rural areas tributary to them. The principle of "regionalism" in the development of autonomic economic areas, involving the decentralization of industry and business and the process of "rural urbanization," both favor this integration of urban-rural socio-economic areas. Farm people are becoming part of the city "public," and increasingly patronize the cities for select lines of merchandise. Thus an "indivisible utility" is developing between the country and the small city which gives representative rural people a place in city groups. Farmers' organizations meet and have their offices in the smaller cities and become a part of their business life. Through better education and larger experience in organizations, farmer leaders are losing their former feeling of inferiority and are meeting city men with a sense of the equality of the interests they represent. For the first time in history the farmer is coming into a position to challenge the domination of the city, which in the past has thrived by its exploitation of the countryside. The progress of rural civilization depends upon the extent to which its people obtain the advantages of urban associations and yet remain loyal to the fundamental values of farm life and to promoting the socialization of their local communities.

The most striking phenomena of the group relations of the farmer are due to a lack of adjustment to new environmental conditions. A comparison of the group life of the farmer in the past with that under present conditions may reveal the trend of social change.

As a critical date dividing the past from the present, let us use the year 1900, for since then rural life has been revolutionized more radically by the rural free delivery, the telephone, the automobile, good roads, and the radio than in all the previous history of agriculture. Prior to 1900 the structure of rural life was chiefly determined by its relative isolation; since then this limitation has been very largely removed. Formerly the rural groups were those of the family and kinship, the neighborhood, the district school, the country church, the ladies' aid, and the local grange or farmers'

club, all largely within the local neighborhood. They were personal or primary groups, involving the whole personality, and in the main were groups into which one was born rather than ones which were joined voluntarily. These groups were homogeneous and stable because of consanguinity and relative lack of mobility. The life and behavior of their members was largely molded by them. The neighborhood was distinctly self-conscious, but the rural community, at least in the sense in which we use the term today, as including the village center and surrounding farms, was rarely conceived as an entity. Prior to the general commercialization of agriculture American farms were largely self-sufficing, and, being isolated from each other, there was little reason for group activity except for an occasional exchange of work between neighbors. Not until common marketing problems arose did American farmers form groups for business purposes. Formerly they competed against each other.

What is the significant difference in the present situation? In the first place let it be made clear that it is impossible to speak of "*the farmer*" for the whole United States. Our generalization of "*the farmer*" is a carryover from the days of the pioneer and the homesteader, when all were on much the same footing. But if we confine our attention to the northeastern United States it is true that the farmers of the second and third generation from the pioneers, the generation which Warren H. Wilson<sup>1</sup> has called the "household farmer," were much more undifferentiated than they are today. Although there were always considerable differences in economic and social status, in the past there was a greater similarity of status and a very general spirit of democracy among rural people. Unfortunately this often degenerated into a false sense of equality which frowned on anyone who became different from the group norm, and therefore prevented the growth of individuality and encouraged exceptional individuals to go to town or city where they might associate freely with others having like interests without being the subject of neighborhood gossip.

With better transportation and communication the neighborhood breaks down as a social unit and the rural community with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Evolution of the Country Community*.

the village as its center becomes a functional group. The decline of the neighborhood is due to its inability to meet the growing social desires of its people and also to the fact that owing to greater mobility the population is more demotic and has fewer ties. The church, the school, and the grange hall tend to locate in the village. On the other hand, community activities increase because of an increasing competition with the city with regard to matters educational, social, and economic. Modern transportation and communication make possible the organization of rural life on a new basis. Although the farmer has increased association with the villager, and they both come to appreciate their interdependence, yet the farmer of ability and public spirit now assumes a place of leadership so long dominated by the villager because of his central location.

The automobile and the telephone make possible the organization and maintenance of many more groups than when contact was only occasional by the slow horse-drawn conveyance. This has been particularly noticeable in the business organization of agriculture. Doubtless the farm bureau and farmers' co-operative marketing associations might have developed without the automobile and telephone, but their growth would have taken much longer and it would have been impossible to conduct them with their present degree of efficiency.

The increase of voluntary associations of women and children is also a product of the new era and has a direct effect on the farm family. Whereas formerly the "ladies' aid" was almost the only organization for farm women, now they belong to farm-and-home bureaus, lodges, W.C.T.U.'s, parent-teacher associations, and various women's clubs, while the children belong to 4-H clubs, Boy and Girl Scouts, school athletic teams, etc. The effect of the larger association of farm women in these newer groups is most far-reaching. In them individual farm women receive a group support for new attitudes concerning home management and family relationships which do much to change their own lives and that of their families. Furthermore, on account of their greater concern for the welfare of their children, as they become aware of the social and civic problems of modern life, women are much more active than

men in promoting social improvement, so that the new group life of rural women makes a very important change in the group relations of rural communities.

Just as the neighborhood has broken down as a rural social unit, so there is every indication that the hamlet or small village is now losing many of its functions to the larger village or town, particularly in the older-settled portions of the country where villages often grew up three or four miles apart, and in those sections where there has been a notable decline in rural population. The high schools locate in the larger villages and towns, and those who attend them form wider associations which they maintain, thus weakening the ties of the small community. Recent studies in Ohio,<sup>2</sup> Nebraska,<sup>3</sup> and New York all indicate that the merchants of the smaller hamlets and villages are unable to compete with the larger places and that they are losing patronage. The rapid growth of chain stores in our smallest villages is one of the most striking changes in rural life. The old personal relationship to the local merchant who bought the farmer's produce and gave him credit as needed is being replaced by an impersonal relationship where each buys and sells on the best market. It seems probable that this process tends to the advantage of the larger villages and trade centers. The growing desire of farmers for moving pictures, automobile service, hospitals, libraries, etc., gives them increased contact with the larger places, for these services depend on a larger volume of business than the small village can secure.

The grange and the church still center in the smaller communities and serve rather restricted areas, though in many sections there is a tendency for the open-country church to be absorbed in that of the village. These facts seem to support the hypothesis that economic and public institutions tend to center in the larger villages, while the social agencies, those which involve the personal relations of intimate acquaintanceship, tend to remain in

<sup>2</sup> Perry P. Denune, *The Social and Economic Relations of the Farmers with the Towns in Pickaway County, Ohio*, Ohio State University Studies, No. 9, 1927, Bureau of Business Research Monographs.

<sup>3</sup> *The Influence of Automobiles and Good Roads on Retail Trade Centers*, Committee on Business Research of the College of Business Administration, University of Nebraska Studies in Business, No. 18.

the smaller centers. Doubtless some of the reasons why farm people cling to these local groups for their social life is their lack of experience in larger groups and their inability to dress and spend on the same scale as those living in the larger villages. But if the standard of living of farm people continues to increase in the next generation or two as it has in the past, if an increasing percentage goes to high school, and if our economic system is so adjusted as to give the farmer a fair return for his products, then, with the better transportation now available, we shall doubtless see even those personal social groups extending over larger areas.

Another factor which tends to widen the farmer's area of association is his need for better marketing facilities. With the commercialization of agriculture, the growing domination of the city market, and the increased competition with other sections of this and foreign countries due to better means of transportation, farmers have been forced to organize into co-operative selling associations for the marketing of their products. It is now appreciated that to be successful these marketing associations must be built up from local units, but these local associations usually cover a larger area than the small local community, and the whole influence of these associations is to widen the farmer's contacts.

Swifter and easier transportation inevitably makes possible and tends to produce a stratification and segregation of rural society. In the same time that he could formerly go to the local village by horse the farmer can now go to a larger center three or four times as far away. Now this larger center draws from an area having from ten to fifteen times the population of the smaller community. It is possible, therefore, for the larger center to become the place of meeting of special-interest groups whose members may meet there with no more loss of time than formerly at the smaller centers. The same principle applies to the intervisitation of relatives and people of similar social status. It is now possible for a family to visit another ten miles away more easily than it could formerly drive two or three, and there is a tendency to visit those who are most congenial rather than to be limited to the immediate neighborhood or small community. This stratification of rural society is the same process which has occurred in the city, and will tend to increase

rural civilization by giving greater freedom to the individual. It gives opportunity for association with others of special tastes and interests, and so must gradually give rise to a larger tolerance and appreciation of gifts and abilities and a decrease of the deadening attitude of the isolated community that all are equal and the desire to compel all to conform to the same pattern of behavior.

It might be feared that although this realignment of rural society is of obvious advantage to the status of the individual, it may lead to a scattering of associations and a weakening or breaking down of community ties. Doubtless there is a tendency in this direction, and we have as yet no accurate observations upon the facts, but there is ground for the belief that the increased socialization of those who have wider contacts will bring with it a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the local community which will thus retain their loyalty in spite of their outside interests, and will result in a more general socialization of the local community than would occur had it not had the benefit of the larger contacts of the few.

There seems no question that the smaller rural communities will be absorbed into larger ones which are able to support desired institutions and services, but it is not at all clear that the size of the functional community will be governed by the radius of easy accessibility by automobile. Rather it will probably be determined by the area giving a sufficient support to certain institutions, and yet not so large but that more or less personal acquaintanceship and the characteristics of a primary group may be maintained. Although there has been considerable mobility among farmers, the rate of mobility will probably decrease in the future, for successful farming must be more or less permanent. A farmer cannot move every year or two and succeed, as may the townsman. The farmer's associations are therefore more permanent. He has more relatives in the community, a larger percentage of whom have been born and raised in the same community. Furthermore, the local community is held together by the common vocation of most of its people and by the fact that they are increasingly compelled to act collectively for the successful conduct of their business. There is a tendency, therefore, for the farmer to cling to groups within an area in which he has personal acquaintance, which will



probably coincide very largely with the functional community area. For these reasons it is doubtful whether there will ever be as marked class differences in the country as in the city.

The effect of the segregation of those of similar social status may, however, already be seen in many rural sections, as, for example, in church relationships. It is a matter of common knowledge that since the war there has been a considerable increase of small groups of minor religious sects, such as the Church of the Nazarene, Pentecostal Holiness, Holy Rollers, and various fundamentalist groups. No adequate study has been given this movement, but it seems evident that in most cases these groups are composed of marginal people who, because of educational, social, and economic status, do not find the established churches congenial. They arise in the "interstitial" or unsocialized areas of rural society. Thus in the intellectual, social, and religious spheres the relations of rural people are becoming more voluntary, freer, and less controlled by custom; but in the economic sphere, the chief area of social conflict with the city, social control is tightening, and the farmer, like the trade-union man of the city, is being forced to act collectively for the maintenance of his economic interests.

With the increasing complexity and organization of rural life the individual is freed from customary control, but if satisfactory rural civilization is to exist he must be brought to participate voluntarily and intelligently in more associations than in the past. If he remains isolated he is a drag on the standard of life of the whole community. This means that much more active effort must be made by all agencies toward the socialization of the individual. It also means that the more successful farmers will have to give more time to the leadership of group activities than in the past. Only the farmer who is economically successful can afford to give much time to group leadership. The question is whether those economically successful will have sufficient interest in agriculture and rural life to work for its interests, or will they retire to town and village, or sell out their ability to other interests, as trade-union leaders have so often done. A study of seventy-four "master farmers" of the Middle West made by Dr. Eben Mumford<sup>4</sup> shows that "in not

<sup>4</sup> *Farm Income and Farm Life* (Ed. by Dwight Sanderson), pp. 142, 143.

a single instance is the interest of these farmers confined to their home and to the farm, but they are also members of several kinds of organizations in their community, county, and state, and they belong to and actively support a much higher number of community organizations than the average farmer. Moreover, they are not merely members of these organizations, but are now or have been officers of several of them and have assumed much of the responsibility for their success." There is every reason to believe that farmer leadership is developing as rapidly as can reasonably be expected and that it will show the same loyalty as that which has characterized the agrarian movement in other countries.

Turning now to the relation of the farmer to the city, it seems safe to assert that in the past he has rarely been a member of any urban groups and has had little to do with the city directly. In the past the city has dominated the countryside, and although the city has been the cradle of civilization and has brought to the countryman a higher standard of living, yet on the whole the city has amassed wealth through the exploitation of the country through military, political, and economic power, as so well described by Oppenheimer.<sup>5</sup> In the past, therefore, the city and the farm have been in conflict.

At present, however, a new integration of economic and cultural areas tributary to city centers seems to be commencing, and a new understanding of their interdependence is being developed between the city and its hinterland. We witness the beginning of the countryman having a place in urban groups. This general process seems to involve two fundamental movements: The first may, for convenience, be called the growth of *regionalism*, while the second may be termed *rural urbanization*.

It is becoming evident that the continued growth of our larger metropolitan cities has no sound economic basis, and the idea of decentralizing industry is already being advocated by hard-headed business men. At the same time we are seeing the advantage of promoting regional economic areas rather than further encouraging the tendency toward regional specialization. Thus France has organized her business interests into a series of regional chambers

<sup>5</sup> Franz Oppenheimer, *The State*.

of commerce, each fostering and promoting the economic life of its own area, while in this country we have recognized this principle in the organization of the Federal Reserve banking system, and we see the migration of the textile and shoe industries from New England and the packing industry from Chicago. Is it not probable that in the long run the relatively self-sufficient economic system of France organized in autonomic economic units will be more successful than the highly specialized and unbalanced economy of Great Britain? There seems to be a tendency to strengthen the functional economic areas, which will result in a strengthening of the ties between the urban centers of those regions and their tributary territory.

At the same time the city is having an increased place in the life of the countryside; there is a definite rural urbanization. Farm and village people now read city papers; they buy their good clothes and furniture in the cities; and they go to the cities for movies and other forms of entertainment. They have become part of the city "public" if they have not entered city groups. But the relation of rural people to the small cities, such as the county seats or small industrial centers of 5,000-25,000 inhabitants, is even more intimate and tends to increase with the rising standard of living of the farmer. A rapidly increasing percentage of the rural population adjacent to these cities is composed of city workers.

In a very suggestive article entitled "The Indivisible Utility," Miss Mary Austin<sup>6</sup> has called attention to the unifying power of the common dependence of southwestern communities on irrigation, and she has offered some very keen observations concerning

<sup>6</sup> Mary Austin, "The Indivisible Utility," *Survey Graphic* (December 1, 1925), pp. 301-6, 327: "If there is any hope that a superior type of civic attachment may be evolved on American soil it can only be in those communities which cannot even come into existence except by a prearranged community of *interest*, patterned around the indivisible utility. . . ."

"Possibly the destruction of rural life in the eastern United States—which, if you examine it in the light of your own reactions and mental images, means the destruction of the self-sustaining farm-complex—is nothing like so despairful a probability as it appears in some quarters. It may be merely the decay of an otherwise insuperable barrier to the reformation of the town-and-country complex on the basis that the whole sum of civilization, science, art, and the social impetus constitutes, for the temperate zone farmer, an indivisible and indispensable utility which will bring him at last completely into the community."

the application of this principle to the evolution of rural life. May we not see the beginnings of this "indivisible utility" in the trade facilities which the small city now furnishes its tributary area, in the county hospital with its clinics, in the county library system, and in the theatrical and musical entertainments for whose maintenance it needs the patronage of its rural communities? The time was when the farmer would have thought it quite utopian to dream of going to the city one or two evenings a week for moving pictures. Once a year to the circus was a never-to-be-forgotten event for the average farm boy. The day will come when the city will be an aesthetic center whose theater, music, and fine art will be patronized by the people of the open country just as today they support the annual circus. The development of this "indivisible utility" between farm and city seems to be directly dependent upon the ability of the farmer to enjoy a higher standard of living. With the better organization of farmers so that they may be in a position to more or less control the volume of their products and to bargain collectively for the price they receive, and with a relative under-production of farm products which will raise the price-level to that of other industries, the farmers of the next generation will insist upon enjoying more and more of the cultural advantages heretofore confined to the cities, and with their support many a small city will be able to maintain institutions not now possible. A better understanding between farmers and the small city is also developing through the better organization of farmers which gives them a tangible means of representation. When groups of farmers are doing a considerable business in buying and selling they are included in the business life of the small city the same as any other group; and when farm women are organized for various lines of domestic, civic, and social betterment they become part of a unit composed of city and country members. Already in many small cities we find leading farmers members of various luncheon clubs or of the chamber of commerce, and county farmers' organizations meet in the cities and are part of their life. Of course these tendencies are stronger in the strictly agricultural regions of the country, but as they develop there they will extend to the more highly industrialized regions. Ultimately the rural areas tributary to every city should have a definite relation to the organized

group life of the city. In the past the farmer has been unable to take a place in the group life of the city because he has not had the advantage of experience in association which the city man has enjoyed; but since transportation has made possible effective farmers' organizations, and since farmers are having the advantage of secondary and higher education, they are developing leaders who can take their place in conferences and organizations composed of urban and rural interests, as do the leaders of city groups.

The antagonism of the farmer to the city has in the past been chiefly due to fear and a sense of inferiority. Organization and education now make it possible for representative farmers to meet the representatives of business and industry with a feeling of equality. For the first time in history rural people have a chance successfully to challenge urban domination. There is no more fundamental basis of conflict between farmer and city man than between manufacturer and laborer, or laborer and merchant, within the city, and in both cases progress lies in the strong organization of each interest so that it may bargain effectively with the other, and gradually each may come to see that its greatest good is to be achieved only through their mutual adjustment to the common welfare.

The day of rural isolation is past. Any effort to segregate rural from urban life is a vain attempt to stem the tide of progress. There are values in urban civilization which when rightly used will make rural life much more congenial, as there are values in country life which are essential to the happiness, health, and sanity of our increasing city population. Increased contacts with cities means a larger life for rural people. Nevertheless, owing to the relation of successful agriculture to the land, there will be a greater permanency of rural locality groups, and rural people will find a satisfaction in the personal groups of their own local communities which will not be filled by the broader but less personal associations in the urban centers. The progress of rural civilization depends upon the extent to which its people obtain the advantages of urban associations and yet remain loyal to the fundamental values of farm life and to promoting the socialization of their local communities.

# CHANGING RELATIONS BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY

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## ABSTRACT

**Changing relations between town and country.**—The established order of the rural population has been rudely disturbed by a number of changes, some of long standing, others of recent appearance. Among the unsettling economic conditions are improvements in agricultural production, the great expansion of urbanism, and the post-war crisis in farming. The great drift to the city has helped to unsettle rural inhabitants, to depopulate the countryside, and to destroy multitudes of villages in agricultural regions. Certain new communicating devices like the automobile and the radio have had an immediate effect of disrupting the old social alignments of country districts and of urbanizing rural people. An impending phenomenon dynamic with premonitory implications of a disorganizing character is the machine called "the combine," devoted to harvesting grain, which may be the entering wedge to establishing capitalistic farming of the factory type.

Scarcely anyone can fail to perceive that changes of a most extraordinary nature are now in process touching the constitution and processes of country life. In fact, conditions of farm life are being disrupted and transformed so subtly and surreptitiously that the mind of the observer is liable to overlook or miss seeing whole scenes and even acts in the great drama that is being enacted. We are likely to be bewildered by the rapidity and complexity of the transition, and we will be fortunate if we are able to record a few of the many facts worthy of recognition. Probably not since the advent of the railway, the settling of the prairies, and the introduction of machine agriculture has anything happened in agricultural society at all comparable, when viewed as to their results to what is now taking place.

Speaking by and large of the relation existing between farmers and non-agricultural communities throughout the larger portion of the United States during our past history, it is safe to make the generalization that that relation has been comparatively clear-cut and stable. This does not mean that there have not been disruptive and disorganizing influences manifesting themselves at times, but

that there has been a rather well-recognized and typical mode of adjustment between the two kinds of populations. The farming districts have always stood apart as rather distinctive types of local neighborhoods or communities. Farming people have lived on farms they operated for family rather than for capitalistic or purely commercial purposes. Their ambitions have been centered chiefly in the home, in making a living for, and rearing, a family. Their social satisfactions have been largely realized in the associations found within the family and furnished by neighboring with their nearby neighbors. There was a decided and vital consciousness of kind among farmers which was based on similar and common modes of work, living, housing, and dressing. Farmers sought out farmers above everyone else with whom to visit, and farming districts had their own kinds of sociability and recreation. There were few intrusions and interjections of culture elements and social patterns from the outside. Farmers generally were characterized by a great social aloofness from townsmen and urban dwellers. As a consequence, farm neighborhoods and communities manifested a distinctive individuality. They preserved their separateness, realized a considerable internal solidarity, and enjoyed a large degree of integrity of communal life.

This Arcadian equanimity and established order of the rural populations has been rudely disturbed by a number of changes and innovations, some of which began to operate several decades ago, while others have appeared very recently. They have stirred the souls of rural peoples, and in truth put them on wheels or wings. No longer are multitudes of these people satisfied to live in isolated independence. Because of the stupendous results to rural populations it is worth noting the agencies which have brought them about.

First, certain economic conditions have appeared during recent decades, and others within the last few years, which have unsettled farm life and exerted a disturbing influence upon the relation of farmers to other groups. I refer to improvements in agricultural production, the great expansion of urbanism, and the post-war crisis in farming. The persistent attempt at surplus-legislation in Congress is an expression of the post-war situation. During the

war, farmers were encouraged to expand production. To do so, many of them purchased new and expensive equipment at greatly inflated war prices. Immediately succeeding the war, farm prices plunged down to pre-war levels. Farmers were then compelled to pay inflated prices with their deflated dollars to wipe out their new indebtedness and to purchase consumptive goods on which to live. They have been doing it ever since the war. Farm indebtedness and farm mortgages grew and multiplied during the war and since. Many thousands of farmers lost their farms as the result of the débâcle. As a consequence, agricultural populations have come to feel a deep sense of injustice, and they are prone to hold urban industrialists and financiers responsible for their plight.

In the background of this is the influence of improved agricultural processes and the spectral domination of cities. Improved farming has driven many millions of people from the farms. Let me give an illustration of this. According to the last decennial census, rural populations increased in the amount of 1,600,000 during the decade ending 1920. But I estimate that the total actual rural increase was over eight million. That is, the squeezing process due to improved methods of production drove some six million people out of rural districts, about three-fourths of which are from the open country.

Then there is the fact of urban domination. Cities have multiplied, grown into giants, and thrust out their influences into rural districts in divers ways. As farmers are apt to see it, they are the homes of capitalists, trusts, middlemen, speculators, exploiters—all those who prey on the “poor farmer.” They confront the agriculturalist like devouring hosts and hedge him about. They come to control many of his local banks, elevators, and stores. They obfuscate his attempts at national governmental relief. Consequently, all over the world there is great agricultural unrest and revolt. Agrarian movements arise in almost every land. Agrarian legislation is undertaken; land settlement laws are demanded; nationalization of land in many countries of Europe has resulted. These are expressions of the state of mind of farmers, of their attitude toward urbanism, and records of their efforts at self-protection.

Second, there have been great changes in populations which,



either as accompaniment or cause, have helped to unsettle rural inhabitants. Recent decades have witnessed the greatest shifts of population known to history. A very considerable part of this shift has been the movement of individuals from rural districts to cities. During the last census decade about six and a half million persons transferred from the rural to the urban side of the ledger in our nation—a matter of much over half a million a year. Each year during that decade enough persons were urbanized in this way to form a city the size of Milwaukee, Baltimore, or Boston. We have come to the place where, for the first time, our farming population is actually diminishing. Year by year fewer farming people live on farms in the United States. Over 70 per cent of our national population are non-agriculturists now.

Along with this terrific drift away from the country has gone rural depopulation. Not only is the nation as a nation losing farmers, but also states, counties, and townships end the year with rural population deficits. To get an idea of how widespread this rural depopulation in our nation is, I have made a study of the situation in nearly three thousand townships located in seventeen states distributed throughout the nation. I found that over 60 out of every 100 townships had fewer rural inhabitants in 1920 than in 1910. These townships are well distributed, so as to be representative. New York State stood highest, with nearly 94 per cent of its townships suffering such decline; North Carolina was lowest, with slightly over 34 per cent of its townships so affected. The Southeast and the Pacific coast are best off in this respect, while the Northeast is the greatest loser.

Besides this, there are multitudes of villages throughout the nation that are disappearing. Between 1910 and 1920 about 37 per cent of our villages of less than 2,500 inhabitants each lost inhabitants, and another large proportion were stationary. One cannot travel through the Northwest without witnessing the profound evidence in multitudes of villages of decline and death. In my section of the country, which is one of the best farming districts of the nation, the larger part of our villages are dead or dying. On every hand one sees places which, prosperous a few years ago, now have not a shop or store open and doing business. The improved high-

ways and the automobile have done their work. Why should anyone trade at the local small, dingy store when an hour's drive over a wonderful highway will place before him so much greater assortments of goods?

Third, there have appeared certain new communicating devices which are acting as disorganizing forces on the relation of town to country. The advent of the automobile is doubtless the most disturbing influence the country populations have ever been subjected to. We have suggested that it is at the bottom of the disappearance of many of our rural villages. Its effects on trade are well known. The nearby merchant, banker, and shopkeeper know how deadly it is to their business. But its social effects appear to be equally profound and far-reaching. Things are in transition now, and we cannot yet make out what the new situation is to be and what new alignments will take shape. But we can see what is going on and can note some things. For one thing, the old social alignments of country districts are wrecked wherever highways and autos abound. Neighborhoods and local communities of the open country have gone to smash in many places. Farmers now drive far away to enjoy their vacations, to get their entertainment, to go to church. The local organizations and institutions shrivel and go out of business. Further—and I regard it as a devastating fact—farmers are actually losing their neighborliness. It used to be that they neighbored closely and frequently. When a nearby farmer was sick it was known and neighbors went in to help out. They kept track of each other and helped one another. They had a community of life and found satisfaction in it. Now in so many localities this has changed. Farmers are not neighboring as formerly. I know cases of farmers being ill for weeks, confined to the home, and up and around again without erstwhile neighbors knowing of the illness. That was unthinkable formerly.

What the new social alignment will be is a guess. Presumably the local school will be kept up. In some instances an especially well-established church in the open country will abide. No doubt there will be a tendency to cement associations of church and entertainment in some nearby village. But doubtless there will be the forming of associations in quite distant places of larger import than the little local village.

The radio is making its contribution to changing the old status between country and city. It is one of the agencies by means of which cultural influences of all sorts originating in cities are sprayed, showered, and even flooded upon rural districts. The urbanization of rural people is taking place at a rapid rate and the radio is becoming one of the chief means of accomplishing this. Those who control the avenues to farmers' minds have gone far toward controlling the persons, the conduct, the economic conditions, the pastimes, and the places and ways of carrying on association. It is conceivable that farmers may be led to adopt policies which are diametrically opposed to their own best interests through the subtle insinuations and distillations of the agencies radiating ideas. Rural districts are somewhat liable to be subordinated to metropolitan centers and large towns and to be dominated by them in ways which will be destructive of the original independence, so long the boast of our agricultural classes.

On the other hand, there are undoubted gains to farmers to be assigned to the radio. There should be a considerable lift in the level of their culture all along the line. If they desire it, they may sit in their homes and enjoy talks, sermons, and music of a much higher quality than they could enjoy locally. It is likely that the tastes of the generation coming on, at least, would be stimulated to select the better or even the best.

We could not expect the radio to make any considerable transformation in the immediate grouping of farmers. There seems to be no ground for thinking that this instrument will call people to assemble in large groups to enjoy its contribution. What it gives is, on the average, as much enjoyed in the privacy of the home as it would be in the presence of hundreds or thousands. In fact, the presence of other persons in large numbers might very considerably diminish the satisfaction, because of many distracting elements. Consequently we are not to think that farmers will travel to village or city to listen in, and so be led to form fuller associations in those places. We might even conceive, perhaps, that the radio may act as a stabilizing agency on farmers, helping to keep them satisfied with farm life, with the home, and lessen the attractions of cities.

We cannot doubt that the automobile and the radio constitute two of the most effective agencies so far perfected for purposes of

communication. The auto, by its ability to carry human beings long distances in short time with comfort and even delight, multiplies contacts between individuals and lays the basis of larger associations. That which is local in space is overcome and wider and different groupings are made possible. The radio overcomes space and time and pours in upon the auditors the floods of ideas and suggestions from all over the world. That they will do much to transform the ideas, tastes, standards, prejudices and practices of farmers goes without saying. But just what the exact levels of culture and social alignments are that will eventuate cannot now be approximated.

In the remaining time at my disposal I desire to advert to certain impending phenomena which are dynamic with premonitory implications of a disorganizing character. We have had our agricultural revolution which was due largely to the adoption of improved farm machinery. We are now witnessing the advent of certain greater agricultural machines which are bound to have a profound effect upon farm process, the economics of farming, and perhaps the mode of regimenting populations for farming purposes.

We doubtless are all aware of the existence and use of the machine called "the combine" which is devoted to harvesting grain. It has the ability to harvest and thresh the crop at one operation and to do it very rapidly. By using two trucks to catch and transport the grain to elevators a very extensive crop may be disposed of in an incredibly short time. I understand that this machine is being adopted very widely and rapidly. Thus, it is stated that Kansas employed some ten thousand in harvesting the last season's crop.

Now it appears that equally effective large-scale machines are manufactured which will do for seeding what the combine is doing for harvesting. Some of these have been in use in the form of tractors and gang plows. Sometimes the harrow and seeder have been put on behind the plows, with the result that in one operation the ground is plowed, prepared, and seeded. Great improvements are being made in assembling and articulating this machinery. But such machines have not been available for all crops. Corn, cotton, and kindred crops are different from small grains in their seeding

requirements, and also demand cultivation during the growing season. However, this situation is being met by power-driven planters and cultivators which will either plant or cultivate several rows of grain at a time. So it appears we are coming to the era when giant machines will be employed to do much of the farming. It is true that they cannot be used for every phase of farming. Some forms of agriculture are not amenable to them; and there might be a problem about diversification. But they are going to be used widely and they are bound to have some revolutionary results. For example, I have a friend who is the agricultural expert of the International Harvester Company in the Northwest. He is the manager of several experimental farms in the States and of two in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Canada. Besides this he lectures to thousands of farmers yearly. As the popular phrase goes, "he knows his vegetables." He informs me that by means of this giant agricultural machinery it will be possible to grow great areas of grain in the semiarid sections of the West, to seed and harvest the crops at a cost of something like a dollar an acre, disregarding overheads, and to make money from the transaction even if only one crop out of four or five is secured.

Now, what does this promise to do to agriculture, to farmers, and to farm life in general? It looks as though it may be the entering wedge to the establishing of capitalistic farming of the factory type. Much of our crop production might then be carried on as factories are operated, by means of managers, bosses, and hired labor. Farming would be a commercial proposition rather than a family matter. Small farms would give place to those of thousands of acres. Operators and employees might live miles away from the plant and go there only whenever needed. It might prove to be the death of scattered farm life, the dissolver of country neighborhoods and communities, the transformer of country inhabitants into large-town and city residents. In other words, there might be no farming communities left between which and cities relationships could exist.

I am not predicting these things in detail, only trying to indicate some of the possibilities of future developments. What is suggested here, it may be noted, is rather in line with Mr. Ford's state-

ment that farming might very well be carried on from industrial villages. According to his idea, much time is wasted in farming. He holds that had we industrial towns well distributed it would be possible for the employees to go out to surrounding farms a few times a year and accomplish the necessary farming in an extremely short time. I have been inclined to regard his notion of this as visionary. But the trend of events may be assisting to realize them.

I am frank to say that the conception of factory farming is decidedly distasteful to me. The family farm has seemed to me to be the best mode of farming for all concerned: the farmer's family, the local community, and the nation. So I am not inviting giant farming. But I suspect it is on the way. Our function as social scientists is to accept events as they arrive and then seek to interpret them truthfully. It is this function I am seeking to perform, however short of accomplishing it successfully I have fallen.

# DIVISION ON HUMAN ECOLOGY

## MIGRATION AND THE MARGINAL MAN

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### ABSTRACT<sup>1</sup>

This paper is an attempt to formulate a sociological concept of migration; it proposes, in short, that migration be considered, not merely as a geographical phenomenon, a movement through space or change of residence, but as a movement which initiates profound changes, first in the social organization of society, and second in the personalities and personality traits of the individuals and peoples involved.

The writer reviews the theories which regard social changes as due (1) to environmental causes, (2) to gradual evolution by the accumulation and selection of variations, cultural or biological. It does this in order to introduce the conception suggested by Frederick J. Teggart in his volume *The Processes of History*, and later in his essay *The Theory of History*, which conception may be called the catastrophic theory of change. In this connection it is suggested that such a theory must eventually take account of the changes which are taking place in the character of the migrations and movements of peoples. These changes may be summed up in the statement that migration, in the earlier sense of mass migration, has given way to mobility, the independent movement of individuals, and for this reason the consequences of migration are not what they were earlier. It is pointed out that migration, which may be regarded as one of the processes by which a new equilibrium of social and economic forces is achieved, involves, in the long run, the assimilation and amalgamation of peoples. In the meantime, races may live for long periods in a relation of symbiosis, a relation which cannot be regarded as social in the strict sense. When, however, assimilation begins, particularly among races widely different in cultural, and especially in physical, traits, a new type of personality is likely to appear, namely, the racial and cultural hybrid. This is the man who lives his life in two distinctly cultural and racial groups. He is what the writer calls "the marginal man," because he lives on the margin between two cultures and two peoples, not quite at home in either. The typical marginal man has been, and is to some extent still, the Jew. The mulatto in the United States, the Eurasian, and the Christian convert are the modern examples. Individuals in this situation tend to become intermediaries between, and interpreters of, the different cultural groups in which they live. They represent on the whole a superior class intellectually, and often play an important rôle in society.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in the *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1928.

## PERSONALITY TYPES AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR

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## ABSTRACT

The objects of occupational selection are persons most of whom have been reared in families in which they have inherited sets of social objects and attitudes more or less common to the community. The division of labor operates on these persons, in an urbanized world, by mobilizing them from their *milieu natal* (Durkheim) and making them available at the points where competition will give them a place. The completeness of this mobilization varies in different types of occupations; the completeness of personality change of those who enter the occupation varies with it. Sometimes the mobilization of the person is of another sort, involving conversion, long professional training, and development of esoteric skill and interests. The more mobile and esoteric the occupational type, the more completely are familial and local ties and mores left behind. The person finds a "life-organization" in the occupational group, social objects and attitudes, and definitions of his wishes (note the Catholic priest, the college professor, the actor, the hobo, the traveling salesman).

A division of labor may be sacred or secular. In a caste system one is born to a station and a sacred set of prerogatives; his personality is a stereotype. In our world but few are born to their stations. The occupations themselves are new, or at least changed. Most financiers, both in Europe and America, are of the "first generation"; they are upstarts with poor relations. Occupational selection begins anew every day, upsetting morals and social organization. A man's trade thus becomes more important than his family.

Each occupation tends to have its peculiar realm of sacred and secular objects. The sacred objects are its interests and prerogatives. Its secular objects are within the realm of its technique. To the anatomist, the right to cut up human bodies is sacred; the body itself is secular, an object to manipulate and study. In terms of these objects he has certain tendencies to behave in a manner peculiar to his occupation. In so far as these tendencies to behave and these objects differ from those of the rest of the world, he constitutes a type.

Classification of persons into types by these objective criteria is perhaps more significant for an understanding of modern social organization than are such general classifications as represented by the familiar philistine, bohemian classification.

A classification of personality types according to divisions of labor must be supplemented by further classification within each unit. Certain types move easily and almost necessarily from one occupation to another. But the persons who do so become themselves a distinct type.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in the *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1928.



## HOTEL LIFE AND PERSONALITY

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ABSTRACT<sup>1</sup>

*Statistics of hotels and the hotel population.*—Due largely to a lack of agreement as to the meaning of the term "hotel," the various sources for statistics of hotels in the United States are inadequate and contradictory. A study based on hotel directories indicates a larger relative number of hotel rooms in leading cities of the Pacific coast than in the other large cities of the country. Since no definite statistical information is available for the hotel population in general, a special study was made of hotel dwellers in Seattle. This study gave the percentage of occupancy, the weekly and seasonal fluctuations and the sex and age composition of the population in 437 hotels. There were two and one-half times as many couples without children as couples with children. *Characteristics of hotel life.*—In the large metropolitan hotel the guest is only a number and is characteristically detached from the place in which he sleeps. In some cases this anonymity and impersonality encourages a restless, lonesome, unhappy state of mind. In other cases it encourages an escape from the restraints of more intimate groups, such as the small town or the ghetto. *Personality patterns in the hotel environment.*—Although a certain formal etiquette—a kind of mechanical correctness—tends to develop in the better-class hotels, the mores, that part of our tradition that is thought to involve the general welfare, tend to break down in the hotel environment. Among the heavy offenders for stealing hotel property are listed "men and women who in their own communities command respect, but who, on going to a hotel, take a 'moral holiday.'" The individual who lives continually in hotels tends to become either blasé or urbane. The hotel child, for example, is usually overstimulated. The tendency, however, seems to be toward the development of immunity to the influences of the hotel environment, and this accommodation is best described as sophistication or urbanity. Thus the individual may gradually accustom himself to "living in public, eating in public, and all but sleeping in public."

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in the *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1928.

# DIVISION ON SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

## CASE STUDY OF SMALL INSTITUTIONS AS A METHOD OF RESEARCH

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### ABSTRACT

**Case study of small institutions as a method of research.**—A common-sense meaning for behaviorism would seem to be the study of life from the standpoint of organic process, and in this sense we are all, I suppose, behaviorists. This functional or behavioristic point of view involves a pretty radical change in our criteria of scientific knowledge. Behavioristic knowledge is essentially organic, must exist in wholes or it does not exist at all. It deals with conformations, patterns, systems, not with mechanical units. Our instruments of precision must be such as record living wholes. Quantification is useful, but is not, as in physics, the final criterion. Statistics may be behavioristic, but is no method for the study of whole persons, and should be used with reserve in psychology and education, where understanding of the individual organism is the main thing. The aim of behavioristic science is the complete perception, record, and understanding of fundamental acts. Sociology aims likewise to see and record human life as an actual dramatic activity. Its technique should consist largely in some sort of description, at once exact and dramatic, analogous to the motion pictures of Köhler. Although some use can be made of pictures, we must rely for the most part upon a language technique. The idea that scientific and literary are antithetical terms should be got rid of. A literary technique, exact, disciplined, responsible, and yet vivid and imaginative is indispensable to social description. Behaviorism promises to put the dramatic where it belongs, at the center. Case study is a direct and all-around study of life-histories, as distinguished from more indirect partial and abstract methods. It may be applied not only to individuals and families, but to institutions, provided their life-history is accessible and they are not too large to be treated in this direct and total fashion. An institution, as distinguished from a group, is a continuous organic activity with a social heritage of its own. Our aim in studying one is to understand what part it plays in the social process, to extend our knowledge by comparison with others more or less similar, and, eventually, to ascertain types of institutions. Every institution must have a special character and function which explain its power to live; this must be ascertained, also its mechanisms of attack and defense, and so on, whatever is necessary to a thorough comprehension of its life.

All science, I suppose, proceeds by analysis, that is, by intensive study of what appear to be the more essential and lasting constituents of nature, by penetrative observation of limited, manageable, representative phenomena. If we can understand these we may hope to extend our knowledge to larger wholes.

Now in the realm of life the representative phenomena are themselves life-processes. What else can they be? Life is always life, not an assemblage of other things. If we study facts of mere structure it is always in the hope of getting light on the life facts to which they are related. In sociology we do much work whose relation to vital process is indirect and may not be apparent, but is there if the work is worth doing. It is back of our study of attitudes, for example; a research concerning the attitudes of immigrants has in view, I suppose, a better eventual understanding of the life-changes which come with the mingling of races, nationalities, and cultures.

Another way of putting what I have in mind is to say that the object of our study is always behavior, not forgetting that it may be an indirect object, and that groups and institutions *behave* as well as individuals. A common-sense meaning for behaviorism would seem to be *the study of life from the standpoint of organic process*, and in this sense we are all, I suppose, behaviorists. We see life as adaptation, survival, evolution, and are interested in acts as they bear on these processes. That some behaviorists desire to exclude consciousness from such study is a notable fact, but hardly gives them the right to monopolize an expressive word.

It seems to me that this organic or behavioristic point of view involves some revision in our criteria of scientific knowledge. We are accustomed to think of scientific exactness as a matter of measurement in small units of space and time. But behavioristic knowledge is essentially organic, must exist in wholes or it does not exist at all. Even in its simplest forms it deals with conformations, patterns, systems, not with mechanical units. For this reason the phenomena of life are often better distinguished by pattern than by quantity. Those who are striving to make sociology an exact science might well give more attention to the method of pattern comparison. Starting, perhaps, from the use of finger prints to identify criminals, it might conceivably be carried, by the aid of photography and phonography, into very subtle regions of behavior. Measurement is only one kind of precision. What could be more precise, as a record of visible behavior, than a motion picture? Yet it is not quantitative. Its precision is total, not incre-

mental, a matter of patterns rather than of minute differences in space. Our instruments of precision should be such as record living wholes, not such as reduce them to lifeless units. If we had a film of George Washington, with phonograph accompaniment, taken when he was conducting the raid on the British at Germantown, it would add more to our precise knowledge of him than all the measurements imaginable. The insistence on the quantitative where it is out of place is one source of that laborious futility not uncommon in certain lines of research.

And yet I would not wish to abate that ardor for measurement that is so healthy a trait of recent work. Many kinds of observation must be quantitative in order to be precise, and the statistical processes by which we ascertain whether an observed act is typical or not are quantitative in their nature. We must use discrimination.

The statistical method cannot take us very far in subjects like education or criminology, where understanding of persons is the main thing. It does not deal with the organism as a whole, but with traits or functions of some sort which are artificially separated and treated as numerical units. What is a trait apart from a man? Does it not get its reality from being an aspect of a concrete human organism? And if you take that away, what is left? Statistics of traits are useful as an indication of mass tendencies, but they give us no human reality, and should, in such fields, be subsidiary to the study of whole persons.

What, then, is the aim of behavioristic science? I take it to be the complete perception, record, and understanding of fundamental acts, with the consequent ability to foresee them.<sup>1</sup> This calls, first, for an exact and comprehensive technique of observation and comparison, and then for all the constructive imagination we can bring to bear. How would this apply to animal life, to the behavior, let us say, of mallard ducks? I suppose that adequate science must require, for one thing, a moving-picture record of all the essential functional acts of the species, their modes of feeding, of coition, of nesting, brooding, concealment, attack, defense, and so on. When

<sup>1</sup> I have found stimulating the discussion of behaviorism by Grace A. de Laguna in her work on *Speech*.

our technique permits, this should include the functioning of colors and cries, and should embrace, not only the birds themselves, but what is essential in the environment. One must also, no doubt, make records of weight and dimensions, of the number and length of the wing feathers, and other details having some bearing on function. Statistical inquiries regarding the numbers and movements of the birds may well be undertaken, because these reveal large-scale functional activities. If we had all this observed, recorded, and digested, not merely in detail, but as a living whole, so assimilated by the imagination that we could understand how the species adapts itself and has adapted itself to the conditions of life, and could predict what a given member of it will do in a given situation, we should perhaps know as much about the behavior of mallard ducks as a mere man can expect to.

In the case of a more intelligent and social species, like the chimpanzees studied by Köhler, the behavior record will embrace the social and intelligent acts, including the rudiments of language. There may be people so devoted to the statistical idea who, watching the wonderful motion pictures of Köhler, will say, "This is interesting, but it is not exact science. It wouldn't do at all for a Doctor's thesis." I would think that it compared well in scientific quality with the best statistical work, and is an example of the organic or total way of recording behavior which we need also in the study of human life.

I take it that the ideal for sociology is to extend the behavior record to all the essential acts of man, making them intelligible, imaginable, predictable. We aim to see human life as an actual dramatic activity, and to participate also in those mental processes which are a part of human function and are accessible to sympathetic observation by the aid of gesture and language. We must see it not only from the standpoint of individuals, families, and nations, but also from that of the functional groups and processes into which human life is differentiated. Conceived in this way the technique of sociology will consist partly in some sort of description, at once exact and dramatic, analogous to the motion pictures of Köhler. Perhaps much may be done with actual pictures. Professors Odum and Johnson have already taken photo-phonographic

records of Negro singing,<sup>2</sup> and one can readily think of other directions in which research of this kind would be in order, in child study, for example, or in recording the proceedings of a mob. The social behavior of man is, however, for the most part so subtle, so complex, and so little confined to time or place that the only technique adequate to describe and record it is that of language. Language is itself a form of social behavior, one of the latest achievements of evolution, and as indispensable as the brain itself to the higher kinds of life. Its function is to define, record, organize, and guide the subtler forms of human activity, and it is natural that social science, which aims to extend and perfect this function, should find in language its main instrument.

A language record may be used as objective data for the study of personal and group behavior, as are the letters printed by Thomas and Znaniecki in their study of *The Polish Peasant*. Or language may be used as the instrument by which qualified observers define and record traits of behavior which could not be otherwise preserved.

It has been customary, under the influence of physical science, to think of scientific and literary as antithetical terms. I believe that we shall have to get this idea out of our heads, and come to see that a literary technique, exact, disciplined, responsible, and yet vivid and imaginative, is indispensable to social description. Even in the sciences and animal behavior the literary powers of such naturalists as W. H. Hudson and William Beebe are not merely ornamental, but a part of their scientific equipment. In psychology some writers, notably William James, have made use of dramatic passages, original or quoted, to describe typical human conduct; and we have in sociology a growing output of serious descriptive literature which is not less scientific because the animal whose habits it describes is man. Such work cannot be done well without mastery of the instrument.

Much of the prevailing skepticism regarding the possibility of a science of human life arises from a conception of science which would exclude those vivid and dramatic aspects without which life

<sup>2</sup> See *Negro Workaday Songs*, chap. xv.

would not be human. Behaviorism promises to put the dramatic where it belongs, at the center.

The behavior processes that we study may be vast, complex, and difficult of access, like the procedure of our government in levying and collecting taxes, or they may be on a small scale and rather easy to get at, like those of many individuals and families. In the latter case it is possible for a student to comprehend them, to identify himself with them, and to present them to others in a fairly complete and lifelike biography. This is what I understand by case study: a direct and all-around study of life-histories, as distinguished from the indirect, partial, and somewhat abstract information bearing upon such histories with which we often have to be content.

We all feel, I think, that there is something peculiarly real and stimulating about case study, even when its contribution to theory is not apparent. It deepens our perceptions and gives us a clearer insight into life. It is truly behavioristic in that it gets at behavior directly and not by an indirect and abstract approach. If we can have enough of it and of sufficiently varied types to be representative of the social process, it will go far to enable us to understand that process, and perhaps to foresee its course.

While persons and families are the usual objects of case study, the method may be extended to other constituents of the social process, to the life-histories of groups and institutions not too large to be treated in this direct and total fashion. These also are live things, and offer a field of behavioristic study which, though by no means unknown, has been relatively neglected. Nothing else can take its place; it is a distinct and indispensable method.

Perhaps I should explain the difference, as I see it, between an institution and a group. It is largely in the point of view. A group is primarily an aggregation of persons, like a family, a regiment, a congregation, a board of directors. A group may or may not be participating in an institution, that is, in a continuous organic activity with a social heritage of its own and with methods of co-operation which it imparts to the persons who enter into it. Even if they are so participating, much of their personality may have little to do with the institution; they belong to it by certain habits

and interests; and on the other hand, the institution is more than a group; its vitality consists in an organic whole of transmitted ideas which has the power to enlist the activities of a group, but does not, for the most part, originate with the group, and cannot be explained as a mere product of their personalities. It must be seen as a distinct organic process.

Anyone who has tried his hand at social research will be likely at this point to ask how far it is possible to pick out for analysis simple, distinct, and representative institutional processes. Is it not a fact that the whole institutional complex is so intricately interlaced that you cannot separate anything from the rest without destroying its reality? Can you hope to understand such a whole by building it up from supposed elements? This is quite just, but applies to the study of persons as well as of institutions. No analysis of a personality is possible apart from that social complex of which it is an aspect. What the analyst does is to get such knowledge of the social complex as seems to be most pertinent, and with this background to go ahead with intensive study of the person, perhaps seeking more knowledge of the complex as the need for it arises. And so with our analysis of the institutional process: we must select for study elements that are as distinct, typical, and manageable as we can hope to find, and subject them to intensive study in a setting of such knowledge of the milieu as we can get, expecting that an increase of this knowledge will be one result of our study.

But just what is it that we want to know about the behavior of small institutions? Suppose that we have captured one and have it under observation; What shall we observe? I presume that our aim is to understand what part the form of life we have before us plays in the social process, and also, perhaps, to foresee its operation, know how to influence it, and, by comparison, extend our knowledge to other forms more or less similar. A mature science of such forms should apparently include the ascertainment of types and an intimate knowledge of the distinctive working of each.

I suppose that every institution holding its own in the world must have a special character and function which explains its power to live. Perhaps our first aim should be to ascertain this



character and function, to find out how it appeals to human nature and is enabled to enlist a share of human vitality in its service. Commercial institutions, for example, have in general obvious functions, but an adequate characterization of a successful institution of trade would have to include also those subtle traits of organization and spirit which explain just how and why this institution is viable while others, if they are viable, are so in a different way. I have had to do, for instance, with several publishing concerns, and am of the opinion that their distinctive behaviors would make an instructive study. And even general functions are not always obvious. In the case of the Ku Klux Klan research might be required at the outset to see why such an institution should exist at all. Or consider college football, an institution that has had a rank growth under our own eyes. There is something more in it than the obvious athletic functions; you could not explain it without going into crowd psychology, its exploitation by an organized athletic interest attached to the educational system (a "cancerous growth" as some hold), and the use of the game by college officials as a means of mobilizing alumni. And so patriotic institutions, like the National Security League; political, like Tammany Hall; religious, like the Salvation Army; juvenile gangs, already an object of notable studies—these and many others would probably yield curious fruits to the searching investigator.

This intimate and distinctive character of an institution might be compared to the theme of a symphony, continually recurring, and of which the whole organism of the music is a various unfolding. Like that it is a pattern running through the web which this particular loom turns out. To ascertain this and set it forth may call for as much imagination and insight as to distinguish and describe the ego of a person. And like that it becomes, when we have grasped it, the focus of our study.

After ascertaining its character or theme we may, I suppose, go on to inquire just how the institution develops and works under various conditions, how it acts and reacts and is modified, how its character may, in time, come to be transformed. It will have mechanisms of attack and defense, methods of recruiting and training, and, so far as its processes are conscious, some provision

for investigation, discussion, valuation, planning, and propaganda. There will also be interactions within the institution between its heritage and the persons who carry it on, as in the case of leaders and experts; also discipline and an equipment of suitable mores. All this the student must enter heartily into if he is to understand how the life of the institution is sustained and enhanced.

It so happens that without any plan on my part, but on the initiative, chiefly, of the students themselves, there have recently been carried out at the Michigan Graduate School several investigations more or less of the sort I have indicated. Among these the best example of a completed study is the dissertation of Read Bain, presented in 1926, entitled, "The Growth of an Institution: A Sociological Interpretation of the Tillamook County Creamery Association of Tillamook, Oregon." This is a whole-hearted study of the life-history of a farmers' organization old enough to have had a well-defined and successful institutional development. Dr. Bain writes in no abstract or merely academic spirit, but with a hearty participation in his subject, manifest in the descriptive parts, which include a sympathetic chapter on "The Cow." The specific character, life-processes, and transformations of the institution are convincingly set forth and illuminating comparisons made with other institutions of somewhat similar type. The whole subject of producers' co-operation is brought into clearer view, and this view extends, in some measure, to the wider theory and practice of co-operation and to its probable future. A consideration of this cheese-producing association has suggested to Dr. Bain the possibility of a rural county becoming an integrated social organization built around the dominant agricultural interest. This may or may not be practicable, but to suggest such possibilities and investigate their practicability is surely one of the higher aims of research.

Another completed study of somewhat similar nature is the investigation of student association at Michigan by Robert C. Angell, which will appear as a book, under the title *The Campus*, during the present winter. This is a study, not of a single institution, but of a limited institutional complex, of very recent growth, remarkably open to observation, and of much significance for edu-

cation and for the social process at large. The author may be called a "participant observer," to use Mr. Lindeman's term, relying quite as much upon his own recent familiarity with campus life as upon the statistics he has collected, and so is able to animate his facts by authentic interpretation. When we have a number of such studies, as we doubtless shall have, they will considerably illuminate American education.

A third study is still going on; and of studies still going on the less said, perhaps, the better. They should be allowed to retain that embryonic seclusion and indetermination which a premature publicity would impair. But probably no harm will be done by saying that it is concerned with an institution devoted to a specific social reform, and presumably more or less typical of institutions of that sort. Such a study, if competently carried out, should give us some insight into those processes of social leadership and control with which such institutions deal.

The type of research which I have been discussing seems to me to be quite as promising as others which are more in favor. At least it is one way by which we may hope to extend our knowledge of what is going on in the world and our power to control the process.

# THE FAMILY AND THE PERSON

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## ABSTRACT

The historical family has been universally recognized as the primary institution of society. The modern family, with the loss of its original collective activities, seems to have discarded nearly if not all of its institutional character and to be reduced to a mere unity of interacting personalities. A life-history is presented to indicate the present rôle of the family as an agency for the transmission of the cultural heritages and for the development of the personality of its members. This and other life-histories give us a sense of family interrelationships that are living and changing, of family bonds that loosen and tighten, and of shifts and mutations of attitudes, rather than the conception of static and permanent ordering of relationships of affection and duty subsumed under the conventional theory of the family. For this reason the life-history appears to be a promising method for the study of the person's conception of his rôle in its origins and development in intimate groups like the family.

The historical family has been recognized by all students in the social sciences as an institution; indeed, as the original institution. In comparison, other institutions, as the school, the church, industry, and even the state, may be regarded as subsequent and derivative.

Historically, as these and other institutions have evolved, the family has lost one by one its original collective activities, until the question may be raised whether the modern family is any longer an institution. Is it now anything more than a mere unity of interacting personalities?

Certainly the modern family of husband and wife and three, two, one, or no children, living in a rear apartment on the tenth floor of a skyscraper apartment in New York City, is a family in a somewhat different sense from the large Chinese kinship group of grandparents, married sons and their wives and children, sixty-odd in number, living for twenty generations in one large household worshipping the same ancestral gods and obedient to the one recognized family head. The Chinese family seems, at first glance, to be an institution in a degree and in a sense which the modern family is not.

Psychiatrists and psychoanalysts who by reason of their treatment of behavior problems of individuals have been led into the study of family relationships are preconditioned to treat, as they do, of family life as a state of emotional harmony or of emotional conflict of its component individuals. Count Hermann Keyserling, of the school of wisdom (who is not a psychiatrist, but a philosopher), in his article "The Correct Statement of the Marriage Problem," defines marriage as "essentially a tragic state of tension."

These two cursory references are sufficient to indicate the large group of biologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, and others who look upon the modern family as a collection of individuals temperamentally compatible or incompatible, emotionally in harmony or in conflict.

It is evident that an institution means more than mere temperamental or emotional solidarity. The family as an institution is the form of relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, sanctioned, if not prescribed, by society. These rôles that constitute the family are, in fact, cultural patterns, and, like all cultural patterns, have a history and are subject to social change. At the same time these familial rôles are idealized by the members of the family. The stern but just father, the loving and prudent mother, the dependable and honest son, the dutiful and virtuous daughter are ideals toward which conduct is directed and by which shortcomings are measured.

Thus it comes about that the family as an institution performs what seems to be a double function, but what actually is a unitary function. The family still remains the chief social agency both for transmitting the cultural heritages from the older to the younger generation and for the development of the personality of its members. It is, indeed, in the circumstances of this cultural transmission and in the interaction of the family and its members with the environing community that modifications and conditionings of the personality of all the members of the family take place. Herein for the family lies the significance of the definition by Thomas of personality as "the subjective aspect of culture."

It is not only that in the family its members assume rôles consistent with the cultural tradition, and in which they feel a vested

personal interest, but the family itself sets up claims and obligations which tend to become sacred and to transcend the rights and even the individuality of its members.

This brief introductory statement is preliminary to the presentation of a life-history in which the influence of the family in its interrelations with the community upon the development of the personality may be more concretely stated and perhaps more simply and clearly defined. One document was selected in preference to reading extracts from several documents in order to give a longer perspective of personal growth. Clues to interpretation, however, are derived in part from similar and different cases. The following life-history is that of Marie, the daughter of a German-American family who lived in several culturally different communities, some German-American, and others native American. The interaction of the family and its members to these variable cultural environments provides the setting for the personal development of the child.

The first childhood memories often focus upon conflict situations. Not infrequently the young child takes an attitude of objectivity or even levity toward objects and ideas that to the adult are sentimental or sacred.

This seems to me to be my first clear memory of my mother: My father had driven to town, nine miles away, and Mother and I were having lunch together. I said or did some naughty thing and my mother told me that God would see me. I said that I'd pull down the blind and then He couldn't see.

"Oh, but He sees everything. He can see through the blind."

I looked up into the sky. In my imagination I saw an old gray-bearded man with human attributes. I took a superior attitude toward my mother, and thought "How could anyone be so stupid as to believe that He could see through a blind?" I wondered if she *really* believed it; I didn't think so.

I felt detached from this young and rather pretty creature sitting across the table from me. There was none of the feeling toward her that poets sing of.

This detached, almost perverse, attitude of the child toward its mother and the culture of its group is an expression perhaps, of what the Calvinistic theology defined as "the innate depravity of man."

The way in which the discipline imposed by the family is mediated by affection is revealed in the first recollection of her father:

The first memory of my father was when, one time, I took a hatchet and started to chop at one of the porch posts. I knew that I shouldn't, but I thought they wouldn't know that I knew that I shouldn't. I was playing that I was in a forest cutting down trees. My father nearly spanked me. I remember his black hair and those brown eyes. I was somewhat afraid of my father, and yet I felt like a pal with him also.

The nervousness and German mannerisms that annoyed me so much a little later did not bother me at this period. I thought my father was a pretty fine daddy.

How the person's conception of his rôle is created not so much by his own behavior but by the reaction of the members of the family toward it is revealed by certain oft-repeated family anecdotes.

This story my father told with pride:

"We never let anyone frighten her of the dark or anything else if we can help it. You see, she goes any place now in the dark. One night after dark we missed her, and there she was out in the granary piling handfuls of wheat out of the bin onto the floor." After hearing this told, of course I was never afraid; at least I would not let myself be.

I think I was quite an egotistical little thing. I felt superior to my mother; I felt real pals with my dad. I played quite an important rôle and I knew it.

The appearance of the second child may, unless the situation is skilfully and sympathetically handled by the parents, create a crisis for the older child.

The following impression of my mother and father I remember vividly: I was over four. It was dusk. They were sitting side by side on a lounge, holding hands, I think, when I came into the room. They asked me if I didn't want a little brother. I was embarrassed. I said I thought I did, but I felt uneasy and left the room.

When I was five, my brother came. Now the tables turned. It developed later that he was a paralytic. He was always ill. He cried a very great deal. My mother was not well. We had a "hired girl" all the time. At first I *demand*ed attention. Once I asked my mother to comb my hair. She did not have time right then. "But you simply have to!" I shrieked at her, and she proceeded to tame me down.

Mother is naturally undemonstrative. I remember sometimes standing by her chair and wanting to put my arms around her, but being afraid that she would not pay any attention, or worse still, that she would not understand and ask me to run away. One day when I was seven I made some remark that drew from her, "Why, don't you think I love you?" I wanted to cry. I didn't know what to say. At last I said, timidly, without resentment, "No!" I think she sensed some of the situation, for she said, with real warmth, "Why, of course I love you!"

What a relief! I was happy for days! Did my intense love for children and the lavish affection I bestowed upon them in my adolescence grow partly out of the memories of this situation? I have always said that no child should go hungry-hearted around me. I have thought it was because I understood.

Even the preadolescent child makes comparisons between its family and the others in the community. The feelings of inferiority or superiority of the child are bound up with the status of its family.

I saw that my home was different from others, but everything was always spotlessly clean. We did not have all the nice little things that give the home touch. I had a little playroom upstairs, and here my chum and I fixed up things to my heart's content. This should be charming like other homes.

In comparing my family with other families I felt at once proud and humble also. My father took his place among the leading farmers. I was always proud of that, but his emotional mannerisms and his broken English annoyed me before my friends.

This conflict, which I am sure every child of an immigrant feels, had begun.

The new adjustments in adolescence have caused it to be designated as a period of stress and strain. In this case a new change of residence of the family into another and an American community intensified the personal and social maladjustments. Conflicts between standards and ideals of the family and the values of the community lead to emotional disturbances, confusion, and restless, anomalous behavior.

When I was twelve we bought a little ranch near Y, a little town of about five thousand inhabitants. There was a mortgage on it; we guarded this secret very carefully.

My parents seemed to be disturbed because I had no girl friends my own age. They showed this in the form of teasing. I wished that I had a girl friend, too, but I didn't know how to make friends with any of the girls. They all had their chums. They were nice to me, and sometimes went to see one another on Sunday afternoons, tame formal calls, no spontaneity.

This period became one of tears, storm, and stress. I wept over the least little thing; my mother did not understand what made me act so strangely. My father began to get disgusted with me at times and to let me know it, and then I wept more than ever.

The village was one of the "toughest" places in which we had ever lived. Whenever any of us girls had to go by a place where young fellows were grouped together, the boys would make remarks. I was terribly sensitive over this, and it was not the least of my worries.



Sometimes when I wept I felt that I should like to die. What was the use of living? What was I heading for? At last a dream began to formulate. I should like to be a teacher; I loved children. Everyone remarked about my hold on them. I remember the day the idea became very real to me. I was given to day dreaming, anyway, but this day was different. I walked as in a haze all day. I saw the profession with all the ardor of a romantic and idealistic adolescent. In my eyes it was not ordinary now—it was glorified.

I guarded my secret carefully. It was almost too sacred a thing to discuss. Finally I told my mother that I should like to go to work to earn some money. I wanted to go to high school. Falteringly I said I'd like to be a teacher. To my joy she was pleased. I believe she had been worrying more over me than she let me see, for she had always said, "I shall see that my daughter has an education. She shall not *have* to get married."

My parents did not want to let me go; they said they could still afford to send me to school; but I finally prevailed and I went to a nearby state institution to work. My father was displeased with the type of men and women with whom I worked and soon saw that I came home. I had earned about seventy-five dollars. In the summer I picked grapes.

My father wanted to have me help with the corn, which was much easier work, but I felt that I must earn money. It was not customary in that locality for children to go to high school, and I felt that if I wanted to go I must help myself.

Finally the grand day came and I started to high school. I was nervous about it. I was slight and undeveloped physically, and although I was sixteen, I passed for one of the little thirteen- or fourteen-year-olds. This made it possible for me to enter into the school life quite freely.

Since many of the other freshmen were from out of town also and were strangers, I soon made friends. I soon became enthusiastic about high-school life and wanted to enter into it. When the class was organized, I found myself on a committee. Since there were over a hundred in the class I felt happy over even this small distinction. But the committee always met after school and I had to take the car home even before three. Now that I was going to high school, I had to hustle up my work at home to get it all finished.

I helped my mother with the washing and ironing on Saturday and with all the mopping and cleaning. I felt very keenly my responsibility for helping my mother. Soon I was placed on another committee, and here I was also unable to serve. I was always too busy. I realized that I must be content with only a formal education.

I owed my help to my parents. In my scholastic standing I always excelled. I did not tell any of my friends that I wanted to become a teacher. Perhaps they might think that I would not have the ability.

I did tell my class teacher. I knew that she was fond of me; but she said, "No, I don't think you should go into teaching. I think that you are too nervous." It was as if someone had given me a mortal wound—*me*, with all my dreams; didn't my attitude count for something? She herself had some definite

nerve trouble and could not hold a class's attention. Soon my money was nearly all gone. I would never be successful as a teacher probably, so why waste my parents' money? I decided to stay at home.

I said nothing, but just simply didn't get ready to go to school one morning. My mother came out into the kitchen about 8:30 and found me there finishing up the work. "But why are you here?" I told her that I was going to quit. I had no more money. "Why, of course you haven't. I knew it wouldn't last very long; but now that you have started to school you go on and finish." And she proceeded to give me one of those talks that played such a vital part in my life during this period when I was so unadjusted. To this day my mother holds my admiration for this ability. I would feel that the whole world was against me, and before she would get through with me I could face anything. So calmly and wisely she saw my problems. Sometimes I needed disciplining, and her talks usually toned me down. I felt at the time that she did not understand all the high-school problems. Very often at this period I did feel horribly misunderstood. At times I resolved that when I grew up I should be the friend of every adolescent girl. This I still hold as a hobby. I was working rather hard; I was commuting nine miles to school; I was ambitious in my studies.

Marie goes to school, but has no time for social activities. She must assist with the household work.

I helped my mother a great deal. I worried over the financial situation. I probably suffered from malnutrition. Very often I was so tired that I did not feel life worth living. One day someone said something about how joyous were the days of youth, and I flared back, "Huh, if the rest of life is worse than this, I'm sure I don't want to live!" This sort of thing perplexed and worried my mother.

Finally, one day, I discovered an article in the *Ladies' Home Journal* on adolescent girlhood. There I was, all described, and it said that this was only a period of adjustment. This was a great relief. I had thought that I should always be as I was now.

In high school my art and English teacher was my idol. She had a keen mind, a charming personality, and was the most popular instructor of the school. I decided to ask her if she thought I could ever become a teacher. I put it off as long as I could, and, finally, on the last day of school, at noon, I went up timidly and asked her. She was busy, but she took time for me. "Why, I think you would make an excellent teacher." She asked me to come back again in the afternoon; then she gave me a long talk on personality development. I was in the clouds again and determined now that I would go through with anything that was reasonably within my ability.

In this account of adolescent unadjustment four points should perhaps be made: First, there is the crystallization of a vocational life-goal out of the main trends of her attitudes and interests. This

solved her problem by giving direction and meaning to her life. Then, as in many other cases, it is the mother who understands, not completely, but in the light of her own girlhood experience. So, also, she gained from reading the article on adolescence the realization that her personal problems were not unique but universal, and not insolvable. Finally a sympathetic teacher who personified her ideal gave her the encouragement and inspiration necessary to put forth every effort to achieve her goal.

The persecution of German-Americans in the World War solidified the family and brought to the daughter a sense of cultural unity with her parents.

This life-history is, it must be admitted, an incomplete, and in all probability an imperfect, record of the unfolding of the person in the family and community environment. It is only the person's own story of the memorable events in his career, to the exclusion, no doubt, of many other incidents and circumstances. What, then, is the value, if any, of such a document, or of documents like these, when they must be discounted at once as fragmentary and subjective?

I must confess that I cannot answer all these objections in a fashion that would be convincing to you, nor even to myself.

Yet, admitting all these and other criticisms that might be raised, there is a certain type of knowledge or understanding that comes from the examination of personal documents which one does not obtain in dissertations on the origin and nature of personality, nor from psychological, psychiatric, or psychoanalytic classifications of personality types.

This life-history, taken as a whole, does throw much light on the actual process by which a child comes to self-consciousness and obtains a conception of his rôle, first as a member of the family and then as a participant in the wider life of the community.

The dialectic of personal growth, however, as pictured in this life-history, is widely different from the celebrated abstract definition of it made by J. Mark Baldwin. The achievement by the person of self-consciousness in the family situation is no logical consistent process, as described here. What is suggested by this case is quite the opposite. Before the person arrives at some stable con-

ception of his rôle—before, as we say, “his character gets set”—he is subject to the play of many diverse and conflicting impulses. The great variety of attitudes and the wide range of random, mischievous, and even devilish, behavior in children is suggestive both of the possibilities of personality development in children and of the order which the conventional discipline of the family imposes upon the chaotic tendencies to behavior in the young child. Out of the child's own struggle with his conflicting impulses and wishes within first the code of family life, and then with the conflicting patterns of the freer community life, does he assume a rôle and achieve some coherent consistency in his behavior.

It becomes obvious, then, why the ordering of a child's behavior is a comparatively simple matter where the mores of the community are of one pattern with the standards of conduct of the family, and the reason why the problem of personal organization always becomes more acute with the degree of divergence between familial and communal ideals.

This and similar life-histories give a picture of the family and the interrelations of parents and children which departs widely from the legal definitions of the rights and duties of parents and children, and is scandalously at variance with our cherished ideals of family life. For in the law and in the mores the obligations of the members of the family are defined in their external and formal aspects with reference to what are regarded as norms of familial behavior.

This conventional schematization of familial interrelationships is not to be dismissed as unimportant. To the contrary, it is an expression of our deepest sentiments and of our most profound convictions of what family life ought to be. But as a matter of fact, these moral and legal conceptions of the family are totally different from what family life actually is. This life-history does give us a sense of family interrelationships that are living and changing, of family bonds that loosen and tighten, and of shifts and mutations of attitudes rather than the static and permanent ordering of relationships of affection and duty subsumed under the conventional theory of the family.

It is interesting to speculate upon the way in which psycholo-

gists, psychiatrists, and psychoanalysts would label this case. Interpretation by instinct has indeed gone out of fashion. Freud doubtless would point out evidence for the Electra complex; Jung might well enter it as an introvert type; Adler would start his analysis from feelings of inferiority. Kretschmer would perceive the schizoid type. Others would place emphasis upon this or that glandular type.

These classifications are all helpful, no doubt; but they seem arbitrary, mechanical, and even somewhat irrelevant when compared with the process concretely set forth in this document by which the person, out of the cultural conflict of the family with the other groups in the community, out of the warring impulses in his own bosom, out of shameful experiences and praiseworthy endeavor, out of lonely reverie and social contacts, organizes his life and directs it to some goal of achievement.

This life-history, as well as other life-histories, seems to show how little we have reckoned with the flood of feelings and emotions, impulses, and ideas that color and give individuality to our lives, especially in childhood.

Then, even more important, is the fact, which all of us realize when once our attention is called to it, that, particularly as children, many or most of our multitudinous impulses never eventuate in our acts. They find expression but in play, in day-dreaming, or in a great variety of attitudes that to adults may seem inexplicable, amusing, perverse, or diabolical. Certainly in the mind of the child a world of events is transpiring which are beyond the perception of even the most sympathetic and discerning outside observer.

Most important for the understanding of the process of personal development is a recognition of the rôle of these uncompleted acts. In the uncompleted act the person is thrown back upon himself. These conflicts and maladjustments, distressing and painful as they are, provide the situations necessary for the development of the subjective life of the person. As one reflects over his past life is it not significant that the attention is fixed upon conflict situations? It is in these that the child and the youth works out slowly and painfully a conception of his rôle in society and a philosophy of life about which his impulses become organized and his character becomes formed.

This inner life of the individual, of unexpressed impulses, of concealed memories, and of secret ambitions, seems to him private and personal, the essential nucleus of his personality and of his individuality. And so, at least to the sociologist, it acutally is. What constitutes the intensity of the problem of the child is its isolation, its loneliness, its feeling that its own subjective life is unique. No matter how objective the child is in many realms of his activities, there always are those regions of life which are mysterious, where he gropes as in the dark, where he feels confused and bewildered.

A first clue to the understanding of one's self and to the solution of the enigma of one's relation to others seems to be the perception, as in the case of Marie, that one's problems are not unique, but are common to others. Through this human finding the person not only tends to obtain mastery over his own experience and problems, but he begins the discovery of the world about him. He is able to sympathize, to enter into the feelings and attitudes of other persons. Through making his own adjustments and in solving his own problems he acquires a skill in detecting and in assisting others in their problems.

Finally, in life-history materials we may expect to discover the conditions under which mutations in personality occur, as in religious conversion, or, as in the case of Marie, of secular conversion to teaching as a vocational career. These critical experiences, to use the phrase of W. I. Thomas, are not, so this case indicates, bolts out of the blue, but rather the crystallization of trends of impulses, aptitudes, and interests which are then projected in some organized form into the future. The significance of further knowledge of personality mutations is only too evident to need elaboration.

The life-history method is in its infancy. Attempts doubtless will be made to standardize the technique of securing and interpreting them. It is to be hoped, however, that this method will not become so formalized and the interpretations of cases so abstract that the unique value of the personal document will be lost. For in the life-history is revealed, as in no other way, the inner life of the person, his moral struggles, his successes and failures in securing control of his destiny in a world too often at variance with his hopes and ideals.

## THE SECT AND THE SECTARIAN

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### ABSTRACT

The isolated religious sect offers unutilized data for the study of the sociology of institutions and also for the investigation of personality. The sect arises in a period of disorganization and is a phase of the reintegration of the community as a whole. The particularistic causal statements are all inadequate since every sect is the result of a unique constellation of forces. The original *cadre* grows by accretion, and often the distinguishing characteristics of the sect are later additions. The sect does not select any one temperament for its members. The conflict resulting and the inevitable changes are productive of characteristic types in each case. The sect is analogous to a primitive tribe and the personalities are the subjective phases of the group life. Experience is creative. The motives for carrying on the life of the sect may differ greatly from those which began it. The polemic arguments in defense of the sect correspond to the *dérivations* of Pareto. In addition to the *dérivations* it is possible to study the inner attitudes which are reminiscent of the *résidues* of Pareto. A sect may unite members who are moved by a wide variety of *résidues*.

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Social origins have rested so far chiefly on a foundation of ethnology. Primitive peoples were assumed to represent earlier stages of the life which we are living, and from Comte and Spencer till now men have sought to answer fundamental questions about our own religion, morals, art, and economy by collecting facts regarding savages. But the results have been disappointingly meager. The ultimate origin of any of our basic activities is lost in mystery. The answer to the question of origins which seemed at first to be promised by ethnography has actually been sought by an appeal to psychology, and since the psychology of primitive man is a matter of inference, the net result of nearly a hundred years of writing is little more than a collection of theories of the origin of institutions, not one of which can be disproved, but each one of which is unproved and indeed unprovable. The curtain rises in the middle of the drama—sometimes, indeed, toward the end of the last act—and the process by means of which the past has been reconstructed differs in no essential respect from the most primitive of mythology.

There exists a contemporary phenomenon, relatively neglected,

which offers brighter promise of success. The religious sect, and particularly the modern isolated sect, has many advantages which ethnography does not afford. In many cases all their history is accessible, since the date can be found when the sect was not dreamed of, and the whole evolution can be traced. If sociologists cared to give the same careful and detailed study to the foot-washing of the Dunkers or the dancing of the Shakers as they do to the totem dances of the Australians or the taboos of the Bantus the material would not only be found equally interesting but in all probability more fruitful.

The religious sect is a valuable field for the study of sociology as distinguished from social psychology, since it furnishes a body of facts concerning the rise of institutions. The current notions of the origin of institutions include the theory that they developed from a fixed set of instincts, the theory that they are determined by the geographic environment, and the theory that the whole phenomenon arises out of the conditioning of the infantile reflexes. Now psychology is very important and there are many problems which are essentially psychological, but the sociology of institutions can be studied without positing any foundation of psychology, and indeed need no more depend on psychology than on astronomy or geology. There are questions that need to be answered, facts that can be gathered, hypotheses that can be tested, and conclusions that can be arrived at when institutions are studied with the essential abstraction which all scientific inquiry demands.

Nevertheless the religious sect is also a valuable field for the study of social psychology. The sect is composed of sectarians and the sectarian is a personality. Moreover, his personality issues from the life of the sect and can only be understood if we take into account the social matrix in which it took form. The relation of the individual to the group and of institutions to the instinctive equipment, as well as the problem of the relation of inherited temperament to institutional organization—all these and other psychological questions can be profitably studied in considering the sectarian and his sect. If we assume that human nature is not a fixed or constant or hereditary thing, but on the contrary results from the presence of, and contact with, one's fellows, the sect af-



fords a field for the study of personality in its development which, in cases where the group is cut off with relative completeness from outside influences, gives a situation analogous to a laboratory set-up where the conditions are controlled and the variables studied.

The relation of individual personalities to institutions is apparently reciprocal. The members of a religious sect are shaped and fashioned in accordance with the traditions and world-view which prevail within the group. To ask why a man who has lived from infancy in a Mormon community looks at life from the standpoint of Mormonism is to ask a very easy question. His life has been defined within the given social whole. But if we become curious and inquire how the institution of Mormonism was constituted the question is more complex. For the sect has its roots in the far-distant past, besides having *differentia* that mark it off from any other institution. If it be true that the sectarian has been too often studied in isolation from the sect it is even more apparent that the sect has been studied with too little regard for the other groups with which it was in contrast and conflict. The telescopes have had too small a field of vision. The conventional accounts include a certain description of the times and conditions, but the sect is usually set off rather too sharply against a definitely opposing group. Indeed, one may think of the sect in a figure. Arising at a time when the fixed order is breaking up, or tending to break up, the sect is the effort of the whole community to integrate itself anew. It is the order arising from social chaos, though the order may not be overstable nor the chaos a condition of utter disruption. If we examine the organization of a large number of sects such as Quakers, Shakers, Mennonites, Dunkers, Perfectionists, and Am-anas, what appears upon close scrutiny is that at a crucial moment in the history of a society a situation occurs which is literally unique, never having been present before in any group of people anywhere in the world at any period of time. And since the situation is unique and since the personalities of the members form a unique assemblage of forces, interests, and ideals, the solution of the difficulty has also a certain uniqueness about it.

The student of the literature becomes familiar with a priori assumptions and the explanation by general principles, but these

do not stand the test of a comparative study. One writer remarks that it was quite natural that Ann Lee should found a celibate community since she had such a disastrous married life. But many women have had disastrous married lives who did not found celibate communities, and many celibate communities have been founded by those who did not have disastrous married lives. Indeed, Ann Lee did not begin her sect with celibacy. The feature was a later addition. One writer has explained a colony of communistic celibates as response to their environment. They were in the wilderness in Pennsylvania shut off from associations and in a physical milieu very much like an ancient Egyptian sect that was celibate and communistic. The proof offered of this causal statement is that when civilization conquered the wilderness their distinguishing doctrines were given up, which forces the remark that there are many settlements in the isolated wilderness that were neither communistic nor celibate, and, moreover, that some communistic sects persisted, and some still persist long after the whole surrounding community has been conquered by civilization.

It is therefore impossible to say of any given region that it will produce a definite type of religion. The set forms of the constitution of a sect vary so much that the details must be regarded as chance or accidental. The problem here is very similar to the problem of an invention, differing chiefly in that the sect is a collective affair while an invention is individual. Of course the various members of a group are not equal in influence, and usually the fate of a whole religious movement will be modified by the biographical details of some important early leader. As is well known, polygamy was not the original program of the Mormons, but came in in response to an attempt to solve a particular emergency. The Amana community has practiced communism for nearly a century, but they had many years of continuous existence before communism came into their mores. It all happened when, after one of their migrations, it developed that the poorer members who owed the more wealthy ones large sums of money for their lands seemed to be hopelessly in debt. Whereupon, after some divine inspirations and much conference and objection, it was at last agreed that they should hold all things in common. But, having so decided, this

feature became an integral part of their society and has remained unquestioned for generations.

There are many instances of the traditions of a group being affected for long periods by the experience and influence of a single man. The Disciples, who form one of the larger denominations, have a peculiar inconsistency in their treatment of non-members. Baptism by immersion is a *sine qua non* for membership, but those who are not baptized are freely admitted to the intimacies of the communion table. The problem is completely explained by the experience of their leader, Campbell, who began as a Presbyterian and practiced open communion, later affiliated with the Baptists, and finally organized an independent sect. This variety of religious experience caused him to advocate the inconsistency which, being adopted by the small group and retained when it began to grow, has endured for a hundred years and been the occasion of much friction and at least one division.

The sect is originally constituted, not by non-religious persons, but by those who have split off from existing organizations. Christian Science grows largely by accretion from former adherents of organizations which are older, and this is typical. The condition of unrest and confusion loosens the bonds of union and sometimes a few kindred spirits find each other and a nucleus is formed. It is very rare that the original motive is separation, but when the divergent nucleus excites opposition and achieves group consciousness the stage is set for a new sect. The first stage is then typically a stage of conflict, though the methods of warfare vary according to the standards of the times. Many of the organizations are short-lived, and it would be highly instructive to have an exhaustive study of the small sects that did not survive. When group consciousness and morale characterize the original company or *cadre* of the sect, there is often a more or less rapid growth by accretion or attraction by others. Just why they are attracted is a very interesting problem. It is often assumed that the chief appeal is to men of like temperament. Perhaps this is what Giddings means by consciousness of kind, men outside the sect join themselves to it because they feel a consciousness of kind, that is, they are similar in temperament and regard themselves as being like-minded. The

question is not easy to decide, but there are facts which make this a doubtful explanation. Thomas Edwards, writing in 1646 about this very problem, gives a long list of motives which in his opinion are leading men to join the hated sects about him, among which are the following: some were needy, broken, decayed men who hoped to get something in the way of financial help from the new sect; some were guilty, suspected, and obnoxious men who were in the lurch and feared arrest or indictment, and to these the sect was a sanctuary; some, he claimed, had lawsuits and hoped to find friends to help them in their litigation; others he thought were ambitious, proud, covetous men who had a mind to offices; still others he insists were libertines and loose persons who seek less restraint than the older communities insisted on; another class he calls wanton-willed, unstable persons who pretend to be convinced, while others he calls quarrelsome people who like to stir up trouble; and still others include those who have quarreled with their ministers or had some trouble about their church dues and thus go off disaffected.

Even if we make a liberal allowance for the bitterness of the controversies of the seventeenth century it seems necessary to conclude that the new converts were men of many types. To join a group it is not necessary that you regard yourself as like them; it might be more accurate to say that you have an ambition to be like them and therefore want to change. In the histories of most sects it is possible to describe a period of relatively intense conflict, and here the necessities of comparative study are the greater. For the conflict is modified by the opponents. Men learn the art of war from their enemies, and when they start out they are rarely as extreme as they come to be under the stress of the fighting. The Amanas attacked the clergy for immorality and laxity; they refused all military services and did not send their children to the public schools; while in their turn they were beaten, harassed, and imprisoned. William Penn's plea for religious freedom he justified on scriptural grounds, calling it natural, prudent, and Christian, finding in the Bible justification for loving one's enemies and refusing to employ human force. Tolerance he regarded as prudent because the Scripture says "no kingdom divided against itself can

stand." But the opponents of Penn are necessary if one is to understand the position he takes, a position which at that time was new and revolutionary. In Edwards' *Gangraena* there is a seventeenth-century expression of the view of the dominant group; toleration was wrong since "a kingdom divided against itself could not stand." Edwards regarded tolerance as a great evil, as the following quotation will show:

Toleration is the grand designe of the Devil, his Masterpeece and chiefe Engine he works by at this time to uphold his tottering Kingdome; it is the most compendious, ready, sure way to destroy all Religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evill; it is a most transcendent, catholique, and fundamentall evill for this Kingdom of any that can be imagined: As originall sin is the most fundamentall sin, all sin; having the seed and spawn of all in it: so a Toleration hath all errors in it, and all evils, it is against the whole streame and current of Scripture both in the Old and New Testament, both in matters of Faith and manners, both generall and particular commands; it overthrowes all relations, both Politicall, Ecclesiasticall, and Oeconomically; and whereas other evils, whether errors of judgment or practise, be but against some one or few places of Scripture or relation, this is against all, this is the Abaddon, Apollyon, the destroyer of all religion, the Abomination of Desolation and Astonishment, the Libertie of Perdition (as Augustine calls it) and therefore the Devil follows it night and day, working mightily in many by writing Books for it, and other wayes, all the Devils in Hell and their Instruments being at work to promote a Toleration (Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena* [London, 1646], pp. 121-22).

The conflict unites the sect, creates *esprit de corps* and heightens morale. Usually, but not always, if the conflict be too severe so that confidence is lessened, dissensions may arise and factions appear. Conflict united the German people for four years, but when they began to feel that the cause was lost the conflict broke up the unity of the nation. In the sect, however, a conflict can be with the "world," which is a subjective image, and it is possible for a sect to survive great disasters since they are so certain of ultimate success. The sect therefore has always some degree of isolation and is more apt to have a high morale when they succeed in securing a location shut off from the rest of the world. There are, however, devices of cultural isolation which overcome lack of physical separation, as can be observed in the present state of the Christian Science church. In this case isolation depends upon a

separate vocabulary and particularly upon the admonition not to argue or discuss the matter with outsiders. The Masons, and to some extent the Mormons, achieve isolation by secrecy.

In this conflict period of the life of the sect the tendency is toward exclusiveness wherever feasible. Certain economic relations with the "world" are necessary, but the cultural life is protected. There is always a tendency to be an endogenous tribe. Sometimes to marry an outsider is to forfeit membership in the group. Yet the time always comes when this is difficult to enforce, for from the beginning of time the sons of God have looked upon the daughters of men and found them fair and desirable. Inter-marriage never becomes general until disintegration has set in, and it is always a destructive influence, for queens make good foreign missionaries and no child can easily despise the religion of his mother.

A highly interesting aspect of the development of a sect is found in the tendency to divide and become two sects, typically more bitter toward each other than toward the "world" which they formerly united in opposing. There appear to be two types of divisions. Sometimes it merely represents a stage in the process of reabsorption into the larger society from which they came out. In this case the progressives or innovators want to change the old customs to conform with what is being done outside. The Disciples split on the question of whether an organ should be used in church, the organ party wishing to imitate the outsiders while their opponents wanted to maintain the older tradition. Another type of division seems to give no such clue. It is apparently a differential interpretation of an ambiguous constitutional phrase. The Dunkers had an issue concerning multiple foot-washing; one party insisted that each person should wash the feet of only one other, while their opponents contended that each should wash the feet of several. There are other examples of ambiguity of the initial statement or doctrine, and unless there is an adequate machinery, or supreme court, which can settle the matter, divisions may result.

But whether the group divides or not, a period arrives when the isolation begins to disappear and the customs of the outside world with its beliefs and practices, even its ideals and doctrines,

begin gradually to penetrate the group. When two people live side by side they always influence each other. The Boers in Angola smear their floors with fresh cow dung, which picturesque custom they acquired from the savages around them. These tendencies are slow in coming and are often very strenuously resisted. In 1905 the annual meeting of the Old Order Brethren solemnly decided that it was unscriptural for any of their members to have a telephone. The Dunker authorities have solemnly ruled on erring brethren who attend animal shows, played authors, bought county bonds, served on juries, bought pianos, used sleigh bells, wore neckties, used fiddles, wore standing coat collars, erected tombstones, and joined the Y. M. C. A. All this was many years ago and the process starting then has gone on until many of the progressive Dunkers smile at what they now call old-fashioned objections.

If we turn now to the question of personality and the light which a study of sects can give us on this problem it is clear that the sect in its collective life produces the sectarian. The sectarian is therefore a type, and types of personality turn out to be the end-products which issue from the activities of a group. Types can be studied with reference to the morphology of the human body. Thus men can be divided into the fat and round, the lean and slim, and any other discoverable groupings. They may be divided into introverts and extroverts, though nearly all the people you meet are neither one nor the other, but rather mixed. These and many other classifications are of value and should be encouraged; but they fail to meet all the needs, and it becomes apparent that the social life men live is more relevant than the physical constitution they inherit. There is a typical Mormon and his personality can be described. He is in favor of the highly centralized institutional organization; he is ruled by a characteristic system of theology; he believes in private property controlled to a certain extent by a theocracy. Likewise, there is a typical Shaker; but the Shaker holds private property to be undesirable and even against the will of God. Moreover, to the Shaker all sexual intercourse is immoral, and there is a long list of definite statements that could be applied to this typical individual. There is also a typical Dunker, neither

communistic, like the Shaker, nor ruled by a central hierarchy, like the Mormon. He belongs to the one true church, as most sectarians do, but each sectarian belongs to a different one true church than the other sectarians. The Dunker regards it as obligatory to be immersed in water three times, facing forward each time. He must ceremonially wash his brother's feet and give him a holy kiss of love, keeping himself unspotted from the world.

Each of these sects and all closely organized sects have a peculiar vocabulary, a fixed tradition, and a specific and peculiar way of regarding God and man, the world and the hereafter. The sect then is analogous to a primitive tribe, and the primitive tribe has long been recognized as productive of specific types of personality. There is more difference between a Shaker and a Dunker than between the equatorial Bantus and the South African Zulus. And this difference exists in spite of essential similarities in race, language, and geographical similarities in environment.

These types are the result of social heritage and breed true socially for long periods of time. They cannot be explained by geographical environment, for the Dunkers and the Amanas and many others live in the same kind of environment, cultivating the same soil and surrounded by neighbors who are alien. Nor can appeal be made to physical heredity, for the sects are constantly acquiring members from outside the line of descent. The Mormon missionaries traveled all over America and Europe seeking and finding new recruits for the community in Utah. The cultural life produces the mores, and the mores are irresistible when skilfully inculcated into the young and into the new recruits.

Moreover, as time goes on new and often important variations in the mores arise. Neither for the group nor for the individual are all moments equally important. Life does not consist of unaccented rhythms, but rather in periods of uniformity followed by important moments of decision, and from these later issue changes which may determine the course of the group for generations to come.

In this connection it becomes necessary to refer again to the assumption frequently made that there is a temperamental uniformity which explains the group. They are all assumed to be



like-minded; new converts come in because of a consciousness of kind. The group is assumed to select those of a certain temperament. This interpretation fails to meet just criticism. An examination of the membership of the sect and the phenomenon of division and dissention forces the assumption that many varieties of temperament are included in the membership of the sect. The hypothesis here advanced is that the new convert does not come in because he was of like mind, but that he comes in because he changes his mind. He makes it up in a different way. The sect attracts him because he wants to be different and it takes him and makes him into a different type as he comes to enter into the cultural life.

In support of this notion several types of facts seem relevant. First, the sect arises in a time of disorganization which is always a period of unsettling. Men are thus ready for a new stable or organizing influence. They do not join because they are like anybody; they join because some solution is offered to their unrest. Second, the descendants of the members of the sect can be assumed to be of different temperaments, and this assumption is borne out on investigation. In spite of the difference in temperament the typical sectarian in each case can be accurately described and is held to loyal membership until it begins to disintegrate.

The third group of facts are more important and more conclusive. It has been shown that the history of the sect shows a typical progression. The period of extreme isolation, conflict, and high morale is followed by a more irenic era when conformity with the outside world gets increasing approval. The end result is the disappearance of the sect as a separate conflict group and the lessening importance of their differences when considering the influence of these on the personality of the sectarian. The typical sectarian is, therefore, a different person in the different stages of the life of the group. The assumption of the temperamental uniformity is difficult to hold in the light of the progressive alterations which are demonstrable. A combative, exclusive, non-conformist who dresses differently from those in the society in which he lives is a very different personality from him who joins with others in their associations and enterprises and who comes to be a patriotic and regular member of an American political unit. Since the sectarian

is the individual aspect of his sect, he changes when his group changes and his group changes with a changing set of relations. The changes in the sect are not dependent on the temperament of the members, and the changes in the sectarian reflects the collective life. Therefore the temperament of the sectarian is a varying element and the theory of the temperamental selection seems inadequately founded.

Those who appeal to temperament as a causative factor do not always keep in mind that temperament is an inference and not a fact. Temperamental qualities are abstractions. A definition of temperament would include those factors in the personality which determine the mode of behavior and which are innate. Since, however, temperament does not become important until the personality is formed, it is always a matter of inferential abstraction. The temperament can be shown to change, and arguments about inherited temperament ought to be made with the greatest care.

Experience is then creative. The sect is not safe refuge where the temperament and desires of an outsider can be comfortably expressed and realized; it is rather a formative force or set of forces; and the motives which lead a man to join a sect may be quite different from those which assure his continuance in it. No one on the outside can fully know what the experience on the inside is. Being a sectarian may be more satisfying than was at first imagined, or it may be less so, but it is certainly never exactly anticipated. The motives which lead a woman to the altar in marriage may be quite different from those which make her decide to endure to the end. The reason a man takes up smoking is rarely the motive which makes him continue the habit. The sectarian is therefore in some sense a new creature. He may regard himself, and quite accurately, as entirely made over. Very commonly he refers to the new existence as a rebirth.

If we attempt to analyze the personality of the sect in terms of attitudes we have available the theoretical discussion of W. I. Thomas and Znaniecki. An attitude is stated to be a process of individual consciousness set over against a corresponding value. R. E. Park in discussing attitudes is concerned with the relation of attitudes and the wishes and opinions. The attitude is said to be

the mobilization of the will. Psychologists, among whom Allport and Thurstone may be mentioned, have attempted to investigate attitudes by questionnaires and inquiries regarding verbal assent or dissent. The assumption is that the attitude corresponds to the verbal expression of it.

In the work of V. Pareto there are distinguished three elements which we may roughly force into some kind of relation with the preceding points of view. There are C, the customs, convictions, and principles which the members share; these he calls the *dérivées*. The second element, B, is the verbal expression when the first is questioned or challenged and represents the need to be logical or the desire to appear reasonable. These he calls the *dérivations*. There is a third element, A, relatively invariable, arising from the sentiments and interests which may be admitted, but which is often concealed. These are spoken of as the *résidues*.

The social attitude seems to correspond to the *résidues*, but there is also an attitude of a more general sort corresponding to the *dérivées*. The *résidues*, or attitudes, are never the object of direct perception. They must be inferred, but the inference is a necessity. Thus Mormon polygamy was at one time an accepted practice; it was a *dérivée*, in class C. The reasons assigned for the practice in debate, argument, and propaganda belong to the class B. They are highly variable and a premium is placed on ingenuity and originality in the inevitable forensics. But the inner motives and deep-lying attitudes arising out of their instinctive cravings and sentiments, class A, may be very different from what would be admitted. Without going into detail here it is apparent that sexuality is involved to a degree to be determined by whatever methods are at hand.

Now the origin of social forms, the creation of new mores, need be uniform in a given group only in class C. The elements B tend to have more uniformity, but are still quite various, while the element A admits a far wider variety. Some people join the Dunkers for economic security; others, to avoid military service; others, out of disgust for the state religion; and so on through a great variety. The *dérivations*, or class B, among religious sects are often taken from Bible texts, and it sometimes happens that the same *dérivation* will be used by opposing sects to justify contradictory

practices. "Suffer little children to come unto me for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven" is quoted by Baptists to show that infants do not need to be baptized; it is quoted by Paedo-Baptists to justify the baptism of children.

"Every kingdom divided against itself cannot stand." This *dérivation* is quoted by Quakers to prove that sects should be tolerated, and by Edwards to prove that they should be suppressed.

"In Heaven they neither marry nor are given in marriage." This is a favorite proof text for the Shakers to show that there should be no sexual intercourse, and was the central text quoted by the Perfectionists to justify the form of free love which they called complex marriage.

The number and nature of the attitudes, the *résidues*, is large and bears upon the question of like-mindedness and similarity of temperament. As already pointed out, there may be a score of varying motives which bring people into a common organization.

But now comes the most important consideration. The attitudes in class A, the *résidues*, are continually being reformed. They are created as emotional experiences multiply and result from later *dérivations* and new objects and new loyalties. The common experience in the sect tends to make widely varying *résidues* more nearly common and identical.

Pareto points out the necessity for caution in assuming, as Allport and Thurstone do, the correspondence of *dérivation* and *résiduc*. The literature of the Shakers abounds in ascetic sentences and repeated assertions that sex is an unnecessary evil, but sometimes the Shakers worked all day and danced all night, and in the early period the men and women were nude and danced together. It seems necessary to assume a far greater interest in sex than their opinions and principles express. One cannot understand a sect by merely studying its creed.

The study of the sects which survived needs supplementing by a knowledge of those which died. In certain periods of disorganization there were many small aberrant attempts at organization which did not live and many doctrines which did not take on. One John Boggis who became a preacher of note in seventeenth-century England is quoted by Edwards as refusing to say grace at dinner where the meat was a shoulder of roast veal, scornfully asking "to

whom shall I give thanks, whether to the butcher, the bull, or the cow." Such extreme divergence failed to take on.

In every time of disorganization there is always a certain disorder in the sex mores. This happens in political revolutions and also in a time of religious unrest. The new sects are very often accused of sex practices contrary to the mores. Some of these accusations are probably exaggerated because the enemies are rarely restrained in their statements, but it is easy to point out a certain trend toward sex liberty among many of the sects. Edwards quotes a certain scriptural argument. One of the sects insisted that since death dissolved the marriage bond, and since the Scripture teaches that sleep is a form of temporary death, it is no sin to engage in sex intercourse if one's husband or wife is asleep. In such an instance there is a clear indication of a strong attitude and an example of the ingenuity of the *dérivation*, or, in this case, the rationalization.

We conclude, then, that the sect is the result of collective forces that surround it and to which its own life is in part a reaction. The sect produces a type which comes to take on certain attitudes, to be devoted to certain objects and values, and to define life and the world in the way that is approved. The most fruitful field for study would seem to lie in the securing of complete and adequate life-histories of sectarians, including new converts to the sect, members who have always been in it, and dissidents and deserters who have gone out from it. For the intimate life-histories will give light on the actual product that the sect is responsible for and afford material for the accurate answering of some of the problems at present unresolved.

The purpose of this paper has been to call attention to a field of study which has not been wholly neglected but which has not yielded the results which it might yield if the material were studied with diligence. It seems not too much to say that the sect and the sectarian, if adequately investigated, could throw a flood of needed light upon one of our oldest and most perennial problems: the relation of society to the individual, the leader to his group, the relation of institutions to instincts, which is the same problem that interested Plato when he discussed the relation of the one and the many.

# TYPES OF POLITICAL PERSONALITIES

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## ABSTRACT

**Types of political personalities.**—Systematic students of political life have defined political types whose temperamental differences are such as to adapt them to the performance of special rôles in public life. This is particularly true of the agitator and the responsible leader, whose functions in the agitational and executory phases of social movements are complementary. It is also recognized that political activities, especially those of an official, institutionalized character, may suppress or foster the qualities of those who engage in them.

Seasoned observers of political life have undertaken to define political types. Their contributions, if deficient in formal completeness, are rich in practical insights which may be profitably exploited by future investigators. They have said that while temperamental qualities predispose the individual to play one political part more successfully than another, such qualities are not immutable, for common observation shows how they are sharpened or softened in the act of adjusting to the demands of specific situations. Political institutions have a twofold function: they favor the accession of men of particular attributes to positions of effective influence, and they continue to operate upon the personalities of the influential.

Modern political writers are particularly fond of contrasting (under different labels) the agitator, the responsible leader, and the boss. The agitator is sometimes called a reformer or a revolutionist, the responsible leader is frequently named the statesman, and the boss not uncommonly passes for the politician (in the narrow sense) or the political manager. Regardless of such divergences, there seems to be no small measure of agreement upon the qualities of each type. Close inspection shows that the constellation of traits which are said to be peculiar to each may be arranged along a continuum, with the agitator and the boss occupying the extreme, and the responsible leader an intermediate, position.

The agitator has come by his name honestly. He is actually agitated about public policy. He is excited, and he communicates his excitement to those about him. He idealizes the magnitude of the desirable social changes which are capable of being produced by a specific line of social action. From the point of view of the responsible leader, being an agitator consists in exaggerating the difference between one rather desirable social policy and another, much as being in love, according to Shaw, means grossly exaggerating the difference between one woman and another. Some agitators may, as Munro would have it,<sup>1</sup> behave like physicians, recommending new doses of democracy to remove the ills of present democracy; others may be surgeons, anxious to subtract something from existing machinery. In either case they stake much on a single spin of the wheel.

At the other end of the scale stands the boss, indifferent to schemes of social change unless they threaten to intrude upon his own preserves. The boss thrives in democratic society by working a complicated political machinery during those periods when the community is not cleft in twain over issues of communal policy. Electoral crises seldom coincide with major crises of opinion when elections are run upon an astronomical itinerary of two, or four or six years. At all times, however, the distribution of posts depends upon voting, and the man who organizes an active band of followers can run the electoral machinery and parcel out the jobs. This is the rôle of the boss. He is frightened by the emergence of serious issues, since they involve the reanimation of people whose political orbits he cannot foretell. Depending upon the status quo, assiduity in pursuit of his own interest implies indifference or hostility to substantial change. Totally occupied with short-run manipulation, he stares cynically at men who profess to live by principle.

Intermediate between the romanticism of the agitator and the apathy, hostility, or cynicism of the boss is the attitude of the responsible leader. He shares the agitator's faith to the extent of believing that innovations are desirable and possible, but he parts company from the agitator's obsessive preoccupation with particular measures. He thinks there are many roads to Rome and that society is always on the way.

<sup>1</sup> See W. B. Munro, *Personality in Politics*.

It follows from the enormously different valuation which is set upon the consequences of particular social acts that the three types should scale differently in respect of such a quality as patience on questions of policy. The agitator wants instant and all-encompassing results; the responsible leader is more ready to wait until social attitudes have more permanently crystallized, or until financial and other facilitory means are at hand. The boss is blasé or obstructive.

Intolerance is allied to impatience. Expecting good to flow from drastic innovation, the agitators easily infer that he who disagrees with them is in communion with the devil, and that opponents are animated by bad faith or timidity. They are notoriously contentious and undisciplined; many reforming ships are manned by mutineers.

Responsible leaders are more tolerant of dissenting opinion, for they see the world, not as a simple dichotomy, with the forces of good arrayed for one cause and the forces of evil panoplied for another, but as a complicated place where many things are possible and many things are partially desirable. The boss, of course, generally has that tolerance for ideas which goes with contemptuous indifference to them.

The agitator is willing to subordinate personal considerations to the superior claims of principle. The children may suffer while father and mother battle for the cause. But the righteous will not cleave to their families when the field is ripe for harvest. On the alert for pernicious intrusions of private interest into public affairs, they see "unworthy" motives where others see the just claims of friendship.

The responsible leader is disposed to temper principles to the necessities of individual cases and to relax the rigorous enforcement of an unpopular and novel law until sentiment catches up with enactment; but it is the boss who is the great "humanizer." His are the fundamental, primary, tribal virtues. Ex-Alderman Kenna (Hinky Dink) of Chicago says that the secret of his success is honesty. Harold Zink<sup>2</sup> has collected the published data on twenty city bosses, and the common qualities of a majority of them were such traits as generosity to the poor, loyalty and obedience as

<sup>2</sup> *Twenty Municipal Bosses*, Harvard Thesis, 1926.



henchmen, persistence, and courage. C. E. Merriam speaks of the boss as the humanizer of such an impersonal and formidable institution as government. The boss operates through a little knot of loyal "tribesmen" who are bound to him by those personal ties which generate in conflict groups.

The agitator, once more, trusts in mass appeals and general principles. Many of his kind live to shout and write. Their consciences trouble them unless they have periodic orgies of moral fervor. Relying upon the magic of rhetoric, they conjure away obstacles with the ritualistic repetition of principles. They become confused and frustrated in the tangled mass of technical detail upon which successful administration depends. Agitators of the "pure" type, when landed in responsible posts, long to desert the official swivel for the roving freedom of the platform and the press. They glorify men of outspoken zeal, men who harry the dragons and stir the public conscience by exhortation, reiteration, and vituperation.

The responsible leader has some respect for direct appeals to public principle and sentiment, but he tempers it with regard for the technical difficulties of administration. The boss sees no sentimental virtue in popular appeals as such; he manipulates public appeal or private lure as the dictates of expediency direct.

The qualities which are commonly assigned to agitator, responsible leader and boss may be arranged on a continuous scale, with the romantic, impatient, intolerant, impersonal, and exhortatory agitator at one end. To avoid misunderstanding it ought to be said that a personality type is not necessarily to be found where the ordinary usages of speech would point; most modern "reform" organizations have become so highly institutionalized, to cite but one instance, that the true agitator is no more at home with them than in a government job.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Political literature contains more political types than the agitator or the responsible leader. The word "leader" is frequently taken in a much more inclusive sense than here used, and Michels and Merriam have made lists of the qualities which they believe characterize all political leaders. Conway has propounded his familiar trichotomy: crowd-compellers, crowd-exponents, and crowd-representatives. The possibility of defining types on the basis of their characteristically reactionary, conservative, liberal, or radical opinions has often been pointed out. See Robert Michels, *Political Parties*; C. E. Merriam, *American Party System*, and Introduction to H. F.

The literature of politics has not contented itself with depicting types. It has offered various reflections upon the rôle played by these types. A political movement, as Robert E. Park has said, may be viewed as a single social act. Developing this idea, it is possible to distinguish successive phases of a completed political act. It begins in unrest. People act upon one another excitedly, but their diagnoses of what the matter is, and their prescriptions about what ought to be done, are notably vague. Then public opinion develops. General symbols are invented into which restless individuals read their private meanings. As discussion and agitation develop, these symbols are gradually arranged in the form of a single, overmastering dichotomy, a "this or that," "yes or no" situation. The community is enabled to pass over from controversy into action. The third phase may be called enactment. Society has a supply of formal procedures for the definition and accommodation of differences which may be bracketed together as various kinds of enactment: legislation, executive decree, and so on. But no political act is complete until it has led to some stable modification in the habits of the community. This final stage may be called that of enforcement. Unrest and public opinion may be regarded as the agitational aspect, and enactment and enforcement as the executory phases, of political action.

Such schematic simplicity is complicated by a multitude of variations, of which the most important is the reciprocal connection between agitational and executory activities. But in bold outline this simplification will do to show how agitators and responsible leaders perform complementary functions in political life. The unrest of a few people must be communicated to many if collective action is to result, and the task of shocking, horrifying, scandalizing, and exciting is the special rôle of the agitator. Since contradictory motives exist in every situation, their reconciliation is a special function. This balancing of the desirable against the feasible is the peculiar province of the responsible leader.

Gosnell, *Boss Platt and His New York Machine*, and *Four American Party Leaders*; Martin Conway, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*; Lowell, *Public Opinion in War and Peace*; Röhmer, *Die Vier Parteien*; A Christensen, *Politics and Crowd Morality*.

It may be remarked in passing that this general pattern bears a noteworthy resemblance to the processes of individual thinking. The human organism may be viewed as the point of origin for energy impulses which, in case of conflict, define themselves in consciousness with relation to a field of stimuli present in the immediate environment, and which ultimately discharge into overt behavior, exhausting the impulses on a certain level of satisfaction.<sup>4</sup> Political behavior begins in unrest, proceeds to define alternatives in a public, and comes to an end with enactment and enforcement.

The interworking of the agitator and the responsible leader may be reduced to greater clarity by examining a representative case. A recent volume has told how British slavery was abolished between 1823 and 1838.<sup>5</sup>

Back in 1787 a society had been organized by a dozen Quakers to abolish the traffic in slaves, and this crusade finally resulted in the prohibition of the slave trade by act of Parliament in 1807. In 1823 the Quakers were the moving spirits in the organization of the Anti-Slavery Society which had for its purpose the mitigation and the gradual abolition of slavery itself. Yet the actual personnel of this new agitation was in many cases identical with that of the old one. The slavery issue had become a matter of practical politics during the campaign conducted by the East Indian sugar interests against the privileged position of the West Indian sugar interests. The East Indians had excited popular feeling by representing the controversy as one between free-grown and slave-grown sugar. The reformers seized the occasion to organize, and presented their first petition through Wilberforce, who, forty years before, had served in a similar capacity for the antislave-trade petition. Thomas Fowell Buxton carried on as chief agitator.

In response to the drive of the reformers the British cabinet signified its intention of recommending various reforms to the legislative colonies. No sooner was their decision made known in the West Indian colonies than trouble began. The slaves of Demerara, inflamed by the rumor that their masters had concealed an emanci-

<sup>4</sup> This point of view has been admirably presented in L. L. Thurstone, *The Nature of Intelligence*.

<sup>5</sup> W. L. Mathieson, *British Slavery and Its Abolition, 1823-38*.

pation proclamation from them, rose in insurrection; plots were reported in Jamaica; planters convened in wrath and fear throughout the British West Indies; the nine hundred whites in Dominica threatened to avenge themselves on Parliament by declaring their independence; and in Barbados "a party of respectable gentlemen" demolished the Methodist chapel at Bridgetown and chased "its villainous preacher" out of the island for having contaminated the Negroes. Intimidated by the ferocity of these outbursts, Canning and Bathurst, the responsible ministers, decided to try out their policy of amelioration in a crown colony, Trinidad, and relieve the pressure elsewhere.

The Abolitionists were angered at the submissiveness of the government, which they considered to be a weak-kneed betrayal of the cause of righteous reform; but lacking effective strength, they were able to do no more than indulge in propaganda. In this they were fortunate. They had been provided with a first-rate atrocity case by the plantation owners. John Smith, a non-conformist preacher who had worked among the Negroes of Demerara, was sentenced to death by the enraged plantation owners after the insurrection. Abolitionists exploited this for all it was worth.

In the years immediately following, those who held responsible positions in the British government sought to invent a formula which would induce the West Indian planters to agree to voluntary ameliorations in the position of the slaves. Obstruction and evasion met them at every step. The Abolitionists became more and more embittered at delay, but men like Buxton and certain of the more experienced leaders, who appreciated the difficulty which beset the government in devising a workable program, advised against agitational excesses.

Parliament finally adopted abolition, but in a form ("apprenticeship") which was designed to minimize the hardship to be imposed upon the planters. The apprenticeship experiment was tried from 1833 on, but it gave rise to conditions which led the Abolitionist leaders to declare that the Abolition Act had been little short of "a practical and deliberate fraud," and that "nothing short of the entire emancipation of the slave" would do. This finally came to pass.

Such an account unmistakably shows the complementary rôle taken by the agitator and the responsible leader. The agitator shocked the unofficial public into action; the responsible leader took cognizance of opposing interests and sought to reconcile the disparate requirements of moral purpose, state unity, and administrative efficiency. Confronted by territorially segregated opposition to state action, progress was necessarily slow, and the frustrated agitator kept snapping at official heels until permanent results were secured.

Some attention has been given in political literature to the circumstances in which various types of political leaders have a competitive advantage. Bourgeois democracy has been said to favor the prominence of such men as those who ruled England in the heyday of middle-class liberalism. They were men of character and solid worth, safe, sober-judging men trained in quarter sessions, men who knew all about money and credit, and who were sufficiently well endowed to be removed from temptation, and had enough other employments to render them free from all suspicion of being "professional politicians."<sup>6</sup>

Democracy is said to nourish the rhetorical flatterer, the demagogue. Autocracy is supposed to place a premium upon vanity in the rulers and servility in the ruled, and to instigate intolerant fanaticism among an active, subterranean opposition. Aggressive, innovative personalities are favored in moments of social crisis (Lloyd George, Clemenceau); conciliatory, undramatic persons rise to prominence in the aftermath of crisis (Harding). Social chaos puts a premium on the cruel, arbitrary and unscrupulous.

The effect upon personality of the performance of political functions is usually discussed in connection with such official activities as those of routine administration and diplomacy. The bureaucrat and the diplomat have been delineated time after time with remarkable consistency. A description of the bureaucrat by Rabany and of the diplomat by Mousset may be selected as representative of such writing.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Spender, *The Public Life*, I, 27.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. Rabany, "Les types sociaux. Le Fonctionnaire," *Revue Générale d'administration*, LXXXVIII (1907), 5-28. L. D. White brought this to my notice. Albert Mousset, *La France vue de l'Etranger*, opening chapters.

Special qualities of the functionary are summed up in four expressive words: he is punctual, methodical, prudent, and disciplined. He has the defects of his qualities, for he is timid, he lacks initiative, and he has no taste for innovation. *Homme de pratique*, he is suspicious of everything he hasn't tried out. In the lower ranks of the civil service this spells an enfeebled will; in the upper branches this becomes fear of responsibility. The two commonest maxims are *Pas d'affaires* and *Pas de zèle*, by which is understood that no one is to do any more than asked. An assured future gets him out of the habit at an early age of pondering about risks. Private life strikes the functionary as extremely hazardous and he evades the rough-and-tumble of active competition. Ambition to improve is almost unheard of. The functionary speaks disparagingly of those who try to push up the line, and misnames any energetic striving for larger means of expression the *esprit d'intrigue*.

Overconfidence in their efforts and their methods leads to a repellant and rigid professionalism on the part of the functionary which, says Mousset, the diplomat, skeptic by vocation and disillusioned by experience, does not possess. The practice of diplomacy teaches that resources are few and attainable results are restricted. When things go according to schedule, the diplomat knows that it is because his plans are favored by a suitable conjuncture of uncontrollable forces.

Except in the advanced posts, the functionary is devoid of general ideas or has lost his taste for them. The diplomat is not a specialist in the sense that the civil servant is one, for his reputation depends, not upon the mastery of a specific technique, but upon the perception of general interests and the choice of rather general means of reconciling them. The diplomat lives in a world of general ideas with which the civil servant may dispense and yet succeed.

The diplomat trusts suavity rather than officiousness. He is averse to passion and accustomed to patience in handling people for whom he cherishes a concealed disdain. The diplomat learns to dissociate sincerity from most of life's relations. Thus he uses conversation, the ordinary domain of careless expansiveness, for professional ends. This gives rise to a double reaction: a con-

versation miserly in meanings and profligate in words. Diplomatic indirection of statement is notorious, an occupational disease. To repeat a famous paraphrase, "If a diplomat says no, he means perhaps; if he says perhaps, he means yes; if he says yes, he is no diplomat."

Enough has been said to suggest that students of government are willing to subscribe to the proposition that office has its children as well as men. In fact, the calming effect of responsibility upon ardor is a commonplace: "You may make a Socialist a minister without making a Socialist minister." The exceptions are furnished by the "pure type" agitator, whose temperamental qualities are so difficult of obliteration.

As matters now stand, political writers are willing enough to recognize that types are functions of heredity, of physiological factors relatively independent of heredity, and of childhood and adult experience with culture-patterns. For the means of assessing the relative importance of these diverse elements we must look hopefully to the future.

# DIVISION ON METHODS OF RESEARCH

## CAUSAL RELATIONS IN DELINQUENCY RESEARCH

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### ABSTRACT

**Causal Relations in Delinquency Research.**—The data on the individual delinquent, whether attributes or variables, must be sufficiently objective for purposes of comparison with the general population, or so-called non-delinquent groups to be amenable to causal relational analysis. Both gross comparisons and the more refined method of correlations may lead to erroneous conclusions upon causal relationships unless disturbing elements such as race, nationality, locality, and social status are properly accounted for. But with the evolution of sufficient data amenable to correlational analysis the regression equation expressing the relative contributory weights of constitutional and environmental factors to delinquency will be made possible, ultimately yielding an instrument for the prediction of antisocial behavior, and hence the institution of methods of control.

In attempting to discover factors that may be causally related to antisocial conduct, a fruitful method of procedure is the individual analysis of the subject, both constitutionally and environmentally. The method generally employed by the social and mental diagnostician is that of determining the make-up of the subject, both as an individual and in his relation to his surroundings. This approach, known as the case work method, is the chief weapon whereby the social case worker and the psychiatrist attempt to determine causal power of elements ascertained. The material gathered consists generally of both subjective and objective information, qualitative as well as quantitative, although in most case analyses the former preponderates over the latter.

The method is a good one for purposes of diagnosis, particularly when in the hands of a skilled diagnostician, but it does not, in and of itself, in the opinion of the writer, yield measures of causal relations until the data obtained through the case work methods are statistically analyzed. To the extent that the data gathered are objective or are susceptible to objectification is it possible to apply the method of statistics with the intent of discovering and measuring causal inter-connectionisms.

The data that may be obtained on the individual delinquent by the case study method may be either in the form of attributes or variables. Examples of the former would be nativity, marital status of parents, and race. Examples of the latter, the variables, would be those traits that lend themselves to expressions in graduated units of amount such as intelligence, special aptitudes, room space in living quarters, and, to a very limited extent, emotional responses.



The data on the individual delinquent, whether attributes, expressed in twofold categories indicating either the presence or absence of the trait in question, or in terms of variables yielding actual magnitudes of the trait, must be sufficiently objective for purposes of comparison with the general population or so-called non-delinquent groups to be amenable to causal relational analysis. For example, the factor, parental disharmony, in all probability a very important item, cannot be evaluated with reference to causal potency before it is sufficiently objectified on some scale of measurement which would make possible comparisons in this familial trait between delinquents and the general population. It has often been stated that among juvenile delinquents the presence of sexual conflicts is rather common. However, no causal efficacy can be attributed to this factor until we objectify sufficiently by the process of analysis and simplification to make possible comparisons with those that are presumably not delinquent.

It might be of interest to point out some results of comparisons of attributes among delinquents with the general population obtained in a study made on delinquent boys in institutions of New York State. On the basis of comparison, an association between abnormal marital status of parents—death, divorce, or separation—and juvenile delinquency was found. For among delinquent boys 2.3 times as many parental marital abnormalities were found as among the presumably non-delinquent. The coefficient of colligation (an association coefficient found useful in this study) between total abnormal marital relations of parents and juvenile delinquency was found to be  $+ .30$ .

On the same basis of comparison between delinquents and non-delinquents it was found that the death of the mother is more intimately associated with delinquency than the death of the father, although the death of both parents bears a closer relation to boyhood delinquency than the death of either one parent. Grossly considered, there is a relation between former presence in an orphan home and a delinquent career on the same basis of comparison with non-delinquents. However, the relation between the factor "mother being obliged to be gainfully employed" singly considered, and boyhood delinquency, is slight if any. There is a slight positive association between size of family and boyhood delinquency on the basis of a comparison of attributes.

If we turn to variables we find on the basis of the gross comparative method that there is a high negative relation between verbal abstract intelligence and delinquency. The association between tested intelligence deficiency and male juvenile delinquency is about  $-.60$ . In the matter of emotional responses, determined by means of a psycho-neurotic inventory, we find a marked association between boyhood delinquency and irregular emotional patterns. The association coefficient in this relationship is about  $+.40$ .

An attempt at a refinement of this method of gross comparisons of attributes and variables as between the delinquent and presumably non-delinquent groups was made by the injection of the more refined method of comparison, namely, that of correlation. The method of correlation yields measures

indicative of the relation in the magnitudes of any one variable factor considered and the problem under investigation, in our case, boyhood delinquency. Two conditions must be met to make possible this type of correlational analysis: the factors themselves must be expressed in a series of gradations, and criteria for the evaluation of the constant under consideration need to be evolved.

In our study, two criteria for delinquency were utilized: one, called "extent of the delinquent career," was based simply upon the number of times the subject was brought to court due to conflict with the law; the second criterion, named "severity of the delinquent career," was judged on the basis of the magnitude of punishment in fines and imprisonments meted out for various misdemeanors and felonies during a certain period to a representative portion of offenders in New York State. Thus the average dollar-day sentence for each of the principal felonies and misdemeanors was utilized as a criterion for severity.

Both criteria are, of course, merely socio-legal in nature. When the various constitutional and environmental factors that were expressed in terms of variables were correlated with the criteria for delinquency expressed in unit amounts for the group of approximately 1,600 delinquent boys studied, we found to our disappointment that practically all of the correlations approximated zero. In all likelihood the criteria chosen were not sufficiently accurate measures of the antisocial behavior studied to yield positive relationships with the objective variables correlated.

Thus far we have been considering gross relations with reference to the factors analyzed, expressed either as attributes or variables. The gross comparative method in which an attempt is made at determining causal relations by comparing the frequency of occurrence of certain attributes in the delinquent population with that in the presumably non-delinquent population, or by means of the process of simple correlation, yields results that are very often misleading unless conditioning and qualifying factors are accounted for. There are certain qualifying attributes or variables, such as race, nationality, locality, social status, etc., that affect any relationship that may presumably exist between factors under examination and the phenomenon, delinquency. Unless these disturbing elements are properly accounted for and their influence upon the relationship under analysis measured, erroneous conclusions with reference to causal relations may result.

For example, the problem of the relation of intelligence to delinquency which has engaged the attention of many gifted psychological investigators has been quite erroneously appraised by the failure to recognize qualifying social factors. We found in our study that because of the powerful effect that social status exerts upon intelligence selection, a large portion of the demonstrated intelligence inferiority among our delinquent boys may readily be attributed to the factor, social status, rather than to the condition, delinquency. The term "social status" is used rather loosely. In most cases the evaluation of this

factor was approximated by utilizing an objective scale for the determination of parental occupational level. The coefficient of association  $+ .60$  between intelligence deficiency and delinquency obtained on the basis of a gross comparison dwindled to  $+ .12$  when comparisons were made with selected groups of somewhat similar social status. It was also found that the very nature of intelligence organization, such as the relation between abstract intelligence and concrete or mechanical intelligence, was affected by such items as social status and parentage groupings.

However, the relation between psycho-neurotic make-up and delinquency was found not to be materially affected by either social status or nationality, which was indicative, at least within the limitations of our analysis, that this relation is pure and fairly intimate. When social status was accounted for by making comparisons with what might be termed an inferior social-status group in the non-delinquent population, the association coefficient of  $+ .30$  between marital status of parents and boyhood delinquency, obtained on the basis of gross comparisons, was reduced to  $+ .16$ . A positive association still exists but is certainly not as marked as it appeared to be prior to the consideration of the qualifying factor. An interesting result of this partial relation method whereby selected universes are utilized for comparisons in addition to unselected ones is that the relation between what we term the environmental factor of parental marital status and delinquency is even higher than that of intelligence and delinquency. This might appear surprising to those who have worked with the constitutional factor unconditioned by the social factor.

The intensity of the association between former residence in an orphan home and delinquency was reduced by about 40 per cent. Of course there are many other qualifying elements entering into this orphan-home relation, the discussion of which is prohibited by the time allowed for the paper. With reference to mothers gainfully employed, we found that among the presumably non-delinquent group of inferior social status there were even more mothers gainfully employed than in the delinquent group.

The conditioning factor, locality, came up for consideration when the relation between size of family and delinquency was considered. When comparing the distribution of the number of children in the families of our delinquent group with that obtained prior to our study on employed boys, sixteen to eighteen years of age, we found that there was an inverse relation between density of population in a given locality and size of family, the localities of denser population tending to yield larger families than the more sparsely populated districts. It was therefore necessary to eliminate the influence of the locality factor before the relation between size of family and delinquency could be established with the influence of this factor made constant.

The qualifying factors of course do not necessarily limit themselves to the effect of what we may term environmental factors upon a relationship between a constitutional factor and the phenomenon under investigation. They may disturb apparent relationships among constitutional factors themselves.

For instance, the relation of physical status to boyhood delinquency, the former being determined by objective measures such as height, weight, and height-weight ratios, is influenced by the factor intelligence, due to the existing positive relation between physical status and mental status. On the basis of such qualifying factors as mental status, social status, race, and parentage we found that in physical status the delinquent boy was equal, if not superior, to the non-delinquent boy when the various disturbing variables are made constant.

This method of partial relations can, of course, be carried out to a considerable extent, limited only by available objective data and norms for selected universes. The variables may be treated through the method of partial correlation.

Now there are, of course, a number of criticisms voiced against the rigorous application of the statistical method to determine causal relations. In the first place, the dependence upon objective data limits the use of the method due to the fact that so much of our information is in terms of qualitative descriptions. However, if we pursue with sufficient seriousness the method of statistics in analyzing causal relations there will be forced upon the gatherers of information a mental attitude conducive to objectification, with a resultant increase in social measuring rods. The use of the case work method as an end, in and of itself, for purposes of causal analyses, without the appropriate statistical treatment of the data procured, should, in the opinion of the writer, be discouraged. For the by-products of this practice result in the attribution of causal potency to conspicuous elements in a given situation with conclusions that are very frequently invalid.

Another criticism that comes to mind is to the effect that the statistical method prevents the appraisal of the subject as a biological or social unit, and hence results in erroneous views with regard to causal relations. A crude statistical treatment is, of course, guilty of this inadequacy, but a refined methodology, buttressed by a comprehensive vision of multiple causation, may escape this criticism to the extent of the availability of measuring instruments.

I believe we may have sufficient faith in the possibilities of the statistical approach to say in conclusion that with the evolution of sufficient data amenable to correlational analyses, the regression equation expressing the relative contributory weights of constitutional and environmental factors to delinquency will be made possible, ultimately yielding an instrument for the prediction of antisocial behavior, and hence the institution of methods of control.

# CORRELATION OF RATE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY WITH CERTAIN INDICES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND DISORGANIZATION

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

## ABSTRACT

Recently there has been a growing emphasis upon the study of delinquency from the standpoint of the community situation in which it occurs. Community influence is clearly indicated in the life-histories of delinquents and the decided concentration of cases of delinquency in particular areas of the city. However, we have as yet no satisfactory objective method for evaluating community factors with regard to delinquency. In this paper we suggest the delinquency rate as one method which may be used in evaluating community factors more objectively. The rate of delinquency is simply the percentage of delinquents in the total male population ten to seventeen years, computed upon the basis of one square mile unit areas. This rate is thus a quantitative unit which may be used in establishing correlations between delinquency and any factor which may be expressed quantitatively. The correlations of rate of delinquency with rate of family dependency, percentage of families owning homes, percentage increase and decrease of population, percentage of foreign-born, and percentage of aliens in the population are presented as illustrations of the use of the method.

During recent years there has been an increasing emphasis placed upon the study of juvenile delinquency from the point of view of its relation to the community situation in which it occurs. This growing emphasis upon the study of the community is clearly manifest in the published works of Dr. William Healy, whose studies, probably more than those of any other single student, reflect the general trend in the field. Healy's first studies, published in *The Individual Delinquent*, emphasized particularly the medical and psychological aspects of delinquent behavior. In his latest book, *Delinquents and Criminals; Their Making and Unmaking*, he stresses the community background as a causal factor in delinquency. This opinion is clearly expressed in the following quotation: "We have long been thoroughly persuaded that one of the most important phases of the situation with regard to delinquency anywhere is the spirit of the community, difficult as this is to define. This spirit is itself evolved from many forces in the life and cultural history of the community. . . . The moral spirit of the community is easily reflected in the conduct of its children."

From the study of a large number of male juvenile delinquents in Chicago we have been impressed by the great influence which social contacts outside of the home, in the community, seem to have upon the development of delinquent trends of behavior. The decided concentration of delinquents in

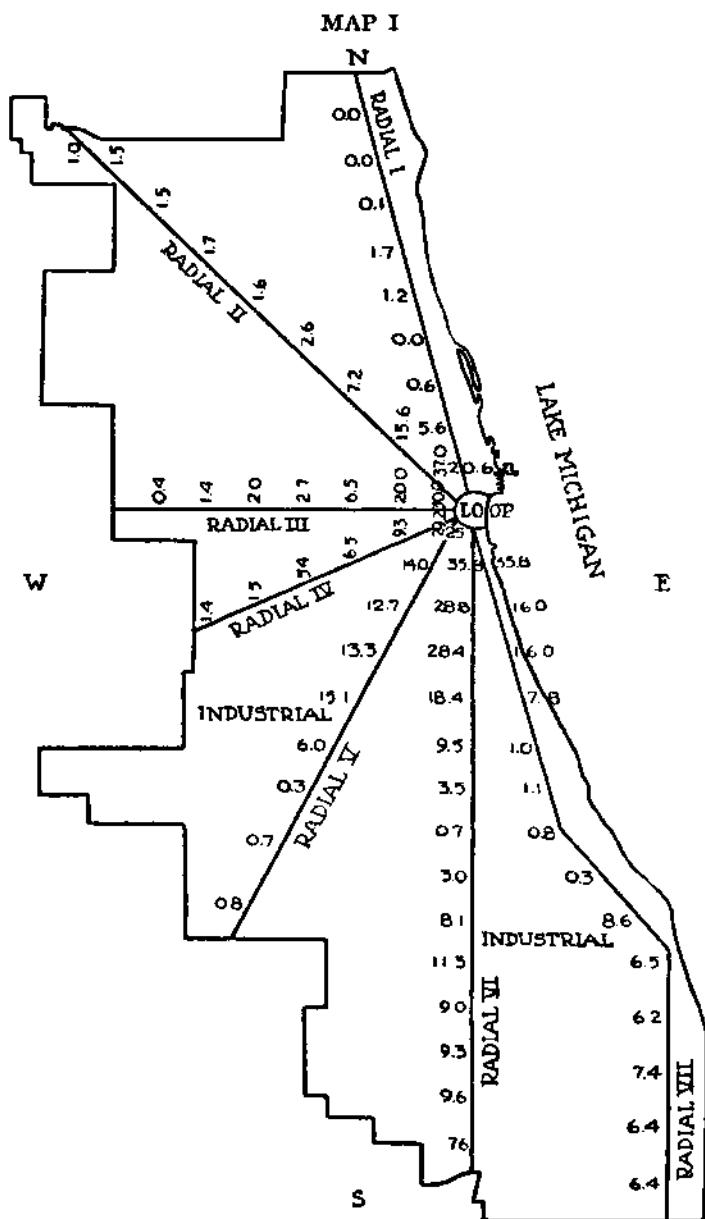
certain areas of the city, the geographical localization of certain kinds of delinquencies, the extremely high frequency of instances of stealing by groups of two or more boys (91 per cent of 6,466 unselected instances of stealing involved two or more participants), and the large number of cases in which the influence of older and more experienced offenders appears as an important factor are findings which seem to reflect community influence. At present, our knowledge of community influences consists of little more than such general impressions as the foregoing ones. There is, therefore, urgent need for a more objective method to evaluate community factors in relation to the development of delinquent careers.

In our general study of male juvenile delinquents in Chicago, we have found that the rate of delinquency is in many respects a valuable quantitative device for studying the community background of the delinquent. This rate is simply the percentage of male juvenile delinquents in the total male population between 10 and 16 years of age, computed upon the basis of the mile-square unit area. It is the purpose of this paper to briefly illustrate the application of this method to the study of male juvenile delinquency.

The first step in the computation of the rate of delinquency was to make a spot map showing the distribution of places of residence of the 9,243 alleged delinquents (10-16 years of age) who were brought into the thirty-seven police stations of Chicago during 1926. The cases in each square-mile area were counted and tabulated. From the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago, which had previously tabulated the 1920 federal census population data of Chicago by one-quarter-mile tracts, we obtained the total 10-16 year male population in each of the 499 tracts of the city. These data were then tabulated by mile-square areas. Thus, having tabulated the number of delinquents and the total 10-16 male population, the rate of delinquency was computed for each of the 181 mile-square areas of the city.

The rate of delinquency, computed by geographical units of uniform size, provided an objective basis for the comparative study of the number of arrested juvenile offenders living in different areas. When such comparison was made (see Map I) it was discovered that a disproportionately large number of delinquents were living in the areas immediately surrounding the Loop—the central business district of Chicago. In these areas approximately 37 per cent of the males between 10 and 16 years of age were brought into police stations on delinquent complaints during 1926. It was found also that the rate progressively decreases toward the boundary of the city, ranging from 37.0 in the areas contiguous to the Loop, to less than 1.0 in the areas near the city limits. The rate was found to be relatively high in areas adjacent to such industrial properties as the Union Stockyards and the steel mills of South Chicago (see Map I, radials V, VI, and VII).

The rate of delinquency has been computed in two large series of cases of male delinquents brought into the Juvenile Court of Chicago. In each of these series the rates correspond very closely to those presented on Map I.



RATE OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY BY SQUARE-MILE AREAS  
ALONG LINES RADIATING FROM LOOP

The decided concentration of cases of delinquency in particular areas of the city, as revealed in each of the three series of cases studied, seems to suggest the probability of a close relationship between certain community backgrounds and the formation of delinquent patterns of behavior.

The method used in this study is that of the utilization of the Pearson correlation coefficient and correlation by ranks. As an illustration of the application of this method to this kind of study we will present the correlation between rate of delinquency and (1) rate of family dependency (Series 1, 2, and 3), (2) percentage of families owning their homes, (3) percentage of foreign-born, (4) rate of increase or of decrease of population, and (5) percentage of aliens in the population.

Three series of cases were studied to determine the rate of family dependency, namely, the total number of families (6,000) that received financial aid from the United Charities and Jewish Charities during 1920 (Series I), the total number (1,700) of families that received financial assistance in the Mother's Pension Division of the Juvenile Court of Chicago in 1926 (Series II), and the families (900) represented by the 2,500 dependent children who appeared in the Juvenile Court of Chicago in 1926 (Series III). The cases in each series were plotted on a map of Chicago and tabulated by square-mile areas. The percentage of dependent families in the total number of families in each square-mile area was then computed.

The percentage of families owning their homes, the rate of increase or of decrease of population, the percentage of foreign-born, and the percentage of aliens in each mile-square area were obtained from the 1920 United States census report.

Table I shows a comparison of rate of delinquency and rate of family dependency (Series 1 and 2), percentage of families owning their homes, percentage of foreign-born, rate of increase or of decrease of population, and with percentage of aliens in the two series of mile-square areas along radials II and V (see Map I). Because of limitations of space, similar data for the other five radials cannot be presented. Radials II and V are presented because they yielded the highest and lowest rank correlations of the eight radials studied. The rank correlations in the last perpendicular column of Table I were computed upon the basis of the 36 one-quarter mile tracts comprising the 9 mile-square areas along each radial.

The data presented in Table I cannot be adequately discussed in this short paper. It should be pointed out, however, that the rate of each of the variables studied shows a marked tendency to vary with the rate of delinquency. This marked tendency is definitely indicated by the very high rank correlations. The variations in the rate of delinquency, rate of family dependency, percentage of families owning their homes, percentage of foreign-born, percentage of aliens, and rate of increase or decrease of population show a definite relationship to the types of areas that have resulted from the radial expansion of the city from the central business district.



Table II shows the coefficient of correlation between the rate of delinquency and family dependency (Series 1, 2, 3), rate of increase or decrease of population, percentage of foreign-born, and percentage of families owning

TABLE I

RELATION BETWEEN RATE OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND RATE OF FAMILY DEPENDENCY (SERIES 1, 2), PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES OWNING THEIR HOMES, PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN, RATE OF DECREASE OR INCREASE OF POPULATION, PERCENTAGE OF ALIENS BY MILE-SQUARE AREAS ALONG RADIALS II AND V (SEE MAP I)

	RADIAL II									
	1st Mile (Adjacent the Loop)	2nd Mile	3rd Mile	4th Mile	5th Mile	6th Mile	7th Mile	8th Mile	9th Mile	Rank Correlation
Rate of delinquency	37.0	15.6	7.2	2.6	1.6	1.7	2.5	1.5	1.0	.....
Rate of family dependency (Series I)	4.7	2.4	1.5	0.25	0.30	0.07	0	0	0	+ .90
Rate of family dependency (Series II)	3.9	0.8	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	+ .92
Percentage of families owning homes	4.5	11.3	25.5	33.0	41.0	47.0	53.5	51.5	70.0	- .82
Percentage of foreign-born	51.5	40.3	38.3	27.5	25.5	24.0	28.0	28.0	19.0	+ .92
Rate of decrease or increase of population	-48.0	-24.2	-9.5	+26.6	+94.6	+74.3	+135.6	+135.6	+83.7	- .89
Percentage of aliens	20.0	19.1	7.2	3.5	2.7	4.3	8.1	3.4	3.4	+ .88
	RADIAL V									
	1st Mile (Adjacent the Loop)	2nd Mile	3rd Mile	4th Mile	5th Mile	6th Mile	7th Mile	8th Mile	9th Mile	Rank Correlation
Rate of delinquency	25.0	14.0	12.7	13.3	15.1	6.0	0.3	0.7	0.8	.....
Rate of family dependency (Series I)	5.7	1.2	1.6	2.5	3.0	1.0	0.3	0.4	0.0	+ .79
Rate of family dependency (Series II)	1.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.1	+ .57
Percentage of families owning homes	8.0	14.0	28.0	27.0	22.0	39.0	61.0	70.0	70.0	- .60
Percentage of foreign-born	45.0	51.0	31.0	37.0	52.0	39.0	23.0	21.0	30.0	+ .50
Rate of decrease or increase of population	-60.7	-43.7	-11.7	+ 1.8	+25.0	+82.8	+210.2	+300.0	+86.5	- .56
Percentage of aliens	20.0	23.0	10.0	14.7	30.0	12.2	2.0	3.3	5.0	+ .62

their homes, computed upon the basis of the 181 mile-square areas of Chicago. Here again the high correlations indicate the tendency of the variable factors to vary with the rate of delinquency in the different local areas.

Because this study is in a primary stage of development, no further interpretation of the findings will be attempted in this paper. The primary purpose of the paper was to suggest a method for the study of delinquency in its relation to community background.

TABLE II

CORRELATION BETWEEN RATE OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND RATE OF FAMILY DEPENDENCY (SERIES 1, 2, 3), RATE OF INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION, PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN, AND PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES OWNING THEIR HOMES

	Number of Square-Mile Unit Area	Pearson - R	Probable Error
Rate of dependency (Series 1) . . . . .	181	+ .684	0.0278
Rate of dependency (Series 2) . . . . .	181	+ .687	0.0278
Rate of dependency (Series 3) . . . . .	181	+ .650	0.0297
Rate of increase or decrease of population . . . . .	181	- .560	0.0345
Percentage of foreign-born . . . . .	172	+ .645	0.0305
Percentage of families owning their homes . . . . .	181	- .395	0.0422

# STEREOTYPES

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## ABSTRACT

*Stereotypes.*—The existence of stereotypes can be demonstrated and their action measured statistically. These stereotypes have a relation to occupational classifications. The action of stereotypes is bound up with our estimates of such personal traits as intelligence and craftiness. Statistical evidence has been assembled in proof of these points.

The term "stereotypes" was coined by Lippmann to designate those pictures in our heads which represent the supposed appearance of individuals of certain races, classes, occupations, and social groups. The notion had of course had a long history prior to Lippmann. It must suffice to note here that the idea of stereotypes calls to mind that of collective representations; also that in discussing stereotypes one is compelled sooner or later to use the language of the *Gestalt* psychologists.

Dr. Rice devised a technique for the statistical study of stereotypes. He published an article on the subject in a recent issue of the *Journal of Personnel Research*. New material has now been gathered and certain improvements in the statistical technique have been arrived at by applying it to a larger number of cases, which is the reason for the present paper.

Three propositions can be put forward: (1) The existence of stereotypes can be demonstrated and their action measured statistically. (2) These stereotypes have a relation to occupational classifications. (3) The action of stereotypes is bound up with our estimates of personal traits such as intelligence and craftiness.

For these I shall give statistical evidence, going into detail as much as possible concerning the method.

The material presented was obtained by an experiment in which 258 students of Dartmouth College (male), 31 members of the Norwich Vermont Grange (mixed), 158 Wharton School students (male), 75 girls of the Southern Illinois Normal University, and fifty girls of the School of Education of the University of Pennsylvania participated. All of these were in small groups and constituted a total of 572 persons.

In the *Boston Herald* for December 15, 1924, were found nine portraits of persons represented in the day's news. The reproductions were unusually clear and were uniformly about 2×3 inches in size. They were placed without identification upon a sheet of paper and were lettered from A to I. In the first part of the experiment the subjects were informed that the sheet contained the pictures of a bootlegger, a European premier, a bolshevik, a United States

senator, a labor leader, an editor-politician, two manufacturers, and a financier. Suggestions as to identity were carefully avoided. The job set was that of identifying these individuals by letter and of arranging them in order of rank, first with respect to intelligence, second with regard to craftiness, the latter trait being defined as that characteristic which would lead one to take an unfair advantage in a business negotiation. In case an individual was recognized, he was to be left out of the identifications and the ratings. After an interval of one week those participating in the experiment were given the correct identifications and asked to rank the individuals again in these two qualities, without reference to previous estimates. It was then divulged that the individuals to be identified were: Premier Herriot, labor-leader Duncan, soviet-envoy Krassin, financier McIntosh, editor-Governor Glynn, bootlegger Max

TABLE I

	*1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Premier Herriot . . .	36	17	75	1	1	8	1		130	15	102	1.16	1
Labor-leader Duncan . .	21	19	20	35	11	6	39	4	155	17	62	.4	7
Soviet-envoy Krassin . .	70	4	17	20	7		17	22	157	17	118	.75	3
Financier McIntosh . . .	4	23	12	12	25	32	29	21	158	18	62	.39	8
Editor-politician Glynn .	3	22	5	25	36	3	53	8	155	17	100	.64	5
Bootlegger Agel . . .	1	14	4	9	24	83	23		158	18	146	.91	2
Manufacturer Schwab . .		27	2	13	22	4	69	16	154	17	101	.65	4
Manufacturer Heinz . . .	3	18	11	31	20	12	51	10	156	17	61	.39	9
Senator Pepper . . .	1	14	7	7	11	10	32	30	112	12	52	.46	6
Total . . . . .	139	158	153	153	157	158	314	111	...	...	...	...	...
Chance . . . . .	15	18	17	17	17	18	35	12	...	...	...	...	...
Departures . . . . .	160	42	122	86		162	145	79	...	...	...	...	...
Index of departure . . .	1.15	.26	.80	.56	.51	1.02	.46	.71	...	...	...	...	...
Rank . . . . .	1	9	3	5	8	2	6&7	4	...	...	...	...	...

\*Key to columns: 1, premier; 2, labor leader; 3, bolshevik; 4, financier; 5, editor-politician; 6 bootlegger; 7, manufacturer; 8, senator; 9, total; 10, chance; 11, departures; 12, index of departure; 13, rank.

Agel, manufacturer Schwab, manufacturer Heinz, and Senator Pepper. The pictures were shown for the second time and the entire rating was done *de novo*.

The identifications made by 158 Wharton School students are shown in Table I. The names of the individuals are given in the rows. The columns may be read straight across as shown in the key. You will notice that 36 students identified Herriot as premier; 17, as labor leader; 75, as bolshevik; 1, as financier; 1, as editor; 8, as bootlegger; 1, as manufacturer; and none, as senator. Others recognized him and left him out of their identifications and their ratings. Bootlegger Agel was identified 83 times as bootlegger, no doubt because of his outdoor costume and the pose with the turned up collar and the cigar. This is the largest number of correct identifications. The numbers in the column headed Manufacturers are larger than the others; it should be remembered that the students were asked to find two manufacturers.

The principle of probabilities underlies the interpretation of this data. It is not the correctness or incorrectness of the identifications that is significant. It is the degree of concentration of identifications which indicates the existence of stereotypes, and of stereotypes having a considerable degree of similarity. (If stereotypes were different in every different mind, their existence would not be revealed by this method.)

As an inference from the principle of probabilities, if the distribution of these identifications were governed wholly by chance, we should expect a fairly smooth distribution, about the same number in each space. A glance at the table shows that this is not the case. There are bunchings of as high as 83, 75, 70, and 69. This is not at all the sort of distribution we should expect to get by chance. The theoretical chance distribution is obviously biased by something; we assume that it is biased by the action of stereotypes. Since some measure of the amount of concentration was desirable, Dr. Rice devised the index of departure from expectation, a modified form of coefficient of variation. Following the column of totals is a column headed chance. In this is given the number of identifications we should expect to find in each space if the distribution were governed wholly by chance. It is obtained by dividing the total by nine; the column headed Manufacturer has a double weight. The number is the same as the mean.

Following the column headed Chance is a column headed Departures, which contains the total numbers of departures from expectation in each row. Thus in the first space we have 36 identifications; we should expect 15; the number of departures is 21. In the third space we have 75 identifications; the number of departures is 60; the total number of departures for the first row is 162. The index of departure from expectation for any row is obtained by dividing the total number of departures from expectation for that row by the total number of identifications in that row. This index measures the amount of bunching in the distribution of any row or column. A high index shows a high degree of bunching. The indices are here computed by both columns and rows, which was not done when the method was used previously. They seem to be equally significant. The indices for rows show that the individuals shown in the pictures conform to prevalent stereotypes, so that the distribution of their identifications is not smooth. The indices for columns show that stereotypes for certain of the occupations mentioned exist, and that some of the individuals in the group conform to these stereotypes.

The indices of departure from expectation for individuals and for occupations are given in Tables II and III. The three individuals who usually show the highest indices are: Herriot, Krassin, and Agel. The indices for occupations are also interesting. Notice that the following four are the four high indices in the Dartmouth, Wharton School, and Normal School distributions: the premier, the bootlegger, the bolshevik, and the senator. In the figures for the School of Education the financier crowds out the senator for the fourth place. The labor leader is always low in the scale. This suggests the possibility

of research as to the type of person concerning whom we have stereotypes. The present distribution is of course partly due to the choice of pictures.

We thus find when this experiment is repeated with different groups that the same sort of distribution is repeated. There are differences, and these also should be enlightening; but the uniformity may be taken as evidence of the validity of the data. We find the same high indices for persons, indicating that these persons correspond more or less to prevalent stereotypes, and the same high indices for occupations, indicating that there are stereotypes corresponding to those occupations.

TABLE II  
INDICES OF DEPARTURE FROM EXPECTATION FOR INDIVIDUALS

	Dartmouth	Grange	Wharton School	Normal School	School of Education
Premier Herriot . . . . .	1.20	1.36	1.16	1.34	1.08
Labor-leader Duncan . . . . .	.35	.71	.4	.70	.36
Soviet-envoy Krassin . . . . .	.84	1.42	.75	.78	1.11
Financier McIntosh . . . . .	.30	.71	.30	.30	.44
Editor-politician Glynn . . . . .	.48	.63	.64	.65	.52
Bootlegger Agel . . . . .	1.02	1.50	.91	1.09	.96
Manufacturer Schwab . . . . .	.57	.80	.65	.86	.60
Manufacturer Heinz . . . . .	.47	.71	.39	.57	.44
Senator Pepper . . . . .	.27	.46	.46	.57	.52

TABLE III  
INDICES OF DEPARTURE FROM EXPECTATION BY OCCUPATION

	Dartmouth	Wharton School	Normal School	School of Education
Premier . . . . .	.92	1.15	1.24	1.12
Labor-leader . . . . .	.44	.26	.38	.44
Bolshevik . . . . .	.63	.80	1.29	1.04
Financier . . . . .	.38	.56	.46	.60
Editor-politician . . . . .	.33	.51	.52	.48
Bootlegger . . . . .	1.17	1.02	1.24	.84
Manufacturer . . . . .	.39	.46	.53	.51
Senator . . . . .	.70	.71	.70	.56

My third proposition was that these stereotypes are connected with estimates of personal traits such as intelligence and craftiness. You will remember that those taking the test were asked to rank the individuals in intelligence and craftiness. A chart was prepared showing the ranking in intelligence according to the supposed occupation. (Unfortunately this chart, on account of its complexity, cannot be reproduced here.) Thus, Duncan was identified as premier 31 times, by those who so identified him he was ranked first in intelligence four times; second, seven times, etc. The dependence of the estimate of intelligence upon the occupational identification may be shown roughly by this chart, which must also be studied both by columns and by rows. The distribution of ranks looks more like a random distribution when studied by rows than

when studied by columns. Thus the real United States senator got seven firsts, seven seconds, seven thirds, nineteen sixths, seemingly what might very well have occurred by chance. But the senator column got thirty first places.

In order to treat this material statistically, a scoring system was used, giving a weight of eight points to every first place, seven to every second, etc., down to the ninth place, which carried no weight. Percentages of possible scores are shown in Table IV. In parallel columns are shown scores of individuals on the first test, where the occupation is unknown, scores by individuals where the occupation and identification are given, and scores by occupation.

Which is the more important in determining the final estimate as given in column 2—where the correct identification is known—the appearance of the individual, or his occupation? If the appearance is more important, columns 1

TABLE IV  
INTELLIGENT SCORES

	Wharton School			Normal School			Education		
	*1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
A. Herriot . . . . .	.49	.72	.75	.28	.46	.66	.51	.71	.70
B. Duncan . . . . .	.52	.32	.45	.55	.51	.30	.55	.51	.56
C. Krassin . . . . .	.60	.44	.37	.67	.44	.26	.74	.48	.44
D. McIntosh . . . . .	.50	.62	.74	.40	.68	.69	.44	.58	.63
E. Glynn . . . . .	.65	.66	.54	.59	.61	.59	.58	.57	.47
F. Agel . . . . .	.30	.12	.18	.22	.10	.12	.29	.13	.20
G. Schwab . . . . .	.52	.54	.52	.60	.53	.48	.54	.54	.47
H. Heinz . . . . .	.58	.45	.52	.62	.55	.48	.54	.50	.47
I. Pepper . . . . .	.44	.56	.68	.50	.62	.82	.43	.61	.61

\*Key to columns: 1, individual scores—first test; 2, individual scores when correct identification was given; 3, occupational scores.

and 2 will show a closer correlation than columns 2 and 3. The degree of correspondence in these columns, in terms of the Spearman rho, is as follows:

Columns 1 and 2: Wharton School, .035; Normal School, .1; School of Education, —.2 (minus two-tenths).

Columns 2 and 3: Wharton School, .925; Normal School, .825; Education, .925.

The estimate of intelligence when the correct identification is given thus corresponds very closely to the estimate of intelligence already expressed for the occupation. It would thus seem that, given a pictorial impression of a person, we classify him as to occupational or social group and then supply the estimate of personal qualities from this.

The subject of stereotypes seems likely to prove an interesting and fruitful topic of research. Dr. Samuel Fernberger, of the department of psychology of the University of Pennsylvania, had put in my hands a manuscript giving the results of an investigation of the relation of suggestion to stereotypes. Using the standardized Piderit models as a basis for his experiments, and em-

ploying two degrees of suggestion, he finds that the identification of facial expressions is greatly influenced by suggestion. A moderate degree of suggestion is about as effective as a greater degree. The implications of Fernberger's study are far-reaching and should be noted by all students of public opinion and political action.

A number of questions concerning stereotypes seem worth mentioning. Of whom do we have stereotypes? How are they formed? Do they disappear upon intimate acquaintance with members of a particular group? How do they enter into the formation of political attitudes? Are stereotypes really representative of social types? Do we have stereotypes of pictures, or of rôles? Photographic, or dramatic, stereotypes? What is the relation of pictorial stereotypes of stereotyped ideas?



## AN ATTITUDE ON ATTITUDE RESEARCH<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

The development of sociology as a natural science has been hindered by: (1) Emphasis upon its normative rather than upon its descriptive aspects; (2) Too much attention to subjective factors such as ideas, ideals, motives, sentiments, wishes, and attitudes and too little attention to objective, overt behavior; (3) The inaccuracy, indefiniteness, and anarchistic confusion of sociological concepts. A critical examination of the concept "attitude" reveals its scientific shortcomings from all three points of view. It is all things to all men; it is seldom used consistently by any one writer; it is normative, valuative, subjective; it refers to verbal responses, opinions, habits, vegetative processes, tendencies to act, impulses to act, inhibitive impulses, feelings, wishes, values, motor sets, and various combinations of these. The attempt to differentiate "attitudes" and "values" is shown to be impossible in practice. Most so-called "attitude" research is really "opinion" research. The concept is largely invalidated because of its subjective implications.

The constructive part of the analysis results in a definition of attitude as "the relatively stable overt behavior of a person which affects his status." Attitudes which are common to a group are thus social attitudes or "values" in the Thomasian sense. The attitude is the status-fixing behavior. This differentiates it from habit and vegetative processes as such and totally ignores the hypothetical "subjective states" which have formerly been emphasized.

Investigation of attitudes thus depends upon the observation, quantification, and generalization of overt behavior. The questionnaire is held to be of little use for attitude research. The life-history, personal interview, and all written documents are little better, except as clues. The best sources are indirect evidences of overt behavior. The final test of an attitude is, "How do persons behave?" Statistical treatment of recorded uniformities is urged as the only valid method of scientific generalization. Examples of this kind of attitude research are cited.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928).

# A SOCIOLOGICAL CLINIC FOR THE STUDY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

**A sociological clinic for the study of juvenile delinquency.**—A clinic can serve the sociologist as an outlet for research and as a means to make his own case studies. Besides the members of the department of sociology at Vanderbilt University who form the staff of the clinic, three research assistants are detailed to this work. By special arrangement cases are cleared through Vanderbilt Hospital for medical and psychological examinations. The interviewer and investigator are combined, with the resulting advantage of placing the expert in closer touch with the case. The outline, serving as a guide in the collection of data, attempts to get at the objective facts of the child's personality and of his social setting, as well as the subjective facts pertaining to his real and ideal world. The clash between the two is offered as a tentative hypothesis to explain delinquent behavior. The child's world is suggested as a frame of reference in which potential factors may be checked in order to discover whether they have operated as actual causes in each case of delinquency.

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*The clinic and sociological research.*—The clinic idea is an innovation in sociology and has developed out of a rather vigorous emphasis on research in recent years. The clinic at Nashville, accordingly, was not founded as dispensary for the diagnosis and treatment of social ills. On the other hand, it was established by the Department of Sociology at Vanderbilt as an outlet for, and an aid to, research.

The clinic is not merely a place to conduct research, but it is an avenue by which the sociologists can gain access to cases. And this is significant when we realize that the sociological pendulum has swung from armchair delineation of problems to the actual collection of raw data, and that at the same time there has been an increased emphasis and reliance on the case-study method in sociology. While the use of cases by sociologists is a big step in advance, heretofore they have had to rely on somebody else's cases, namely, those collected by social workers and psychiatrists. (Witness the sociological use of the Judge Baker Foundation cases.) We have been guilty of the same old borrowing "complex" of years ago, when we took over a few "principles" from biology, natural science, philosophy, ethics, psychology, economics, gave these ideas a "social" significance, and called the net result sociology. And while it is much better to borrow concrete data and actual observations than fictions and hypotheses, the time has come when we must collect our own materials and our own cases. A clinic established by sociologists enables them to find, study, and collect cases and to hunt for certain things that they have reason to believe are

<sup>1</sup> Established by E. T. Krueger and Walter C. Reckless.

important. It is not enough to socialize or "sociologize" psychiatrists and social workers, to indicate the need for a more thoroughgoing sociological emphasis in their study of cases, and to indicate how to collect data in this overlooked increment of cases. On the other hand, it is important that sociologists make their own cases studies and procure the data which they think are significant.

While the present paper outlines the procedure developed for the study of juvenile offenders, the sociological clinic in Nashville has been used, with certain modifications of the approach herein stated, for research into cases of neglected and foster children as well as for the investigation of disorganized families and adults. Indeed, we turn into the clinic all those advanced students in sociology whose thesis projects require the collection of cases.

*Mobilization of resources.*—The Nashville clinic at its present embryonic stage represents mainly a mobilization of resources in the city for the study of cases which fall within the general field of social pathology. It is maintained by the members of the department of sociology of Vanderbilt University, who direct its work and research. While a number of students working for advanced degrees are running cases in the clinic, at present we have assigned three research assistants (advanced students devoting half-time to research) to the task of making case studies of juvenile delinquents. By special arrangement with Vanderbilt Hospital we are able to clear our cases of children for routine medical and psychological examinations. A complete set of record forms, prepared by Dr. Krueger and myself, were donated to the clinic. An interviewing room devoted exclusively to the research of the clinic has been procured, the rent for which was obtained from one of the local civic organizations. Since there are no psychiatrists in the city who work with problem children, we are unable to procure psychiatric examinations for our cases. From the standpoint of an ideally complete case study, independent of the purposes for which it may be used, a psychiatric report would be highly valuable for each case, since it would supplement the data obtained by the sociological interviewer and investigator and would supply an interpretation of, and an emphasis on, the supposedly innate traits of personality. When it is necessary to inquire into the special abilities, affectivity and temperament of children—and we are unable to do this in all cases—we call upon the psychologists at Vanderbilt University and Peabody College for teachers to make these special tests.

*The referring agency and administrative control.*—Most of the cases studied by our clinic come to us from the juvenile court. While at present we are concentrating on juvenile delinquents, we have from time to time received cases from other social agencies, like the settlements, the charities organization, the Y.M.H.A., for study. An important essential for clinical research of this type is to have administrative control over the case, the study of which, therefore, is not hindered by superior authority. Research does not seem to prosper if one is told what to do and where to report to by inexperienced superiors. Our hands are relatively free to conduct the case studies as we see fit.

It is understood that we undertake most of the cases for study purposes only. That is, we do not attempt to do correctional work. In return, however, we make a report to the court or initiating agency summarizing our findings and suggesting recommendations for treatment on the basis of the data. In a few instances we undertake a case for study and treatment, especially if it is a baffling case, that is, one with which the agency failed. But in such instances we let it be known that we are not "medicine men." However, in these cases undertaken for readjustment it should be noted that treatment can be dealt with as an experiment in adjustment, with certainly less violence to the child than stereotyped prescriptions, uniform for all cases. And when one is really interested in trying a given program of adjustment as suggested by the data to see how it works or why it fails, treatment becomes research.

*Restricted intake of cases.*—In order to preserve the clinic for research we find it necessary to restrict the intake cases. A heavy load would force us to increase our facilities, which we cannot do, limit the quantity of data we would normally gather when not pressed, and affect the quality of data by necessitating short-cut methods. This year we have limited the intake of juvenile delinquents mainly to boys. And while we are unable to handle the cases of all boys who appear in court, we select those which, on the basis of the court's record, appear to present the most interesting problems for study. With three assistants we expect to study in detail fifty cases in nine months.

*The interviewer and investigator combined.*—In the larger child-guidance clinics, where specialization has been found necessary, we might say that a case passes through four hands: (1) the social worker, who makes the social investigation and gathers the background data on the child's family and neighborhood; (2) the physician, who performs the physical examination; (3) the psychologist, who gives mental tests; and (4) the psychiatrist, who diagnoses the child's personality through the interview. In the smaller child-guidance clinics the psychiatrist besides must frequently run the "physicals" and "psychologicals," while the duties of the social worker remain the same, namely, as an investigator in the field. In our clinic, although the "physicals" and "psychologicals" constitute a separate service on the case, we make no division between the expert who studies the child himself and a worker who collects the background data. Our research assistants undertake a combined study of both the child's personality (at least in its sociological aspects) and his social environment. They are therefore interviewers and investigators combined. And from the standpoint of research into juvenile delinquency and conduct problems, we find that it is advantageous to have the child and his social setting studied as a whole rather than the child and his physical and mental equipment investigated as a unit or separate units with his family and community framework appended; for the expert, who follows the child into the home, the school-room, the play-ground for observation, not only gets closer to his case than he would if he stayed solely in his interviewing rooms, but also is actually able to check the child's own story, the mother's story, and so on with actual situations.

*Flexibility in procedure.*—We have attempted to introduce as much flexibility into the procedure of making a case study as possible. Of course, some routinized procedure is apparent. When a case is opened a summary of the court record (or the record of the referring agency) is made and the case cleared through the exchange. The child is interviewed, sent for physical and mental examinations; the mother and other members of the family are interviewed; family and neighborhood observations are made, and so forth. The order here given is not meant to indicate a stereotyped routine. As a matter of fact, a brief superficial interview with the child may begin the case, followed by medical and psychological examinations, or the latter may be delayed until most of the data from interview and observations in the field have been made. The point is that with an elastic procedure one can adapt research to the case rather than the case to research.

*The final interview and check-up.*—No matter in just what order the data has been collected on a given case, we have found that a final interview with the child is necessary to check on certain points in his previous story in view of the information obtained in the field, and particularly from the mother's story, and to follow up certain clues suggested in the data gathered from sources other than the child himself. The final interview is usually a part of the specific and pointed check-up on all of the data of each case, according to the recommendations made in clinical conference.

*Clinical conferences.*—After the data from all sources is collected and assembled—before, and therefore not including, the final interview and check-up—the case is presented in conference with those who comprise the clinic. The case is reviewed and the data are subject to criticism in regard to significance and completeness. Points for further study and more detailed observation are noted. And so are the apparent inconsistencies in the data. These call for re-check and correction by further interviews and notations in the field.

The discussion of the cases in these clinical conferences leads to a critique of the case-study method. If I were to summarize these critical discussions I would say that they center about three main points: first, the discussion of what facts are significant: second, the ways and means of procuring them; and third, the reliability of such data. The critique involving the first point leads to a progressive testing and revision of an outline which serves as a guide in the accumulation of data on each case. The second point brings up the question of the technique of interviewing and of making observations in the field. The third question has to do with the possible distortion of the facts due to the bias of the outline, the personal equation of the interviewer or investigator, faulty technique, and so forth.

Many suggestions for improvement of our procedure and technique have grown out of these clinical conferences. And we have instituted the practice of recording a summary of the discussion at each conference, so that we are accumulating a journal of our experience.

There are really two parts to our outline as it now stands. The first part consists of the rather conceptualized schema covering the significant points to be observed in a case. This represents the guide for the accumulation of the objective facts, such as the medical examination, the I.Q. and other mental traits, the child's habits and behavior, the family and neighborhood situations confronting the child, and so on.

*Subjective data.*—The second part of the outline consists of guide questions to get at the subjective data, that is, the child's responses (or attitudes) to situations. For example, suppose that on investigation the sociologist finds commercialized vice present in the neighborhood of a delinquent girl. When the search for causative factors in this case takes place, after all the data is collected, how can we determine whether this condition played any direct part in causing the child's delinquency? Questions in the interview can be framed specifically to discover how the girl was affected by this neighborhood condition and how she responded to it, if at all directly. The same applies to situations within the family. Suppose that Johnny became delinquent after his parents were divorced. What direct effect did the family tensions and broken home have on him? They may not have had any immediate consequence, although the break-up may have rendered it increasingly difficult for the mother to control the boy. Thus it is that the second part of our outline is calculated to serve as a guide for getting subjective data from the child in regard to his world situated in the family and neighborhood, which, while objectively it appears to be the same for him as for his brother, is really much different.

*The child's world.*—The child's own family and community, therefore, are a part of his total world—sometimes a negative part—and may be said to consist of the particular ways in which he is affected by, and responds to, the social situations and relationships contained therein. In other words, his family and community are his real world, for they constitute his social environment as it rests in his mind.

However, the child's total world includes not merely that self-contained area of life within the family and community, but also his ambitions, hopes, aspirations, his imagined projection of himself into various situations, as well as his vicarious and idealized experiences. The second part of our outline is designed not only to procure the subjective data on the child's real world but also on his ideal world.

Parenthetically we might say that most of his troubles, discomforts, disappointments happen in his real world, that is, in his family and community; while he attempts to build over his real world in terms of his ideal world. Consequently, a very suggestive hypothesis, which of course needs to be checked, is, namely, that the behavior, which finally becomes delinquency, results from the effort on the part of the child to recast his real world in terms of his ideal world.

The attempt to penetrate the child's world, both real and ideal, is by no

means original with us. Healy, although he did not place great emphasis on the value of subjective data, found many enlightening clues from the child's own story. Shaw (of Chicago) developed a technique for getting boys to write their own stories and found such documents very revealing. Shaw's method leads to a life-history, written by the child himself. But autobiographies of this sort, while extremely interesting and significant, can only be obtained in a very few instances, and even then they contain much irrelevant information and are bound to lack certain data of importance. Through the medium of the interview the particular facts in regard to the child's world can be gathered more readily and efficiently.

*Data recorded in concrete terms.*—We have insisted that the data, no matter whether collected in the field or from interviews, no matter whether objective or subjective, should be recorded in descriptive language. Interviews are written up in the language of the child or parent. Observations are noted in concrete terms. In other words, we avoid the use of concepts in recording data. For example, if the child is found persistently to do the opposite thing from what its father tells it, conceptually we might make an entry of negativism on the books. If "concepts" are substituted for concrete behavior, no one, except the person who made the case study, can get behind them to the actual raw data. Even he would have to rely on memory. The use of technical language is, to be sure, necessary as a short-cut method when a child-guidance clinic is swarmed with cases waiting diagnosis and recommendations. However, the technically recorded and conceptually abbreviated case is practically worthless from the standpoint of research. On the other hand, concretely recorded data is open to the check of others; for they can see just what facts were observed, question their reliability or the analysis made of them, and can use these facts to compare with the concrete facts of other cases.

*Capturing vocabulary.*—A very important part of the effort to record data in concrete terms is the attempt to capture the vocabulary of the person interviewed. That is, when the interview with a child or parent is written up, the individual's own language should be used. The record then becomes more of a primary than a secondary source of data. It becomes much more of a record of language responses, which is the main avenue for procuring subjective data and for discovering the world of the child.

While we are familiar with the various aids which facilitate the recording of data obtained in interviews, such as the use of stenographer, dictaphone, and so forth, we have had to rely on the investigator's unassisted recording. In some instances our investigators have found that, without hindrance to rapport, they were able to make a few notes, using the key phrases of the person interviewed. These notes serve as an aid to the detailed recall of the interview when the investigator comes to write it up. The notes also help capture the vocabulary of the person interviewed. Since most of the details of interview recorded depend upon memory of investigator, it is necessary that each and every inter-

view be written up very soon after its occurrence (soon in hours, not in days). The longer the period between the interview and its recording, the greater the distortion due to lapse of memory.

*The intensive approach.*—In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the theoretical contention that the larger the mass of detail collected on a case the better the case for purposes of research is open to some question. We have tried the intensive method of approach and have placed competent investigators on single cases for a period of a few months, in the attempt to exhaust every nook and corner in which significant data might be lying undetected. Our feeling in regard to this is that there is a point of diminishing returns where further information on a case does not seem to add a great deal to the total findings. Just where this point of diminishing returns is we cannot definitely say at this time. This problem is an interesting one and we are keeping it in mind for further investigation. We are now experimenting with a less exhaustive approach<sup>2</sup> and find that it yields a mass of detail sufficient to discover the significant causative factors in any given case. Our feeling is, therefore, that after a certain point has been reached the completeness of a case is not to be measured in terms of the amount or bulk of data accumulated, but rather in terms of sufficiency of data to uncover the operation of various factors provoking the behavior problems.

*The point of reference.*—And finally, we have also discovered that there must be some point in the case itself in reference to which all the accumulated data gain significance. Burgess and Shaw some time ago suggested that this point of reference was the child's conception of his rôle and his conception of himself, and that he got into difficulty when his conception of himself and his rôle did not conform to the part he actually played and to the status he actually possessed in his various group relationships. This is a very intriguing hypothesis, which invites further check. Our experience has led us to broaden this reference point somewhat, so as to include the child's real and ideal world. We feel that the clash between the two, the attempts to recast the former in terms of the latter, gives us a certain control over all the various potential factors which may be discovered by the accumulation of objective data. Thus the child's real world reveals just how his native and acquired traits, his physical condition, his mental equipment operate in shaping his personality, and how the various social situations in the family and community have affect-

<sup>2</sup> We find that with the less exhaustive plan an investigator, by taking it leisurely and devoting half his time to research, can finish a case in two weeks. The less exhaustive approach, as we now have it, includes a summary of the case from the referring agency and a report from the confidential exchange, a full detailed interview with the child, medical and psychological (routine) examinations, a detailed interview with the mother (in the home), interview with school teacher, investigation of home and neighborhood, and a final check-up on data. Interviews with brothers or sisters, associates, other adults in close contact with case may be added when necessary.



ed him. I suppose that this is what Sutherland had in mind when he said in effect that feeble-mindedness per se was never a cause of crime, but that feeble-mindedness plus a certain social situation to which the person was called upon to adjust might be a cause of delinquency. In other words, the actual operation of physical, mental, and social factors cannot be discovered by mere listing of the presence or absence of traits and situations, like height, weight, physical condition, intelligence, capacities, habits, interests, family and neighborhood organization. The operation of such factors can be found only by penetrating the child's world to find out what things in his total environment affect him and in what ways he responds to them.

# DIVISION ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

## THE TRANSYLVANIA SAXONS: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY IN RACIAL SURVIVAL

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### I

What factors and conditions have enabled a small group of Germans to survive in a racially foreign and often hostile environment and to maintain its racial features intact for nearly 800 years?

There are a number of racial and national groups of comparatively small size scattered over Eastern and Southern Europe who have, notwithstanding all kinds of circumstances, survived for hundreds, and in a few cases for thousands, of years. A number of such groups are to be found on other continents. The Ainu in Japan are a well-known case. In Africa there have likewise been found small groups here and there which are more or less of an abnormal nature in their particular environment, but have managed somehow or other to survive all kinds of handicaps. In Western Asia there are likewise isolated groups which, according to all expectations, should have perished long ago. The Armenians are perhaps the best-known example. In the Balkans such racial survivals are an almost everyday occurrence.

The present paper is a brief outline of a study of the Transylvanian Saxons as a specimen of such racial survival.

### II

The Transylvania Saxons emigrated probably from the northern part of Holland between 1142 and 1162. There were several migrations of bands ranging from 500 to 1,500 at a time. The total number is supposed to have been about 20,000.

As to the causes of this migration there is fairly good authority. The Zuyder Zee had made a number of people homeless. Messengers are supposed to have been sent by King Geysa II to invite these people to come to Transylvania, at that time a rather loosely held part of Hungary. King Geysa wanted a warlike people who could hold their own against the bands overrunning the country from time to time from Wallachia and Moldavia. The Saxons had been known for their warlike qualities. He offered these prospective immigrants free land and promised them practical independence and opportunities for fighting.

The successive bands of immigrants were distributed roughly over seven

districts. They were given every opportunity to organize according to their own ideas. Each region had its own special organization, but with a *Sachsengraf* as their head, elected by the representatives of the seven colonies and confirmed by the king. The idea of the old German free public meeting was adhered to, and each colony managed its own affairs, reporting to the *Sachsengraf*. The colonies paid a small tribute directly to the king and were otherwise exempt from taxation. They were obliged to render military service, and their seal had the inscription *ad retinendam coronam* (for the protection of the crown). The representatives of the colonies met every two or three years to discuss affairs common to them all, such as defense, economic measures, and similar matters.

One Mongol invasion in 1241 greatly disturbed and disarranged the northern colonies, and to a less extent those in the center. Over twenty Turkish invasions occurred, the first of which took place in 1420. A number of Saxons were taken prisoners and carried away. The Saxons had fortified towns, however, and were able to escape the worst effects of these invasions. Moreover, the Turks were more concerned with levying tribute than with making prisoners. During the sixteenth century János Zapolya made Transylvania practically independent from the Hungarian crown by paying a small tribute to the Turks, and for 160 years Transylvania enjoyed comparative, although not full, immunity from Turkish invasions.

The Protestant Reformation soon found its way into Transylvania. John Honterus had studied in Switzerland and in Heidelberg and returned to Transylvania full of zeal for the new religion. The seeds fell on fertile ground, and in 1546 the delegates of the different colonies adopted the Lutheran doctrine as a body. Shortly after four religions were given full recognition by the government, namely, the Roman Catholic, the Reformed, the Lutheran, and the Unitarian. There are today about fifty thousand Unitarians living in Transylvania, mostly Magyars. A fair number of Magyars adopted the Reformed religion, while the Saxons were all Lutherans.

Later sparse immigration from Germany to Transylvanian Saxon territory was banned because there were a number of noblemen among these immigrants who did not fit into the *bourgeois* and peasant-proprietor social atmosphere.

### III

Among the specific means which enabled the Saxons to keep their nationality pure, education is one of the foremost. From at least the time of the Reformation all of the teachers in higher educational institutions, such as the *Gymnasia* and the teachers' training schools, had to take three years at German universities. The lawyers and the physicians were likewise obliged to get their training at universities located on German territory. The Lutheran ministers in all churches except those of the smallest villages had to take three years' training at Protestant German universities. Every one of the students returning to Transylvania brought back, not only new ideas, but new incentives for continuing German national consciousness.

The language of the home and of general conversation is Saxon, while that of instruction in all schools, of religious services, and official acts is high German.

#### IV

Perhaps the most effective means of racial preservation are customs, folk lore, and taboos.

There are any number of old-fashioned customs in the home. There are differences in the customs of the seven colonies, and, frequently, minor differences in villages located within the same colony. But the basic customs are the same.

Marriage customs dating back in some cases apparently to wife capture still prevail in a modified form. One of the most interesting customs is called *den Borten abtanzen*. This means that on the first evening of the wedding—and weddings last two full days and nights—the bride with her friends dance around in a circle, each trying to keep her away from the men who surround the circle. In a number of cases the bride is supposed to stand in the center of the circle, her friends dancing round her to prevent the men from breaking the chain. The young men, and sometimes older ones, try to break through and pull the *Borten* off. The bride struggles and her friends help her and the young man who has broken through is sometimes not kindly dealt with. Some one of the young fellows will succeed, though, after a while in pulling the *Borten* off, and is entitled to a kiss. It is only after this ceremony has been dispatched that the groom and the bride are permitted to retire for the night. This custom means, consequently, the intimation that the newly wedded girl is about to lose her virginity, because the *Borten* is one of the specific parts of apparel of an unwed woman.

There are many local and national festivals at which a number of old customs play an important rôle. Generally speaking, the tendency of the Saxon mind is toward conservatism, not so much as regards science, but rather as regards the preservation of those old mores, chiefly because they have been a means of differentiating the Saxons from the Magyars and Rumanians.

The taboos can be mentioned only briefly. Within the same sex there are differences of dress. Boys are dressed differently from young men, and young men differently from married men. Girls differ in dress from young women, and unmarried women from the married. Both the young men and young women and married men and women are organized into brotherhoods and sisterhoods, each having different places assigned to them in church.

Religion is chiefly of the older orthodox or "fundamentalist" kind. Perhaps the principal religious taboo that should be mentioned here is Lutheranism. Every non-Lutheran, excepting perhaps the Reformed, is *eo ipso* tabooed. As to burial, there exist some of the most fascinating taboos. From the point of view of politics, the taboos consist primarily in never voting for anybody but a Saxon. Magyars and Rumanians have always been excluded from the votes of Saxons, and it was the solidarity of the Saxon votes in the diet at Buda Pesth which compelled the Hungarian government to rescind some of its

severe measures for Magyarizing the Saxons. As to taboos in economics, the rule is, Never be employed by a Magyar or Rumanian, but employ them. That is to say, the Saxon must never be subordinate to a non-Saxon.

As to taboos on social intercourse, the list is almost endless. The principal feature is, though, that every non-Saxon should be treated as an inferior. It is on the basis of the social taboo that intermarriage is absolutely out of the question for any Saxon, whether male or female. Any member who marries a non-Saxon is by that very fact cast out from intercourse with other Saxons and has to pass into the ranks of whoever the non-Saxon person may happen to be.

Social taboos may be summarized in the fact that domestic animals never have Saxon names. They either have Magyar or Rumanian names, indicating the general attitude of the Saxons toward their neighbors.

*Changes from 1848 to date.*—After the Magyar revolution was put down in 1848 by Austria with the aid of Russian forces, the Magyars had to submit to many humiliations and the Saxons gained enormously in prestige and importance down to about 1867. In that year the Ausgleich brought about a more amicable relation between Austria and Hungary and Magyar influence gained gradually in importance. Around 1875 the Magyar government insisted that the Magyar language should be taught at least in the higher Saxon schools, although as a foreign language. This demand was extended about 1895 to the obligatory teaching of Magyar even in the upper classes of the grades. This procedure had the tendency to increase Saxon determination to resist with every legal means the threatened Magyarization. The situation since 1918, when Transylvania became a part of Rumania, owing to the influence of the Allies, has not improved. The Saxons have determined that they shall not be denationalized and on the basis of their nearly 800 years of Germanism in isolation they are likely to win out, especially since they are now joined by the nearly one million Magyars in Transylvania.

## CASE STUDIES ON THE RÔLE OF RELIGION IN THE DISSOCIATED FAMILY

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The case-study method is one of particular value in the study of family dissociation. As Mowrer and Groves have demonstrated, a fundamental element in dissociated family life is failure in personality response, and it is only by detailed consideration of the personality relations involved in a number of families that an understanding of their significance can be reached. Certain difficulties are, however, involved in the procuring of cases for such studies. Social-agency records suffer from the selective influence necessarily involved in their making, namely, poverty, delinquency, psychopathy, and the like. Divorce and marriage-annulment records represent a fairly general sampling of the population, but are often distorted by their necessary conformity to the formal, and often artificial, requirements of legal processes. Moreover, such cases often do little more than register the terminal stage of family dissociation, giving little of the diffuse processes that have preceded the final débâcle.

There is needed a body of case studies based on an average cross-section of the population, suffering no more from poverty, illness, physical difficulty, conflict with the law, and psychopathic trouble than any random sample of the population, and representing family conflict in all stages, from the partially masked cleavages in a superficially close-knit family to the definitely disrupted family unit.

An attempt has been made to secure such case records at the University of Buffalo, and at a summer session of the University of Colorado, by requiring advanced students in sociology to present accounts of family situations that have come under their direct observation. This plan has been in operation over a period of three years, and has resulted in the securing of some one hundred cases.

Although no attempt has been made to arrange these cases according to any formal scheme of classification, nevertheless certain of them have exhibited such similarities in respect to certain feature as to make them fall naturally into various type-groups. One such group is composed of those cases in which religion has taken a prominent place in the life of some member of the family constellation. Three of these cases are presented herewith.

Case A is concerned with a man and woman now well advanced toward old age. Although the husband and wife are markedly contrasted in temperament, the wife being aggressive, dominating, and society loving, while the husband is retiring, physically ineffective, and "unworldly," there was no serious break in the family until two catastrophes overtook it. The first was the husband's

failure in business; the second was the wife's discovery that she could have no children other than the son born shortly after her marriage. Before this both husband and wife had been moderately active church members. After this the wife gradually withdrew from the church and devoted herself to her son, while the husband gave more and more time to his religious interests, took a less and less active share in the direction of his family affairs, and made an increasingly feeble effort to support his family.

His son is now approaching middle life. Since his first entry into business he has succeeded to an unusual degree, and now supports his father and mother as well as himself. Though personally attractive, he has not married. His mother's interests and affections are almost completely absorbed in him, her fond admiration for her successful son being sharply contrasted to the good-natured disdain and petty tyrannizing which she bestows upon her diffident and incompetent husband. The latter has entirely given up his business connections and directs all his energies into the one religious channel. During the week he is an assiduous reader of religious journals. On Sunday he zealously assumes his position as leader of a large Bible class of "young" women, a position and a class at which his wife delights to poke fun upon any occasion.

Case B is that of a family which was definitely broken by the desertion of the husband over a decade ago. He continued to contribute to the support of the family, which includes three sons, although this support was hardly necessary in view of the fact that his wife possessed a large private income. The management of her property and her children, however, has engaged her only sporadically. A recurrently dominant interest has made a greater appeal during the years, and has now resulted in the dissipation of her fortune and in a situation which finds her children full-grown, without the money to which they were accustomed during childhood and without the equipment to earn their own living in a systematic way. Their mother, originally from an old southern family, found herself, at the beginning of her marriage, in a western coast city noted, among other things, for its hospitality to religious charlatans. After her husband left her she devoted herself and her money to a curious succession of dispensers of salvation: an advocate of laughing exercises for mental and physical ills, an Oriental mystic preaching strict adherence to a diet of uncooked vegetables as a means of attaining spiritual perfection, an esoteric philosopher with a formula for eternal youth and lasting peace, as well as the general run of teachers of New Thought and of various forms of mental healing. But the gracious thanks for her devotion and financial support, the fluttering odds and ends of creed and ritual that comprise her religious philosophy, are not the only products of her religious career. There is the remembered glow of devotion in company with fellow-believers, and, when these companions in worship have been of the other sex, there has been the warmer glow of assurance that they were pursuing, not only a common religious ideal, but her personal attention and esteem as well. And she cannot understand, now that her children have left behind the years of a childhood during which their mother's attitude alternated between domineering severity and lavish displays of affection, why they, too,

are not drawn to the succession of religious dramas in which she enthusiastically plays her part.

Case C has to do with a man of middle age who has been identified since boyhood with a church of rigid puritanical traditions. Although it was at a church social that his wife met him, she quickly dropped out of church activities after her marriage, giving the bulk of her time and slender strength to the care of a rapidly growing family. The husband gradually forged ahead in church affairs, to become at last a trustee and superintendent of the Sunday school. In this position he began to devote considerable attention to young women choir singers, Sunday school teachers, and so forth. When it was suggested that this conduct in a man of his standing was causing comment, he affected helpless indignation at the pursuit the young women made after him, and in all virtue passively permitted their ejection, one after another, from the church.

Recently, however, his marked attentions to the soprano soloist aroused so much gossip that the minister and his wife made a point of verifying certain stories to the effect that they were meeting together surreptitiously. The board of trustees had a hurried meeting, and as a result the man was forced to resign from all his church offices. The girl, the only daughter of an unhappily mated couple, met the various reports of their meeting together with a futile combination of defiance and equivocation. She and her parents remained in the church only a short time, and then transferred to another, more cordial, congregation. Her mother steadily ignored certain aspects of the situation, and has indeed at times mildly encouraged the man's attentions to her daughter. After his demotion in his own church the man began to attend another of the same denomination, and now, unaccompanied either by his wife or the choir singer, takes an unobtrusive part in the services.

As may be seen, religion has played a positive and constructive rôle in none of these cases. In Case A, the church appeared to the husband as a source of solace and compensation at a time of serious crisis in his family affairs. Instead of attempting to solve this crisis he fled from it into the welcoming haven of his church activities and associations, allowing this critical situation to become stabilized into dissociation. In Case B, the mother's mystical meanderings have not only deprived her children of resources necessary for their support and education, but have also taken from them a large share of her time, energy, and interest. In Case C, church activities have not only widened the cleavage between husband and family, but have also built up a set of associations directly inimical to the integrity of the family itself.

It is to be noted that these cases deal only with disorganized families, and it may be that, in a study of well-integrated families, religion would appear to play a constructive and positive rôle. It must, nevertheless, be said that so far as concerns the series of cases from which these three families have been drawn, religion and the church seem to have played no vital part in reinforcing family life.



# A CO-OPERATIVE STUDY OF THE NORTHWESTERN CENTRAL REGION OF THE UNITED STATES

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Social surveys have usually taken as their largest unit of area a metropolitan district.

The present study takes for its unit of area a geographic region consisting of the states of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota, with fringes of western Wisconsin, northern Iowa and Nebraska, and eastern Montana and Wyoming, as may be necessary. It is, in short, the northwestern area of the United States. Taking the three states which constitute the nucleus of this area, they total over 231,000 square miles. Thus the area is more than twice that of the Philippine Islands. It is larger by scores of thousands of square miles than all of continental Spain or all of continental France. It is roughly coterminous with the great spring-wheat area. Were it not for the artificial boundary between Canada and the United States at 49° north latitude, the region would embrace portions of the Canadian provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. It has an area more than one-tenth of the national area, but with less than one-twentieth of the total population.

There is a unity about this region which makes of it something of a culture area. Its economic development has depended largely upon a few staple crops. The lines of railroad transportation and communication to Chicago and the east all converge through the Twin Cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul), the one metropolitan center of the region. Here also are found the financial and commercial institutions upon which the business development of the vast hinterland to the west so largely depends.

Common political attitudes and movements characterize the region and represent the response of a fairly homogeneous population to the physical and social environment. In recent decades this region has troubled and puzzled other sections of the nation by its economic peculiarities and its political idiosyncrasies.

Although state boundaries separate the centers of political control, these lines of division are after all less socially fundamental than the aforementioned common elements of culture which cut across the more formal political boundaries.

I quote the following paragraphs from the original statement of the project because the original purposes of the survey are here well expressed.

But while there is unity and uniformity in essentials, there is internal division and diversity at many points. While agriculture is the principal industry, there is mining also, and some lumbering. The population, although predominantly rural,

contains also a large village and "Main Street" element, and one distinctly metropolitan center. In fact, because of its distance from other great urban centers, factories, and markets, and the high costs of transportation, the region has been compelled to produce many things at home which would otherwise have been brought in, and recent and future changes in the freight-rate structure may hasten this process of change. Manufacturing has been developing, and must continue to develop, making the region more and more self-sufficient and independent economically. One great problem is that of coal and power—but we must refrain here from attempting any solutions.

It is worth our while to note, also, that this Northwest region is in an important stage of transition in which wise planning is essential to its welfare and prosperity. The first period of the utilization of the natural resources is almost at an end. The important forests are nearly all gone, and other resources are endangered. We face a new era in which a more conservative utilization is necessary. A careful study might reveal that our social and economic ideas and institutions and our political structure are at many points inadequate for the solution of these new problems. Extra-governmental associations of many kinds have sprung up to do the new planning required, but without a more careful study of the situation we cannot be certain whether even this planning is wise. In fact, there appears to be a distinct "lag" between the social need and the social agencies which we have set up for control of the social forces now operating in this region.

The only purpose of these few paragraphs is to show, however sketchily, that the Northwest is one region geographically, economically, socially, and politically. Its problems need to be studied as a unit or a group without too strict reference to state lines. We need to see, not only Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Montana, but also the Northwest area as a whole. Internal divisions and differences only lend piquancy and some difficulty to the task.

This seems like a large order in social surveys. We believe it will be practicable, however, for the three following reasons: (1) It is a co-operative study under the guidance of a committee representing all the social science departments of the University of Minnesota. (2) It is hoped to secure co-operation from the social science departments of other universities of the region. (3) It is expected that the study will extend over two decades.

The first step has been the compilation of a bibliography of 2,700 titles. Before investigating the social and cultural facts of the area, we regard it essential to assemble all physiographic and geographic data which limit or characterize the region. Consequently, the departments of geography, geology, forestry, soils, and farm management are co-operating in the preparation of an atlas of the area.

The atlas will therefore provide large base maps of the region upon which the chief facts of the temperature, sunlight, winds, distribution of metallic and non-metallic minerals, soils, and vegetation will be entered. From these basic facts a transition will be made to unprofitable lands, crop production, distribution of animals, lines of transportation and communication, and distribution of manufacturing plants, wealth, human population, social resources, and

social and political institutions. It should be apparent, therefore, that the survey will become in a very real sense a study of human ecology.

Up to the present, the work on the physical aspects of the region is well started. It is expected that a study of transportation and communication will be undertaken next, and then the other social, economic and political phases will be studied. At the present time the investigation is being financed out of university research funds. It will become necessary, with the completion of the atlas, to seek larger funds in order to prosecute such a large-scale survey.

## TREND OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF ELEVEN FAMILY WELFARE AGENCIES IN NEW YORK

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As one of a series of inquiries into the financing of social agencies in New York City, the Welfare Council is now studying the ownership of wealth, the income, and the expenditures of all of the social agencies of the city over the period of years from 1910 to 1926 inclusive. The study is being carried on under the general direction of the Welfare Council's Research Bureau and its Research Committee, and under the immediate direction of Miss Kate E. Huntley, formerly of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

The study aims primarily to contribute to a better understanding of the situation by finding out the totals for income and expenditures and by ascertaining the trends over a period of years.

To test the availability of data, schedules were tried during the summer of 1927 upon a representative sample of agencies covering twenty-three types of activities. Of fifty-three agencies approached, schedules had been secured by October for forty-three; eight others promised the data; one refused information; and one seemed to lack the requisite records. By the middle of December 138 had been approached and the data had either been completed or were well on the way to completion.

*The schedule.*—The schedule undertakes to secure information regarding three sets of fact: (1) Ownership, classified into valuation of land and of buildings, securities, and current funds. (2) Receipts, classified by source. (3) Expenditures, classified by function or kind of service rendered, i.e., relief service, health, recreation, etc.

It is the plan of the study to secure and summarize the data by groups of agencies. Since there is some overlapping of functions among groups, the final total for any one function will await the completion of the entire study.

*The findings for eleven family service agencies.*—That there might be a more concrete idea of the sort of findings that would come out of this study, the data collected last autumn for the group of eleven family service agencies were tabulated and graphs were constructed. These findings are regarded as tentative in character. While there are a total of seventeen family service agencies now operating in the city, the eleven covered in the sample study include the Board of Child Welfare and all of the larger private agencies.

The outstanding facts follow.

*Ownership of property of eleven family service agencies.*—During the period since 1910 the property holdings of these eleven agencies have in-

creased from \$2,290,381 to \$11,952,081. The real estate holdings of these agencies were valued at \$431,970 at the end of 1910, and at \$1,606,759 in 1926. Holdings of securities have gone up from \$1,733,547 to \$9,809,853.

*Receipts.*—The principal sources of income of these eleven agencies are current contributions, endowment, earnings, and municipal appropriations, the sole source of income of the Child Welfare Board. No other agency of this group gets any money from governmental sources. The total income of these agencies was lowest in 1911 (\$1,094,582) and highest in 1926 (\$10,746,840).

*Expenditures.*—The expenditures for relief and the service and administration incident thereto have increased from \$673,990 in 1910 to \$7,812,414 in 1926. Corrected by the cost-of-living index for New York City of the Federal Reserve Bank, which is based on 1914 prices, these figures are replaced by \$757,292 for 1910 and \$4,364,477 for 1926.

Besides their activity in the administration of relief and family rehabilitation, these agencies had during the seventeen-year period carried on as departmentalized activities twenty-five different types of service, twenty-two of which they were carrying on in 1926. These activities include health education, nursing service, convalescent care, industrial activities for blind, crippled and tuberculous, summer camps and vacation activities, social service exchange, homes for the aged, day nurseries, and others. In 1926 these activities absorbed about 13 per cent of the total functional expenditures of the eleven agencies.

In examining these trends in expenditure for relief and the service incidental thereto it must be borne in mind that there are and have been throughout the period studied several hundred relief societies whose income and expenditure are as yet unknown.

In how far the increase in the expenditures of the eleven societies has resulted from a tendency to concentrate relief-giving in their hands, from the growth of population, from an increase in the need for relief, and from rising standards in amounts of relief given to beneficiaries can only be determined after all relief expenditures for all agencies of the city have been ascertained and these figures have been compared with data on the amount of service rendered and the number of clients assisted.

## THE APPLICATION OF THE STATISTICAL METHOD TO THE STUDY OF THE WEALTH AND WELFARE OF FARM FAMILIES

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The use of the statistical method in the study of the wealth and welfare of the farm family simply means a systematic inductive study of these two factors which concern the farm family by aid of the statistical or numerical method. Statistics is here used in the sense of a method of the study of averages and the distribution of single causes about their average in an effort to understand the group, to detect changes in them, and the causes.

The data used resulted from a study of 1,030 farm families for a period of three years in a county in Arkansas where farms averaged about 100 acres per farm family, with cotton as the chief source of income. The study was a farm management and standard-of-living study combined. The field records pertaining to the standard of living were secured by the same workers for all three years. The discussion herein is confined to the standard-of-living phase of the study, except where the farm management data are used to interpret the standard of living data.

The term "standard of living" is here used in the sense of the level or plane of living sanctioned by the group, and whose sanction largely determines the extent, quantity, and quality of the factors entering into the plane or level of living of the group of which the individual family is part and parcel. The term "standard of living" therefore implies a plane or level of living, the factors of which may be measured in terms of extent, quantity, and quality or some other measurable unit.

The factors entering into the plane or level of living of the group and the individual farm family consist of goods meeting the material culture of the farm family and those meeting the adaptative culture, such as education, social relationships, use of time, participation in community activities, and other cultural traits that depend more or less upon mores, folkways, and institutions.

The data were tabulated, and the mode, due to the asymmetrical nature or skewness of the frequency curve, was taken as the norm. The norm was regarded as representing the plane or level of living of the group. From this norm, which was taken as 100, indexes were established for each factor entering into the plane or level of living of the individual family. An index was then determined for all the factors for each family. This index represented the plane or level of living of the individual family in terms of the norm or group average.

The problem then became one of measuring the relation existing between unit variations in the various factors on the one hand and the standard of living on the other. By sorting and subsorting the records according to the as-

sumed principal causal factors and constructing a cross-tabulation to bring out the average difference in the standard of living attributable to the various causal factors, the value of the hypothesis assumed may be frequently demonstrated. This method, however, presupposes that the influence of subordinate causal factors will cancel out. In view of the relatively few members that are necessary in many of the subclassifications, this method is invalid. It is also likely that to each factor in turn results will be attributed not alone due to the behavior of the factor under treatment, but to other significant factors correlated with it. The problem of analyzing results which are acting simultaneously, and many of them concomitantly, is one that does not lend itself to sorting and subsorting, especially where it is necessary to sub-sort many times with a limited number of instances.

For cases of linear regression, the method of multiple and partial correlation gives much more valid and definite quantitative results under the conditions found in the social sciences. By this method it may be determined how closely any one individual variable is correlated with another, and how much change is associated with a given change in the other, the effect of all other variables being eliminated or held constant.

The purpose of the study was to identify the farm family and its plane or level of living relative to that of the group, to understand the farm family, the differences that exist between families, and to detect changes and their causes. It was also intended, if possible, to develop a method for measuring the plane or level of living that might prove adequate for measuring the plane or level of living of the farm family under any condition; in other words, to determine how the problem may be studied.

The farm family, though it is a fundamental producing unit and offers fruitful study as such and as a unit of wide variation, in itself affords little information of the culture in which it exists. As in the case of the individual, it is a part and parcel of the aggregate and includes both an innate mechanism and the habits and customs of its environment. Thus we must look to the group by which and in terms of which standards can be set up. To understand the farm family it is therefore necessary to understand the group in which the individual family exists. It must be identified relative to the group, and the differences detected and causes sought, if it is to be understood.

It was found that there were families with out-of-type standards of living, just as there were farms with out-of-type systems of farming. To understand the individual family it is essential to understand its setting relative to the group in which it is found.

For determining the standard of living of the group that will provide a working basis for a more thorough understanding of the standard of living of the individual families, the variations between families, the changes and their causes the statistical method holds forth much assistance. It not only helps to measure the degree of variations, but in turn often leads to a better understanding of the causes. While statistical devices do not measure causation,

they do measure regularity of occurrence, which in turn may be an index to the cause. They help to demonstrate the accuracy of assumed hypotheses and suggest others.

Some idea of the manner in which the use of the statistical method was used to get a better understanding of a situation and to clarify assumed hypotheses and suggest others is seen in an attempt to learn more of the influence upon the standard of living of education of the heads of the family. Education appears to have had considerable to do in determining both the material and adaptative culture of the farm family. Continuing the idea further, it was found that a rather high degree of correlation existed between the size of the farm on which the heads of the family were reared and their education, indicating a close relation between the size of the farm and the education of the parents. However, when size of the family from which the better-educated parents came was considered, it was found that this factor was practically double the importance of the size of the farm. Families were selected and case studies undertaken that confirmed the hypothesis suggested by the correlation coefficient.

Total wealth showed some slight correlation with the percentage of income spent for advancement. However, the age of the operator, which is also related to total wealth, showed an inverse correlation with percentage of expenditures for advancement. Further study revealed that the family with small accumulations where the operator was advanced in age spent less for advancement as the operator grew older, whereas the operator with relatively large accumulations and more advanced in age tended to spend less for advancement than in earlier years, but the reduction was by no means as large as in the case of the operator with small accumulations and advanced in age.

The use of the statistical method enables us to measure these specific relations so that we get the net effect of a unit change in the independent variable upon the dependent after other and countervailing influences are eliminated, thus enabling us to obtain a better understanding of the hypothesis, which in turn assists us to get some better understanding of how to study the problem.

From the standpoint of the method of the study itself, it is apparent that there is yet much to be accomplished. On the other hand, it was evident that the modifications in the method of how to study the standard of living were not insurmountable. If the regression equation developed in the first year's data had been applied to the second year's study, figures representing the standard of living would have fallen far outside the predicated standard of living. If in the third year the farm families had a predicated standard-of-living figure calculated according to the regression equation of the first year, the actual standard-of-living figure would have fallen within the standard deviation. In the first and second years more of the factors used in the correlation were influenced by income than in the third year, and with a violent change in the income in the second year as compared with the first year, the conditions were so unlike as to make the equation of the first year inapplicable to the second year.



This emphasizes the need for data for other periods and other conditions for testing the method. It also shows the futility of conclusions or principles drawn from the data from any one year, especially of a limited number of records.

The use of the norm of the group as the basis for the standard, rather than some assumed standard based more or less upon an ideal, appears to provide a better basis, not only for establishing more nearly actual conditions, but for developing better units of measurement, which is one of the big problems in the study of the standard of living and other social phenomena. Also the use of quantitative data of physical units affords a basis of comparison with less complications and in other ways more satisfactory than the dollar unit. It appears that more emphasis should be placed upon the adaptative culture rather than material culture. Material culture will always change more rapidly as a result of invention and discoveries than adaptative culture. Time spent in trying to determine why a farmer buys a mowing machine instead of some convenience for the home is time spent, to a large extent, in trying to determine why mores and folkways do not change as rapidly as mechanical invention. Distribution of income may give little real insight into the differences in the plane or level of living of the farm family.

Inasmuch as no practical way has been demonstrated by which the usual experimental methods employed in the natural and biological sciences may be employed in the social sciences, social research must rely almost entirely upon the observations and measurements of the conditions of actual social life and depend largely upon the statistical method to determine the quantitative effects or the relationships between any one factor with another and the amount of change in the one that is associated with a given change in the other, the effect of all other factors being held constant. The statistical method seems more adequate for the task than is our ability to establish units of measurement for the data desired to be measured. Statistics as such will not make rural sociology scientific. Statistics may enable us to develop methods by which we may obtain a better understanding of the nature of the problems and also how they may be studied. When used to test and develop hypotheses, statistics may be of invaluable service to the sociologist.

## SPECIAL-INTEREST GROUPS IN RURAL SOCIETY

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The transition from locality to interest group arrangements on the part of country people is one of the keys to an understanding of organization movements in rural society at the present time. Fundamental changes are taking place in rural group relationships. Locality no longer holds the farmer and his family to such restricted social or business contacts as formerly. They are more free to make associations on the basis of special interests and particular desires. Greatly increased facilities for transportation and communication have made this possible.

The special interests about which such rural groups form, as shown by a case study of 351 local organizations in five Wisconsin counties, are many and varied. Twelve were isolated and seven were fully analyzed. The terms used by the people themselves as they told the story of their organizations are the terms used to designate these interests, as follows: social enjoyment, better farming, help school and teacher, better business, young people's interests, health and social welfare, home improvement, public and civic affairs, general community betterment, unite locals, mutual improvement, help church and preacher.

The professional names and forms which these organizations took will be recognized from the following which may be cited as typical: Geneva Parent-Teacher Association, Fish Creek Horticultural Society, Lake View Community Club, LaGrange Horseshoe Club, Treadwell Women's Sewing Club, Campbell Library Club, Scott Sheep Club, Mormon Coulee Gun Club, County Holstein Breeders' Association, Browns Valley Home-Makers' Club, May Glee Club, and Waterford Poultry Association.

It is important to know that such trade or professional names give very little if any clue to the real purposes or interests involved. For example, the Sylvania Community Club is a woman's club; the French Island Community Club is a cemetery association; the Grantsburg Equity Farmers Co-op Association is a farmers' grocery store; the Perida Willing Workers Society is a women's club; the Chipmunk Coulee Lecture Club is a young people's school club; the May Glee Club is a farmers' community club.

Therefore it became necessary for classification and analysis to resort to the functional basis. From this procedure it became evident at once that such groups are not single in their interests, in fact, only 34 per cent of all the organizations were found to be mono-functional, that is, centered about a single dominant interest, while 41 per cent were bi-functional and 24 per cent

had more than two central interests. The analysis of the various combinations which these functions assumed told an exceedingly interesting story. Some barked back to the old general type of locality organization on the neighborhood scale; others had moved on to a high degree of specialization.

In summary, by way of statement of the problem, it may be suggested that these groups, the analysis of which is next to be presented, are more largely determined by the interests, the deliberate intent, the purposive action of people than by locality relations. Locality groups have lateral or geographic dimensions. Interest groups have perpendicular or psycho-cultural dimensions. Locality groups depend upon *common* life, proximity, residence in a recognized physical area. Interest groups depend upon polarity, promotion, *special* concerns, leadership, deliberate effort. This polarity implies fields of magnetic influence. When thus released from locality restrictions certain people are attracted to certain of these poles of interest.

In these voluntary associations, therefore, one person allies himself with others of like interests and is often identified with many such groups at the same time. Obviously, not all these group associations can have like meaning for this one individual. Some will have personal or primary claim on him; others will be impersonal and indefinite. Thus arise problems of overlapping or conflicting loyalties and questions of the organization of rural society as a whole.

The method employed for the analysis of these groups was, first, a classification on the basis of the various interests. This classification could not be exclusive, as was pointed out before; that is, one interest for each professional form of organization. The outstanding characteristic of these groups is that they are not simple or single in their interests. Therefore some organizations fell into two or more of the interests or functional classes.

The next step was to determine and then to chart the various modal characteristics of all the organizations and of each of the interest classes. Space will not permit even a summary of this modal analysis. General modal characteristics of all organizations were placed in contrasting position with the distinguishing modal characteristics of the different interest classes. This included detailed charts for each of the following main headings: Origins and purposes, leadership and promotion, membership and participation, programs and activities, policies and problems. Some of the important variable factors were compared by simple correlations to show their relationships, and finally the characteristic processes were described.

The last step in the analysis was the presentation of case studies of individual groups and of intergroup movements.

Finally, but three of the more interesting and important findings can be suggested here. Probably the most interesting discovery was the cycles in the natural history of such groups. These cycles may be designated as periods of stimulation, rise, carrying-on, and decline. Each period has its own characteristics and its own modes of behavior. The oldest were the "better business" groups and the youngest the "young people's interests."

This cycle may be presented diagrammatically. Following a period of rather hurried stimulation comes a rapid rise when the organization starts quickly and grows rapidly. Then follows a rather lengthy carrying-on period in which the intensity of interest and support may be indicated by a hill and valley curve. Then follows the decline, which occasionally may be rather abrupt, but which most frequently is rather gradual, resulting in inactivity. Superimposed upon this picture might well be the stimulation and rise of other groups coming up at almost any time. Particularly can another be expected to appear on the scene as the first shows a tendency to decline.

Secondly, interesting correlations were found between the more important variable factors. For example, between length of life and activities and between participation and adaptability. A summary chart was made so that these comparisons of relationships could be read either vertically or horizontally. Perhaps the most significant set of factors within control of the local group is connected with change. Reading from this chart vertically it is found that the organizations that have made changes have the larger membership, have the larger attendance, plan their meetings longer in advance, have a greater number and variety of projects, have more social activities of all types, have the more definite future plans, have the more program and membership difficulties, but less leadership and community troubles, and that they live the longest. If organizations wish to do these things, and most of them do, this becomes a strong argument for adaptability.

Thirdly, these interest groups do not exist for long by themselves; they are dependent upon other sources for stimulation and motivation. When one type or professional form of local organization is found, usually several others can be found nearby or at least within the same county. This coexistence and interrelation soon results in a sort of movement. Two prevalent ways for intergroup movements to start were found. The first and most frequent was the professionally promoted with a ready-made pattern. The second was the locally initiated or indigenous type. Such movements frequently became councils or federations of locals with rather widely different forms and interests. In either case these intergroup movements produced characteristic processes and in turn followed characteristic life-cycles.

# APPLICATION OF THE CASE METHOD TO THE STUDY OF THE WEALTH AND WELFARE OF FARM FAMILIES

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There are still many rural leaders who do not believe that the case method is adaptable to rural social work in any large way. In contrast, there are many city-trained social case workers who believe that the case method is as applicable to farm as to city situations, and that this method, as they know it, is the acme of social technique. This difference of opinion on methodology and approach is still the cause of some sharp cleavages between at least some of the rural and city social workers.

The writer believes that with certain adaptations in approach and terminology the case method is applicable to a study of farm wealth and welfare. In fact, it is already in use in that field. The writer believes further that most of the misunderstanding between the rural so-called community worker and the city social case worker is due primarily to differences of approach to actual situations and to differences in terminology or vocabulary rather than to differences of aims and accomplishments. It is another case of both getting so close to the trees that neither can see the forests for the trees, that is, both overemphasize means and underemphasize ends. In social work it is at least conceivable that practical workers may make their approaches to given situations differently, yet achieve much the same results.

There is relatively too much emphasis on this or that particular technique in social work today. Technique is important, very important; but it is the tool, not the product. The tool's chief value lies in the product it helps to produce. Not even technique can wholly substitute for common sense and personal adaptability as practical working parts of social workers or leaders.

It will be the purpose in this short paper to set forth briefly what the writer considers as (1) the basic modifications necessary to adapt the case method to a study of farm wealth and welfare, and (2) to cite a number of cases where the case method, with modifications, has been used, or is now being used, together with certain results obtained thereby.

The case method, as it is most widely recognized by expert and layman alike, is a triangular system. At one corner of the triangle is the philanthropist, either public or private, who provides the resources for the work and the employment of the trained expert, the social case worker. At another corner of the triangle is the social worker, the trained and employed expert. At the third corner of the triangle is the case that is to be assisted or reconstructed. Neither the philanthropist nor the trained worker thinks of himself as a case. The case

is the individual or individuals that the social worker, as the employee of the philanthropist, is to work upon. For the most part, the case is a maladapted, unfortunate, underprivileged, neglected, subnormal, or otherwise temporarily or permanently handicapped individual or individuals.

To do his community promoting and advertising work the philanthropist, or the public, employs a chamber of commerce secretary or some other expert. To create a market for, and to dispose of, his products or services he uses still other means and experts. In other words, the city with its large numbers of both individuals and groups and its variety of occupations and professions can and must avail itself of division of labor in its community and semi-community work and use of workers. It has enough work of various types so that it can utilize the full time of an expert in various restricted fields of its work. Then, too, its variety of occupations and professions makes the need for specialized experts more necessary, since less reliance can be put upon the possible help of neighbors in the city. Neighbors in the city are not likely to be engaged in the same occupation or profession as is the case in the country. As a consequence, neighbors in the city cannot well carry on a sick neighbor's work. In the country they can, because their work is like his. This makes possible and probable a relatively larger interplay of neighborhood and voluntary social work in the country than in the city. Also, when such assistance is rendered it is generally done as a community or neighborhood undertaking, and this without functioning through an employed expert, as, for example, when neighbors gather on a given day and plant or plough a sick neighbor's corn for him.

This neighborhood or community concept carries over into all rural work quite generally. The triangular system of the city does not receive major recognition in the country. Many of its results and not a few of its methods are, however, employed in the country, but this without stressing method as such.

In the country the system is a straight line rather than a triangular system, and generally goes under the name of community work or community organization rather than case method. Farmers employ their county agent, home demonstration agent, or what not. Yet they think of and use these agents as expert advisers or assistants for themselves, for the more fit farmers primarily, and not primarily for the least fit farmers. The very names—agent, county engineer, county superintendent of schools, etc.—are significant in this connection. This system, it will be noted, then, is characterized by employers at one end of a straight-line system with their hired employee at the other end, and the work that this expert does being primarily up and down that line, that is, for his employers primarily rather than primarily for others, as is the work of the city social case worker.

The farmer has his county expert workers, his co-operative threshing, creamery, or cow-testing associations, his county animal tubercular eradication organization, his county nurse in some counties, his welfare worker in others, and even his county social worker in some counties. So why should he not have

his trained case worker and call her his county social worker if he chooses to do so? Also, when this case worker comes to him and tells him that she wishes to give his children some sort of test or examination, why should he not urge her to include all children in the community or school? He may be making such a suggestion to save his own ego, knowing that if all school children are examined and 25 out of each 100 are found defective, not all of the defective children will be his. Or it may be that he naturally thinks in terms of the entire community because of the homogeneity of occupation and a feeling of "consciousness of kind." Whatever the cause for his suggesting that others be included, the thing of most immediate practical importance to the worker on the field is that he does think in terms of the community, or at least in terms of linked cases or case chains.

In this insistence on linking the cases the farmer may actually be making a valuable contribution to social work technique. He makes a chain of the cases by his insistence on including all, or at least many, in the community or neighborhood in the same project. In this way he links the resources and sympathies of the cases in one large whole, as well as their misfortunes. In such a chain or union there may arise a bolstering strength that will correct even a cumulative common handicap. A large-scale and conspicuous example of this sort was exhibited in Denmark some years ago when the Danish farm peasants, through their cumulative and unlimited liability, actually lifted themselves out of the mire of despairing poverty and onto the road of prosperity and happy living.

The case method in the country has come largely from the top down, that is, the cases used in the experiments or demonstrations have been the more successful rather than the less successful and handicapped individuals. This accounts in a large way also for the use of the terms "experiment," "demonstration," or "project" rather than case studies or case methods in rural work.

One of the first rural conspicuous case methods, or rather case demonstrations, was that initiated by the late S. A. Knapp, about a half-century ago, among southern farmers. Mr. Knapp, as a member of the United States Department of Agriculture, induced certain southern farmers to carry out certain experiments on their farms in the way of new methods of cultivation and use of new or improved seeds. This work, perhaps more than any one thing, accounts for the present status of, and type of, agricultural demonstration farms and plats, county agent work, and the 4-H Club work. The 4-H Club work is a conspicuous example of the chain case method.

Another good example of chain rural case work is the farm cost accounting routes which agricultural economists of the United States Department of Agriculture and colleges of agriculture have been maintaining in co-operation with selected farmers for some time in various states. Usually twenty-five or more farmers in a county are induced to keep, with the help of an expert who visits them perhaps once a week, accurate and detailed accounts on all phases

of their farm activities. A beginning has been made in securing farm family cost-of-living data in the same way. In both cases the families which can be induced to participate actively and become cases in such case chains are representative or above average for their communities. They do not think of themselves as cases, and they are not cases in quite the sense that most of the city social worker's clients are. The details of the methods in such rural and city work, after the approach has been made, are not so dissimilar; neither are the results, except that the rural results are perhaps of a larger and higher grade, due, in part at least, to the fact that the individual rural cases started on a relatively higher level.

Intensive rural social surveys represent other examples of the chain case method and its successful use. Such surveys make a rather detailed case study of all individuals or families and institutions and organizations in given communities. Such a study has about all of the advantages of the city case method and in addition reveals the true setting of any one individual or family to its actual and whole environment. For example, in a recent survey of this type in which the writer participated each family in two small rural areas was interviewed and surveyed. Much detailed information on the economic, educational, health, religious, and social status of the various members of the family and the family as a whole and its relation to other families and institutions were secured. But in addition to this all children of preschool and school age were given mental tests, physical examinations, and speech tests. In this way it was possible to determine the actual status or state of entire communities. It was possible to detect all of the defects in these communities. The individual's defects were then taken up with the particular individual or his parents.

A few findings of such a detailed community survey will show how such a study becomes a chain case method, how the cases are linked in such a chain, and how the individual links relate themselves to the chain as a whole, or to a number of chains within the same community. To illustrate: In the two rural communities already referred to these important facts, among many others, were discovered: (1) that in from 30-40 per cent of the farm tenant and hired-men families all children are under 5 years of age, while the same is true of less than 10 per cent of the farm-owner-operator families. At the other end, while one-third of all owner-operator families have all children under 15 years of age, from 60 to 70 per cent of tenant and hired-men families fall in this class. This means (a) that a rural child welfare program will deal primarily with tenant and hired-men families, and (b) while the tenant and hired-men families provide most of the school children, the owner operators and the owners of tenant farms provide the schools, since they are the chief taxpayers. (2) The hired-men families are approximately one-half as old as the owner-operator families, yet the average number of children born in the two sets of families is approximately the same, and already the average number of deaths in the hired-man families exceeds that in the owner-operator families. Here is a health and



child welfare problem that has real proportions. (3) In one of the areas, 11 per cent of the owner operators have no near adult relatives, that is, father, mother, brother, sister, son, or daughter living in the community. The corresponding percentages for tenants and hired men are 38 and 82, respectively. This means that those who are perhaps most likely to need help and encouragement are the ones who do not have relatives living nearby.

Such facts would not be discovered if only one of these groups or tenure classes were studied, yet the writer believes that facts like these are of very great importance. The case method adapted to a chain method of approach and procedure will ascertain just such facts in addition to most or all of the facts that a non-chain case method will ascertain.

# PRINCIPLES OF EXPENDITURE OF FARM INCOMES

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

*Materials used.*—These consist of data on incomes, expenditures, housing, and living conditions of people on farms and in villages and towns of Minnesota. They were gathered by the survey method, and hence are estimates. All precautions were taken to secure a fair sample, and to make these data as accurate as possible. Some of the precautions for accurateness consisted of reference to accounts and records, reference to participant observers, and the technique of double accounting in which incomes and expenditures must equal each other, or an explanation was attached. The following data have been gathered so far. (1) 357 interviews with farm families in seven communities during 1925. Of these, 200 are of little value because incomes and expenditures for the farms were omitted. These data are necessary to "complete the picture." The reasons for omitting this information was to enable the securing of records from the housewife when the operator was absent. We were experimenting then. (2) 337 interviews with farm families of six communities during 1926. Complete income and expenditure data were gathered. The last 100 were asked for data on net wealth or capital accumulations. (3) 397 interviews with village and town families during 1927. These 397 reported incomes, expenses, capital accumulations, and all other pertinent data. They were located in eleven villages and towns ranging from 700 to 7,500 population and are the places around which the farmers previously studied reside. In addition a great deal of data concerning social status of the family and factors affecting "living" was secured. We believe that a real explanation of budgetary behavior would eventually lead us out of economics into sociology.

*Types of analysis.*—We have sought to analyze the sizes of these incomes and expenditures, the types of distribution, and the factors affecting the sizes and the types of distribution. In addition we tried to establish correlations between such facts as migrations to cities, success as farmers, or general living conditions and the sizes, types, and changes in distribution of incomes. For purposes of study the total farm incomes have been considered as a unit. First, we divided expenses into those for farms, investments, automobiles, and living. Later we subtracted "out of pocket expense" or the "cost of production" of farm incomes from total incomes. This gave a net spendable income figure. Then we distributed the remainder into living, automobile, interest, payments, and investments. The investment expenditures in this latter distribution may be divided into two groups: that reinvested in the business, such as for improving the farms, and other investments, such as for payments

on mortgages, insurance, and the like. The methods of analysis used include averages, sorting on one main independent variable, cross-tabulation, or sorting on two or more main independent variables, and finally, multiple and partial correlation. In these correlation problems we have used as many as eight independent variables, some economic and some social, and about five hundred cases to the problem.

*The most important conclusions.*—(1) The most fruitful system of analysis of farm incomes and expenditures or living conditions is through this approach to the whole budget as an entity. Other systems must necessarily attempt an interpretation with half or more of the picture lost. (2) The system of sorting on one variable and cross-tabulation should be carried to great extremes before the more complicated and expensive system of multiple and partial correlation is taken up. (3) The general or first statement of Engel's law is the most important for sociology. This is, that an increase of income among wage-earners (and salary earners) is accompanied by a diminishing perspective of physiological needs and an increasing perspective of non-physiological needs. His later statement in terms of proportions spent for food, etc., is not always true (see especially the investigation of the Federal Reserve Bank in 1919 and other studies). Furthermore, the second statement of his laws in terms of proportions for specific items is a description of demand curves and belongs more within the field of economics. (4) The chief sociological characteristic of the type of budgetary behavior described by Engel is that an increase of income is associated with the passing from a type of behavior which is stable and more readily "determined" to a type of behavior which is unstable, subject to individual caprice, and much less readily determined. This is shown by a relationship of  $R=0.82$  between the joint product of six important independent variables and physiological expense and an  $R$  of  $.44$  between those same six important independent variables and non-physiological expense. Reducing these to coefficients of determination in order to make them more comparable, we have  $K=.67$  and  $K=.18$ , or a ratio of about 4 to 1 in possibilities of determination. (5) A complete analysis of the farmer's budget shows that the primary competition with increase of net spendable income is between land (or investment) and all living expenditures. This reinforces the old theory that land hunger is a primary factor in the life of any agricultural group existing with the institution of private property in land. It is a further explanation of the theories of some of the economists as to the relation between land values and living conditions or expenditures. (6) The principle of Engel's law, no matter whether we view it as a relation between physiological and non-physiological expense or changes in the demand curves for certain types of goods, is not as important for the interpretation of rural life as for urban life because of the foregoing principle stated in (5). The competition between physiological and non-physiological expense is a *secondary* type in the farm budget. The land versus living competition is *primary*. This suggests that

complete studies of the upper and capitalist groups in urban life may lead to entirely new laws of expenditure. There are numerous other valuable correlations, but these are the most important. Space forbids further elaboration. May I add that John D. Black, of Harvard, was primarily responsible for the conception and guidance of this work during the first two years, and that Andrew Boss and Pitirim Sorokin, of Minnesota, have given valuable aid at numerous times. Dean W. C. Coffey and Vice-Director Andrew Boss have been unusually lenient and sympathetic in permitting me to develop this work.

# ROUND TABLES ON TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

## ROUND TABLE ON THE TECHNIQUE OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

RALPH G. HURLIN  
Russell Sage Foundation

In opening the round table, the leader submitted the following statements, which were discussed briefly, as indicating the purposes and nature of statistics as a research technique:

1. Statistics consists of a body of methods for organizing and analyzing comparative data (usually but not always quantitative) for the purpose of describing phenomena. Statistics is always concerned with more than a single instance of the phenomenon being investigated. It results always in description in quantitative terms, but the data used are sometimes "qualitative" that is, in terms of attributes, rather than "quantitative" or numerical.
2. The special processes or techniques of statistics are numerous; they might be grouped, however, under a few heads, such as: the measurement of variates, the sampling process, classification and seriation, summarization, measurement of association, measurement of regression, measurement of correlation. In every statistical problem, selection, adaptation, and combination of processes serving different purposes in the organization and analysis of data is required. The competence of the statistician consists in knowing when, as well as in knowing how, to apply them.
3. Statistical studies may be of quite different character as regards their scientific intent, and in examining them for the techniques employed it should be helpful to keep these differences in mind. For example, statistical studies in the field of sociology may be made
  - a) for the purpose of developing new methods, as in the invention of scales and indexes, which may have use in further studies or a practical value apart from research;
  - b) for the purpose of obtaining a quantitative description. These may be limited to immediate situations, the so-called planning studies, or they may attempt descriptions of situations of general significance;
  - c) for the purpose of testing assumptions concerning causal relationships between phenomena.
4. Most statistical studies in the field of sociology have been purely descrip-

tive. Like chemical analyses, they aim to describe the properties and components of the phenomena studied. In comparatively few sociological studies have statistics been used to test inferences concerning causal relationships.

The round table was planned for consideration of statistical technique in actual instances of its application, and synopses indicating the problem, the data, the technique, and the results of the following current studies were circulated: "Measuring the Home Environment in Terms of Scores of Socio-Economic Status," F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota; "The Disposition of Felony Cases in the Courts," C. E. Gehlke, Western Reserve University; "Principles of Expenditure of Farm Incomes," C. C. Zimmerman, University of Minnesota; "Local Variations in Cancer Mortality," Lucile Eaves, Woman's Educational and Industrial Union; "Measuring the Financial Operations of Social Agencies of New York City," Neva R. Deardorff, Welfare Council of New York.

Dr. Gehlke, Dr. Zimmerman, and Dr. Deardorff in turn took the floor, amplifying the description of their studies and answering questions concerning the character and validity of the methods they had used.

## ROUND TABLE ON THE TECHNIQUE OF THE SOCIAL SURVEY

ROBERT E. PARK  
University of Chicago

Three questions, among others, were discussed at the round table on "The Social Survey and Its Technique": (1) How far can the survey be regarded as a method of research in the strict sense of the word? How far is it to be regarded as a method of propaganda and popular education? (2) Is the social survey going out of fashion? How far has it been, and how far is it destined to be, superseded by more elaborate and objective methods of investigation? (3) Is the social survey regarded as a method of *exploration*, merely, to find a permanent place among the scientifically accredited methods of research? And how important is exploration and a general survey of the situations in which problems arise in the more detailed investigation of specific problems?

Speaking, first of all, with reference to the second question, Shelby M. Harrison, of the Russell Sage Foundation, said that there were probably not so many social surveys being made now as there were a few years ago, and in so far as this was true it might be regarded as an indication that social surveys were out of fashion. However, the Sage Foundation is just now engaged in collecting studies of local problems which call themselves social surveys, and already has somewhere in the neighborhood of three thousand. It appeared,

therefore, that investigations of this sort were still going on, although they were not so widely advertised at present as they were a few years ago.

The social survey had undoubtedly led the way, he pointed out, to more thoroughgoing investigations, and had in this way played a rather important rôle in the evolution of social research in the United States. It seemed to him that it was likely to remain a permanent part of the technique of social research as a means of social exploration, if not for other purposes.

The question was raised as to whether any investigation had been made to determine how far information which social surveys have gathered have resulted in community action and permanent improvement of the communities studied. In reply, Mr. Harrison pointed out the difficulty of determining not merely the nature but the extent of the changes for which local studies are responsible. An effort had been made in the case of the Springfield Survey to determine, after a period of years, how far the programs which the Springfield Survey formulated had been carried out. The results of this investigation indicated that much of the improvement in social conditions in Springfield in recent years could be directly traced to the interest and the impetus which that investigation had given to movements for reform.

It was evident, however, that social surveys had not always and everywhere realized the results expected; but this was due, in most cases, to the fact that the investigations had not been persistently followed up.

In some cases—in Pittsburgh, for example—the publication and the widespread advertising of local conditions had resulted in a revulsion of feeling in the community, so that any mention of the survey in connection with any program of reform was likely to damn it in Pittsburgh. On the other hand, it appeared from the reports of several speakers that many of the recent improvements in local conditions in Pittsburgh region had, in fact, carried into effect reforms which that survey had first suggested. This was notably true with reference to workmen's accidents, which had been one of the matters to which the survey had called particular attention.

Professor M. C. Elmer, of the University of Pittsburgh, was able to confirm from his wide experience as a social surveyor much that Shelby M. Harrison and others had said in regard to the present status of the social survey as a technique of research. He added that the most important and least understood task of the social surveyor, particularly in a community survey where the purpose is to bring about community action, was: (1) to secure the co-operation of the different local agencies and interests in carrying on an investigation, and (2) to know how to use and direct volunteer assistants.

In order to secure community action it is necessary to create a "community consciousness," and in order to do this it is important to gain the active co-operation of as many persons as possible in carrying on the work of the survey.

Among other speakers were Arthur L. Swift, who is carrying on an important social survey in the interests of the Brooklyn Young Men's Christian

Association, and Samuel Grove Dow, who has been engaged in completing a study of the island of Martha's Vineyard and its population.

Professor Floyd N. House, of the University of Virginia, was called upon to discuss the question raised by Dr. Heberle, a visiting sociologist from Germany, as to the relation between the social survey and pure sociology. He pointed out that the social survey, in the course of its investigations, was constantly making use of categories which only a more critical and scientific sociology was in a position to define with accuracy. Furthermore, students of local conditions were bound to interpret concrete facts in terms of concepts formulated by more systematic studies. In this way pure sociology became, so to speak, a court of higher instance in the formulation of schedules and in the interpretation of facts found.

## ROUND TABLE ON THE CASE-STUDY METHOD OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

STUART A. QUEEN  
University of Kansas

The round-table session on "The Case-Study Method of Sociological Research" consisted in a discussion of eight questions which had been mimeographed and distributed beforehand. Copies were also in the hands of all persons attending the session. There were no prepared statements, the whole discussion being informal and impromptu.

The questions on which the discussion was based were these: What is the case-study method of sociological research? To what types of sociological problems is it applicable? What kinds of data may it be expected to yield? What methods may be employed in assembling data? How may the reliability of data be tested? What concepts are most helpful for organizing and interpreting data from case studies? How can generalizations be derived from such materials? What kinds of persons may legitimately employ the case-study method of sociological research?

Inasmuch as no minutes were kept nor was there any attempt to bring matters to a vote, it is impossible to say what were the results of this session. Each participant doubtless took away a different set of conclusions. What follows represents, therefore, the impressions of the chairman and might well be supplemented by similar statements from others who took part in the discussion.

The case-study method of sociological research is to be distinguished from the practice of social case work on the one hand and from the statistical method of research on the other. It is intimately related to both, but different



from either. Social case work has as its objective direct service to particular persons. Sociological research has no reference to any particular persons or types of service. It is a search for general principles. Now while the statistical technique depends upon the reduction of data to quantitative terms, in order to yield totals, averages, and correlations, the case study technique seeks data in terms of processes, which for the most part cannot be stated numerically. The statistician selects certain specific factors involved in social situations and manipulates them so as to discover the relations between the several variables. The "case student" examines single situations, persons, groups, or institutions as complex wholes in order to identify types and processes. Now the two techniques are not incompatible; indeed, both may be employed in the same project. Preliminary statistical studies may guide the investigator in the selection of cases for detailed examination and may suggest factors worthy of special attention. Also some of the results of case studies may be summarized in statistical form.

For the most part the data from case studies appear in the form of "running accounts," narratives of events, and descriptions of personalities and situations. However, it is often convenient to present particular factors or aspects of the case on charts or schedules. But questionnaires and "tests" are not essential, nor do their results alone constitute case studies. Most of the data, and perhaps the most reliable data, will come from rather informal interviews. Other important sources will be records of social agencies, autobiographies, diaries, and letters. This means that the facts will appear in varied forms and sequences. It is here that the case-study method seems to differ most sharply from the statistical. The latter involves the preparation of schedules with fixed categories into which the data must fall. The former develops its categories inductively from the data as they reveal themselves more or less informally.

The reliability of such data as may be secured through interviews and personal documents is, of course, always open to question. Fortunately it is often possible to verify statements from independent sources, and sometimes the nature of the statement itself is such as to indicate the credibility of the narrator. Moreover, it is important to remember that even lies, legends, and delusions are facts when properly classified.

One of the most difficult problems connected with the use of the case method of research is, How can generalizations be derived from such complex bodies of data? Statistics may be used, but the major portion of the data cannot be reduced to statistical form. Moreover, the identification of types of personalities, groups, institutions, and situations seems to require only the most elementary mathematics, though it does demand very careful classification. Also, the discovery of processes appears to require relatively little in the way of a quantitative procedure. Perhaps its simplest statement will be in terms of typical sequences of events or situations, but this involves no recognition of the basic assumption of continuity and what may be called social

"dynamics." Hence we are faced with a very real problem of how to translate what looks like "another moving little tale" into data for sociological generalization.

Who is competent to employ such a method of research? On the one hand it may be held that prying into the intimate affairs of men should be restricted to those who have both discretion and skill. The very making of a study may complicate a serious situation. The possible reaction against indiscriminate delving into human relations may later handicap more competent researchers. On the other hand it is held that there is nothing esoteric about the making of case studies. Anyone may bring in data which may prove to have real value. The ordinary student is not likely to do much damage in securing such facts as are accessible to him at all. Certainly the majority of social workers are not in a position to do research work; they are too busy; they are primarily responsible for serving their clients rather than treating them as specimens; frequently they lack training in the social sciences. Yet they have direct and legitimate access to the most intimate facts about human conduct, facts which are essential to the researcher. It may be that the best results can be secured through the collaboration of social worker and sociologist.

## SECTION ON RURAL SOCIOLOGY

The section on rural sociology prepared its program in line with the general topic of the meeting. Four of the ten-minute reports on research in progress, before the Division on Social Research, were presented by rural sociologists. The rural section was further represented on the general program by the paper, "The Relation of the Farmer to Rural and Urban Groups," presented by Dwight Sanderson<sup>1</sup> and discussed by John M. Gillette.<sup>2</sup> Three of the four sectional meetings were given to research, teaching, and extension, and the fourth, a joint luncheon with the American Farm Economics Association, was devoted to consideration of the topic "Population, Food Supply, and American Agriculture." The honor of presenting the main paper at this luncheon was given to O. E. Baker, United States Department of Agriculture. Different aspects of the topic were discussed by P. K. Whelpton, H. C. Taylor, G. F. Warren, and Leon E. Truesdell.

The program on research included papers by C. J. Galpin, J. H. Kolb, and Eben Mumford, which were discussed by E. L. Morgan and Wilson Gee. The program on teaching centered on "The Status of Sociology in Colleges and Universities," by C. R. Hoffer, and "An Analysis of the Content of Textbooks in Rural Sociology," by C. C. Zimmerman. Several of the textbook writers present took part in the discussion. The program on extension was based upon "Extension Needs in the Field of Rural Social Organization," by H. C. Ramsower. Many who were present took part in the spirited discussion of this topic led by Mary Eva Duthie and B. L. Hummel.

Resolutions adopted at the business meeting included the following:

1. That we express our appreciation of the service which the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life has rendered in distributing *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*, and recommend that it be continued.
2. That, in order to secure continuity in the policy of the section, two members of the steering committee be continued each year and that a member of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life be made an ex-officio member of the committee in order to facilitate the editing of *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*.
3. That one feature of the program for next year's meeting be a discussion of the training necessary for research work in rural sociology and the essential subjects to be covered in graduate work; also, that the discussion of teaching methods and textbooks be continued.
4. (a) That the resolutions on population adopted last year be reaffirmed; (b) that in preparing the 1930 census, emphasis be placed on securing and analyzing farm population data which, in the opinion of this group, are as valuable as any body of

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, pp. 98-108.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, pp. 109-117.

information secured by the federal census; (c) that a threefold classification of city, village, and farm population such as that used by Mr. Leon Truesdell in his monograph on farm population be employed generally throughout the population volumes of the 1930 census; (d) that as soon as possible the data from birth and death certificates be tabulated in such a way that the division between rural and urban be drawn at the population limit of 2,500, and not as at present, at 10,000.

The steering committee elected for the ensuing year consists of Eben Mumford, chairman, W. A. Anderson, and J. O. Rankin.

## A NEW FORCE IN RESEARCH

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C. J. GALPIN, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The Social Science Research Council contains twenty-two members, three appointed by each of the following constituent associations: the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, the American Psychological Association, the American Anthropological Association, and the American Historical Association.

Broadly stated, the purposes of the Council are to bring together scattered or isolated workers upon similar social problems, to avoid needless duplication of effort, to foster the co-operation of research workers, to stimulate and encourage research in important fields not now covered, to emphasize the development of increasingly scientific methods of inquiry in social studies, occasionally to undertake research directly through its own committees, to aid in the process of developing scientific social control, and, where that is not possible, more intelligent and constructive theory about the processes involved in social relations.

The Committee on Problems and Policy, organized in 1925, was given power to appoint advisory subcommittees to consider special fields of research. Ten such subcommittees were appointed in 1926, among which was a subcommittee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture. The members of this subcommittee in 1926 were: Henry C. Taylor, Northwestern University, chairman, John D. Black, University of Minnesota, Kenyon L. Butterfield, Michigan State College, Joseph H. Davis, Leland Stanford University, L. C. Gray, United States Department of Agriculture, Edwin C. Nourse, Institute of Economics, George F. Warren, Cornell University, and C. J. Galpin, United States Department of Agriculture.

The subcommittee on social and economic research planned a three-year critical and constructive survey of the many-sided research projects under way in the United States, covering the field of agricultural economics on the one hand and rural sociology on the other hand.

In 1926 J. H. Kolb collected, so far as practicable, information on all research studies of a rural sociological character in progress in the United States, submitting his special report to the subcommittee on social and industrial research in August, 1926. C. J. Galpin, asking for the assistance of Dwight Sanderson, C. C. Taylor, and J. H. Kolb, made during 1927 a more intensive and wider survey of rural sociological studies in progress in the United States and presented this report to the same subcommittee in August, 1927.

It was deemed in harmony with the purposes of the advisory subcommittee on social and economic research in agriculture and of the Committee on Problems and Policy, and in fact of the Social Science Research Council itself, to have this survey of rural sociological research brought conspicuously to the attention of the Rural Section of the American Sociological Society; and to this end, J. H. Kolb, of the University of Wisconsin, was asked to present a summary of the survey.

## SCOPE, METHODOLOGY, AND PERSONNEL IN RURAL SOCIAL RESEARCH

J. H. KOLB, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Rural sociological research in the United States dates from the year 1910. The first such study made and printed under the auspices of a state agricultural experiment station was issued January, 1914. The first technical sociological research bulletin issued by an agricultural experiment station bears the date May, 1915. In May, 1919, the United States Department of Agriculture established a research division dealing with the socio-economic problems of farm population and rural life, a landmark in the development of rural social research. In February, 1925, the federal Purnell Act, appropriating funds and authorizing the expenditure of these funds for "sociological" research by state agricultural experiment stations, added impetus to this type of study.

The present discussion is a brief summary of a report which attempts a bird's-eye view of research studies in progress in the United States during the year July 1, 1926-June 30, 1927. Studies begun before July 1, 1926, but still in progress or completed within the year, are included. The facts for the report were obtained by personal interviews at the research institution and with the persons responsible for the piece of research by Dwight Sanderson, C. C. Taylor, J. H. Kolb, and C. J. Galpin. The story of each study, including the essential facts of the research project, was obtained. Personal interviews in some instances were impracticable and correspondence was then resorted to for the facts. This work was done under the direction of the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture for the Social Science Research Council.

### PROJECTS BY STATES, INSTITUTIONS, AND SUBJECTS

There were during the year rural research studies of a sociological character in twenty-seven states. The following twenty-one states have had, so far as the knowledge of this committee goes, no such studies in progress during the year: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Indiana, Delaware, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Oregon, California.

The forty institutions or agencies doing this work include: colleges of agriculture and state agricultural experiment stations, 27; non-agricultural colleges or universities, 5; United States Department of Agriculture; United States Bureau of Census; United States Children's Bureau; United States Public Health Service; institutes of research, 2; individual persons, 2.

The Purnell Act provides funds each year to each state agricultural ex-

periment station, authorizing the expenditure of a part of these funds for sociological research. Inasmuch as the maximum appropriations under this act become available in 1930, it is fair to assume that within two or three years virtually every state agricultural experiment station will be carrying on studies. Moreover, the growing popularity of rural sociology in institutions, more than 500 in number, is an index of increased demand for research.

The following types of problems have been the subject of studies during the year, as specified: rural population, 16; standard of living of farm families, 16; rural organizations, 25; rural health, the social aspect, 3; rural local government, the social aspect, 2; the rural church, 1; psychology of rural participants in associated effort, 5; miscellaneous, including rural eugenics, rural leadership, social aspects of farm abandonment, 18; total, 86.

The studies of rural, village, and farm populations have added to the current knowledge of the composition and characteristics of the village population and farm population in contrast with each other and with urban populations. The subject of migration of population to and from farms has taken on a serious aspect not hitherto attaching to the rather commonplace theme. The progressive loss of farm population for the last seventeen years has been connected up naturally with the growth of industry, the efficiency of agriculture, and the political and economic struggle of the agricultural class; and a new meaning has come into rural mobility.

The standard-of-living studies have succeeded in bringing to the forefront the hitherto neglected fact that the purpose of income from farms is not fulfilled until income has been exchanged into economic goods of living. That is, the ability to spend income and receive goods in return of a kind and value which will give the American farmer a self-respecting standard without altering his occupation and without his leaving the farm for city institutions is a requisite of farm life parallel with the ability of the farmers to produce an income. The standard-of-living studies so far have mostly brought to the attention of the farmer and his political friends the fact that the smaller the income, the more need there is of a social technique of exchanging income for goods in order to get the highest values out of income. The history of farm life has shown that in the past the farmers who have appreciated a balanced variety of the economic goods of life have left farming for cities in order to exchange their financial profits for goods not obtainable in farming communities, especially such goods and services as are furnished by modern institutions.

The studies of rural organization are attempting to understand principles of group life, to explain the high mortality of farm and community organizations, to analyze the competitive character of many associated efforts, and to discover ways and means of organization movements in rural society. These projects may be grouped into several types. First, earlier studies were made of primary locality groups in New York, North Carolina, Montana, and Wisconsin. These have been followed by similar studies in other states. Second, studies involving the relations of town and country. These have included



studies of social institutions with emphasis upon factors influencing the effective location of community or service areas for such centers or such institutions. Third, studies directed to an analysis of the "carrying power" of a locality, a family, or an individual with respect to organization have recently been initiated. Fourth, special interest groups, particular kinds of institutions, and various types of locality groups, such as the village or the New England town, have come in for a share of attention. Fifth, beginnings have been made on the psychological aspect of farm life. These bid fair to increase in number and importance, depending upon the development of a valid technique.

#### METHODOLOGY

The prevailing type of method for gathering materials was the survey. Of the eighty-six studies, fifty-six made use of this method of enumeration with a prepared schedule. This was not the only method used in securing data in many of these projects, but did become the major plan. The materials thus collected were given various laboratory treatments for purposes of analysis and explanation. In the majority of cases this included some form or forms of statistical treatment. An increasing number of projects employed various kinds of case-study methods, where the emphasis was not upon an enumeration or even a sampling plan, but an intensive study from every angle possible of particular situations, groups, or institutions. Certain few studies were based upon extant partial or complete surveys, including the census, where statistical analysis was employed in seeking explanations and interpretations. Only a few studies depended upon careful recording of facts or events as they occurred, by a plan of records or accounts. In some few projects the historical method was given major attention, official records and documents serving as sources.

It is worth noting that virtually all of the studies reported are based upon data, i.e., facts or assumed facts, obtained by questioning a participant or a near-participant in the event, fact, transaction, or situation involved. This means that the research worker relies upon testimony rather than upon the observation of his own senses. This dependence upon secondary data is the result, undoubtedly, of the comparative ease and cheapness of getting information from participants or those presumably acquainted at first hand with the situation involved, especially in view of the difficulties encountered when one person attempts to observe all parts of a complex situation. It is to be noted, furthermore, that the method by testimony necessarily limits the worker to asking questions in terms of categories lying within the participant's experience. While it is true that from a combination of many facts in such terms new facts, unknown to anyone before, will emerge, yet in all the studies reported these facts were only such as belong to categories lying within the participant's experience.

In the scientific advance in science as a whole the significant concepts frequently lie outside the ordinary experience of participants. The very perti-

nent question is therefore raised at this point, whether rural social research is prepared to utilize methods of direct observation and experimentation which have proved so successful in the physical sciences.

#### PERSONNEL

Because of the lack of a better means, the grades of ability of the personnel may be indicated by the possession of academic degrees. The following summary of persons doing this research work is made: Undergraduates, 39; holding Bachelor's degrees, 34; holding Master's degrees, 37; holding Doctor's degrees, 31; total number of persons doing the research work, 141.

Much of the services of these workers, particularly those without the higher degrees, was given with little or no financial return as part of their regular training. They gained valuable experience under the direction of a more highly trained and experienced man and received further compensation in the form of academic credits of the fulfilment of thesis or research requirements. It is hoped, however, that more time in actual field work can be given by the persons possessing the higher degrees. This is especially needed for the sake of perfecting the technique of fact-getting as well as of analysis and interpretation. It is likewise to be hoped that many more workers will avail themselves of opportunities to complete their scientific training. Plans are under way for encouraging and for making possible such further study. During the period of the study of this research work the conviction has developed that there is no greater need than that of a scientific spirit and a scientific training of the personnel. The opportunity in the field is very great and very real; nothing less than such a spirit and such training will suffice.

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## THE NEXT STEPS IN RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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EBEN MUMFORD, MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

In the first place, the next step in rural sociological research should be to make it consciously and predominantly sociological, for rural sociology is but a branch of general sociology. Rural sociology has a distinctive field and a unique contribution to make to the science of sociology and to the understanding and improvement of rural life, but this contribution cannot be made as long as research problems are selected largely without reference to their sociological bearing or character and the work remains incomplete and unco-ordinated. Sociology is a study of the fundamental factors and principles of association or interaction of living beings as expressed through group life. No other science is concerned with this field, and it is a distinctive one, the principles of which are absolutely basic, not only for the other social sciences, but for an interpretation of the whole life-process. It is with reference to this distinctive field of sociology that our research problems should be selected, and it is in this field that are to be found the factors which are fundamental to all research work in sociology, whether urban or rural, and which can give unity and coherence to all our work. Recognition of this situation should be one of the next steps in rural sociological research.

This general statement may be examined in the light of the research work in rural sociology to date. From the report of the Committee on Sociological Research in Agriculture we learn that sixteen of the eighty-six studies being carried on relate to the rural population. That such studies are necessary and important no one can question, but they cannot be regarded as much more than instruments of real sociological research. Any adequate explanation of population data must depend upon an understanding of the group life in the areas under consideration, including such factors as the traditions, customs, and standards of the groups, their unity, continuity, and interrelationships, and the nature and frequency of changes that they have undergone.

According to the report of the Committee there are sixteen studies relating to the standard of living of farm families. This is a very important field for investigation, and should be continued, but further progress in such studies must be based upon an inquiry into the principles of group life upon which all standards depend. The leaders in both agricultural economics and rural sociology have agreed that the most important practical step toward improvement of agriculture and rural life is the raising of the standard of living, that it would do more to solve the economic and legislative problems of agriculture than any other procedure; but more than this, it would give to rural life an

attractiveness and effectiveness comparable to that of urban life. More important still than this conclusion of our leaders is the question of how this higher standard of life is to be attained. Standards are developed and enforced by group life and the resulting growth of personality. This leads us to the next step in research with reference to the standard of living, and that is, What are the factors in group life and in the interrelationships of groups in community life that are most effective in producing high standards, and what are the steps in the socialization of the individual which give the higher desires and the more effective skills upon which a personality embodying high standards depends? This calls for a series of studies both of personality and group development, and particularly for genetic studies of socialization in order that we may find the technique of the development of a personality with high standards and of the more vital types of rural groups.

If we include special institutions such as the rural church and local government, then twenty-eight of the studies, according to the report, deal with rural organizations. Here much valuable work has been done, such as the study of neighborhood groups, of the area, population, and size of institutions necessary for an adequate rural community, and of the variation in opportunities afforded by different communities for development of the higher types of socialization.

The three types of studies just mentioned are the principal ones, constituting about 70 per cent of all rural sociological research reported by the committee. An examination of these studies, together with those of a miscellaneous type making up the remaining investigations, indicates that encouraging progress has been made toward a science of rural sociology, but that distinctly more emphasis is now needed upon the purely sociological phases of the situation.

There is no more glaring weakness in all the efforts to construct a science of sociology than the fact that up to this time the center of attention has been upon adults and their group life, or that which is controlled by them. In this respect sociology is in a stage of development corresponding to that of psychology and education before the advent of animal psychology and child study. Only recently have studies of socialization from the genetic point of view been undertaken; yet without such studies there can be no scientific description or interpretation of any of the steps in the process of socialization. During the last few years studies of the development of socialization in the preschool period of the child's life have been undertaken, but primarily by students of psychology and education rather than sociology. Such studies as have been made show that socialization, like physical and mental development, takes place more rapidly in these years than later. Not only are children in a plastic period, forming habits easily and rapidly, but they are much more sensitive to the social environment than the average adult. Impressions made then are deep and lasting, and the behavior, standards, and changes of later life are all conditioned by this earlier socialization. Of the gang age we have the beginnings

of some excellent studies by Thrasher, Furfey, and others. Studies of juvenile delinquency are also preparing the way for this new approach to a science of sociology. Of all the research work in rural sociology, however, as given previously, only six studies relate primarily to the organizations of youth, and these do not include the earlier and more formative years. From this it would seem that clearly one of the next steps in rural sociological research should be the formulation of a plan whereby all the stages of rural socialization would be carefully studied, beginning with the earliest group experiences of the child and including the preschool, early school, gang, adolescent, and occupational periods.

Approaching the study of socialization from the genetic point of view reveals the dominant rôle played by the primary groups. In childhood, the most significant and rapidly developing period of socialization, the primary contacts are practically the only ones. The pioneer work of Cooley in the study of primary groups has been the chief influence in some of the best rural sociological research, but up to this time little use has been made of this category in a study of the evolution of rural socialization. Herein, therefore, may be found the clue to one of the next steps in research. Moreover, we have now arrived at a point where it is necessary to push the analysis of primary group life still further. A few rural studies have now advanced far enough to give us a glimpse of the great possibilities in this new field.

This further analysis of primary group life has its foundation in the interrelation of stimulus and response. The greater effectiveness of primary groups is due to the fact that they not only provide more stimuli for the average person throughout life and for all individuals in early life than the secondary groups, but they also provide more effective stimuli. In the face-to-face groups both eye and ear, the two most highly specialized senses, receive the stimuli, whereas in secondary contacts it is usually but one of these senses. In primary groups, in addition to eye and ear, the sense of touch also plays an important part. In the primary contacts, then, there is a multiplicity of stimuli such as the sound and inflection of voice, the spoken word, facial expression, gesture, bodily movements, tactile impressions, and frequently a high degree of participation, such as taking responsibility in making the plans of the group and helping in their execution. Not only is there a greater quantity and effectiveness of stimuli in primary group life than in secondary, but the response is greater, more frequent, and constant, and therefore more influential in the formation of habits, dispositions, and desires. The response is also more immediate and direct and more closely interrelated to the stimulus. Moreover, most stimuli from direct contacts are reciprocal or circular in character, giving rise to what has been called interstimulation and response, whereas stimuli from indirect contacts are mostly linear.

This analysis leads to the next step in research from the point of view of the primary group contacts. All such contacts may be further differentiated on the basis of the degree of participation in group life, varying as it does from

a high degree of responsibility-taking to that of a mere onlooker, spectator, or listener. The difference in the effectiveness of both stimulus and response between group contacts in which one assumes a high degree of responsibility and in which he is a mere onlooker is very great, and absolutely fundamental for the understanding of the process of socialization and for its genetic study.

Only a few illustrations of the importance for research of the difference between responsibility-taking and spectator contacts can be given here. Our studies in Michigan show that farmers holding office in the different types of organizations usually found in a community belong to more organizations than members not holding office; that fathers and mothers of members of boys' and girls' agricultural clubs belong to more organizations and have had more years of schooling than fathers and mothers of non-club members; that members of boys' and girls' clubs belong to more organizations than non-members; that members of farm bureau and co-operative organizations belong to an average of 4.3 organizations, and non-members of these organizations to 1.4 organizations, and that a study of master farmers in three states shows that they belong to an average of more than six organizations and hold a higher number of offices and positions of responsibility than the average farmer. The results of these studies in so far as they relate to the influence of participation contacts are in agreement with the investigation of the effectiveness of boys' and girls' club work and other extension activities made by the United States Department of Agriculture, with the studies of extra-curricular activities and grades of college students made by Chapin and with the study of leaders by Sorokin. In the study of the effectiveness of the agricultural extension service in eleven states, including over eight thousand farms, it was found that the degree of benefit derived as measured by the number of improved practices adopted was in direct proportion to the degree of participation in the various types of extension activities. More than four times as many improved practices per one hundred farms were adopted by farmers conducting demonstrations on their own farms as by farmers having no direct contact with the extension service, and nearly twice as many improved practices were adopted by farmers conducting demonstrations as by those visiting the demonstrations. All of these studies indicate the importance of a careful study of the participation contact as compared with the spectator or listening contact.

Another step in research much needed at this time is the closer correlation of the investigations in rural sociology with those of agricultural economics. Some studies of this kind are in progress. Our studies in Michigan show that farmers with a low degree of socialization rarely join economic organizations such as the farm bureau or co-operative association. If these results are corroborated by more extensive investigation they will be of vast importance in convincing farmers, legislators, administrators of Purnell funds, and even other social scientists of the fundamental validity of the process of socialization and of the absolute need of a science such as rural sociology.

In further illustration of the importance of a closer correlation of studies



in rural sociology and agricultural economics reference may be made to one of our studies showing the relation between the standard of living and the income of 423 farm families in three communities of Michigan, typifying dairy, fruit, and general farming. Standard of living was considered both in relation to the family and the community. The 423 farmers were grouped in three income classes, those below average, average, and above average. The criteria used in the measurement of the standard of living found in each income class included the amount of leisure time of each class, both at home and away from home; the way in which the leisure was spent; the degree of participation in group life or in the organizations of the community; the number of farm papers taken; and the average years of schooling of each class. It was found that the farmers of the highest-income class excel those of both the lowest and the average-income classes in every criterion by which standard of living was measured, having not only much more leisure time, both at home and away from home, but also spending that time to better advantage. The data also give an excellent demonstration of the importance of the participation contact in group life, showing that the highest-income class takes part in the organized life of the community to the extent of more than three times that of the lowest and more than twice that of the average class. The members of the highest-income class also take more farm papers, and this is confirmed by other studies which also show that this class reads more than the lower-income classes.

The data of this investigation of the relation of standard of living to income and of our study of master farmers were, I think, misinterpreted by Dr. Sanderson in his paper last night when he stated that only those who have attained a certain economic success in farming can afford to participate in activities for the common welfare which require much time. On the contrary, a further study of the data and of the results of certain surveys made in other states, particularly in the light of the strong influence of social contacts in the early period of the individual's life, will show that the highest-income class have reached that position largely because of their greater number of contacts through more years of schooling, greater amount of reading, membership in more organizations, and especially through their larger and more constant participation in the group life of their community, for it is through these contacts that they receive the stimuli to better thinking and more efficient activity and keep abreast with the advances in agricultural science. Again, then, this indicates the fundamental influence of a high degree of socialization, not only in producing higher standards of living, but even in securing a good income in farming.

In this paper there is not time to enter into the discussion of method other than to give most hearty approval to the suggestion contained in the report of the Committee that the time has arrived for rural sociological research to utilize methods of direct observation and experiment which have proved so successful in the physical sciences.

## THE NEXT STEPS IN RESEARCH

WILSON GEE, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

One is optimistic over the progress in the field of rural social research when he reflects on the relatively scanty amount of effort a decade ago and compares the situation then with that outlined in the preliminary report on rural sociological research in the United States during the year July 1, 1926-June 30, 1927 as made by the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture of the Social Science Research Council. The fact that 86 studies were in progress in that year, by 141 investigators, involving an expenditure of approximately \$400,000 for these projects since their beginning, and representing 40 agencies in 27 states, with every indication of progressive increase indicates that inevitably light will be thrown soon upon every main region of our present darkness regarding rural social phenomena.

So comprehensive is the extent of the categories into which these studies are grouped by the report just mentioned that there seems little to be added to these thirteen general headings and to the papers and discussions of this session. However, there are two or three suggestions as to needed research.

1. Our ideas of the comparative contributions of the rural and urban elements in our natural life should be subjected to scientific investigation.

Rural sociological literature is shot through with such statements as the following, taken somewhat at random:

*The Farm—Best Home of the Family—Main Source of National Wealth—Foundation of Civilized Society—The Natural Providence. . . .*<sup>1</sup>

Our civilization rests at bottom on the wholesomeness, the attractiveness, and the completeness, as well as the prosperity of life in the country. . . . We need the development of men in the open country who will be in the future as in the past, the stay and strength of the nation in time of war and its guiding and controlling spirit in time of peace. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The influence of the rural communities on moral standards has been the hope of the country and is gradually leavening the life of the urban centers. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Suppose, for illustration, that farming processes and populations should deteriorate during a considerable lapse of time, until the production from agriculture was greatly diminished and the farming population had become decidedly inferior to the people living in urban communities? Can anyone doubt that these developments would affect the national life in a most disastrous manner? . . .<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Inscription over the entrance to Union Station, Washington, D.C.

<sup>2</sup> Theodore Roosevelt in *Report of National Country Life Commission*, Sturgis & Walton Co.

<sup>3</sup> Vogt, *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, p. 25.

The city is lacking in domesticity, but the country makes the home its center and reliance. . . . The city home tends to be a mere place where the individuals sleep and eat, but otherwise have few interests in common. . . . In the open country attractions and external seductions are few and infrequent and the home and family is relied on to furnish the bulk of stimulating satisfactions. Moreover, everyone lives under direct public surveillance and the ordinary moral restraints therefore obtain. There are no dark corners in which lurks vice in its various forms, and child life is safe from its intrusions. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The list might be multiplied almost indefinitely. No doubt the most of the statements are true in a large measure, but when the concrete background of such sweeping conclusions of rural superiority are examined they are more often than not found to be fragmentary and unconvincing. Moreover, in a nation now predominantly urban there are a great many people who do not believe these things and must be convinced by data that are accurately determined and conclusive. To make its impression upon a prevailingly urban philosophy the accuracy of all such statements must be clearly established.

Two concrete examples of what I mean will suffice: A careful comparative study of the family as it functions in city and country can be made, national in its scope—as to marriage and divorce rates, number of children, strata of society from which population is mainly recruited, and a number of similar matters. A clear answer based on fact should be afforded as to whether the family actually functions to the best long-time advantage of society in the country or in the city. How much of the rural migration to cities suffers in the process? By and large, would the migrant have come more certainly or sooner to financial independence in the country or in the city?

2. Closely allied with such a set of problems in the bearing upon our national philosophy is the historical point of approach to rural problems. So far as I know the history of rural social thought is widely scattered and to be gleaned in nuggets after much painstaking search. The science of rural sociology needs someone to perform the valuable service of searching out and compiling historical facts.

It would be valuable to know as clearly as possible the experience of the Greeks and Romans as to urbanization effects, and the influence of their national evaluations of rural life. Also, there is promise of great usefulness in such a critical appraisal of the more recent civilizations of Europe.

In my opinion Europe holds many lessons of what our rural life is likely to become, part of which would benefit in application and a large part of which would not. The rural communities of Europe and the other older settlements than ours, as well as some of the younger ones like Australia and New Zealand, are almost as important to study as those of our own country in their bearing upon our rural problems.

<sup>1</sup> Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, p. 47.

3. Finally, we need more social histories of rural life for the various states. Some of our commonwealths already boast of their agedness, and with them the complete picture of rural life is forever impossible, though much that is extremely worth while can be reconstructed. But in the newer states of the nation the task is by no means impossible and is certainly a most engaging one for the rural sociologist as well as for the economic historian, since the emphasis in the two approaches would be quite differently placed.

## THE STATUS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES<sup>1</sup>

C. R. HOFFER, MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

Rural sociology is rapidly gaining recognition in colleges and universities. In 1922 there were 339 colleges, normal schools, and theological seminaries offering the course. By 1927 the number had increased to 516. Replies to a questionnaire by teachers of rural sociology from 126 institutions showed that 6,593 students were enrolled in the course during the academic year 1925-26 and 2,179 students during the last summer session. Students from colleges of education lead the list with an enrolment of 2,462. The enrolment of liberal arts students was 2,276, of agricultural students, 1,398, and of students classified in other colleges, 437.

Most institutions require Sophomore standing of students before they register in rural sociology. A course in introduction to sociology is required as a prerequisite for rural sociology in fifty-one of the 126 institutions. Sixty-two institutions had no prerequisites in sociology. Thirteen did not designate their prerequisites for the course. Courses in rural sociology beyond the first course are offered in thirty-seven of the 126 institutions. Seventeen of the thirty-seven offer only one additional course. Excepting a few state universities and agricultural colleges and one theological seminary, no institution offers four or more courses in rural sociology. This indicates that intensive work in the subject is carried on in only a few places.

The increase in the number of institutions giving courses in rural sociology during the five years just past was distributed among the different types of schools as shown in Table I.

The 126 replies which would permit tabulation represented 21 state universities, 11 agricultural colleges, 46 private colleges and universities, 36 normal schools, and 12 theological seminaries.<sup>2</sup> The total enrolment in the first course in rural sociology in the 126 institutions for the academic year 1926-27 is shown by colleges in Table II.

<sup>1</sup> The data in this paper were obtained by the Department of Sociology, Michigan State College, and the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture, co-operating, from teachers listed in *Directory of Teachers of Rural Sociology*, prepared by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture.

<sup>2</sup> Usable replies were received from 47.7 per cent of the state universities, 39.2 per cent of the agricultural colleges, 18.6 per cent of the private universities and colleges, 24.6 per cent of the normal schools, and 23.0 per cent of the theological seminaries.

Colleges of education rank first in number of students enrolled, while liberal arts colleges are second and agricultural colleges third. It is evident

TABLE I  
TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS OFFERING RURAL SOCIOLOGY

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	NUMBER GIVING ONE OR MORE COURSES IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY	
	1922	1927
State universities.....	35	44
State agricultural colleges (when not located at state university).....	22	28
Private universities and colleges.....	122	246
Teachers' college, normal schools (including industrial institutes).....	126	140
Theological seminaries.....	34	52
Total.....	330	516

from these data that rural sociology is not a subject studied by agricultural students only, but that it is one which is receiving attention in liberal arts colleges and in colleges of education, including normal schools. This means that in the

TABLE II  
NUMBER OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN 126 DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS REPLYING TO QUESTIONNAIRE

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	TYPE OF INSTITUTION	TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS REGISTERED IN COURSES	NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS REGISTERED IN DIFFERENT COLLEGES							
			Agricultural		Liberal Arts		Education		Others	
			No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
State universities.....	21	1572	207	18.0	671	42.7	487	31.0	117	7.4
Agricultural colleges.....	11	1210	1018	84.1	49	4.0	31	2.6	112	9.3
Private universities and colleges.....	46	1502	41	2.7	1263	84.1	91	6.1	107	7.1
Normal schools and industrial institutes.....	36	2042	59	2.9	94	4.6	1834	89.8	55	2.7
Theological seminaries.....	12	267	3	1.1	199	74.5	19	7.1	46	17.2

future many teachers and professional leaders of all kinds in small towns and country communities will have had some training in rural sociology.

The departments in which rural sociology is offered in different institutions is of interest. The department of sociology offers the course in 36 schools; education offers it in 22 schools; social science departments in 12; rural eco-

nomics departments in 7; rural sociology and economics in 3, economics in 3, and other departments in 21 institutions. Twenty-two of the 126 institutions failed to reply on this point.

Tabulation of the replies on prerequisites for enrolment in the course, from the standpoint of years in college, show that Sophomore standing is most frequently required. Forty-seven institutions make this requirement. The course is open for Freshmen in 27 institutions, while 22 require Junior standing for registrants and 12 go so far as to require Senior standing. Eighteen institutions did not designate the class to which students must belong before registering for the course.

Replies to the question "Is the introductory course in general sociology required before students take rural sociology" were made by 113 institutions. Sixty-two do not require the introductory course, whereas 51 do make it a prerequisite. Seven of the state universities make general sociology a prerequisite for rural sociology and eleven do not. Only one of the eleven agricultural colleges requires introductory sociology. The practice of not requiring the introductory course probably reflects the opinion of rural sociology teachers in agricultural colleges that fewer students would take the course if introductory sociology were required. Agricultural college students have little opportunity for elective courses. If the introductory course is a prerequisite for rural sociology it means that students will have to elect two courses in order to take it. Twenty-eight private universities and colleges require the introductory course, and fifteen do not. Of the thirty normal schools and industrial institutes replying to this question, only nine made the introductory course a prerequisite. Six theological seminaries have the introductory course as a prerequisite and five do not.

Replies to the question "How many credits may be earned in the first course in rural sociology" show that the most common practice is to make it either a three-quarter credit or a three-semester credit course. Some institutions make the subject only a one- or two-credit course. A few institutions offer five quarter credits or four semester credits.

Practically every teacher required the students to purchase one or more textbooks. But no teacher relies on textbooks entirely. Additional readings are assigned. Texts that directly emphasize social problems are chosen in preference to others. Rural sociology teachers evidently are interested in giving information about concrete problems. Whether they go farther and explain the theory involved in these problems can only be surmised. If they do not the neglect is unfortunate. A knowledge about certain social problems will never develop a science or be of greatest benefit to students. The problems change and sometimes change so rapidly that an analysis of them at one particular time may very soon be inadequate or incorrect. To be sure, students approach

the subject from the point of view of certain problems which they have read about or observed. Yet the greatest benefit can come to the students only when they are taught the theoretical principles involved. It is one thing to describe the conditions of the rural church. It is another thing to analyze the psychological and sociological factors involved in the rural church situation. The duty of the teacher, with the aid of the text, is to explain and emphasize the theories and generalizations that are useful in understanding the problems studied. Neither students nor teachers will adequately understand rural life until they become familiar with the scientific theories and principles involved in rural sociology. Advancement is made most satisfactorily when problems and theoretical principles are studied together. The two phases of the subject are interdependent. If we develop the study of rural social problems to the neglect of social theory the subject becomes chaotic and disorganized. If we develop theory and neglect some of the most urgent social problems in rural communities the subject becomes too far removed from reality. The ideal text is one built on social theory with illustrations drawn from the social conditions and problems in rural areas. It seems to the writer that the first course in rural sociology should strive (1) to describe social phenomena and conditions as they exist in rural areas; (2) on the basis of this description apply or develop sociological theories which will help students to see these conditions and phenomena in an abstract manner; (3) suggest the theoretical basis for changing, that is, improving, the conditions when it seems advisable to do so. The last point probably falls in the field of social welfare, and, as Dr. Sanderson has pointed out, there is a very important distinction between sociology of any kind, as a science, and social welfare.<sup>3</sup> The scientific aspect needs always to be emphasized in preference to social welfare when the course is given as sociology.

Until more data are available about rural life perhaps the best that can be done is strive for the objectives just indicated. The distinction between sociology and social welfare is far more important for research purposes than it is for teaching purposes. In the future the first course in rural sociology may be divided and expanded into two courses: one in rural sociology proper, and another in rural social welfare.

Twenty-four of the teachers replying to the questionnaire submitted outlines that were used in their courses.<sup>4</sup> These were given in sufficient detail to permit an enumeration of the topics emphasized. The results of this enumeration follow:

<sup>3</sup> Dwight Sanderson, "Scientific Research in Rural Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (September, 1927), 180.

<sup>4</sup> These outlines were distributed among the different types of schools as follows: state universities, 8; agricultural colleges, 1; private universities and colleges, 9; normal schools, 6.



Topic	No. of Times Mentioned in 24 Outlines	Topic	No. of Times Mentioned in 24 Outlines
Rural church . . . . .	24	Co-operation . . . . .	8
Rural school . . . . .	24	Marketing . . . . .	6
Rural family . . . . .	20	Rural problems . . . . .	5
Rural health . . . . .	20	Land policies . . . . .	5
Rural population . . . . .	19	Survey . . . . .	5
Communication . . . . .	17	Neighborhood . . . . .	4
Community organization . . . . .	16	Credit . . . . .	3
The farmer and political action . . . . .	15	Biological factors . . . . .	3
Leadership . . . . .	13	Social evolution . . . . .	2
Physical factors . . . . .	12	Library . . . . .	2
Rural village . . . . .	12	Art . . . . .	2
History and development of rural life . . . . .	12	Extension work . . . . .	2
Psychological factors . . . . .	12	Occupation . . . . .	1
The rural community . . . . .	11	Moral conditions . . . . .	1
Agricultural production . . . . .	11	Newspaper . . . . .	1
Play and recreation . . . . .	10	Rural planning . . . . .	1
Tenancy . . . . .	10	Rural values . . . . .	1
Standard of life . . . . .	9	Relation of science to agriculture . . . . .	1
Rural labor . . . . .	9	Child welfare . . . . .	1
Rural progress . . . . .	9	Rural wealth . . . . .	1
Care of disadvantaged . . . . .	8	Group analysis . . . . .	1

Thus it appears that rural sociologists are beginning to reach some agreement as to what may be included in the first course. It appears also that the topics agreed upon are sociological in nature. Some teachers are inclined to use such concepts as tenancy, labor, marketing, etc., primarily economic in origin and meaning.

The adherence to concepts belonging to rural economics is to be discouraged. It indicates that our thinking in the sociological field is not clearly defined and that it is likely to be ineffective. A sociologist cannot, and should not, try to consider economic concepts from an economic standpoint. The social aspects of economic phenomena legitimately fall in the field of sociology, but they need to be considered in sociological rather than economic categories.

Only twenty-nine of the 126 teachers replying use one or more laboratory exercises; 40 have field trips; and 15 have both laboratory exercises and field trips. The distribution of laboratory exercises and field trips according to types of institutions is shown in Table III.

In conclusion a few statements may be made about research work in the subject.<sup>6</sup> Since the passage of the Furnell bill many projects have been started, and it is desirable that this work should be expanded still further in the future.

<sup>6</sup> No attempt is made here to enumerate the studies now being made, as this has been done in other papers.

Possibly the development of research is the most urgent need at the present time. The future of rural sociology depends upon the accumulation and organization of a large body of facts that relate to rural social conditions. One observation seems pertinent to the writer: First, a clear distinction must be made between sociology and social welfare when subjects for research study are selected. That is, subjects likely to reveal a knowledge of normal group processes and relationships should be chosen in preference to those which will reveal facts about a certain problem selected for study. Abnormal and

TABLE III

Type of Institution	Laboratory Exercises	Field Trips	Both Laboratory Exercises and Field Trips
State universities.....	5	4	3
Agricultural colleges.....	3	3	1
Private universities and colleges.....	10	21	8
Normal schools and industrial institutes.....	11	10	3
Theological seminaries.....	0	2	0
Total.....	29	40	15

pathological conditions need to be studied and corrected just as rapidly as possible, but this can be done only as the so-called normal relationships are understood. Community disorganization and strife are undesirable. How can they be prevented? Obviously, by understanding how groups work together harmoniously in a community and thus avoid conflicts. For example, if we know how granges, farm bureaus, churches, and other organizations co-operate in matters of community development such knowledge would surely give a basis for community programs that would minimize conflicts. Finally, extension work in rural sociology is necessary because it is largely through extension work that the facts developed by research will be made useful to rural community leaders.

# A PARTIAL ANALYSIS OF TEXTBOOKS IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

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This analysis deals with the content of rural sociology as shown in the various texts, and a criticism of a few of the outstanding correlations or theories that are claimed to be proved by their authors. I am limiting it to the principal texts in this field in America. All of them have been used in introductory courses in rural sociology at one time or another.<sup>2</sup>

Some of these books limit themselves to one or two fields, and are not real texts for the whole of rural sociology. Yet they have been used as partial texts with other books, or courses of readings have been built around them. The complete texts are by Gillette, Galpin, Vogt, Phelan, Taylor, Hawthorn, and Lundquist and Carver.

## THE FIELD OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

The first conception of rural sociology to be found in these texts is that it is a full inventory of the conditions of life in rural communities. Gillette, who is responsible for this approach, continues it in the revised edition of his *Constructive Rural Sociology*. He says rural sociology is to discover the tendencies and deficiencies of life in rural communities, map out special problems, and indicate ways of betterment according to the best ideals of social life. The same general treatment is carried over into his *Rural Sociology*, but he adds (p. 6): "Its first imperative is to understand rural communities in terms of their conditions." In each of his texts Gillette has carried out practically the same type of analysis. That is, he has attempted to picture and to explain the complete life of the people by bringing to bear upon their problems principles from all the social sciences, showing how each type of behavior correlates with and affects all others. In addition he has devoted considerable attention to the

<sup>1</sup> The following persons have helped me in the preparation of this article: Andrew Boss, F. S. Chapin, P. A. Sorokin, E. H. Sutherland, and Wilson D. Wallis.

<sup>2</sup> See the following: J. M. Gillette, *Constructive Rural Sociology* (1st ed., 1913; 2d ed., 1919); *Rural Sociology* (1st ed., 1925). C. J. Galpin, *Rural Life* (1918). Paul L. Vogt, *Rural Sociology* (1917 and 1926). B. A. McClenahan, *Organizing the Community* (1922). J. Phelan, *Readings in Rural Sociology* (1920). J. F. Steiner, *Community Organization* (1925). Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (1926). H. B. Hawthorn, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (1926). G. A. Lundquist and T. N. Carver, *Principles of Rural Sociology* (1927). Macy Campbell, *Rural Life at the Crossroads* (1927). Walter Burr, *Rural Organization* (1921). Institute of Social and Religious Research, *Village Studies*, by Fry, Brunner, Hughes, and Patten; 3 vols. (1926-27). N. L. Sims, *The Rural Community* (1920).

problem of environment versus native capacities as it affects the behavior of individuals. Rural sociology, for him, has meant a complete science of social life with a viewpoint toward rural betterment.

Galpin sees rural sociology as an attempt to dissect the social structure, both anatomically and socially, and place the individual therein. He thinks that a proper understanding of rural life depends upon this dissection. In his later analysis he discusses the effect of nearly all fields of rural behavior upon the individual. Other portions are devoted to environment and native equipment as conditioning factors.

Sims bases his monograph upon the "community." By a similar type of analysis he attempts to define and to explain the morphology and physiology of rural life, especially rural organization.

Vogt indicates that he wishes to reduce the principles of rural community life to an orderly and scientific form. He puts great emphasis upon the solving of certain social problems which he believes are inherent in rural life at the present. His subsequent analysis does not vary much from that of the other texts. The fields of endeavor and the types of data and analysis are approximately the same.

Phelan has followed the same general type of selection and organization of his *Readings* as the previous texts.

Taylor insists that the rural sociologist must summarize the results of all the social sciences as they apply to the "structure and functioning of all rural human relationships." In his analysis Taylor begins with the home farm and analyzes the farm family in all its important relationships or fields of behavior until, in the closing chapter, he shows its relationship to civilization at large. Taylor's work is outstanding because of its logical consistency in tracing the farmer through all his important human relationships. He places special emphasis in the fields of art, budgetary behavior, and political relations.

Hawthorn appears at first to have abandoned the theory that rural sociology should summarize the whole content of social science in so far as it demarks the farmer as an anthropo-social animal. He introduces a new concept called "socialization," and makes it the central theme of his text. But his treatment of the subject is not unique. He analyzes step by step the effects of all fields of human behavior and environment in their relation to the character and personality of the farmer and his society in much the same manner as do the others. His text is unusual in that he has developed a single unit (contact hour) which he thinks may be used as a measure of the effect upon the individual of all these fields of behavior.

Lundquist and Carver state their purpose as an attempt to show how rural conditions came to be what they are. Without any equivocation they discuss most of the fields of behavior and attempt to show how they are reflected in the complete life of the people. Their analysis in all essential respects is similar to those that have been discussed before. The *reformist* creed has been eliminated from their text. This is a new note.

We may summarize these texts as follows. Rural sociology started as an analysis of the total social behavior of rural people. It has not only attempted to explain the unique character of rural people, but the types of social organizations which they have created and the relationships between rural people and their forms of social organization, and vice versa. For this task it has brought to its aid data from all fields of behavior and has attempted to evaluate the relative influences of environment and native endowment upon the character of the people. After fifteen years of teaching, research, and textbook-writing it has the same approach. The only important change has been the addition of new fields of behavior (budgetary, art, etc.) from which evidence concerning the life of the people has been gathered and analyzed. This field of study or method of approach is covered by no other science. It is a valuable piece of work and should be done. My answer to those who are still looking for the "real" field of rural sociology is that it has been found. The primary job for the rural sociologist is, not to write new texts in order to determine the field of endeavor, but to explore the field which is before him.<sup>9</sup>

Some will object to the inclusion of programs for social reform. I agree with them. Reform should not be confused with science. Social science is a systematization of knowledge and principles of human behavior. Reform is a matter of ethics, evaluation, neurotic behavior, and what not. All sciences point to possible reforms, and nearly all scientists are reformers to some extent. There is no scientific basis for claiming reform as the unique aim of rural sociology. Furthermore, when sociologists become reformers their chances for making a contribution to science become less. Since, however, the three men who developed rural sociology in the United States were ministers for a while, and most of their followers were ministers at some time, it is not strange that the spirit of reform is presented and that some preaching is done. Some of these ministers have shown unusual scientific intuition and ability, but the time of the preaching and reforming rural sociologist must pass and pass rapidly. Too many men in the field now are 95 per cent ethical enthusiasts and less than 5 per cent scientists. The development of this science will be hindered if the contributions of such writers are not checked severely in this respect. Sociology must eventually justify itself as a nomographic science.

#### THE VALIDITY OF SOME OF THE MAIN THEORIES

If we attempt to discuss the validity of some of the main theories we must necessarily limit ourselves to a few. It may be said, however, that any conclusions concerning the validity of these main theories applies with equal force to many principles of lesser importance.

1. *Taylor's theory that rural life is and always tends to be a tragedy.*—This theory is to be found, in a less developed manner, in Vogt. This is the

<sup>9</sup> Sorokin, in chap. xiv of *Contemporary Sociological Theories* has found the same thing for general sociology. The concurrence of these two fields of study makes the conclusion appear more valid.

keynote and motif or central theme of Taylor's text. He says point blank on page 494 that "Agricultural civilizations are more or less a tragedy throughout the whole world. In culture and in standards of living they lag behind urban civilizations in most of the nations of the world." Is this a valid theory? It is difficult to evaluate civilizations. Much of our evaluation depend upon the standards we use. We may employ urban or rural standards. We may look at civilizations from a long- or from a short-time viewpoint. We may judge them according to stability or to rates of change. We may judge them according to whether they spend their incomes for present and oftentimes conspicuous consumption or whether they save them for the future. Further, we may judge them by their outer life or their inner and subjective life, by their vital and physical capacities and characteristics, their contributions to nations and to civilizations at large, and many others. We may compare farmers with wage-earners or the upper classes in urban life. I challenge any man or group of men to prove that urban cultures or civilizations are superior to farm life in all these characteristics. This tragedy theory of rural life should be thrown completely out of our textbooks until someone proves it. Most of the data back of the arguments are extremely one-sided, fallacious, and not representative.

2. *Theories of "isolation" and "socialization."*—It is commonly assumed that there is a correlation between ruralism and isolation, and urbanization and socialization. Some of the corollaries of this theory are that farmers will not co-operate because they are individualists, and that the rural problem is that of securing a sufficient volume of contacts by organization. A prominent author of one of these texts made the statement at this meeting a year or so ago that American farmers should return to the agricultural village form of organization in order to remedy this defect of rural life. This theory, as it is generally stated, is baseless and groundless. Is a rural child isolated because he learns from his parents rather than from the many secondary contacts of city life? Farmers may be individualists, but they have certainly established the only big and basic co-operative system in America. The real difference is that rural life is primary and urban life is secondary. The form of social control in rural life depends upon the family and the neighborhood. On the other hand, as Park and Burgess and many others state, urban life is a *seeing* civilization. Impersonal contact and conspicuous display are highly developed as forms of social control. Who can prove that one is better than the other? I object to these various schemes of organization which are proposed to bring urban culture to farmers by mass action. If the farmer wishes the valid things of city life let him get them over the radio. Farm children can acquire the valuable things of city life much more easily than city children can acquire the most valuable things of farm life, such as physical, moral, and mental stability and many other characteristics which comprehensive analyses find more often in farm life.

3. *Theories that the brighter or those with more initiative have left the farms for cities.*—A corollary to these theories is that the average intelligence

of farmers is declining. One man thinks he can measure a decline in intelligence. In no field of rural sociology has more false and inadequate discussion arisen than in this. At no place have statistics been less critically handled. These texts may be severely criticized for their discussion of this subject. Fritz Maas found that the contributions of peasants to national leaders and to men of genius in Germany have been increasing, and those from the proletariat have been declining.<sup>4</sup> The intelligence quotients of farmers diverge more or less from their actual achievements. We have not allowed for the handicap of horizontal as well as vertical circulation, which a farm boy must overcome in order to make a name for himself in one generation. Of the hundreds of studies which deal directly with this topic, not more than a dozen at most are known to all the writers of these texts, if we may judge by their references and by their analysis.

4. *Theories concerning the budgetary characteristics of farmers.*—These have become standardized chapters in texts the last few years. Yet, I believe the treatment of this subject has been most elementary and inadequate. In the last two hundred years more than 150 serious studies of various phases of budgetary behavior have been made. A number of these make direct rural and urban comparisons in various localities and portions of the budget. These text writers show no familiarity with the vast majority of these studies.<sup>5</sup> Writers of rural fiction such as Ostenso, Reymont, Cather, and others have seen more of the budgetary truth about farm life than these texts. We have found at Minnesota that completely new formulas must be developed to explain the budgetary behavior of farmers. The so-called "principles" of Ernst Engel are, at their best, but a minor secondary interpretation of rural life. Since I am elaborating these theories in other sections of this meeting, and in various bulletins and articles, I will not go into them further here.

5. *The theories that farm children are in much worse physical condition than urban children.*—Some texts refuse to give sources for the basis of their statements; others refer to a table in *Health Essentials for Rural School Children*, by T. D. Wood, to the same table in National Education Association, and in National School Service for 1919. Sorokin has investigated the sources of this table for a joint study of rural and urban populations which we are making. After going through all of these references and studying the factual basis for this table, which is presented in almost every textbook, the following appears to be true. This theory, and the principal table upon which it is based, is dubious. The facts or investigations back of it do not prove its premises. The theory is inconsistent with almost all other studies which compare rural and urban peoples according to morbidity, mortality, vital capacity, or physi-

<sup>4</sup> See *Archiv für Sozial Wissenschaft und Sozial Politik* (1916), pp. 144-86.

<sup>5</sup> As proof of this, see the original data of E. Engel; the study of diets by Slosse and Waxweiler, 1910; M. Rubin's study in Denmark in 1901; and the important rural and urban comparisons in *Levnadskostnaderna Pa Landsbygen in Sverige*, 1920. There are others.

cal defects. I think that we have a right to insist that this table and the accompanying theories should be omitted from all future serious discussion of the topic of rural and urban vital capacities until someone presents more proof. The writers of these texts present very inadequate data on the comparative vitality of rural and urban people. Why does not some text writer present some other material on the subject? Each repeats the others. How about European recruit statistics, the study of recruits in England during the last war, or the comprehensive and careful comparison of Civil War recruits made in this country? This latter study is analyzed by occupation. There is much other valuable data. Adequate conclusions must be based on many studies.

6. *The theory that city death-rates will decline until they are equal to, or less than, rural death-rates.*—This is suggested in a number of places. Standardization of rates still reveals large differences in favor of the rural and agricultural populations in the majority of countries, especially in highly urbanized countries like England. Besides, the discrepancy between the standardized death-rates of the country and the city has not tended to decrease in all countries in the course of the last twenty to thirty years. Since rural people are already much nearer the minimum death-rate than urban people, it is inevitable that city rates should decline faster, as they are at a different point on the curve. Further, why does not someone point out that new habits start in the upper and the urban classes and spread to the lower and the rural classes. This is one of the tenets of the Imitationists. The invalidity of the theory that rural and urban death-rates will equalize appears evident.

For the sake of brevity I cannot discuss more theories. Many more of those presented in these texts are dubious. Many writers reissue the mistakes that appear in other texts and make no real addition. I have been very critical of certain theories because I do not believe they are proved. It is easier to be critical than to write a good text. I am willing to admit at the outset that my judgment may also be wrong. The rural sociologists should be complimented on the persistent manner in which they have approached their task from the beginning. I do not think that those who are looking for the "real" field of rural sociology will make material changes in the content of the science. However, this last statement is also merely an opinion.



## DISCUSSION

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In evaluating textbooks we may ask several questions: Is the book fitted to the needs of the students who must use it? Does the book cover adequately the field to be studied and give proper emphasis to the outstanding features of the course? Does the book give the student a definite, clear-cut, and useful point of view?

On the whole I believe that our several textbooks in rural sociology are among the best textbooks that we have in the different specialized fields of sociology. Perhaps more than textbooks in any other field of sociology are the textbooks in rural sociology free from abstractions that are confusing to students. The rural sociologists have kept the point of view of students in mind in writing their textbooks.

I agree with Dr. Zimmerman that the field of rural sociology has been discovered, as is shown by the textbooks in rural sociology. We have the general outlines of rural sociology, and it remains to fill in the details by the gathering of more accurate data on the different phases of rural sociology. Weak spots in our present textbooks appear to me to be in (1) psychological and cultural aspects of rural community life, (2) local and general historical developments, (3) the organic relation of towns and cities to rural life, and (4) the bearing of machinery and the machine age on rural social life. The two monographic studies of Williams on *Our Rural Heritage* and *The Expansion of Rural Life* show what can be done in reaching a better understanding of the historical development and the psychological and cultural phases of rural life. We need a large number of local, intensive studies of this kind. The studies now being made on farmers' attitudes will help in rounding out the chapters on rural social psychology in our textbooks. So will the surveys on town and country relations strengthen the sections of our textbooks dealing with this new and most important phase of rural sociology. For better information on the influence of machinery and the machine age on rural social life the rural sociologists should follow closely the important studies of the agricultural economists on the increasing use of machinery and the consequent effect upon farm life.

That much of what is contained in our textbooks in rural sociology is not scientifically accurate, I agree. However, I would not bear down quite so heavily on the rural sociologists as Dr. Zimmerman does. On this point I think we may well recall Pearson's formula of the three stages in the development of a science: (1) the ideational stage, (2) the observational stage, and (3) the metrical stage. Rural sociology is still largely in the first two stages.

When we recall that we have been working with rural sociology only about fifteen years, it is evident that we could hardly have arrived at the metrical stage by this time. However, I believe that we can safely say that in no other phase of sociology do we have as much quantitative data, thanks to our many local rural studies, as we have in rural sociology, and on the whole our textbooks in rural sociology reflect the general appropriation of these data. I do not agree with Dr. Zimmerman that our rural sociologists have been careless and negligent in getting the best scientific data for their textbooks, but rather do I think that scientific data have been and are still lacking. Only when we have a great deal more carefully gathered and carefully scrutinized and tested data can our textbook writers give us truly scientific textbooks in rural sociology.

There is some doubt in my mind as to whether our textbooks in rural sociology give our students the definitely clear-cut point of view that is always a test of a good textbook. There is still confusion and disagreement among the rural sociologists as to what the rural sociological *reality* is, whether it is rural social welfare, or the rural standard of living, or socialization, or rural social groups, or forms of rural association, or rural social relations, or some combination of all or several of these rural sociological phenomena. The rural sociologists as a group can render an essential service to the textbook writers of rural sociology by clearing up and harmonizing these concepts.

As to whether rural sociology should be a pure and theoretical science, as these terms are commonly used, or whether it should have distinctively practical applications, I find myself in disagreement with Dr. Zimmerman's conclusions. It seems to me that there is no necessary conflict between rural sociology as a pure science and rural sociology as an applied science. Rather do I believe that these two phases of any science are complementary and react healthily upon one another. Certainly the rural sociologists need to proceed slowly and carefully in forming their generalizations; but when they have arrived at scientific conclusions about the nature, structure, and processes of rural social life there is no reason why they should not participate with others in making their data the basis of constructive rural community organization. The only means the rural sociologists have for experimentation and testing their data is through community organization. We shall become more scientific rural sociologists if we maintain close contact with the many efforts now being made to plan and direct rural communities. Somebody will previse and reform in our rural communities. Why should not the rural sociologists, who have made a careful study of the development and the present structure of rural social life, help steady the efforts in rural community organization? The rural sociologists have an opportunity to help in rural social engineering and should avail themselves of the opportunity.

## DISCUSSION

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Professor Zimmerman's paper contains much that is thought-provoking. My remarks regarding it are calculated to be rather more supplementary and explanatory than critical of it.

In the course of evaluating the present stock of textbooks in rural sociology there are at least two sets of conditioning circumstances which should be kept in mind:

1. The antecedents of rural sociology in the field of general sociology. Only a brief survey of the textbooks in general sociology is necessary to make clear the philosophic and ethical nature of their subject matter. It is only necessary to go back as far as 1894 to find sociology defined by Small and Vincent<sup>1</sup> as "the philosophy of human welfare" and described as "the synthesis of all the particular social sciences." They devoted the first quarter of the book to an academic discussion of sociology and its academic relationships. Painful organismic analogies such as "social physiology," the "disease," and "functions of social organs" were freely used. The most useful parts of the book were composed of plausible descriptions of social organization and development based upon observation, but one is impressed by the lack of concrete data, the results of careful investigation.

Many textbooks in general sociology have been written since this one by Small and Vincent, but their authors have been unable to divorce themselves entirely from this general method of treatment. Viewed from the standpoint of science, there still remains an oversupply of philosophies, assumptions, and untested theories. But it was from these antecedents, on the academic side, that rural sociology arose; and it is too much to expect that the writers of the rural texts would be freed from similar difficulties. Hence my point that while Zimmerman's criticisms are true, they are equally true of the textbooks in general sociology.

2. Rural sociology arose out of a huge reform movement for the reconstruction of agriculture and country life. This movement not only gave rural sociology its impetus but in a measure determined the scope of the subject and will continue to do so for a time. Furthermore, continued demands for results with ethical implications will continue for awhile to make it difficult to do the most painstaking research. In 1917 Vogt devoted space in his text to a discussion of the probable characteristics of an ideal rural community, and then formulated his definition of rural sociology to indicate that the subject would

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to the Study of Society*, pp. 32, 54.

one day dictate the necessary principles for the organization of such ideal rural communities. (Of course he could show good academic precedent, for at about the same time—1915—Professor Hayes<sup>2</sup> was giving as a first characteristic of sociology that it is “ethical, regarding the weal and woe of all men as facts to be accounted for.”) It does not seem likely that any one science will ever have a lion’s share in setting up an ideal civilization. Furthermore, while in the long run Professor Hayes is probably right, the investigator who is forever concerning himself with the ethics and reform value of his subject matter is likely to do pretty poor research.

My point here is that we are still too close under the influence of the movement to “solve the rural problem” to expect our textbooks to be freed from such implications. And I think we may expect our textbooks in rural sociology to be unsatisfactory for a time, (1) because of the antecedent influences already mentioned; (2) because we are now in a period of special investigation, collecting and analyzing the data upon which sound textbooks may be based only at some later time; (3) because much of the field of rural sociology is yet undetermined, but only in the process of being explored; and (4) because administrative and other outside influences are likely to direct exploration and hamper development for a time at least. In the meantime I see no serious objection to the inclusion of unproved theories in textbooks provided they are included and treated as such. Professor Cooley admits freely that many of his theories need testing; yet his books have made useful texts. Of course this requires that the teacher know more than the text contains.

I should like to suggest that rural sociology is now in a period of development where a service to the teacher could be rendered by producing a few good books of readings. Why not break with our philosophic antecedents and build up several good organizations of concrete materials as they accumulate, materials upon which synthetic textbooks may later be based. Possibly the symposium method of textbook writing should be tried. Certainly we have some distance to go before we shall have an achievement in textbook-writing as notable as, for example, Beard’s *American Government* and *Readings in the Field of Political Science*.

<sup>2</sup> *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 8.

# REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EXTENSION WORK IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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W. H. STACY, CHAIRMAN, IOWA STATE COLLEGE

## I. EXTENSION ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY BY THE CHURCH COLLEGES

A survey of Arts Colleges and Seminaries by Mr. T. B. Manny in 1926 found 22 institutions in 16 states which were developing some extension work in the rural sociology field. Seventeen others reported no extension work carried on. The total number responding to the inquiry was about 10 per cent of those giving resident courses in rural sociology and rural life. The following summary indicates the type of work which is under way.

A. General service activities: 8 institutions provided lectures and talks on social problems; 6 provided traveling libraries or special loan privileges of the general library; 3 provided traveling stereopticon or "movie" services; 3 furnished letters and bulletin material for rural ministers and others.

B. Training for local leaders: 4 institutions developed short courses for rural ministers; 5 held rural church and rural Sunday school institutes; 5 arranged joint Rural Betterment Institutes with county agents, superintendents of schools, state extension workers, etc.; 5 furnished help by correspondence or visits to groups desiring aid for specific problems.

C. Materials and leadership supplied: 4 institutions gave financial and other help to secure better rural church buildings; 4 sent out student teams to co-operate with local people in community development work.

D. Demonstration and supervised activities: 3 institutions supervised "demonstration rural churches"; 4 supplied special supervision of rural churches served by college students.

E. Extension courses in rural sociology: 3 institutions had extension classes taught by members of the college faculty; 1 supplied a correspondence course in rural sociology and rural church methods; 1 prepared special reading courses for rural ministers.

F. Standards for rural community programs: 3 institutions reported the preparation of articles for denominational papers.

## II. EXTENSION WORK IN THE STATE SCHOOLS

The circular prepared last May by Mr. C. H. Schopmeyer, of the office of co-operative extension work, United States Department of Agriculture, presents a summary of the plans of work in state college extension projects in rural community organization.

Fourteen states apportioned \$73,599 of state and Smith-Lever funds for the fiscal year 1926-27 and employed fifteen full-time and three part-time specialists for rural community organization work. Named in the order of the amount of money provided in the extension budget, these states were Pennsylvania, West Virginia, New York, Texas, Iowa, Mississippi, Missouri, Virginia, Nebraska, Ohio, Louisiana, Oregon, Maryland, South Dakota.

One state had three full-time specialists, two had two, eight had one, and three had part-time specialists. In Texas, Pennsylvania, and Maryland farm economic and marketing activities were included in the plans which were reported.

#### ACTIVITIES IN THE PROGRAM

The rural community organization activities found in operation in the fourteen states include recreation; entertainment; debating; education; finding and training leaders; township, county, and state civics; health, welfare, and sanitation; community beautification; community buildings; units in rural community, and social organization.

#### WAYS AND MEANS

Twenty "ways and means" reported "in general use in the several states to put into effect the content of the various programs" included school and conference meetings, surveys, furnishing programs for local meetings, play loan services, contests, camps, lectures, picnics, local fairs, exhibits, plays, little theaters, press articles, pageants, singing and music, demonstrations, distribution of reference material, committee assignments, local projects, co-operation with other extension workers.

#### METHODS OF TEACHING

Considering all the activities which are now being developed by state extension specialists in rural sociology as being different ways of teaching progressive principles of rural community life it is possible to make the following classification:

1. *Development of standards.*—Special observations have been required for the development of practical standards and goals in regard to community boundaries, community scorecards, community or township standard goals, state surveys of leadership and community plans, intensive county surveys of social activities, community building plans, community yearbooks, and community meetings including grange and farm-bureau meetings.

2. *Demonstrations in rural social programs or supervised activities where results are featured as guides to other groups.*—These include community associations, simplified extension program in communities, community programs of work based on use of community scorecard, county community leaders councils, county organization directory, little country theaters, rural camps—4-H club, rural camps—farm women, demonstration pageants, demonstration home-talent plays, supervised picnics, supervised exhibits, organized vacation

church school, community building and playground equipment, and exchange programs.

3. *Training schools, conferences, and consultations.*—These include rural pastors' conferences, county rural leaders' conferences, state conference of community leaders, state grange lecturers' conference, recreational training for 4-H-club leaders, state training schools for recreational leaders, state training schools for leaders of dramatics, and county organization leadership training project 5-7 months.

4. *Helpful service furnished to leaders.*—This includes regular program service for meetings, play loan service, debate reference material, new educational plays, regular press articles on social facts, speakers' bureau, and service lectures.

5. *Competitive and stimulative activities.*—These include community improvement contests, dramatic contests, debating contests, and orchestra contests.

6. *Organized reading and study courses.*—These are limited to community civics.

#### CONCLUSION

This classification shows the variety of activities which are being developed in rural sociology extension work. It also indicates that this work is closely correlated with other phases of the extension program. For example, there were 2,716 camps for 4-H-club members, most of which were developed by county agents, home demonstration agents, and club leaders. There were 141 county vacation camps for farm women. A study of the programs of extension specialists in this field does not give a complete report of "the status of extension work in rural sociology."

Your committee presents these few facts together with the conclusion that a large proportion of the thousands of workers in the county and state extension work have in their hearts the missionary spirit of service and are lending their efforts towards assisting rural people to attain their goal of "better living." Those great pioneer extension teachers of rural sociology, Dr. S. A. Knapp, Professor P. G. Holden, Director M. C. Burritt, Director Nat Frame, to say nothing of the many inspiring home economics leaders and a score of other men who might be named, established a basis for a broad rural life program. Eighteen specialists are now endeavoring to assist in guiding thought and developing a few specialized activities.

#### Committee:

MARY E. DUTHIE

T. B. MANNY

W. H. STACY, *Chairman*

## EXTENSION NEEDS IN THE FIELD OF RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

H. C. RAMSOWER, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

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The statements presented in this paper represent the point of view of a director of extension service who does not presume in any sense to be a specialist in the field of rural organization.

The task of extension work is to teach improved practices for the farm, the home, and the community, that is, to assist in the development of a plan of education that will tend to lead both adults and youth toward a more productive rural life.

The Farm Bureau has played a conspicuous part in the development of extension work during the past few years. It is still the recognized co-operating agency through which extension work is carried on in nearly every county in the state of Ohio. The extension agents meet with the executive committees of the different county farm bureau groups and plan with them concerning the development of the county programs. The farm bureau is furnishing the majority of funds for the support of the extension agent's office, though such support is being gradually taken over by further county appropriations as farm bureau funds become insufficient for the purpose.

In the process of developing contacts with other organized groups in the county there has grown up a demand, from some sources, that these groups be represented in that body which is taking responsibility for the development of the county program of extension work.

In some counties this demand has been recognized, and occasionally the executive committee of the farm bureau has been enlarged to include representatives from other organized groups. Thus extension agents have gone outside of the farm bureau to develop their activities until at present, roughly speaking, about one-half of the local leaders in the state are non-farm-bureau members. Likewise at least one-half of the club boys and girls come from non-farm-bureau families.

At the same time extension agents now seem more inclined than formerly to organize people around their specific interests. For example, in one county where poultry is one of the outstanding interests a group of 180 poultrymen have been brought into co-operation with each other in various aspects of the poultry project. At a recent meeting one hundred of these attended a county-wide meeting, largely in the nature of a social gathering, though some phases of poultry development were under discussion. The extension agent finds a keen and active interest on the part of this group in almost any meeting called for a discussion of poultry problems. In other counties other groups



are brought together around such projects as swine sanitation, clothing construction, health, nutrition, various dairy interests, and home beautification. These groups change from year to year, but the central theme of interest continues.

During the past few years the writer has many times made the statement in public that one specific membership organization built primarily for educational purposes, such as the farm bureau, is essential to the development of a continuous and satisfactory extension program. Conditions in which we now find ourselves indicate that such is not the case. At any rate the farm bureau was developed, functioned for a number of years, grew strong in numbers and finance, took on new obligations, reached a period of rapid decline in numbers and financial strength, yet the extension program has continued to grow. If this organization could have been kept free from commercial activities, a different story might now be written.

But a specific organization with a membership fee that is more than nominal is likely to prove detrimental to the extension program. Substantial fees and large membership bring together organized power and means to attain certain ends. This leads to the development of projects perfectly justifiable from the standpoint of rural interests but detrimental to the interests of an educational program developed by a recognized educational agency, when the two are part and parcel of the same organization. Organizations with large funds and membership tend to federate into state and national units. This invites exploitation on the part of selfish interests.

Again, such organizations require much time for the maintenance of both numbers and morale. Extension agents closely connected with these organizations are held responsible for a reasonable share of this work. While organization should be an essential part of the program of each extension agent, if he is compelled to take too much of his time for the maintenance of an organization involved in a variety of projects not a part of a legitimate educational program, criticism is bound to come from various sources.

Furthermore, such an organization cannot possibly encompass all of the interests of a community. Other groups will be found with their own particular interests. This leads to conflicts and jealousies. It may be possible to develop an all-inclusive organization. I have never seen it done. My observations, therefore, condition me against any plan which involves the use of one and only one organization for the development of an extension program.

Every community has within it many organized groups and institutions, such as the school, the church, social groups, business groups, fraternal groups—some local and some county wide. Each has been developed presumably to serve a felt need and to perform specific functions that no other group within the community was at the time performing. A broad-gauged extension program will inevitably touch the interests of most of these groups. In turn each of these groups is usually directly or indirectly interested in some extension activity. In many communities this has led to the practice of forming community

councils, made up of representatives from the various groups in the community. They are brought together from time to time to consider matters having to do with the development of a community program or for solving problems as they may arise. I have sat in a number of such council meetings and have been impressed with the fact that it is apparently difficult for a member of such a council, representing a specific group, to think in terms of the community apart from the group which he represents. Apparently to be community minded calls for a mental state difficult to attain by one who is wedded to one, perhaps only one, of the organizations represented.

I have mentioned interest groups as representing a more recent development in extension activity. While not new, this idea has tended to take on larger proportions in my own state during recent years. Poultry-project groups represent a different type of unit than definitely organized community groups, which include the church, the school, social clubs, business clubs, etc. Such a group has a rather slow development. It has its beginnings in local communities throughout the country. In one place a single farmer accepts the plans of the agent to make his farm a demonstration ground for improved poultry practices. In another, a boys' and girls' poultry club is the beginning of interest. In others it may be a poultry calendar project or a marketing project. Later, tours are arranged and those interested go from farm to farm and from community to community viewing various aspects of the work. Exhibits at fairs in both junior and adult work bring individuals and groups together. The agent then holds county-wide meetings bringing in active leaders from several communities. A county chairman is elected, frequent county-wide meetings are held, and a distinct group, with definite technical interests and purposes, is brought into being and ready to function in community and county development. The poultry group which I have in mind functioned most effectively in securing additional county appropriations for extension work. The point of interest to us here is that poultry farmers functioned as a group apart from the general organization in the county, though many were members of the farm bureau.

We have tried in a limited way still another method of reaching communities, a modification of the West Virginia scoring plan. Committees are selected by leaders in the community generally in conference with extension agents to consider and to score certain phases of the community's interests. There is a committee on churches, schools, health, beautification, recreation, soils, crops, poultry, other livestock, etc. These committees are brought together at a general community meeting, usually in a church, where the scoring plan is explained in detail. The several committees, largely from general knowledge, rate the community on the activity in question. At a final session they render their reports and make recommendations regarding specific problems which may be included in a program for the community the following year.

The chairmen of these several committees then constitute a community

council. This council determines just what problems shall be included in the year's program, since all the recommendations of the committees cannot receive attention at once. They also decide how and by whom the projects determined upon are to be carried out. This council functions throughout the year, when another scoring meeting is held and new committees are appointed with new chairmen for the next year's work.

Two or three significant features in this plan are pertinent to this discussion. The chairmen of the several committees are chosen for their familiarity with, and fitness to handle, the problems involved, and not because they are officers of any one group. The people are brought together as citizens of the community to consider problems of interest to the community rather than as members of organizations to consider organization problems. This is essentially an interest-group plan approached in a different manner.

Thus there are many ways through which a community may be approached with the development of an extension program. The extension worker's first need is contact with a group of men and women with intelligence and vision, familiar with and interested in various phases of community activity, for the purpose of analyzing problems and developing solutions for them. If there be an active, organized group already in existence he will probably seize it as his first opportunity. It may be a grange, a woman's club, a community club, a local farm bureau, a parent-teacher association. Through this group he may be able to start some worth-while projects. In another community he may begin with an entirely different group. In still another he may find no group at all. He will then proceed to call together a few individuals to begin the initial steps in the building of a program. Thus, he might be working in a dozen different communities, no two of which have the same type of organization, and so far as purely local programs are concerned each might achieve distinctive success.

The agent will return to different communities in successive years to develop bigger programs, to touch additional community interests. Although he may have made his previous contacts through some specific group, he will find other groups interested in certain community problems, or outstanding individuals who do not wish to associate themselves with any group having definite membership requirements. He must place himself in position to work with them or help them get into position to work with him. Thus he becomes involved in the task of co-ordinating community groups for the purpose of developing a well-balanced program and then giving assistance to each group falling within his field of work. If these groups do not have too many special interests of their own apart from those of a legitimate extension program, and if the agent is sufficiently compelling and aggressive to hold their interest over a period of years, he may develop a worth-while piece of educational work.

The extension agent may go into the several communities of his county and build up his own organization whether or not there be existing groups in all or in none of the communities. This may be a paper organization, with par-

ticipation in its activities the only requirement for membership. It may be a more concrete type, with definite fees, constitution, officers, regular meetings, etc. In either case it is an addition to existing community groups, and somebody must spend time and energy in keeping it alive and strong. Highly specialized services in this highly specialized generation keep calling for new organizations. They will surely not grow less. But he who suggests new and additional groups where there are already several in the field takes upon himself a peculiar responsibility. The great need of many communities is that of giving intelligent direction to existing groups rather than its organization of new ones.

I mention again the interest group as the way of approach to the community for the extension worker. Not long ago one of our good county agents, just after finishing a series of successful poultry meetings in his county, said to me, "If I could make all of my contacts through groups brought together around their specific interests and could cease worrying over how to keep up interests in general community meetings, I think I should be supremely happy." This man knew that we were emphasizing the necessity, fancied or real, of bringing the communities together at monthly intervals for a discussion of various phases of the community program. In my opinion more and more of our extension work will be done through such groups. Such a group cuts across all other groups in the community and gets away from the selfish, narrow interests of many of them. It pulls them away from their own organization interests and leads them to think in terms of the more complex interests of the community—for there will be many interest groups involved.

I have spoken largely of approaches to communities. The extension worker's responsibility does not stop here. His communities must be correlated into a county unit, for the county program must have definite objectives toward which to strive year by year. Further, county programs must be correlated into district programs, and at least parts of district programs must find a place in a still larger state program. No one will dispute the need for some state-wide, region-wide, nation-wide organizations working in the interests of rural life. Extension service must see to it that its plans and its programs fit into such a scheme. In the long run it seems that it can best function in this direction by enlisting the interests of and serving those groups in community, county, and state which have the necessary overhead organization, by stimulating the leadership of these groups, by quickening and broadening the interests of the groups that have become too narrow and selfish by skilfully guiding the elimination process here, creating new groups there, the while keeping its eyes on fundamental problems undisturbed by local clamors for time-consuming effort. Through such a plan extension service can and will touch all phases of community, county, and state interest, and will thus not only keep but strengthen its present commanding position in the development and direction of rural thought and action.

## DISCUSSION

MARY EVA DUTHIE, CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Conditions and practices vary so greatly in different states that my first suggestion is based on this lack of uniformity. A clearing house providing for the exchange of methods and materials would be extremely worth while.

My second suggestion concerns the training and the consequent general attitude of the local home demonstration and county agricultural agents toward the job. Lest I be misunderstood, I hasten to assure you that the workers in New York Extension service are as fine a group as you will find in any state. They are well trained, but their training has been for the most part technical, and their idea of the job seems to be to pass this technical knowledge on to the farmers of their counties.

Due probably to my first experience with extension work I have always thought of it primarily as social work. Most of the agents do not seem to recognize its social implications, but regard the teaching of the technique of properly feeding calves, chickens, or children, or the passing on similar technical knowledge to as many people as possible, as the most highly important thing they do.

The college sends out subject-matter specialists to help the agent disseminate this subject matter, and when the rural social organization specialist comes along, the agent regards his subject matter as a sugar-coating which may be properly used to further the "good cause." The rural social organization specialist is considered successful if he sends the crowd home happy and willing to come again, or, in the case of some long-time activities such as dramatics, the specialist is successful if the groups with which he works put on plays that are financially successful and thus help finance some of the "important work." I may be unreasonable, but I want the agents to feel it worth while for a community to put on a play whether or not it makes a single cent in the process.

A home demonstration agent said to me recently, "Well, there is one dollar you got for us. This woman would never have joined had it not been for dramatics. Of course she won't do any work, but we might as well have her dollar."

"Why," said I, "she has been directing those plays. I thought she was doing quite a lot of community work."

"Oh, yes," said the agent, "but she won't do any of the *real* work."

A certain state leader said recently that those agents who are not especially proficient in their *real* work are the ones who have most time to give to the frills of social organization.

However, this attitude is changing. I talked with a state leader recently who believed the time was about here when the farm bureau should take the responsibility for providing community meeting places suitable for use by any community group, but was not sure how the agents would receive the idea. He agreed that the agents did not have a social point of view toward their jobs, and added that he felt it was because they had not had social organization training and did not even know what it was. He had taken graduate work in summer school a couple of years ago and two of his courses were in rural social organization. He said he advised one of his agents also taking work that summer to take at least one course in the department, but the agent laughed and said he wouldn't waste his time.

Not all of the agents feel that way. Many of the agents in New York are doing splendid community work, but they are in the minority. A change in attitude is needed. How it is to be brought about will be more or less for this group (the rural sociologists) to decide. It seems to me, as the state leader suggested, training in social organization is the important first step.

# THE SECTION ON EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

ROSS L. FINNEY, *Chairman*, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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The Section on Educational Sociology of the Society, meeting in joint session with the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology, held two sessions December 29. At the morning meeting three papers were read: on "Science, Sociology and Education," by Robert C. Angell; "Toward an Agreement as to the Content of Educational Sociology," by Ross L. Finney; and "The Literature of Educational Sociology," by Carroll D. Champlin. In the noon session papers on the progress of research in educational sociology were given by A. O. Bowden (read in his absence), O. Myking Mehus, and Nathan Miller. The abstracts of these papers follow.

## SCIENCE, SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION

ROBERT COOLEY ANGELL, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Education in the broad sense in which it is being used today is a full-rounded, complex life-process, and therefore does not constitute the object matter of any one science. The sociologist is interested only in those aspects of education which are part of his special field. It is the business of a philosophy of education to integrate the findings of the various sciences into a synthesis which shall establish a complete theory of education.

The educational sociologist should be concerned with theory, not practice, for an applied science in the social field is of little value. Phenomena like education are so complex that no principles of practice can profitably be laid down by one science alone; all pertinent sciences need to be called in. This means that a technology of education is required, not applied sciences of educational sociology, educational psychology, and so on.

The educational sociologist, then, is arrogating too much to himself in trying to make a curriculum, to lay down a program for school organization, or dictate teaching methods. These need a technologist in education who is grounded in all pertinent sciences. However, the educational sociologist is not on this account cut off from contact with the school. He will find much of his material for study and analysis in educational institutions, and he will also be contributing his share to the fund of knowledge on the basis of which better schools may be developed.

Educational sociology as an organic part of general sociology will proceed

by the intensive study of this one phase of social life. Approach will probably be made from two angles: the growth of personality under social influence, and the value of certain types of social organization for personality growth. Social psychology has already done much from the first point of view; various studies have explored in a tentative way the second line of approach. There is opportunity in both directions for much valuable research.

## TOWARD AN AGREEMENT AS TO THE CONTENT OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

ROSS L. FINNEY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The aim of this paper is to harmonize the two divergent views as to the field and function of educational sociology. The first view is that educational sociology should be a *deductive* application of sociology to the problems of education, primarily that of aim. The second view is that educational sociology should become an independent science by *inductive* research in a special field, viz., the social aspects of education. Both of these views are correct; the mistake of each camp is in denying the view of the other, sometimes intolerantly.

The general concepts upon which research must proceed as premises are *deductively* derived. The details are filled in by *inductive* research. Both Napoleon and Jefferson would deduce their general aims of education, and thence their general notions of content, method, and organization, but with different results, because of different premises. Afterward, by *similar inductive methods*, each might then have the details of his system filled in.

The most immediate service of educational sociology is, accordingly, to introduce the new point of social science deductively into education; its ultimate service is to scientize inductively the details of educational practice in its social aspects.

There should be mutual appreciation upon the part of these two kinds of workers in the one field, with resulting unity of effort, and hence progress together.

## THE LITERATURE OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

CARROLL D. CHAMPLIN, PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

Educational Sociology has reached the dignity of having its bibliography compiled. The manuscript of one, prepared by a committee, is submitted at this meeting of the national society. If the bibliography as first compiled were printed, in ten- and eight-point type in the style of the shorter book reviews in the *American Journal of Sociology*, it would make a book of over two hundred



pages. The committee, however, has made an abridgment, reducing the bulk by about one-half. Only the first chapter, "Scope and Method," is confined to titles which cover some kind of correlation of education and sociology. Most of the works listed in the other nine chapters do not pay formal tribute to sociology, but they exhibit thinking which is socialized or even sociologized. The earliest book on educational sociology (an *Introduction to the Study of Education Sociology*, by Walter R. Smith, State Normal School, Emporia, Kansas) appeared just ten years ago, and the name of this new study was itself coined only ten years before that. But literature on the application of sociology to education reaches back quite continuously through the third decade, and this stretch of time—thirty years—must be more than doubled to get back to a notable early example, Herbert Spencer's essay, *Education*.

### SOME APPLICATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

A. O. BOWDEN, NEW MEXICO STATE TEACHERS' COLLEGE

1. *Definition*.—Social psychology deals with the processes which involve group interaction and individual interaction with one another.

2. *Method*.—A sort of composite method of investigation was employed in this study: (1) The case method which undertook to take specific cases in (a) school administration, (b) classroom management, (c) methods of the recitation, (d) cases of discipline. (2) Documentary material found in the literature of education and social psychology writings on the points covered in (1) above. (3) The analytic method consisting of separating psychological situations into their elements in all phases of school personal work which involve social interaction. (4) Personal investigations and research by the author.

3. *Findings*.—The material collected is mostly of such a nature that it can not adequately be presented in the scope of three hundred words which is allowed in this abstract.

4. *A few briefly stated conclusions*.—(1) General or individual psychology has yet to make its contributions of far-reaching consequence to education. It has given us the concept of individual differences, certain methods of instruction, information about the learning process, applied to educational practice. (2) Social psychology, though a recently segregated "discipline" among the mental sciences, has great possibilities as an aid to the major phases of education. It is likely the "ology" that will ultimately help us most in determining and reaching our educational aims. (3) Many school administrators both in city schools and colleges and universities have failed often in their educative practice by violating certain principles of social psychology. (4) Social psychology may contribute greatly to our methods of creating the "proper attitudes" and "mind sets" through school situations. (5) The understanding of

the techniques of group, community, and neighborhood "mind sets," "biases," etc., will be a great aid to the success of the classroom teacher, and most of all to the educational administrator.

## "PRIMITIVE" EDUCATION

NATHAN MILLER, CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

The complex social problems of the day can be set forth, it is maintained, in a more definite form by seeking for the origins in simpler, i.e., primitive, societies. Thus, the vexed problem of the relation of parent to child stands out more boldly against the background of the parent-child relationship that exists in primitive cultures. Even a cursory examination reveals the fact that in the domain of education today the primitive strain predominates. Ethnographical data is clear on the point that the decisive, behavior-forming traits of the child are assimilated casually and unpremeditatedly by means of suggestion and imitation of the life of the elders, as they are to a great degree today as well. However, as the desire for group coherence and continuity became articulate, and as the material culture, particularly, became ramified and technically developed, a necessity arose to school the child actively. The value of children then became evident as economic aids to the parents and as service-bearers to the parents in the after-life. This type of purposive training was a grim, stern affair in which the child's will was literally rendered supine and pliable to be accommodated to the easy overlaying of the culture of the folk. The climax occurs in the initiation ceremonies which are undergone as a token of the entrance into full social maturity. The philosophy of education was thus to become a means of beating down the child into allegiance to the will of parents and institutions of the people. In this the individuality of the child was lost sight of altogether. Such, it is maintained, is still the burden of much of our contemporary pedagogy and educational tactics.

## THE EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION AND SOME RESULTS OF PARTICIPATION IN EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN A UNIVERSITY

O. MYKING MEHUS, WITTENBURG COLLEGE, SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

This paper will give a summary of the data secured by a survey of extra-curricular activities at the University of Minnesota. This survey was made by a faculty committee and the writer. Questionnaires were filled out by 4,637 students and 407 alumni. Three hundred campus organizations were investigated.

The data show to what extent lower and upper classmen participate, and also in what activities they participate. The median scholarship quotients and intelligence scores of sample groups of least active and most active students are compared. An intensive study is made of 1,170 students who held offices or were members of committees. The type of students who enter each kind of activity is brought out by comparing the scholarship quotients and intelligence scores of sample groups of students active in each kind of activity, such as athletics, fraternities, religious organizations, etc.

The returns on the alumni questionnaire give the attitude of the alumni in regard to the social and educational values of extra-curricular activities as they view them ten to fifteen years after graduation from college.

## THE SECTION ON SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK<sup>1</sup>

MAURICE J. KARPP

At the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in St. Louis a section on Sociology and Social Work was created as a result of unusual interest displayed by a large group at a meeting dealing with this subject.<sup>2</sup>

The Committee in charge of the section decided to have three sessions and to devote each session to a single subject which should be presented in a main paper and discussed by several persons representing both fields. This decision was carried out and the three sessions were devoted to three topics, presented by sociologists and discussed by sociologists and social workers.

The first session, held on Wednesday morning and presided over by the chairman of the section, was devoted to the subject "What Social Case Records Should Contain To Be Useful for Sociological Interpretation." The main paper was read by Professor Ernest W. Burgess, of the University of Chicago. He contended that to meet the requirements of the sociologist, case records "should contain what will render them valuable for social case work, that and no more." This he based on his belief that sociologists and social workers both realize that the relation of the individual to the group is fundamental both for sociological research and for social treatment; that for a real understanding of the client, the social worker must view him, not as an "individual," but as a "person." That this conception is basic to social work he showed by quoting from some of the writings of social workers. But, despite the recognition of the importance of this conception, characters, as described in case records, seldom appear as "persons"; they are only "cases," undifferentiated except by varying combinations of problems. One explanation, according to him, is that the characters in case records do not speak for themselves, but obtain a hearing through the translation of the social worker. He proposed that the interview be recorded in the first person. This should insure an objective record of significant data, help to establish the rapport necessary to adequate diagnosis and treatment, and should contribute to the placing of social work upon a scientific basis. According to him, verbatim reports are especially valuable for the family history, for describing the conception which each member of the family has of his rôle in the group, for the family interview, and for illustrating the status of the family and its members in the community.

<sup>1</sup> A summary of the papers presented at the meetings of the Section on Sociology and Social Work of the American Sociological Society in Washington, December 27-30, 1928. The full papers and the discussions will be published in a special issue of *Social Forces* in June, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> See *Pub. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, XXI, 213-22, 298.

The paper was discussed by Frank J. Bruno, Linton B. Swift, and Thomas D. Eliot, who had been invited to present prepared discussions.

Frank J. Bruno held that the real problem was to get workers who would be sufficiently well trained to understand the conception of social case work formulated by Dr. Burgess and accepted by the better social workers. According to him it makes very little difference whether the record is written in the first or third person. What is important is the content of the record from the standpoint of depth of understanding, insight into problems and relationships, accuracy and adequacy of portrayal. He pointed out also that records are too "wordy" as they now are. To write verbatim records would be to make them not only prohibitive as to cost, but also entirely too bulky for purposes of study.

Linton B. Swift took issue with the thesis that to be useful for sociological interpretation "social case records should contain what will render them valuable for social case work." He did not agree that usefulness for social case work is synonymous with usefulness for sociological interpretation. As used by case workers, the ultimate purpose of a case record must be treatment. Records must, therefore, contain that which will further treatment. This would not be sufficient for research purposes. "To change that emphasis in order to increase the research values of the case record might throw out of gear the whole process of diagnosis and of treatment." Moreover, he felt that it would be a great mistake to eliminate the case worker, for "the words, gestures, and attitudes of the person interviewed do not tell the whole story; they may be influenced or caused by the words, gestures, and attitudes of the interviewer herself. The interviewer, with her own prejudices, attitudes, and mannerisms, is definitely a part of the picture."

He suggested that a much more accurate picture of the client might be obtained by getting him to reveal himself in a sort of "confessional document."

Thomas D. Eliot pointed out that the elimination of the worker from the case record would not make for greater objectivity, but might make for less accuracy. It may be hoping for the impossible to expect the same record to serve the needs of social case work and social research at the same time. According to him "the sociologist keeps himself out of the picture as much as possible, to see what would happen if he weren't there; the case worker has to get into the game herself. She cannot treat without entering her own rôle into the drama." Accordingly, one may ask whether case records as now written can ever be useful for sociological research and interpretation. "Can one be simultaneously scientific and sympathetic?" he asked. "Can one simultaneously experience and reflect? Can one both introject and project the same experience? Can one preserve objectivity in a subjective experience? Can one appreciate experience both immediately or currently as an end in itself, and at the same time mediately and ultimately as a means to an end? Can one at the same time interpenetrate in a group relationship and yet maintain separate awareness? Can one have both truth and cure, in medicine or social work?"

Neva R. Deardoff opened the discussion from the floor by pointing out that the suggestions would necessitate a fundamental change in the method of recording. She was not sure that the time was ripe for a change from the narrative to the dramatic type of recording because of the skill which such recording required.

Mr. Lurie, Miss Colcord, and others, speaking from the floor, expressed the feeling that important as the form of case recording is, progress depends on better-trained personnel rather than on change in the form of recording. Dr. Sullivan, speaking for himself and other psychiatrists, insisted that it is essential, for the sake of clarity and objectivity, that the worker be eliminated from the record in so far as humanly possible. Unless this be done he felt that the worker rather than the client is presented in the record. He indorsed the proposal of direct quotation provided it was understood that such quotations would be an accurate record of what the client actually said.

The second session, a luncheon meeting presided over by Professor Cutler, was devoted to a paper on "Some Sociological Suggestions for the Treatment of Family Discord by Social Workers," read by Professor Ernest R. Groves, of the University of North Carolina. He started out by saying that family discord is neither rare nor necessarily bad. Indeed, "a family with no discord would be so highly abnormal as to be a social monstrosity."

According to him there are two types of friction: One results from the fact that the family is the only social institution allowing its members freely to express their dissatisfactions with other members and making it possible for them to unload on it the grievances, irritations, and burdens which daily life imposes. The other type is generated by the close contact between person and person in the family group. It is the very intimacy of primary group association that brings about this type of discord. He named three classes of discordant families: (1) those concealing a lack of harmony, (2) those in which clashing is acute but sporadic, (3) those suffering from chronic discord.

He cautioned his hearers that "any analysis that leads to a single cause of the family difficulty is an error," and that "human nature is never completely dominated by a single causal influence. . . . No family discord can be charged up entirely to the effects of financial difficulty, or neurotic characteristics, habits of promiscuity, or unadulterated ugliness."

The steps in treatment he outlined as the following: (1) Attention to the point of clash. The effort should be "to make the grievances definite and to reduce them to their lowest terms"; (2) discovery of the "point of attack"; (3) determination of how much of resource there is in the family for its recovery; (4) decision as to procedure, i.e., whether through interpretation and rationalization of the causes of the conflict or through separation in the form of a "family vacation," etc.

Joanna C. Colcord, in discussing this paper, pointed out that one of the most important elements for the case worker to take into consideration in handling family difficulties is the degree of community of interest which ex-

ists. "Affection," she said, "is hardly compatible with prolonged strife . . . but community of interests can and often does survive the disappearance of all recognized forms of affection."

While she agreed on the importance of a thorough investigation into the genesis of the difficulty, she insisted that it was not enough to get only the client's view; the social worker "maintains that what is in the client's mind is not sufficient for the purpose, and that other sources must be consulted for fact and opinion of significant import."

She agreed also that the case worker's approach should never be censorious at least in the initial stages of investigation and diagnosis. But "there is sometimes a place in treatment, however, for a ruthless piercing through of the rationalizations which a person may have wrapped about his conduct. . . . It is sometimes a necessary operation in social surgery, and cannot be left out of our list of permissible techniques. It comes late in the process, after a sufficient basis of confidence has been laid for plain speaking to be possible between social worker and client."

Harry L. Lurie, the second person to discuss the paper, said that the social worker dealing with family discord aims to use the very processes of investigation and analyses outlined in the main paper, but that definite knowledge on these is so scant at the present time as to make their use limited. However, besides being a diagnostician, the social worker has a definite contribution to make from the standpoint of treatment. He could render "such services as giving or obtaining enlightenment in matters of basic sex adjustment, in providing physical well-being, in offering or furnishing incentives toward enlarged economic opportunities within the capacities of the individual, in helping to discover the beginnings of, or latent, organic physical or mental diseases . . . and rational methods of family limitation."

He pointed out the dearth of factual material on this phase of case work and emphasized the need for a "collaborative study between the social worker and the sociologist and the psychiatrist of organized and disorganized families from every angle, including the social, the economic, and the sexual."

The third paper in this series was read at a luncheon meeting presided over by Porter R. Lee, on the following day, by Professor Stuart A. Queen, of the University of Kansas, on "Social Interaction in the Interview." This was a description of a co-operative study undertaken by a committee of the Kansas City Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, and dealt with the problem "What happens in an interview between a social worker and his client?" He detailed the procedure the committee used in studying the effect which a number of elements have on the client as well as the social worker. He enumerated the following items as the specific objects of the study: (1) the influence of the outward or "overt" action, (2) non-overt action, and (3) interpretation of procedure.

In the treatment of the material of the interview which his group gathered he showed how inadequate a verbatim report can be without the interpre-

tive material which should accompany it. On the other hand, with this material introduced at strategic moments the verbatim report of the interview yielded a picture of the situation which would be difficult indeed to obtain from the ordinary summarized interview.

Without claiming very much for either the method or the findings, he pointed out that the experiment has demonstrated the importance of non-verbal parts of the interview. "In numerous instances the case worker is convinced that his inferences have been drawn from the client's physical action rather than from his words. . . . In other instances it is apparent that the social worker's previous knowledge of the client is more significant than anything revealed either by word or gesture. . . ."

To the questions "What is the effect of this analysis on the members of the committee? Does it make them so self-conscious as to be hindered in the conduct of interviews?" he replied that his committee is unanimous in the belief that this is not true. Rather do they feel that it has made them more alert to anticipate possible responses of their clients and to interpret responses which actually appear.

This paper was discussed by Virginia P. Robinson, Helen T. Myrick, G. E. Kimble, and E. H. Sutherland. Miss Robinson pointed to some of the limitations of the study and questioned whether the method of introspection was a safe one to employ. She also indicated that there is great danger in a procedure of this kind because it has a tendency to make the interviewer so self-conscious as to lessen the value of the interview and the analysis. She was not certain that either the method or the information gathered through it had much value for the case worker.

Miss Myrick reported on a special study which a Chicago group, studying the interview, made on the basis of the Kansas City findings. This study concerned itself with the psychological rather than with the sociological aspects of the interview, and Miss Myrick pointed out the differences.

Miss Kimble emphasized what seemed to her the great danger in analyses of this kind. She feared that such analyses would dissipate the worker's energy and prove a dangerous distraction. She frankly raised the question of the validity and usefulness of such studies of case work processes, and although she was aware that this came dangerously close to saying that case workers are born, and not made, she recognized a sufficient degree of truth in it to be willing to raise the question. As a teacher of case workers she could not see that the young interviewer could profit by this approach sufficiently to justify it.

Dr. Sutherland crystallized the discussion by pointing out that to question the value of study, analysis, and experimentation in social work processes is to admit that the old apprenticeship method of training is adequate for social work and that the schools of social work have no justification for existence; also, that unless social workers were willing to experiment and subject their work to critical analysis, they could not hope to make social work a profession.



He raised a number of interesting and important questions about the validity of the method used from a sociological viewpoint.

What was the value of these meetings? The writer asked this question of a number of persons. The answers varied in accordance with one's view of social work, sociology, the value and possibilities of science as applied to human relationships, the validity of experimentation with human beings, and the responsibility social work has toward the accumulation of data for scientific study even though such study would benefit it directly. These and other controversial questions must be answered before there can be anything like general agreement on the value of these and future meetings of this section. To be sure, the meetings served a number of most useful purposes. They brought a large number of social workers to the meetings of the society who would otherwise not have come and who have never before been interested in the meetings of the American Sociological Society; they served to emphasize, as has never before been emphasized, that the two fields have a great deal in common and that in the long run they are both interested in the same thing: more accurate knowledge of man in his social environment. On the other hand, never before, at least so far as the writer's knowledge goes, have the differences in point of view, aim, and method of the two fields and their representatives been so clearly brought out as at these meetings. Though the writer had no illusions with regard to the love, admiration, confidence, and even respect which sociologists and social workers have for each other,<sup>3</sup> the attitudes which were evinced on occasions were startling even to him. "Social work and social workers are doomed so long as they remain on the present dead level of trial and error," said one prominent sociologist. "Social workers are lost in a maze of routine and have insufficient perspective to rise above it," said another. "No hope for the present generation of social workers, though there are some good people among them," held another. And so it went. The social workers were no more charitable toward the sociologists. "Can't you make your sociological friends come down to earth?" queried one social worker. "Where is sociology driving at, and how does it expect to get there in this blundering fashion?" another asked. A third was amazed at the "fuzzy-minded research that was so much in the foreground," and thought that "some of the material presented was shocking."

But disturbing as these and other similar comments were, they were, after all, only stray comments. For the most part people attending these meetings felt that a very significant beginning had been made. Not only were the papers and discussions most favorably received and commented on, but it was felt that the atmosphere had been cleared to a very considerable extent. For the first time sociologists and social workers took common counsel on their points of meeting and departure. It is clearer today than ever before that these

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "The Relation of Sociology and Social Work," *Journal of Social Forces*, III (March, 1925), 1-8.

two fields have a great deal to gain from each other, despite the fact that they have different aims and cannot always use the same methods.

The subjects treated elicited a great deal of interest. The writer received a number of requests for a continued treatment of these subjects in order to discover and formulate a feasible working arrangement. Other topics, in which sociology and social work have a common interest, have been suggested for the next meeting.

If the writer may venture his own opinion, a most important step for sociology and social work has been taken.

## THE SECTION ON THE FAMILY

ERNEST R. GROVES, *Chairman*, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

The Section on the Family held three sessions. The first, on December 27 at 10:00 A.M., was devoted to a consideration of the influence of the nursery school on family life in city and in village, with papers by Edna N. White and Mary Schofield. The second meeting, the morning of December 28, centered about papers on "Economic Aspects of Modern Family Life," by Benjamin R. Andrews, and "The Family in Modern Literature," by Lorine Pruette. The third meeting the next morning took up a discussion of personal adjustments in family life with papers by L. Guy Brown and E. T. Krueger. The abstracts of these papers are given here.

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE NURSERY SCHOOL ON FAMILY LIFE IN THE CITY<sup>1</sup>

EDNA N. WHITE, MERRILL-PALMER SCHOOL

The underlying purpose of the nursery school is to serve as an agency for parental education. It serves to *define* parental responsibility and to supplement the home as an agency in rearing children. Its specialists aid the parents in determining the child's physical and mental status and character traits and in planning an intelligent program of child care based upon these findings. For determining the child's physical status and needs there are specialists in medicine, nutrition, dentistry, and physiotherapy. For determining his mental status and his social needs there are specialists in mental measurements, education, and sociology as they apply to the preschool child.

The nursery school serves also as an agency for training the little child, chiefly through furnishing an environment especially fitted to his needs and by training him in life-activities. Its environment is adapted to helping him learn motor co-ordination and control, sense perception and discrimination, through constructive play and discoveries of his own. The presence of a group of children of the same age provides a kind of training in early social adjustment and enjoyment otherwise seldom possible.

The nursery school also attempts to aid the parent in adapting the home environment to the child's needs. It is difficult for parents, seeing the situation subjectively, to appreciate the emotional strain and nervous tension the pre-

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *The Family*, IX (April, 1928), 50-51.

school child is often subjected to in the home, often simply through their failure to appreciate it. This situation is particularly acute with adopted children. The very reason for which the adopted child is brought into the home—very frequently to serve as an emotional outlet for unadjusted parents—assures a hard time for the child. It is he who is expected to bring about the adjustment which was the reason for his adoption. Other factors make his rôle a difficult one. It is commonly adopted by people no longer young, who find it not easy to accommodate themselves and their home life to him. He is regarded more critically by his foster parents than a child of their own would be. If he behaves badly the fault is blamed upon his heredity. He is expected to show a gratitude for his home which furnishes a reason for the demands made upon him. And he is commonly the only child in the family. In such a situation the nursery school and its staff furnish an environment and an objective viewpoint valuable in ameliorating conditions for both the child and his foster parents.

The nursery school makes clear to the parents also the necessary share of the father in the life of the home—a factor too often neglected.

The nursery school as an agency to supplement the home is perhaps especially important in modern city life. Restricted housing space in many cases makes it desirable that the child should attend a nursery school if only to secure a normal environment for play and other activities and the possibility of getting enough fresh air and sunshine. It serves the further purpose, however, of giving the parent expert help in solving the many problems he meets. He is given help in physical problems, such as proper feeding. The educational possibilities of the home are made clear, and the child provided with the play equipment, the plants, and the pets that are essential for normal development, though it is not always possible to provide them in the individual home. Help is given with behavior problems and the intricacies of child management.

The personnel of the nursery school, specially trained for the work, help to train the child in those activities that are education for him: the control of the body, sense and speech development, appreciations of music, color, and nature, and the formation of physical habits. He is taught to concentrate upon his tasks and to be self-reliant. He is started on his way toward right attitudes in matters of authority, reality, and love and affection.

In the community as a whole the nursery school has definite possibilities and responsibilities in defining standards for child care and in serving as a center for child guidance, not only for parents and the home, but also for other social agencies responsible for the welfare of little children. It is fundamentally a co-operative social enterprise, with its primary purpose that of helping the home to function once more as a sound educational institution.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE NURSERY SCHOOL UPON  
FAMILY LIFE IN THE VILLAGE

MARY SCHOFIELD, PETERBOROUGH NURSERY SCHOOL

The Peterborough Nursery School was established in 1923 in a New Hampshire village of 2,600 population of several nationalities. Starting with six children, it has steadily grown until now it enrolls twenty-four, the capacity of the building. It includes a kindergarten under the same roof and employing the same methods, and has become the Peterborough Preschool children's center. With its constant waiting list of a few names it practically meets the needs of the child population of preschool age. In addition to the children whose parents can pay the modest tuition charged, a certain number, never more than a third of the total enrolment, may be scholarship children. Every effort is made with the village child to substitute natural interests for those more artificial activities offered to the city child. The child himself is overcoming the limitations that were wont to be associated with village life. Increased powers of observation and novel experiences are furnishing him, as well as his parents, with new ideas, new ideals, and an enlarged vocabulary of life.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF MODERN FAMILY LIFE<sup>1</sup>

BENJAMIN R. ANDREWS

Industrial society with its specialization of productive function, growth of cities, increased output of varied consumers' goods, money economy, and heightened mobility is modifying profoundly the family's economic situation and customary activities. Though forms have changed, the family, employing a third of the labor force of the country, retains its economic function of increasing social wealth; it serves also as the final agent in distribution of social income to individuals in the living which they enjoy; it is the unique center of economic consumption, and by controlling retail demand projects a control back upon industry itself. The family is finding an adjustment by producing within the home less of material product which it can buy in finished form and by creating new products in the varied services which meet the developing needs of its members. As housework is industrialized, the home is personalized. Rising standards of living require new techniques. The average measured time for the care of a baby by an intelligent mother is five hours. Science is giving a foreview of the home education of the infant and preschool child and constructive companionship of mother and school child and mother and her young people, looking, not toward prolonged dependence of child on mother, but prolonged comradeship and understanding as the child works his way toward a fully enriched and thoroughly competent personality. Prime attention to personal values for child and adult and skilled administration of the family's social and economic resources to this end, with all of managerial activity and intelligent labor that is required—here is a constructive career available for the

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *The Family* IX (April, 1928), 60-68.

home woman. Will it be her peculiar career or will another trend evident to all put all married women into outside remunerative employment? That vocational door is open too and must remain open, and combinations of outside and inside vocational interests will be made more easy for those who wish to, or for those who have to, practice a double vocation. The prophecy may be ventured that for the average family with children homemaking will remain a full-time productive vocation. Family finance, whether of the man's income alone or of the occasional double income, is being adjusted to the partnership idea. The managing housewife usually contributes as much by her skill as does her husband by his money. Family friction in economic matters will be less common when research reveals social and psychological causes underlying family unhappiness. Then effective education and consultation dealing with all such problems will make possible maximum happiness in family life.

### THE FAMILY IN MODERN FICTION<sup>1</sup>

LORINE PRUETTE, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Discussion will be confined to the novel, which, like any other form of literature, is an invention conditioned by, and growing out of, the culture pattern. The novel, a comparatively recent literary invention of the eighteenth century, is audience of the great middle class. It grows out of the same conditions which have produced the industrial revolution, and for the same reasons early got under way in England.

Origins of literature are no more esoteric than the origin of sewer pipes. Social sciences have taken account customarily of the tools of the arts, but have neglected largely the subject matter. The novel depicts life as it is being lived or as a group thinks it desirable to live. The ironist finds his opportunity in the lag of the mores and shows up the difference between the ideals of life to which men do lip-service and the newer developing folkway. The novelist, dealing in cause and effect of psychological and sociological tensions, works on the material of his own life-experiences, and his product thus has considerable validity as a social document. The pedagogical need which has caused the introduction of much case-study material on courses of sociology may also be met by the use of novels. The paper will close with a brief consideration of certain modern novels bearing on the study of the family.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIVERSE PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR AMONG CHILDREN OF THE SAME FAMILY<sup>2</sup>

L. GUY BROWN

The foundation of this paper is an epitome of the data from several case studies of diverse patterns of behavior among children in the same family.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *The Family*, IX (April, 1928), 46-50.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in full in *The Family*, IX (April, 1928), 35-39.

Variations in behavior patterns in the family are explainable not alone on the basis of inheritance and temperament but through the processes by which a child gets a conception of his rôle, develops a personality, and acquires a family in which to live. At the outset a child does not have a family. His family comes to him through experience as an "organization of interacting personalities" in which recognition and approval are much desired, and where the rôle of each member is defined by the reaction of other members. An older child has his recognition through a certain pattern of behavior. For a younger child to follow this pattern is merely to be Billy Jones's brother, while to develop a diverse pattern of behavior is to gain recognition, if not approval. A child can learn to speak any language through the social definition of his random vocalization, or acquire any pattern of sexual satisfaction through the social definition of his undefined sex impulse, or build up any food habit system (German, Italian, Chinese, English, etc.) out of his vague hunger impulse; and likewise he can build up any behavior pattern through the social definition of the undefined activity in the organism, that is, out of the undefined activity important for the development of personality.

## A STUDY OF MARRIAGE INCOMPATIBILITY AND ITS TREATMENT<sup>1</sup>

E. T. KRUEGER, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Marriage relationships are family relationships, whether children are born to the union or not. Incompatibility in marriage, as a problem of the conflict of attitudes between husband and wife, must be studied as a process of family disorganization. Conflicting attitudes arise in tension situations. Tensions are, essentially, factors in the causation of incompatibility. The highly interrelated and integrative character of tensions makes the problem of the classification of tensions difficult. For purposes of analysis, classification in terms of specific and concrete tensions seems preferable to that in which concrete tensions are reduced to more abstract and inclusive classes. A classification of thirteen tensions is suggested as an aid to case-analysis and as a basis for verification and reclassification in comparative studies.

In the analysis of a given case study the constellation of tensions may be stated in terms of primary and secondary tensions, of sequence of tensions, of the rise and disappearance of tensions, and of the circular interaction of tensions. Such analysis takes into account the organic nature of relationships within the family in dynamic terms of growth and change as opposed to the atomic and static conception of the marriage group, and provides a basis for intelligent treatment.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *The Family*, IX (April, 1928), 53-60.

## THE SECTION ON THE COMMUNITY

ARTHUR E. WOOD, *Chairman*, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, AND LE ROY E. BOWMAN,  
*Secretary*, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Section on the Community met in joint session with the National Community Center Association. In addition to the joint meeting of the National Community Center Association with the American Sociological Society, four sessions of the Section on the Community were held. The central topic of the luncheon meeting, December 27, was "Community Conflict and Community Organization," with three papers: "The Slum, a Project for Study," by Nels Anderson; "Principles of Community Organization," by W. W. Whitehouse, which was read by Niles Carpenter; and "The Individual and the Group," by W. I. Newstetter. The dinner meeting the same day was on the subject "Rural-Urban Relations." Three papers were given "The Impact of Urbanism on Rural Areas and the New Rural Community," by E. C. Lindeman; "A Case Study in Rural-Urban Conflict," by Benson Y. Landis; and "Results from the Use of a Community Score Card, Covering a Trade Center and Surrounding Neighborhoods," by Nat T. Frame. The general topic for consideration for the meeting on the morning of December 28 was the "Analysis of Urban Community Organization," with the following papers: "The Social Significance of Citizens' Associations in Washington, D.C.," by Edward T. Devine and Louise Beall; "The Place of Citizens' Associations in the Civic Life of the Community," by Louis Brownlow; "New York Schools as Meeting Places," by Clarence A. Perry; and "The Cleveland Experiment in Community Organization for Adult Education," by Clarence O. Senior. That evening the final session was devoted to a discussion of "The Rural Community," with papers on "The Community Aspects of Rural Libraries," by W. C. Nason, and "Special-Interest Groups in Rural Society," by John H. Kolb. The abstracts of these papers follow.

### THE SLUM: A PROJECT FOR STUDY

NELS ANDERSON, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The slum is an integral and natural functioning part of the city. Its life is of the life of the whole city such a part that to treat it in its own terms as a pathological phenomenon has little meaning. The slum, like every other residential area, is the creature of functional specialization and a segregated use of



space. It is a region of high transiency and disorganization, being a point of invasion to the city and the point of departure in the climb of the population from conditions of less advantage and low status to conditions of more advantage and higher status. It is a subject on which social science has little information and about which thinking has been generally unscientific. It is one field in which objective sociology has done little to interpret, in spite of the fact that sociology has long been interested in the social problems generally identified with the slum.

## PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

W. WHITCOMB WHITEHOUSE, ALBION COLLEGE

The principles of community organization here presented have been deduced from a body of data concerning a specific community of 10,000 population, based upon a house-to-house survey, and case and topical studies. Thus it combines the photographic approach, which aims to gain a general view of the community, with the analytical, which would explore the underlying principles of the social structure. These principles are given with only such reference to their setting as clarity demands, under the following divisions: ecological factors, intercommunity relations, community solidarity, community disorganization, community inertia, community leadership, primary relationships. The way is thus open for an appraisal of the problem of promoting community organization in the specific city studied, a phase of the entire project with which the present paper does not deal. The general validity of the principles submitted could best be tested by comparison with similar studies of other communities—should such a body of research be built up.

## THE IMPACT OF URBANISM ON RURAL AREAS AND THE NEW RURAL COMMUNITY

E. C. LINDEMAN, NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

The community movement was one of the war's casualties. There is at present no people's movement in American society; the dominant labor movement does not partake of a people's movement. The old type of community movement is impossible; it depended upon a relative stability of neighborhood groups. Urbanism renders this impossible. The chief manifestation of urbanism is mobility, movement of people in time and space. Functional group processes are steadily replacing the older democratic pattern. Realistic collectivism has supplanted sociability. Human relations become more impersonal. Conduct is mechanized and standardized. Control shifts to experts and special-

ists. The impact of the forces let loose by urbanism has now reached rural areas. We tend toward an urban pattern of culture. If a new community movement arises, it will be based upon functional collectivism. The germs of this are now to be observed in rural civilization.

## A CASE STUDY IN RURAL URBAN CONFLICT

BENSON V. LANDIS

Mr. Landis described a conflict between the dairy men in the Chicago "milk shed" with the milk-distributing agencies and the consumers of milk in the city, a conflict that went to the extreme of physical combat between the "non-testers," or farmers who refused to comply with the ordinance of the city council of Chicago requiring that all milk sold in the city was to be from cattle free from tuberculosis, and the "testers," who complied. The latter had their milk polluted with kerosene.

The Commission on Industrial Relations of the Chicago Federation of Churches, interested by some rural pastors and students of the Chicago Theological Seminary, have made an analysis of the controversy with the aid of the Federal Council of Churches. The issues are the health standards of the city and the price of milk. One important feature of the situation is a new invention, a tank railroad car which now enables a city distributor to get his milk from great distances at low freight rates. Another feature is the lack of organization among the consumers of milk in the city, and the high degree of organization among the milk drivers. The question is, then, whether the city will be as fair to those who produce its milk as it has been to the milk drivers.

The study is attempting to bring all of the social factors, especially the different groups, into the picture; also attempting some original investigation of the attitudes of farmers. The study will be reported at a large number of public meetings in Chicago during Rural Urban Relations Week.

## USE OF COMMUNITY SCORE CARDS IN A TRADE CENTER AND SURROUNDING NEIGHBORHOODS

NAT T. FRAMEZ, UNIVERSITY OF WEST VIRGINIA

The score card has been used in sixty-five trade centers of West Virginia to stimulate groups in each community to gather information for the score of their own facilities or lack of facilities. In each case the scoring was sponsored by a local organization and aided by the university extension division, state departments, and farm organizations. The gathering of the information and con-

ferences regarding it tended to bring about closer co-operation between groups and more community consciousness.

The examples given cited auspices of scoring of Kiwanis Club in one case, two daily newspapers, the American Legion, religious organizations. "The score card is a comparatively simple device for adult education. The method is especially effective in bringing considerable numbers of people to realize that they need education along community lines. The weakness of the plan in West Virginia has been the lack of follow-up courses definitely planned to meet the educational needs discovered during the scoring. A state council of adult education, made up of heads of departments and institutions jointly employing a director of continuing education in charge of both scoring and follow-up program, is a possible next step.

### THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CITIZENS' ASSOCIATIONS IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

EDWARD T. DEVINE AND LOUISE BEALL, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Result of an inquiry made by members of the seminar in social economics, American University, based upon a questionnaire filled out by local citizens' associations, fifty-six of the eighty associations reporting, and upon statements made by officials of local trade bodies and from files of local newspapers.

The peculiar conditions of the electorate in Washington determine some of the characteristics of the citizens' associations: residents of the district have no vote, and the municipal government is not responsible to the residents; taxes paid by the residents are not determined by their own representatives; frank discussions of the subjects concerning which government employees, forming such a large proportion of Washington residents, are best informed cannot be indulged in; there is an exceptionally large number of winter residents whose community interests are not attached solely to Washington, nor last through the year.

The first citizens' association was established fifty years ago, six during the eighties, five in the nineties, eight in the first decade of the present century, eight more in second decade, and twenty since 1920. They have been federated in two associations: one white and one colored. Eleven associations have a membership of less than 100; seven, over 500; thirty-six, between 100 and 500. The general purpose of organization as given by twenty-eight of the Associations is improvement of conditions, civic development or general welfare. The immediate cause of organizing citizens' associations is ordinarily the projection of material interests; thirty-nine out of fifty-four specifically state that the scope of their work includes both local improvement and the promotion of civic interest of the District of Columbia as a whole. Their membership includes government employees as the largest group, business men, mechanics, laborers,

musicians, clerks. Specific improvements include: street improvement, 23 organizations; street lighting, 22; schools, 25; improvement of transportation, 19; sewers, 11; police protection, 18; park improvement, 13; playgrounds, 13; zoning, 13; traffic regulation, 10. Thirty associations have been before the public utilities commission; 41, before the board of education; 20, before the zoning commission; 16, before the district commissioners; 25, before congressional committees.

*Conclusions.*—The associations on the whole serve their purpose of promoting civic spirit, some very well, and some only moderately; a beneficent subjective result has followed their work, difficult to measure, but perhaps comparable with results achieved elsewhere by any similar organizations; one advantage over other types of so-called civic organizations is that women have been brought actively into civic participation.

## THE PLACE OF CITIZENS' ASSOCIATIONS IN THE CIVIC LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

LOUIS BROWNLOW, FORMERLY COMMISSIONER OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The formation of citizens' associations in homogeneous communities in American cities would give the people machinery through which they may keep constantly before their public servants their views and opinions with respect to local projects.

The organization of such associations will give local governmental officials a new channel through which to communicate factual intelligence concerning their stewardship to the people.

The citizens' associations, with increasing consciousness of power and with increasing recognition from government and public, will greatly increase their already proved capacity to develop local leaders.

The citizens' association, by its very existence as a forum for the discussion of community problems, tends to lessen the emphasis upon personal and partisan matters which in so many cities makes the real consideration of projects of government almost impossible.

Regarded as in no sense a substitute for the ballot box, but as complementary to it, the citizens' association, as it has been developed in the District of Columbia, furnishes a working model for an additional type of machine by which the effective democratic control of community life may be broadened, deepened, and lengthened.

The proper place of the citizens' association in the civic life of the community is, I believe, to utilize the neighborhood as a unit in which the theoretical voice of the citizen may be given an actual and effective say in the decisions of that partnership which we like to call democracy.

## NEW YORK SCHOOLS AS MEETING PLACES

CLARENCE ARTHUR PERRY, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

Outside groups held 30,395 meetings in the public schools of New York City during the year which ended June 30, 1927. These occasions took place in 446 buildings, which is precisely two-thirds of the total number of New York's public schools of all classes. The school most used in this way was the Washington Irving High School, where a total of 1,086 meetings were held.

As between the five boroughs of the city, these meetings were distributed in proportions varying but slightly from the population distribution—with one exception. The borough of Queens, which is still quite suburban in character, made a use of schools to a degree distinctly in excess of its population share.

Of the 30,395 meetings, about two-fifths were held by groups such as the boy and girl scouts, radio clubs, musical societies, literary clubs, and other bodies devoted to personal culture or self-improvement. A little over one-fifth of the occasions were under the auspices of voluntary associations seeking to provide recreational, social, or cultural opportunities for other than their own members. This class included such organizations as the People's Institute of Brooklyn, the Bureau of Jewish Education, the Railroad Y.M.C.A., and a branch of the Public Library. About one-sixth of the meetings were held by athletic and social clubs, such as a basket-ball club or an alumni association. These three classes constitute over 90 per cent of all the occasions.

The New York Board of Education annually makes a generous appropriation to cover the custodial fees for boy and girl scout meetings and for those of organizations which are carrying on approved community center programs. But it also facilitates the utilization of school premises generally through its broad policy and efficient system for handling the lettings.

Voluntary associations are a normal part of the process of social integration, and their activities, in a way, constitute the ferment out of which new folkways and institutions are continually arising.

New York schools are thus performing an important social service in addition to their regular educational functions.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION  
IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

CLARENCE O. SENIOR, CLEVELAND ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Since 1924 Cleveland has co-operated in organizing its educational agencies to give every person an opportunity to use to the fullest extent the facilities the city affords. Nineteen of the educational institutions have banded together into the Cleveland Conference for Educational Co-operation to study and evaluate what has been and is being done, and point out the places where more effective work might be done.

The agencies included in the Conference are: The Adult Education Association, Board of Education, Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland Institute of Music, Cleveland Kindergarten Primary Training School, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland Museum of Natural History, Cleveland Public Library, School of Architecture, School of Art, School of Education, Huntington Polytechnic School, Musical Arts Association, Playhouse, Welfare Federation, Western Reserve Historical Society, Western Reserve University, Y.M.C.A. School of Technology, Y.W.C.A.

The first-named agency is known as the functioning agency of the Conference in the field of adult education, because it carries out those proposals of the Conference research committees which no other agency is in position to do. For instance, no institution in the Conference is engaged in education of workers through their unions. When this was noticed, the Adult Education Association began to organize and conduct classes for workers.

It also sponsors informal educational activities. One of the most interesting is a league of discussion groups composed of young people in churches, settlements, and unions. A great deal of the discussion in such groups has potential educational value, if an adequate technique of engaging in discussion can be used, and statements carefully checked up for accuracy. It also provides an educational way to cross denominational, race, and class lines.

The Speakers' Service is another which brings the Association into contact with large numbers of people. Another purpose in working with clubs is to strive to get them to have a coherent program with educational values, instead of jumping indiscriminately from one subject to a widely different one simply because another speaker is available.

The Adult Education Association has aided in the establishment of two open forums in different sections of the city, and as soon as possible will try to place an open forum of the old New England town meeting type in each geographic subdivision of the city that can support one. The fact that Cleveland is 16 miles long and 8 miles wide makes these necessary instead of a large central forum. It also tries to develop in forums less of a debate spirit and more use of the discussion method. Several city-wide institutes have been held to study and hear discussions of various subjects and situations.

The Association strives to place educational opportunities in the broadest sense before as wide a range of Cleveland citizens as possible. It endeavors further to draw together in friendly groups different races and religions, in order that the cause of democracy may be both intellectually and humanly served. It is interested, not merely in intellectual attitude, but in social attitudes; not only in a city of intelligence, but in a city of friends.

## THE COMMUNITY ASPECTS OF RURAL LIBRARIES

W. C. NASON, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The library has been somewhat neglected by rural sociologists as a service agency, perhaps for one reason because public libraries are not as readily available to rural people as compared with urban. The early rural libraries were of the association type, followed by the tax-supported public libraries. Modern conception is that libraries exist for the diffusion and utilization of knowledge and that the librarian exists for community service. Recent local studies made of more than one hundred rural libraries disclosed various and interesting positive community influence exerted through them. In several instances social and economic surveys were made by libraries in order better to serve the community. Co-operation with local organizations is general with progressive libraries; museums, art galleries, and handcraft exhibits are part of the community service of several institutions. In the field of adult education there is great promise for future usefulness of the rural library. They have already become social and intellectual centers and from them publicity has emanated covering fundamental problems of community welfare.

## SECTION ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

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E. A. HOLT, *Chairman*, CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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The Section on the Sociology of Religion held four sessions. At the morning meeting, December 28, the discussion centered around the paper on "The Contribution of the Church to Business Ethics," by Edgar L. Heermance. The noon meeting was given over to the consideration of a paper by Dr. Louis Hill on "An Experiment in a Clinical Year for Theological Students." The morning meeting, December 29, had two papers on "Research and Promotion" by B. Warren Brown and A. L. Swift. At the round-table meeting at noon discussion took place on the subject "The Social Training of Ministers and Religious Workers."

### THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH TO BUSINESS ETHICS

EDGAR L. HEERMANCE, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

What is the function of the church in ethical development? Selection as a basis for inductive study of the ethical movement in the American trade associations during the last twenty-five years. Standards, largely unwritten, have grown up to govern the relations of competitors and between the business man and the public; the movement has not to any great extent affected employment or financial promotion. Three main causes may be assigned: the closer organization of business, the higher standards of public morality in the community at large, and the integrity and moral idealism of the men who have given the tone to the trade associations. It is in the latter direction that the contribution of the church is to be sought. A number of lines of evidence indicate that the men responsible for the recent ethical movement in business were under church influence during the period of their early training. The reason this influence was not operative before the present century was the lack of definite social groups in business through which standards could develop. The situation in Great Britain was summarized by way of comparison. Our conclusion is that the main function of the church, in collaboration with other educational agencies, is so to shape the thought and action habits of the next generation that individuals will, through their trade groups, work out detailed standards of business practice. The question is raised whether even this indirect influence of the church will continue, unless the present gulf between religious and secular is bridged. There is need for a restatement of Christian ethics in terms of our broader horizons and our more complex social organization.



## AN EXPERIMENT IN A CLINICAL YEAR FOR THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS

Lewis B. Hill, M.D.

The common origin of the priest and the physician suggests a similar value to society. The divergence in direct purpose of these two professions has led to a striking difference in technique. Particularly medicine has employed the method of case study which theology has apparently neglected.

For three years there has been conducted in the Worcester State Hospital an experiment in clinical service for theological students, wherein they have studied individual patients and kept records of their findings.

The purpose of the experiment has been to acquaint ministers with the technique of individual case study and with the crude material of human religious experience. The results have been satisfactory from the several viewpoints involved. There has been no desire to develop mental healers from our students; rather to acquaint them with the plain rules of mental hygiene.

## THE RELATION OF RESEARCH AND PROMOTION

B. WARREN BROWN, ASSOCIATE SECRETARY, COUNCIL OF CHURCH BOARDS  
OF EDUCATION

Strictly scientific research and promotion seem to be almost mutually exclusive terms. Is it possible for a frankly promotional organization or group of organizations to employ scientific technique dealing with source materials and develop data that commands the respect of social scientists? This paper undertakes to answer the question within the field of the educational interests of the Protestant denominations in the United States, based on many years of personal observation and participation by the writer. This field is rather large, affords some extremely interesting interactions between the scientific and the promotional attitudes and processes, and the entire field has been almost completely overlooked by sociologists up to a very recent date. It is worth examining.

## THE LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH AND PROMOTION

A. L. SWIFT, UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Research and Promotion at present offer a contradiction in terms, in practice if not in theory. Promotion is concerned with "putting over" a program or process, research with discovering general principles by use of the scientific method. The former too often ignores the latter, sometimes for sufficient reason. Social research is slow and tedious, its results as yet relatively insignificant, and, when derived, needing modification to meet local variants.

A form of social investigation, as a rule not perceived as distinct from re-

search, is more serviceable to promotional agencies, i.e., the social survey or efficiency study. "A research is a study of a problem generalized from a representative variety of its localized forms in an attempt to arrive at a solution of universal validity within that field of study. A survey is a study of a localized problem in an attempt to arrive at a solution localized both in time and space" (A. L. Swift, "Surveying," *Religious Education*, May, 1927).

Research is blasted by promotional emphases. Promotion cannot wait upon the exactitudes of research. The survey, standing between the two, mediates each to the other. The survey is social engineering which makes use of the laws derived by social research, thus bridging chasms in program and building roads where before men have not walked, as civil engineering utilizes the laws formulated by engineering research.

A new emphasis in social and religious work is the dependence of promotion upon a precise and adequate knowledge of significant factors in the local situation, in part compelled by the fact that big givers are coming strongly to feel that to mean well is not enough, in part the result of more adequate training of social and religious workers in the social sciences. This emphasis is increasingly finding expression in surveys of the social engineering type, preliminary to the formulation of promotional plans and as a check upon present procedures and activities.

Mutual limitations are imposed. Social investigation of this sort must limit itself to real and pressing problems whose solution will definitely modify actual practice, utilizing existing laws and techniques as established by social research. Promotion must base itself upon carefully ascertained facts logically interpreted and must wait upon this interpretation.

National promotional agencies must be transformed, abandoning expansion for expansion's sake and the wholesale promulgation of programs put down upon local units without due regard to the peculiarities of each local situation, building up a personnel, not of speech-making promoters of standardized programs, but of technically trained social diagnosticians and engineers whose aim shall be not alone to prescribe to present needs but as well to set up as an integral part of each local unit an agency of self-help through a continuing process of experimentation and evaluation.

## THE SOCIAL TRAINING OF MINISTERS AND RELIGIOUS WORKERS

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JEROME DAVIS, YALE UNIVERSITY

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It seemed to be the general trend of the discussion that the minister needed to have a thorough grounding in sociology. At the same time he should never forget that he is a specialist in religion. He must be prophetic, calling

## THE CONFERENCE ON THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY

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E. H. SUTHERLAND, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The question selected for a luncheon conference was: "Is the analysis of cultural processes the best content for the introductory course in sociology?" Introductory courses in sociology have characteristically been enumerations and descriptions of the various factors—geographic, biological, economic, psychological—which, it is assumed, are basic in the explanation of social phenomena. Within the last decade a conflicting view has made rapid progress. This is the view that sociologists, except certain specialists who are working on borderline problems, may to advantage confine their efforts to the description of cultural processes in terms of social interaction in the effort to find uniformities that may serve as a basis of prediction. This view seems to be logically in conflict with the earlier view in its conception of the nature of scientific method. Professor E. B. Woods, of Dartmouth College, led the discussion. Professor E. B. Reuter, of the University of Iowa, read a paper which is included herewith. Among those speaking from the floor were Professors Dow, Hankins, Shenton, Hayes, Meroney, Queen, and Fairchild.

### SHOULD BIOLOGY BE INCLUDED IN THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY?

E. B. REUTER, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

I have been asked to speak briefly in regard to the kind and amount of biological information that should be included in an introduction to sociology. This, I take it, is a problem that faces every person responsible for determining the content of such courses. That there is a wide difference of opinion may be seen by a cursory examination of the books written for and actually used as texts with beginning classes. Included in introductory courses may be found almost anything from abstract discussion of the forms of interaction to trivial gossip and immature and dogmatic speculation about matters of current popular interest. A very considerable number of introductory courses incorporate a certain amount of more or less accurate and sometimes pertinent information about genetic biology, culture history, human geography, and other related disciplines. I will here confine my remarks to the biological material, though

what I have to say applies with equal force to the inclusion or exclusion of the geographic, technic, and other facts antecedent to the social process.

There is, I suppose, a pretty general agreement among sociologists that the science is essentially a method and point of view for studying the social process. That process, I take it, is twofold: it includes the sequence of steps by means of which the human personality is formed through modifications of animal nature in the course of social interaction, and it includes an analysis of the steps by means of which the social organization is determined and modified. The two phases of the process are coexistent and interdependent; the personality develops within the institutional framework and is limited by it; the social organization is an incidental product of human activity and changes in response to human need. It is this fundamental nature process that sociology has undertaken to analyze as its contribution to the understanding of human behavior. In carrying on his work the sociologist is at liberty to draw upon biology or upon any other science or art and to utilize either the methods or the findings, as suits his purpose.

The original datum of the sociologist is the biological individual, that is, the animal or original nature of man. This biological individual is prior in point of time to the social person. Original nature is potentially complete at the moment of conception; the social process begins to operate after the birth of the individual. The potentiality of original nature sets the limits to personality development on the one hand and to the complexity and refinement of culture phenomena on the other. It is the raw material of the social process. It consists essentially of the native instincts, appetites, capacities, and predispositions, the complement of inherited integrated structures that form the physical basis of social life.

The analysis of his original nature is a task of the biologist; it is not the business of the sociologist. It is true that certain facts of original nature are of major importance to the social process. Original nature is highly plastic, and man, in consequence, is a creature of capacities: human personality and culture development are the result of this biological fact. The biological individuals differ in race, sex, and individual characters and these constitute the physical basis for culture differentiation. The original nature is relatively permanent: characteristics developed as a result of experience are not transmitted biologically, and there has been no significant change in the biological basis of social life in the past ten or twenty thousand years. Such facts of original nature—plasticity, variability, permanence—have significance for sociology. But they are data, not object matter for study. Every sociologist should, and I assume does, keep himself informed in regard to biological findings that have significance for an understanding of the social process. But to recognize the importance of biological knowledge is not to assume the obligation to teach it—certainly not to teach it in classes in elementary sociology.

It should of course be made clear to the beginning student that certain physical, biological, geographic, and other facts and conditions limit and modi-

fy human contacts and association. But no time should be given to the study of these things beyond the bare minimum necessary to delimit the sociological field and problem. For the sociologist to feed his beginning students a rehash of genetic biology, anthropogeography, culture history, and other more or less remote material is to confuse introductory sociology with some sort of an orientation course in the social sciences. Such a course in my opinion is highly desirable, but it is not sociology. The sociologist is concerned with the study and analysis of social contacts and human interaction which condition personality and determine institutional forms.

Now human contacts are conditioned both as to number and type by certain biological facts and conditions. Blindness, for example, is a physical or biological fact. As a result of the condition the individual is excluded from certain types of stimulation, and this denial registers itself in his personality development and in the external institutional arrangements. But this does not bring the fact of blindness as such within the orbit of social research. Blindness, its causes, and method of transmission is a biological problem. The sociologist accepts the fact of blindness as a datum conditioning interaction. Feeble-mindedness is a biological fact. Its origin and method of inheritance, if it be inherited, are problems for biological research. The sociologist is in no way concerned with them. But mental deficiency conditions contact and interaction, thereby giving rise to phenomena that fall within the orbit of sociological interest. But this does not obligate the sociologist to teach the biological facts and theories. The relation is exactly that that obtains in other fields. Poverty is an economic condition and essentially an economic problem. But it results in cultural isolation and consequently in personality types and organization forms that the sociologist seeks to define. This, however, does not justify the sociologist in including the economic order in his discussion. Isolation is caused also by geographic separation, linguistic differences, educational exclusion, chauvinistic insularity, and various other facts. The sociologist studies the isolation in its effects upon personality and social organization. The cause of the isolation is a matter of relative indifference. He should not undertake to teach geography because certain geographic factors influence social contacts; he should not undertake to teach his student language because linguistic difficulties limit social intercourse; he does not need to teach biology because biological facts sometimes limit communication.

It is necessary to do this much. The introductory course should enable the student to recognize a sociological problem or the elements of a problem. He should be able to distinguish the sociological problem in a concrete situation from the antecedent biological facts out of which it may have arisen, and he should be able to distinguish it from the consequent biological problems to which it may give rise.

The introductory course should also make clear to the student that sociological phenomena cannot be understood nor explained in terms of original nature and organic needs. The fallacy of the present tendency to attempt an

explanation of social reality by reducing it to terms of psychology, biology, or chemistry is a gross one, and students should be taught early to understand and avoid it.

It should be understood that I have been discussing an introductory course. The same restrictions would not of necessity apply to other and later courses. The study of a so-called practical problem—that is, a political problem—as poverty, vice, or crime, often involves information and methods from many sources. A study of poverty would involve economic, biological, political, and other facts in addition to the sociological ones. So in a study of delinquency it may be necessary to draw upon biology, psychiatry, hygiene, and other disciplines. The similar thing is true in problems of research. In research work the student goes wherever the needs of the problem carry him, quite regardless of scientific boundaries.

But advanced, special, and research problems are not material for a beginning course where the student is struggling to get his bearings.

# REPORTS OF COMMITTEES OF THE SOCIETY

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

The 1927 Census of Current Research Projects was conducted by this Division. The blank used in taking the census was revised so as to contain a detailed list of sources of data, and a list of stages reached, in each of which the author reporting was to indicate the status of his own project. The original returns were sorted and sent to the chairmen of appropriate sections, divisions, and kindred groups.

In order to provide for more discussion of the ten-minute reports on research projects presented at the division session, it was arranged to hold three round-table luncheons, one on "The Technique of Statistical Analysis of Sociological Problems," in charge of Ralph G. Hurlin; one on "The Technique of Social Surveys," in charge of Robert E. Park; and one on "The Technique of the Case Method," in charge of Stuart A. Queen. To each of these chairmen were sent the census returns most appropriate to his meeting, and he was asked to select papers for presentation at the division session and also additional papers, if he wished, for discussion at his round table. The rural sociologists were also given permission to designate two papers for presentation at the division session.

As a result of this year's experience the following suggestions are made for next year:

1. That the census blank provide space for the author to indicate what is the *dominant* research technique employed, and also to state in what section or division he thinks the project, if acceptable for presentation, might most suitably appear.

2. That the census blanks be mailed out not later than April 1, 1928.

3. That blanks be sent, in addition to members of the society, to Ph. D. candidates known to be preparing theses.

4. That two blanks be sent to each person circularized, with the request that a carbon copy, as well as an original return, be made, so that a complete file of returns can be kept by the chairman while at the same time copies are provided for interested divisions and sections.

5. That all of the sessions in which research technique is emphasized be planned co-ordinately, though with autonomous chairmen.

6. That the round-table plan be retained.

7. That the rural sociologists be given those returns which seem most appropriate to their field, but not be given any more advantage in planning the research sessions than is given the groups interested in the family, religion, social work, the city, or other topics.

8. That the research census be planned in consultation with the surveys of research undertaken by the National Research Council.

9. That the returns of the census be made accessible to the secretary of the National Conference of Social Work before October 1.

Respectfully submitted,

HORNELL HART, *Chairman*

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SECTIONS

The Committee on Sections of the Society held two meetings, one at Monday noon, December 27, and the other Friday noon, December 30. At the first meeting, where the discussion was informal and no action taken, there were present, besides the president and the secretary, E. H. Sutherland, M. J. Karpf, A. E. Holt, Hornell Hart, and Leroy E. Bowman. The persons present at the second meeting, besides the new president and the secretary, were Hornell Hart, M. J. Karpf, E. L. Kirkpatrick, Eben Mumford, and E. H. Sutherland.

It was suggested by E. H. Sutherland that the Committee on the Teaching of Social Studies be continued, and that the program next year be on the first course of the graduate seminar.

From the experience of the Committee on Sociology and Social Work, M. J. Karpf recommends that the Committee on Sections consider the plan of having one paper and two or three prepared discussions, and then discussion from the floor. Mr. Karpf stated that he was planning to publish the papers of this section, perhaps in conjunction with those from the sections in Social Forces.

The Committee on Sociology and Social Work asked that it be continued, and that a membership of nine be appointed, three to serve for three years, three for two years, and three for one year.

It was moved by M. J. Karpf, and carried, that the president and the secretary be instructed to call a meeting of the Committee on Sections at the coming meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, in Memphis.

It was recommended by E. L. Kirkpatrick that the time allotted to the Section on Rural Sociology be the same as last year, and that two reports from the Committee be included in the Division on Social Research.

It was recommended by Hornell Hart that luncheon meetings on methods of research be continued. He also suggested that reports of research contain a statement of the dominant method of technique and its classification in the field of divisions and sections in the Society; that two blanks be sent, one for a permanent file in the office, and one to the appropriate division or section chairman. It was agreed to send out the census blanks on April 1, 1928, and that doctoral dissertations be included.

Respectfully submitted,

E. W. BURGESS, *Secretary*



# REPORTS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

## TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The membership of the American Council of Learned Societies has been increased from twelve to fifteen societies by the admission in January, 1927, of the History of Science Society, the Linguistic Society of America, and the Medieval Academy of America, and the executive offices of the Council have been established at 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

The annual Conference of Secretaries was held in January, 1927, and the next conference will be held on January 27, 1928. These conferences enable the executive officers of the constituent societies to discuss the problems of their respective organizations and the relations of those bodies with the Council.

In connection with the annual meetings of four of the constituent societies—the Historical, Economic, and Political Science associations and the Sociological Society, held in Washington December 27–30, 1927, the Council has organized a joint press bureau for the purpose of securing better publicity for the meetings of those associations and of the twelve other societies meeting with them. The expenses of this bureau are defrayed by the Council. The Council has also, in co-operation with the committee on local arrangements of the Economic Association, compiled and printed the joint program of the meetings, the expense of which is borne by the various societies in proportion to the amount of space occupied by each.

The Survey of Learned Societies is being completed as rapidly as possible. It will contain reports on thirty-two individual societies, and on state academies of sciences taken as a group. The Survey of Research in Humanistic and Social Sciences, conducted by Professor F. A. Ogg, is now in press, and will be published by the Century Company during the first quarter of 1928. Work on the *Dictionary of American Biography*, under the general editorship of Professor Allen Johnson, has been steadily advanced during the year. A contract has been signed with Charles Scribner's Sons for its publication, and the first volume will appear in 1929, in accordance with the agreement made with the *New York Times*. A small pamphlet, containing ten sample biographies from the first volume, has been printed and placed on distribution at this meeting.

The committee on Research in The American Indian Languages, Franz Boas, chairman, Leonard Bloomfield, and Edward Sapir (with the co-operation of the advisory committee, Messrs. Roland B. Dixon, Pliny E. Goddard, John P. Harrington, A. L. Kroeber, D. Jenness, T. Michelson, Frank G. Speck, and John R. Swanton), has been conducting investigations during the last summer in the Athabascan languages in California and in the languages of the

Coeur d'Alene, the Klickitat, and the Shasta Indians. The committee has prepared a considerable amount of material, and an effort is now being made to secure the necessary funds for its publication. The work is being carried on under a grant of \$10,000 a year for five years from the Carnegie Corporation.

Under the direction of the committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States (Walter F. Willcox, chairman, Max Farrand, Robert H. Fyfe, Joseph A. Hill, and J. Franklin Jameson), two research associates, Mr. Howard F. Barker and Professor Marcus L. Hansen, have been engaged since September in preliminary studies of the population of the United States in 1790. Mr. Barker, approaching the subject from the linguistic point of view, is endeavoring to measure the contributions of the English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Dutch, and French. Mr. Hansen, making the approach from the historical point of view, has prepared memoranda on such subjects as Swedish blood in the United States in 1790, Sundbarg's estimates of European emigration, population of the Spanish Southwest in 1790, population of the Old Northwest in 1790, number and nationality of the population of Florida at the time of its cession, population of the Louisiana Purchase Area in 1790, etc. The work is being conducted by means of a grant of \$10,000 from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., secured for the Council by the American Historical Association.

The committee on Aid to Research, Professor Guy Stanton Ford, chairman, made grants from the Council's fund of \$5,000 to twenty-one scholars in 1927. These scholars are distributed among the general fields of philology, archaeology, history, economics, and ethnology. As in 1926, the grants ranged from \$50 to \$300. Similar grants will be made in 1928, that being the last year for which the annual subvention of \$5,000 from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial is available. Efforts will be made to secure a further subvention, in order that this important form of aid to individual projects of research may be continued. -

The Survey of Current Bibliography, proposed to the International Union of Academies Council and adopted by the international body, has been carried on during the past year under the general direction of Mr. Leland.

The Council was represented at the last annual meeting of the International Union of Academies in Brussels in May by Mr. Leland and Professor Beeson. The most important activity of the Council of an international character has been its negotiations, jointly with the Dutch and Norwegian academies, to bring about the entrance of the Kartell of German and Austrian academies into the Union. Upon invitation of the Council, members of several of the German academies and officers and members of the Union met at luncheon in Göttingen in May, and were able to discuss the various questions connected with the entrance of the Kartell into the Union. As a result of this discussion a formal memorandum has been drawn up by the Kartell which expresses the desire of the German and Austrian academies to co-operate with the learned bodies of other countries within the Union. It may be confidently

expected, therefore, that the membership of the Union will shortly be increased and strengthened by the admission of the German and Austrian academies.

Respectfully submitted,

W. I. THOMAS

### TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The report of the work of the Social Science Research Council for the year 1927 was made by Shelby M. Harrison, who, with F. Stuart Chapin and William F. Ogburn, were the representatives of the Society on the Council. Since the third annual report by the chairman, Wesley C. Mitchell, for the year 1926-27 has been published in full, as a pamphlet, and sent to all the members of our Society, no further report will be given here. Additional copies of this report may be secured by writing to the Chairman, Social Science Research Council, 50 East Forty-second Street, New York.

### THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The following report is based upon printed reports of progress prepared by the editor-in-chief, Professor E. R. A. Seligman, and the assistant editor, Dr. Alvin S. Johnson, for the Board of Directors at its first meeting on December 15, 1927. It will be recalled that the enterprise, as outlined by Professor Seligman following the meetings of a joint committee which was and is composed of three representatives of each of the constituent associations (formerly 7 and now 10), involves the publication of about ten volumes at an estimated expenditure of about \$600,000 and with a time limit of between five and seven years. Practically all of the money needed has been raised, and in May, 1927, the joint committee was summoned to a meeting in New York at which plans were definitely approved and steps taken for organization of staff and board of directors. The staff includes Dr. Alvin S. Johnson as assistant editor, Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser as associate, and Miss Mary E. Gleason as secretary. For legal advice the firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, New York, was retained, and the enterprise incorporated as Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Inc. The Board of Directors is composed of twenty-one members, eight lay and thirteen academic, in which William F. Ogburn represents the American Sociological Society. The remaining members of the corporation are the members of the former joint committee, on which the three representatives of the American Sociological Society are Professors Howard Woolston, Harry Barnes, and W. F. Ogburn. In the Board of Advisory Editors, William I. Thomas and William F. Ogburn are advisers for sociology.

The uses of the encyclopedia are conceived as threefold: (1) to provide a synopsis for the scholar of the progress that has been made in the various fields of social science; (2) to furnish an assemblage or repository of facts and principles for the use of the legislator, the editor, the business man, and all who are interested in keeping informed of recent investigation and accomplishment; (3) to constitute a center of authoritative information for the creation of sound public opinion on the major questions which lie at the foundation of future progress and world-development.

Though the work is primarily Anglo-Saxon and in management distinctively American, the most distinguished scholars of the whole world will be asked to participate. To this end Professor Seligman interviewed European scholars in all the most important universities from Oslo to Florence in the summer of 1927. The heartiness of the co-operation offered to him was an explicit recognition of the view that this project would be of signal importance to the progress of the social sciences throughout the world.

The work done so far by the assistant editor and his staff has resulted in certain definite plans of procedure. A list of topics for the entire work has been assembled and tentative plans made for the treatment and for the space valuation of each topic. It has become clear, through the actual analysis of material, that the present divisions between the social sciences lose their distinctness and rigidity. The assistant editor predicts that when the encyclopedia is written no one will be able to determine what proportion of the total space has gone to each science. The content of the work, the method of dealing, for instance, with allied fields like art, philology, religion, remains to be definitely worked out; but the approach is through the topics to be included rather than the branches of knowledge into which they might be expected to fall. Compactly organized topics are planned, instead of extended discussions of whole phases of a subject; and the typical article therefore will be brief, ranging perhaps from 500 to 5,000 words. To give unity, an extended introduction is proposed which will include, among other topics related to the plan and purpose of the publication, a history of the social sciences, analyzing by periods from the time of the Greeks the chief content, the institutional situation, the general movement of thought, and the methods employed; an analysis of terminology, historical and comparative; and a rigorously selected bibliography.

As to procedure, rather than having the bulk of the work done by the staff or assigning it in large sections to editor contributors to sublet the actual composition of the several topics to others, assignments will be made directly by the central office—a method which, though laborious, will, it is expected, make the whole enterprise co-operative and secure the collaboration of the authors in thinking through the relations of the sciences, the evolution of social scientific ideas, and other problems in which joint effort is essential. The expectation is that assignments will have been made for the first two volumes early in

1928, and the appearance of the first volume is forecast for the spring of 1929, a little less than two years from the time of the actual inception of the enterprise.

HOWARD B. WOOLSTON,

*Chairman of Committee Representing the American Sociological Society.*

### SUPERVISORY BOARD OF THE AMERICAN YEARBOOK

The Supervisory Board of the American Yearbook held two meetings in the fall of 1927. The first of these was to consider the raising of a fund of \$10,000 as a guaranty fund to cover any possible deficits. It was decided to continue publication, and pledges were then sought toward the guaranty fund. Subsequently, at a second meeting, a closer affiliation with the New York Times Company was worked out whereby the editorial office was established in the *Times* building and all expenses of writing, preparing, and editing borne directly by the *Times*. At the same time the Macmillan Company released all claims and interests in the Yearbook, but retained plates and unsold copies for the volumes 1925 and 1926. Henceforth the book will be published by Doubleday, Doran & Company. Its size will be reduced from about 1,200 to about 800 pages.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK H. HANKINS

### ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

The undersigned attended the meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Council for the Social Studies held at Dallas, Texas, February 26, 1927, as representative of the American Sociological Society. The main functions of the Council are (1) to promote co-operation among the various persons and groups interested in or concerned with the instruction of history, economics, government, sociology, and geography in the high schools; (2) to conduct critical and co-ordinating studies and surveys with respect to objectives, subject matter, teaching methods, teacher training, etc., in the social studies; (3) to provide opportunities for exchange of valuable information and opinion by means of meetings and through the Council's monthly, the *Historical Outlook*.

Approximately 1,650 teachers are now affiliated with the Council and one gains the impression that it is a "going concern" fulfilling a necessary function. I believe that the American Sociological Society ought to continue to co-operate with this body.

Respectfully submitted,

J. O. HERTZLER

PROGRAM OF THE  
TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 27-30, 1927

CENTRAL TOPIC, "RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL  
TO THE GROUP"

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27

9:00 A.M. Registration.

10:00-12:00 A.M. Division on Social Research. Hornell Hart, Bryn Mawr College, presiding. Ten-minute reports on research projects. *The Ballroom.*

"Taboos of the Saxons of Transylvania," Rudolph M. Binder, New York University.

"The Role of Religion in the Disassociated Family," Niles Carpenter, University of Buffalo.

"A Co-operative Study of the Northwest Central Region of the United States," F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

"Trend of Expenditures of Family Welfare Agencies," Neva R. Deardorff, Welfare Council, New York City.

"Application of the Statistical Method to the Study of Wealth and Welfare of Farm Families," J. A. Dickey, University of Arkansas.

"Special Interest Groups in Rural Society," J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin.

"Application of the Case-History Method to the Study of the Wealth and Welfare of Farm Families," George H. von Tungeln, Iowa State College.

"Principles of Expenditure of Farm Incomes," C. C. Zimmerman, University of Minnesota."

12:30-3:00 P.M. Luncheon Meetings.

Round table on "The Technique of Statistical Analysis of Sociological Problems," Ralph G. Hurlin, Russell Sage Foundation, presiding. *The Gray Room.*

Committee on Sections.

Section on the Family. Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina, presiding. *The Restaurant.*

"The Influence of the Nursery School on Family Life in the City," Edna N. White, Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit.

"The Influence of the Nursery School on Family Life in the Village," Mary Schofield. Peterboro Nursery School.

Section on the Community, in joint session with the National Community Center Association. Arthur Evans Wood, University of Michigan, Presi-

dent, National Community Center Association, presiding. *The New Anteroom.*

"The Slum, a Project for Study," Nels Anderson, Columbia University.

"Principles of Community Organization," W. W. Whitehouse, Albion College.

Discussion: Elwood Street, The Community Council, St. Louis; C. C. North, Ohio State University; Niles Carpenter, University of Buffalo; M. J. Karpf, Training School for Jewish Social Work.

3:00-5:00 P.M. **Division on Social Biology.** E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa, presiding. *The Ballroom.*

"Biological Foundations of Social Integration," C. M. Child, University of Chicago.

"Organic Plasticity versus Organic Responsiveness in the Socialization of the Individual" Frank H. Hankins, Smith College.

"The American-born Oriental and the Family Group," William C. Smith, Honolulu, Hawaii.

"The Personality of Mixed Bloods," E. B. Reuter.

6:00-7:45 P.M. **Dinner Meeting of the Section on the Community,** in joint session with the National Community Center Association. "Rural-Urban Relations," Walter Burr, Kansas State Agricultural College, presiding. *The Gray Room.*

"The Impact of Urbanism on Rural Areas and the New Rural Community," E. C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work.

"A Case in Rural-Urban Conflict," Benson Y. Landis, Federal Council of Churches.

"Results from the Use of a Community Score Card, Covering a Trade Center and Surrounding Neighborhoods," Nat T. Frame, West Virginia University.

8:00-10:00 P.M. **Division on Social Psychology.** William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago, presiding. *The Restaurant.*

"The Relation of the Farmer to Rural and Urban Groups," Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University.

"A Psychosociological Theory of Magic," L. L. Bernard, Tulane University.

"Physiological Tensions and Social Structure," L. K. Frank, New York City.

"Group' and 'Institution' as Concepts in a Natural Science of Social Phenomena," Floyd H. Allport, Syracuse University. Discussion: John M. Gillette, John M. Cooper, Kimball Young, E. B. Woods.

### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28

9:00 A.M. **Business Meeting of the Society.** *The Ballroom.*

Reports of representatives to the Social Science Research Council, the Board of Directors for the Council of Social Studies, the Joint Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Dictionary of American Biography, the American Year Book.

10:00-12:00 A.M. **Meetings of the Sections of the Society.**

**Section on Rural Sociology.** W. A. Anderson, North Carolina State College, chairman. subcommittee on research, presiding. *The Ballroom.*

"New Forces in Research," C. J. Galpin, United States Department of Agriculture.

"Scope, Methodology, and Personnel in Research," J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin.

Informal Discussion—"The Next Steps in Research": Eben Mumford, Michigan State College; E. L. Morgan, University of Missouri; Wilson Gee, University of Virginia.

Report of subcommittee on population, Bruce L. Melvin, Cornell University.

**Section on the Family.** Hornell Hart, Bryn Mawr College, presiding. *The Gray Room.*

"Economic Aspects of Modern Family Life," Benjamin R. Andrews, Columbia University. Discussion: Chase Going Woodhouse, Federal Bureau of Home Economics.

"The Family and Modern Literature," Lorine Pruette, New York University. Discussion: Joseph K. Folsom, Sweet Briar College.

**Section on the Community,** in joint session with the National Community Center Association. "Analysis of Urban Community Organization," Jesse C. Adkins, Washington, D.C., presiding. *The New Anteroom.*

"The Social Significance of Citizens Associations in Washington, D.C.; Report of a Seminar Study," Edward T. Devine, Dean of the Graduate School, American University, Washington, D.C.; Louise Beull, American University, Washington, D.C.

"The Place of Citizens Associations in the Civic Life of the Community," Louis Brownlow, Former Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

"New York Schools as Meeting Places," Clarence A. Perry, Russell Sage Foundation.

"Cleveland Experiment in Community Organization for Adult Education," Clarence O. Senior, Adult Education Association of Cleveland.

Discussion: Eugene T. Lies, Playground and Recreation Association of America, Chicago; Mildred Chadsey, Western Reserve University; J. H. Montgomery, Co-operative Education Association, Richmond; Sibyl Baker, Community Center Department, D.C. Public Schools.

**Section on the Sociology of Religion.** Arthur E. Holt, Chicago Theological Seminary, presiding. *The English Room.*

"The Contribution of the Church to Business Ethics," Edgar L. Heermance, New Haven, Connecticut. Discussion, Benson Y. Landis, Research Department of the Federal Council of Churches.

**Section on Sociology and Social Work.** M. J. Karpf, presiding. *The Old Anteroom.*

"What Social Case Work Records Should Contain to Be Useful for Sociological Interpretation," Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago. Discussion led by Frank J. Bruno, Linton B. Swift, Harry L. Lurie, Thomas D. Eliot, Neva R. Deardorff.

12:30-3:00 P.M. Luncheon Meetings.

**Section on Rural Sociology.** J. L. Hypes, Connecticut Agricultural College, chairman, subcommittee on teaching, presiding. *The Restaurant.*

"The Status of Rural Sociology in Colleges and Universities," C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College.



"An Analysis of the Content of Textbooks in Rural Sociology," Carle C. Zimmerman, University of Minnesota.

Informal discussion: C. E. Lively, Ohio State University; Fred R. Yoder, Washington State College; A. Z. Mann, Garrett Biblical Institute.

**Section on the Sociology of Religion.** Arthur E. Holt presiding. *The English Room.*

"An Experiment in a Clinical Year for Theological Students." Dr. Louis Hill, Worcester State Hospital. Discussion and questions.

**Section on Sociology and Social Work.** James E. Cutler, Western Reserve University, presiding. *The New Anteroom.*

"Some Sociological Suggestions for the Treatment of Family Discord by Social Workers," Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina. Discussion led by Joanna C. Colcord, Harry L. Lurie, Arthur J. Todd.

**Section on the Teaching of Social Studies in the Schools.** E. H. Sutherland, University of Minnesota, in charge. *The Gray Room.*

"Is the Analysis of Cultural Processes the Best Content for the Introductory Course in Sociology?" Discussion led by E. B. Woods, Dartmouth College; E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa.

**3:00-5:00 P.M. Division on Methods of Research.** Kimball Young, University of Wisconsin, presiding. *The Ballroom.*

"Causal Relations in Delinquency Research," John A. Slawson, Cleveland Jewish Welfare Federation.

"Correlation of the Rate of Juvenile Delinquency with Certain Indices of Community Organization," Clifford R. Shaw, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago.

"Time Series of Political Data," Stuart A. Rice, University of Pennsylvania.

"An Attitude on Attitude Research," Read Bain, Miami University.

"A Sociological Research Clinic," Walter C. Reckless, Vanderbilt University.

**6:00-7:45 P.M. Dinner Meeting of the Section on the Community,** in joint session with the National Community Center Association. Robert E. Park, University of Chicago, presiding. *The Restaurant.*

"Community Aspects of Rural Libraries," W. C. Nason, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

"Special Interest Groups in Rural Society," John H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin.

**8:00-10:00 P.M. Joint Session for Presidential Addresses** of the American Sociological Society and the National Community Center Association. *The Ballroom.*

"The Place of the Community in Sociological Studies," Arthur Evans Wood, National Community Center Association.

"The Behavior Pattern and the Situation," William I. Thomas, American Sociological Society.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 20

**9:00 A.M. Business Meeting** for reports of committees. *The Ballroom.*

Committees on Social Abstracts, Social Research, Teaching of Social Sciences, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, National Social Science Fraternity.

10:00-12:00 A.M. Meetings of the sections of the Society.

**Section on Rural Sociology.** T. B. Manny, United States Department of Agriculture, presiding. *The Ballroom.*

"The Status of Extension Work in Rural Sociology," W. H. Stacy, Iowa State College.

"Extension Needs in the Field of Rural Social Organization," H. C. Ramsower, Ohio State University.

Informal discussion: Eva Duthie, Cornell University; B. L. Hummel, University of Missouri; J. T. Schmidt, Ohio State University.

**Section on the Family.** Arthur J. Todd, presiding. *The Gray Room.*

"The Development of Diverse Patterns of Behavior among Children in the Same Family," Lawrence Guy Brown, Ohio Wesleyan University.

"A Study of Marriage Incompatibility and Its Treatment," Ernst T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University.

**Section on the Sociology of Religion,** in joint session with the National Community Center Association. Arthur E. Holt, presiding. *The English Room.*

"The Relation of Research and Promotion," B. Warren Brown, Director of Educational Research of the Presbyterian Church of the United States. Discussion.

"Limitations of Research and Promotion," Professor A. L. Swift, Union Theological Seminary.

"Disintegrative Forces in Congregational Units," Professor H. D. Hoover, Lutheran Theological Seminary.

**Section on Educational Sociology,** in joint session with the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. Ross L. Finney, University of Minnesota, presiding. *The New Anteroom.*

"Science, Sociology, and Education" Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan.

"Toward an Agreement as to the Content of Educational Sociology," Ross L. Finney.

"The Literature of Educational Sociology," C. D. Champlin, Pennsylvania State College.

12:30-3:00 P.M. Luncheon meetings.

**Round table on "The Technique of Social Surveys,"** Robert E. Park, University of Chicago, presiding. *The Gray Room.*

**Section on Rural Sociology,** in joint session with The American Farm Economics Association. President J. I. Falconer, presiding. *The Restaurant.*

"Population, Food Supply, and American Agriculture," O. E. Baker, United States Department of Agriculture. Informal discussion: P. K. Whelpton, Scripps Foundation, Miami University; G. F. Warren, Cornell University; H. C. Taylor, Institute of Land Economics, Northwestern University.

**Section on Educational Sociology.** *The New Anteroom.*

Reports of studies now being made in the field of Educational Sociology. A. O. Bowden, New Mexico State Teachers College; Nathan Miller, Carnegie Institute of Technology; O. Myking Mehus, Wittenburg College, and Others.

**Section on the Sociology of Religion.** *The English Room.*

"The Social Training of Ministers and Religious Workers," Jerome Davis, Yale University, presiding. Remarks by Edward C. Lindeman, New York

School of Social Work; Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University; and Alva Taylor, of the Disciples of Christ. Discussion started by W. F. Ogburn, University of Chicago.

**Section on Sociology and Social Work.** Porter R. Lee, New York School of Social Work, presiding.

"Social Interaction in the Interview," Stuart A. Queen, University of Kansas. Discussion led by Helen T. Myrick, Virginia P. Robinson, G. E. Kimble, E. H. Sutherland.

3:00-5:00 P.M. **Division on Human Ecology.** C. A. Dawson, McGill University, presiding. *The Ballroom.*

"Human Migration and the Marginal Man," Robert E. Park, University of Chicago.

"Personality as Determined by the Division of Labor," Everett C. Hughes, McGill University.

"The Hotel Dweller," Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington.

5:00-6:00 P.M. **Meeting of the Executive Committee.** *The English Room.*

6:30 P.M. **Annual Dinner of the Society.** *The Ballroom.*

Addresses by Charles H. Cooley, William F. Ogburn, John M. Gillette, Edward T. Devine, Arthur J. Todd, Ellsworth Faris.

#### FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30

9:00 A.M. **Annual Business Meeting** of the American Sociological Society. *The Ballroom.*

10:00-12:00 A.M. **Division on Social Institutions.** Charles H. Cooley, University of Michigan, presiding. *The Ballroom.*

"Case Study of Small Institutions as a Method of Research," Charles H. Cooley.

"The Family and the Person," Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago.

"The Sect and the Sectarian," Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago.

"Types of Political Personalities," Harold D. Lasswell, University of Chicago.

12:30-3:00 P.M. **Luncheon Meeting.**

Round table on "The Technique of the Case Method," Stuart A. Queen, University of Kansas, presiding. *The New Anteroom.*

# THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR DECEMBER 1, 1926,  
TO NOVEMBER 30, 1927

## *Membership Statement*

The number of members of the American Sociological Society on November 30 was 1,140, or a gain over 1926 of 33 members. This small increase in membership takes on significance in view of the fact that the annual dues were raised from four to five dollars at the beginning of the past year.

Membership in 1926	. . . . .	1,107
Members resigning	. . . . .	35
Members dropped	. . . . .	107
Members deceased	. . . . .	7
<hr/>		
Total lost	. . . . .	239
Life members	. . . . .	27
Members renewing	. . . . .	841
New members	. . . . .	272
Total members for 1927	. . . . .	1,140

## *Student Membership*

Through the recommendations of their instructors, a large group of students (175) took advantage in 1927 of the special rate for student membership in the Society. The co-operation of teachers in bringing the invitation to membership to the attention of their students is indicated by the number of teachers who have sent in lists of students recommended for membership in 1928:

R. E. Baber, L. V. Ballard, H. E. Barnes, W. S. Bittner, F. W. Blackmar, E. S. Bogardus, L. M. Brooks, C. J. Bushnell, F. S. Chapin, H. O. De Graff, E. J. Devine, J. L. Duffot, L. P. Edwards, E. E. Eubank, C. H. Cooley, Seba Eldridge, Ellsworth Faris, L. E. Garwood, Wilson Gee, E. B. Harper, N. S. Hayner, E. C. Hayes, J. O. Hertzler, H. J. Jeddelloh, Katharine Jocher, M. J. Karpf, E. T. Krueger, D. H. Kulp II, E. L. Lattimore, J. P. Lichtenberger, N. C. Meier, E. L. Morgan, Albert Morris, John H. Mueller, Eben Mumford, Robert E. Park, G. H. Patterson, E. George Payne, M. T. Price, S. A. Queen, E. B. Reuter, E. A. Ross, C. W. Schroeder, E. H. Shideler, G. E. Simpson, N. L. Sims, P. A. Sorokin, H. H. Strong, A. L. Swift, F. M. Thrasher, A. J. Todd, H. L. Williams, M. M. Willey, H. Woolston, G. P. Wyckoff, E. F. Young, Kimball Young, C. C. Zimmerman.

## *The Work of the Society*

As in the past year, a large part of the work of the Society is now carried on through its representatives on six national organizations: the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Board of

Directors of the National Council for the Social Studies, the Joint Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, the Joint Committee and the Board of Directors on the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, the Dictionary of American Biography, and the American Yearbook. This year our Society is asked to appoint representatives on the Committee for the new *Journal of Social Science Abstracts*, to be published under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council. Reports of our representatives on these organizations appear elsewhere in the *Proceedings*. With the establishment of the Section on Sociology and Social Work this year there are now six officially recognized sections of the Society, certain ones of which, like the sections on Rural Sociology, Educational Sociology, the Community, and the Family, carry on activities between the annual meetings.

The Executive Committee, voting by mail, authorized the Secretary to include in the 1928 budget an item for the expenses of the representative of the Society at the recent annual meeting, in New York, of the Board of Directors of the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. The application of the New York School of Social Work to purchase one of the five copies of the volumes of *Proceedings* which are out of print was deferred for action at this meeting. The University of Southern California has also entered an application for a copy of each of these volumes.

#### *Invitations for the 1928 Meeting*

Invitations for our next annual meeting have been received from the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce and Western Reserve University, the Detroit Chamber of Commerce, the Indianapolis Convention Bureau, and Butler University and the Kansas City Convention Bureau, and the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce.

#### *Necrology*

The Secretary regrets to report the death during the year of the following members: Simeon E. Baldwin, Julius Drachsler, Frank E. H. Gary, J. E. Hitchcock, Isaac Joseph, Earl Kilpatrick, B. C. Steiner.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

### REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

The examination of the books and accounts of the American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1927, has been supervised by your Committee. The auditor reports as follows: "The cash balance was confirmed by correspondence with the depository. All recorded cash receipts were traced into the deposits and invoices and bills covering disbursement were examined. The bonds were presented for my inspection by the Chicago Trust

Company, who are holding them in safekeeping. All postings were checked from the books of original entry and found to be in order."

Your Committee submits for your consideration Balance Sheet (Schedule "A") and "Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements" (Schedule "B") prepared by the Secretary-Treasurer on the basis of the report by a qualified examiner, who prepared the following exhibits: "Balance Sheet," "Cash Receipts and Disbursements," "Statement of Profit and Loss," "Securities Owned."

Your Committee submits herewith the original report of the examiner for the archives of the Society.

The statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements includes in its cash receipts "Dues from members, 1928 (\$1,083.50). If to this the uninvested receipts from life members (\$55.62) are added, the cash balance determined by subtracting from this sum total (\$1,139.12) the apparent cash balance (\$539.55) gives a deficit at the present time of \$599.57. Comparing this deficit with the deficit as of last year (\$205.05), there is a deficit in the operations of the current year of \$394.52. This deficit of approximately \$400 may be said to represent roughly the difference between the actual expenditure on clerical assistance (\$1,253.84) and the original budget item (\$800). This increased expenditure was in accord with the action of the Executive Committee in authorizing "the Secretary upon approval of the President to expend not to exceed \$2,000 for clerical assistance during the year."

Inquiry from the Secretary reveals the fact that the additional clerical assistance has been of great value in handling the affairs of the society. The additional expenditure was more than justified in the judgment of your Committee and we respectfully recommend a continuation of this policy as provided for in the budget to be submitted.

Your Committee wishes to report that the graded membership dues have thus far not yielded the expected increase in revenue. This was largely due to the fact, in our judgment, that there has not been sufficient time to circularize the membership adequately. The contributing and sustaining memberships yielded an income of \$100 over the regular dues for 1927. We estimate a minimum of \$200 additional income from this source for 1928.

Your Committee finds it a pleasure to report in this connection that although membership dues have been increased from \$4 to \$5, no loss in membership was sustained. On the contrary, there was a slight gain.

Your Committee begs leave herewith to present the sixth annual budget of the American Sociological Society covering the fiscal year ending November 30, 1928. Although the budget is balanced your Committee feels that additional funds are necessary to carry on the ever increasing activities of the society, and we respectfully recommend that the Secretary-Treasurer be authorized to undertake a campaign, consistent with the dignity of the society, to increase the membership in the society. We recommend an expenditure not to exceed \$200 for this purpose. We are confident that the results will more than justify the expenditure of effort.

Two years ago the Executive Committee authorized the publication in book form of selected papers from the volume of *Proceedings, The City*. The first year's royalties on this volume have netted the Society the sum of \$200.

Two years ago the Executive Committee authorized the publication of the *Proceedings* as a supplement to the July issue of the *Journal*, with a decided saving to the Society in the expense of postage. Because of confusion caused by this, especially to subscribers to the *Journal* who were not members of the Society, our publishers declined this year to continue the arrangement. Your Committee recommends that the *Publications of the American Sociological Society* hereafter be published in four issues, the first number to be entitled "The Papers of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting," the second number under the title "The Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting," the third to be "Membership List, 1927-28," and the fourth to contain the "Preliminary Program of the Twenty-third Annual Meeting." The saving to the Society under the second-class mailing rate is estimated at one hundred dollars a year.

If the foregoing recommendation is adopted your Committee would like to recommend that the managing editor be authorized to investigate the advisability of including the papers in some of the sections in the quarterly publications.

Finally, your Committee again wants to express its appreciation of the excellent work of the Secretary-Treasurer in conducting the affairs of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS D. ELIOT

FERRIS F. LAUNE

MAURICE J. KARPP, *Chairman*

## SCHEDULE "A"

BALANCE SHEET AS OF NOVEMBER 30, 1927

*Assets*

Cash in bank . . . . .		\$ 539.55
Office furniture . . . . .	\$146.65	
Less depreciation—up to and including		
1927 . . . . .	78.41	68.24
Proceedings on hand, 1,559 volumes, @		
\$0.50 . . . . .		779.50
Investments:		
Northwestern Electric Company 6 per		
cent Gold Bonds . . . . .	500.00	
St. Cloud Public Service Company 6 per		
cent Gold Bonds . . . . .	675.38	
Hyde Park Baptist Church House 6 per		
cent Gold Bonds . . . . .	600.00	
Total investments . . . . .		1,750.58
Total assets . . . . .		\$3,162.67

*Liabilities*

Surplus as at December 1, 1926 . . . . .		\$2,548.77
Additions:		
Investment in Hyde Park Church House		
6 per cent Gold Bonds . . . . .	\$600.00	
Increase in stock of <i>Proceedings</i> by 65		
copies . . . . .	32.50	\$632.50
Deductions:		
Depreciation—office furniture . . . . .	7.58	
Net loss—Schedule "B" . . . . .	11.02	18.60 613.90
Total liabilities . . . . .		\$3,162.67



## SCHEDULE "B"

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FROM DECEMBER 1,  
1926, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1927

Cash on deposit on November 30, 1926 . . . . . \$ 550.57

## Cash Receipts

Dues from members for 1927 . . . . .	\$5,121.85	
Dues from members for 1928 . . . . .	1,083.50	\$6,205.35
<hr/>		
Exchange with remittances . . . . .	18.90	
Postage with remittances . . . . .	2.10	
Income from <i>Proceedings</i> . . . . .	474.02	
Royalties from <i>The Urban Community</i> . . . . .	201.15	
Interest . . . . .	120.87	
Receipts from abstract service . . . . .	37.75	
Charging off checks not cashed . . . . .	15.82	
Book Exhibit . . . . .	25.00	
Receipts other than from dues . . . . .		895.61
<hr/>		
Total receipts . . . . .		7,100.96
Plus credit from the University of Chicago Press . . . . .		300.00
<hr/>		
Total . . . . .		\$7,951.53

## Cash Disbursements

<i>Proceedings</i> , Volume XXI . . . . .	\$1,581.58
<i>American Journal of Sociology</i> . . . . .	2,753.50
Clerical aid, salaries, etc. . . . .	1,253.84
Postage and express . . . . .	342.69
Printing (including abstract service) . . . . .	269.89
Stationery . . . . .	160.35
Secretary's expense at annual meeting . . . . .	85.43
Committee on the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences . . . . .	150.00
Society membership in A.C.L.S. . . . .	55.35
Committee on Social Studies . . . . .	50.00
Exchange on remittances . . . . .	44.30
Membership refunds . . . . .	47.05
Auditing . . . . .	10.00
Office expense . . . . .	8.00
Investment of life membership fund . . . . .	600.00
<hr/>	
Total disbursements . . . . .	\$7,411.98
Cash on deposit November 30, 1927 . . . . .	550.57
Cash on deposit November 30, 1926 . . . . .	539.55
Net loss for year . . . . .	11.01

## TENTATIVE BUDGET

of the American Sociological Society for the Fiscal Year of 1928  
(December 1, 1927, to November 30, 1928)

*Receipts*

	Estimated Receipts for 1928	Actual Receipts for 1927	Actual Receipts for 1926
Dues from members . . . . .	\$5,330.00	\$5,221.85	\$4,382.05
Sale of publications . . . . .	670.00	675.17	384.84
Press credit . . . . .	300.00	300.00	300.00
Interest . . . . .	130.00	120.87	80.03
Abstract service and other receipts . . . . .	75.00	78.57	50.00
Exchange and postage . . . . .	25.00	21.00	18.20
Contributions . . . . .			767.50
Special memberships . . . . .	100.00		
Total receipts . . . . .	\$6,730.00	\$6,417.46	\$5,981.62

*Expenditures*

	Estimated Expenditures for 1928	Actual Expenditures for 1927	Actual Expendi- tures for 1926
<i>American Journal of Sociology</i> . . . . .	\$2,750.00	\$2,753.50	\$2,491.74
<i>Proceedings</i> . . . . .	1,600.00	1,581.58	1,621.52
Clerical aid and salaries . . . . .	1,250.00	1,253.84	661.44
Postage and express . . . . .	250.00	342.69	256.85
Printing (including abstracts) . . . . .	275.00	269.89	221.35
Stationery . . . . .	165.00	160.35	164.90
Secretary's expense at meetings . . . . .	120.00	85.43	120.20
Society membership, A.C.L.S. . . . .	57.00	55.35	54.35
Committee on Social Science Encyclopedia . . . . .	108.00	150.00	100.00
Delegate to Council for Social Studies . . . . .	50.00	50.00	
Auditing . . . . .	10.00	10.00	10.00
Exchange on dues . . . . .	40.00	44.30	35.40
Refunds on memberships and on contributions . . . . .	40.00	47.05	76.15
Insurance . . . . .	5.00		2.00
Miscellaneous expense . . . . .	10.00	8.00	4.60
	\$6,730.80	\$6,811.98	\$5,820.50

## ANALYSIS OF ACTUAL INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES, 1917-27

	Receipts from Dues	Total Receipts	Expenditures	Deficit	Cash Balance
1917 . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$380.63
1918 . . . . .	\$2,415.35	\$2,810.70	\$2,803.87	\$ 53.13	327.48
1919 . . . . .	2,598.30	2,962.79	3,196.74	233.95	93.53
1920 . . . . .	3,172.50	3,591.96	3,815.90	233.94	-130.41
1921 . . . . .	3,708.50	4,400.73	4,617.22	216.49	-346.90
1922 . . . . .	4,228.72	4,093.79	5,002.75	98.96	-445.86
1923* . . . . .	4,439.45	5,097.86	4,994.08	103.78†	-342.08
1924* . . . . .	4,722.40	5,516.78	5,328.68	188.10†	-153.98
1925* . . . . .	4,332.84	5,233.17	5,446.36	213.19	-367.17
1926 . . . . .	4,382.00	5,982.62	5,820.50	162.12†	-205.05
1927 . . . . .	5,221.85	6,417.46	6,811.98	394.52	-599.57

\* The figures for 1923-25 do not include receipts from life memberships.

† Surplus.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE FISCAL YEAR  
DECEMBER 1, 1926, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1927

On November 30 the volumes of the *Papers and Proceedings* on hand were as follows:

Volume	Copies	Volume	Copies
I	47	XII	62
II	0 (out of print)	XIII	0 (out of print)
III	0 (out of print)	XIV	0 (out of print)
IV	10	XV	216
V	13	XVI	101
VI	0 (out of print)	XVII	103
VII	11	XVIII	100
VIII	42	XIX	285
IX	0 (out of print)	XX	204
X	120	XXI	245
XI	0 (out of print)		

The total number of volumes, 1,559, is 65 more than were reported last year.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Managing Editor*

**THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY**  
**MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING,**  
**WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 29, 1927**

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society, held in the English Room, the Hotel Raleigh, was called to order at 4:55 P.M. by President W. L. Thomas. Members present besides the President and Secretary were Messrs. Cutler, Dealey, Hayes, Lichtenberger, Odum, Ogburn, Queen, Sutherland, and Weatherly. Since the minutes of the previous meeting were published in the *Proceedings*, their reading was dispensed with. The reports of the Secretary and Managing Editor were read and approved.

The report of the Finance Committee (M. J. Karpf, chairman, F. F. Laune, T. D. Eliot) was read by its chairman. The proposal of this committee that the sum of \$200 be set aside for a special membership campaign was approved on the motion of U. G. Weatherly. Action on the proposal that the *Proceedings* be published next year as a quarterly was deferred until next year. W. F. Ogburn moved that the Managing Editor be advised to consider the feasibility of publishing the papers of the sections in the *Proceedings* for next year. The motion made by Stuart A. Queen that the annual budget for 1928 submitted by the Executive Committee be approved was carried.

Moved by E. C. Hayes that the Secretary be authorized, in the name of the Executive Committee, to bring before the members the serious financial condition of the Society caused by the accumulated deficit of several years. The report of the Finance Committee was then accepted, on the motion of Stuart Queen. Stuart Rice was then invited to make a statement for the Committee on Scientific Method of the Social Science Research Council. He stated that his Committee requested that the American Sociological Society appoint a committee charged with the responsibility of selecting the type of studies indicated as desirable for the case book on scientific method, and of advising the Council Committee of its choice in these respects. Moved by E. C. Hayes that three members be appointed at this time by the present President for this function.

Professor Ogburn stated that the Social Science Research Council desired the appointment of one, two, or three representatives on the *Journal of Social Science Abstracts*. A motion by J. E. Cutler was passed that the chairman of the standing committee on Social Abstracts to be appointed by the incoming President serve in this capacity.

The report of the Committee on the Sections was made by the Secretary. Motion made by T. D. Eliot that the request for the purchase of the small reserve maintained by the Society of volumes of the *Proceedings* out of print be not granted until an effort be made to secure these volumes elsewhere.

Moved and carried that the time and place of the next meeting of the Society be left with the President and the Secretary. Carried. The President read a statement from Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan, secretary of the Social Science Relations Committee of the American Psychiatric Association, suggesting the appointment of a committee to confer with the before-mentioned committee upon plans for promoting common relationships. Moved by W. F. Ogburn, and carried, that the present President be appointed as chairman of a committee to take up the matter of common relationships with this Committee, and that the matter of a joint meeting be canvassed. The President and the Secretary were empowered to determine the time and the place of the next annual meeting.

A communication from E. C. Cutler requesting a session on the study of oriental questions was referred to the next year's program committee.

On motion of W. F. Ogburn the present Secretary-Treasurer and Managing Editor was re-elected.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

#### MINUTES OF THE FIRST BUSINESS MEETING FOR REPORTS OF COMMITTEES, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 28, 1927

The first business meeting of the Society for hearing the reports of its representatives upon other bodies was called to order in the ballroom of the Hotel Raleigh at 9:15 A.M. by President Thomas. The report of the work of the Social Science Research Council was made by Shelby M. Harrison. E. H. Sutherland read the report made by J. O. Hertzler of the annual meeting of the Board of Directors for the Council of Social Studies. W. I. Thomas presented an account of the work of the American Council of Learned Societies. A statement of the two meetings of the supervisory board of the American Yearbook was made by F. H. Hankins. These reports are printed elsewhere in the *Proceedings*.

Respectfully submitted,

E. W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

#### MINUTES OF THE SECOND BUSINESS MEETING FOR REPORTS OF COMMITTEES, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 29, 1927

The second business meeting of the Society was held in the ballroom of the Hotel Raleigh to hear reports of the committees of the Society. The session was called to order by President Thomas at 9:15 A.M. In the absence of F. Stuart Chapin, Robert E. Park made the report for the Committee on Social Abstracts and W. F. Ogburn for the new *Journal of Social Abstracts*. The report of the Committee on Social Research was read by Hornell Hart. W. F.

Ogburn read the report of H. B. Woolston of the work of the board of directors of the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. These different reports are printed earlier in this volume.

Respectfully submitted,  
E. W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

### MINUTES OF ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DECEMBER 30, 1927

The twenty-second annual business meeting of the American Sociological Society, held in the ballroom of the Hotel Raleigh, was called to order at 9:10 A.M. by President W. I. Thomas. Since the minutes of the last business meeting were printed in the *Proceedings*, their reading was dispensed with. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee were then read by the Secretary and approved.

Since the Executive Committee made no recommendations for the election of distinguished foreign sociologists to honorary membership in the Society, it was moved and passed that the election of Ferdinand Tönnies and Charles Bouglé to honorary membership be referred to the Executive Committee with power to act.

The Committee on Resolutions (E. B. Woods, Chairman, H. A. Miller, Herbert Shenton, and Kimball Young) was presented by H. A. Miller and approved. The resolutions expressed the appreciation of the Society to the Committee on Local Arrangements and the organizations represented on it for their assistance, particularly in the work of registration; to the American Council of Learned Societies for maintaining a joint publicity bureau and for the preparation of the joint program; to American University, the Catholic University of America, and George Washington University for the smoker and reception after the presidential addresses; and to the Hotel Raleigh for its courtesy and co-operation.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was made by its chairman, C. C. North. The following were elected as officers of the Society for the year 1928: president, John M. Gillette, University of North Dakota; first vice-president, F. H. Hankins, Smith College; second vice-president, L. L. Bernard, Tulane University; members of the Executive Committee, Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago, and Herbert A. Miller, Ohio State University.

The meeting then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,  
E. W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

# THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

## MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR 1928<sup>1</sup>

The symbols before the names indicate special classes of members, as \*life members, †contributing and subscribing members, ‡honorary members.

The letters after the names indicate the divisions or sections of the Society in which each member is enrolled,<sup>2</sup> as (a) General and Historical Sociology, (b) Social Psychology, (c) Social Research, (d) Educational Sociology, (e) Social Biology, (f) Statistical Sociology, (g) Rural Sociology, (h) Community Problems, (i) Sociology and Social Work, (j) Teaching of Social Sciences, (k) The Family, (l) Sociology of Religion. The letter is capitalized to denote the division or section of chief interest to the member.

- ABBOTT, W. LEWIS, 216 East Espanola St., Colorado Springs, Colo. *A b c e f k*
- ABEL, T. F., 909 W. California St., Urbana, Ill. *a b c*
- ABELE, REV. RALPH C., 3270 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. *b d f j k l*
- ABELS, MRS. MARGARET HUTTON, 435 W. Washington Ave., Madison, Wis.
- ADAIR, R. W., 1730 N. 13th St., St. Louis, Mo. *k i K L*
- ADAMS, HAROLD E., Apt. 204, 91 Howe St., New Haven, Conn. *f H i j k l*
- ADAMS, RALPH S., 432 Perkiomen Ave., Lansdale, Pa. *b c G h k l*
- ADAMS, ROMANEO, Honolulu, Hawaii
- ADDAMS, JANE, Hull House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago *B i*
- ADELSON, LUBA, 3249 Beach Ave., Chicago
- AHRENS, ERICH A., 5604 Maryland Ave., Chicago *H*
- ALBIG, J. W. JR., 2410 Vinewood Bldg., Ann Arbor, Mich.
- ALBRIGHT, LEILA R., Lake Eric College, Painesville, Ohio *b i J k*
- ALEXANDER, W. A. Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- ALEXANDER, W. M., Fayette, Mo. *a g i*
- ALLEN, MRS. CAPITOLA PINCHES, 2119 Eleventh Ave., W., Seattle, Wash. *C e f k l*
- ALLPORT, FLOYD H., 323 Genesee Park Drive, Syracuse, N.Y. *a B f g k l*
- AMANN, DOROTHY, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.
- ANDERSON, FRANK LEONARD, 64 S. Munn Ave., East Orange, N.J. *L*
- ANDERSON, NELS, 321 Sixty-seventh St., Brooklyn, N.Y. *C k i j*
- ANDERSON, WILFRED A., State College Station, Raleigh, N.C. *c g*
- ANDREWS, BENJAMIN R., 1 Old Wood Road, Edgewater, N.J. *c d k*
- ANDREWS, JOHN B., American Association of Labor Legislation, 131 E. 23d St., New York
- ANDREWS, MARY K., 404 La Due Place, Greenville, Ill. *A k*
- ANGELL, ROBERT C., 2008 Day St., Ann Arbor, Mich. *D*
- ANGIER, ROSWELL P., 140 Edgehill Road, New Haven, Conn. *B*
- ARAI, CLARENCE TAKEYA, 1102 E. Spruce St., Seattle, Wash. *B H*
- AREINOFF, DAVID, Jewish Social Service Bureau, 1800 Selden St., Chicago *b C f k l k*
- ARESON, C. W., Children's Code Committee, 471 Van Buren St., Milwaukee, Wis. *I*
- \*ARMSTRONG, MAJOR DONALD, U.S.A., 3000 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C.
- ARMSTRONG, ELSIE, 1369 Hyde Park Blvd., Chicago
- ARMSTRONG, SAMUEL TREAT, Hillbourne Farms, Katonah, N.Y. *B*
- ARTMAN, J. M., 308 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago
- †ASH, ISAAC E., Ohio University, Athens, Ohio *A G i*

<sup>1</sup>The names of new members received into the Society after the *Proceedings* were in press are entered in a supplemental list on page 353.

<sup>2</sup>This enrolment is indicated by the member on his application card or renewal of membership card.

- AUBREY, EDWIN E., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. *a b l*
- AUMAN, JEAN L., 724 Simpson St., Evanston, Ill.
- AUSTIN, CHARLES B., 112 Cottage Ave., Mount Vernon, N.Y.
- AUSTIN, MRS. GERTRUDE B., 112 Cottage Ave., Mount Vernon, N.Y.
- BABCOCK, DONALD C., University of New Hampshire, Durham, N.H.
- BABER, R. E., Y.M.C.A. Graduate School, Nashville, Tenn. *c e F i k l*
- BABSON, ROGER, 5 Babson Park, Wellesley Hills 82, Mass.
- BADANES, SAUL, 32 Cameron Ave., Babylon, L.I., N.Y.
- BADGER, MISS ARIE, 174 Clifford St., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
- BAILEY, MRS. N. L., 791 Beckwith St., S.W., Atlanta, Ga.
- BAIN, READ, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio *a b c i L*
- BAKER, O. E., 1242 N. 18th St., Abilene, Tex.
- BAKER, PAUL, 3029 S. Adams St., Fort Worth, Tex.
- BAKER, SYLV., Franklin Administration Bldg., Washington, D.C. *H*
- BAKKUM, GLENN A., University of Wichita, Wichita, Kan.
- BALCH, WILLIAM M., 610 N. 6th St., Baldwin City, Kan.
- BALLARD, LLOYD V., 915 Park Ave., Beloit, Wis. *a k l*
- BALLARD, MYRTLE, Mound City, Mo.
- BAMFORD, EDWIN F., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. *a b C d k i k*
- BANE, JULIET LITA, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. *b k*
- BANZET, ERNEST M., Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.
- BARBER, MRS. M. C., 376 Houston St., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
- BARGER, J. WHEELER, Department of Rural Life, Montana State College, Bozeman, Mont. *c g h j*
- BARKER, ROBERT H., 719 Chestnut St., Cameron, Mo.
- BARNES, GERALD, 920 W. Lovell Ave., Kalamazoo, Mich. *b j k*
- BARNES, HARRY E., 186 Elm St., Northampton, Mass. *A*
- BARNES, IRENE, Meadville, Mo. *b e f*
- BARNHART, KENNETH E., 6236<sup>th</sup> Arsenal, St. Louis, Mo. *B c k i k l*
- BARRETT, HENRY J., 249 W. 22d St., Erie, Pa.
- BARRY, A. G., 1203 W. Dayton St., Madison, Wis.
- BARTLETT, HARRIETT M., 985 Memorial Drive, Cambridge, Mass. *b c f l j h*
- BAUBLITZ, REV. E. RAYMOND, First and Wilkinson Sts., Dayton, Ohio *B d k i k l*
- BAUGHMAN, GEORGE W., 47 West Blvd., Columbia, Mo.
- BEACH, WALTER G., Stanford University, Calif.
- BEAL, OWEN F., 1390 S. 15th St., E., Salt Lake City, Utah
- BEASLEY, WILLIS C., 410 Stewart Road, Columbia, Mo.
- BEATY, R. C., Gainesville, Fla.
- BEAVERS, MISS LILLIAN, 775 Greens Ferry, S.W., Atlanta, Ga.
- BECK, P. G., Department of Rural Economics, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio *b c f G*
- BECKER, HOWARD P., 4630 Gross Ave., Chicago
- BEDFORD, CAROLINE, 2221 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo. *c f l j K*
- BEHRENS, MARIE, 149 E. 155th St., Harvey, Ill.
- BEHRENS, O. W., 1425 University Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
- BELCHER, ALICE E., Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis.
- BELL, EARL H., 928 Milton St., Madison, Wis.
- BELLAMY, GEORGE A., 2723 Orange Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
- BELLAMY, RAYMOND, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla. *a b L*
- BELLER, WILLIAM F., 51 E. 123d St., New York
- BENEDICT, SARAH, Gardiner House, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. *I*
- BENGSTON, CAROLINE, 4518 Clarendon Ave., Chicago *d j*
- BENJAMIN, PAUL L., 215 E. Walnut St., Louisville, Ky.
- BERGMAN, WALTER G., 421 University High School Bldg., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- BERNARD, L. L., Tulane University, New Orleans, La. *A b e g*
- BERNE, MRS. ESTHER VAN CLEAVE, 411 N. Dubuque St., Iowa City, Iowa *a B c j*
- BERNHAIMER, CHARLES S., 320 W. 89th St., New York *C k l*
- BERNSTEIN, LUDWIG B., Federation of Jewish Charities, 15 Fernando St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- BERRY, ALICE L., 3112 Colfax Ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn. *b c l j k*



- BEST, HARRY, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. *a c i k*
- BETTMAN, ALFRED, 1514 First National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio *B c h i*
- BEVER, JAMES, 614 Ivy St., Bellingham, Wash. *A*
- BICKHAM, MARTIN HAYES, 429 Ninth St., Wilmette, Ill. *c l*
- BIDGOOD, LEE, Box 416, University, Ala.
- BILLINGS, WILLIAM EDWARD, Syracuse, Kan. *c j K*
- BINDER, LOUIS R., 76 Ward St., Paterson, N.J. *b h i L*
- BINDER, RUDOLPH M., New York University, Washington Square, New York
- BINNEWIES, W. G., State Teachers College, Greeley, Colo. *a b c d K*
- BITTNER, C. J., Lebanon, Ill. *A b d*
- BITTNER, W. S., 822 Hunter St., Bloomington, Ind. *c H h*
- BIZZELL, WILLIAM B., President, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla. *a g j*
- BLACK, ELLEN E., Bryson City, N.C.
- BLACK, WILLIAM P., 316 W. Fifth St., Port Angeles, Wash. *B c H j*
- BLACKBURN, IDA C., Fox Hall, Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
- BLACKMAR, FRANK W., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
- BLACKWELL, BESSIE T., Wellsville, Mo. *J*
- BLAINE, MRS. EMMONS, 101 E. Erie St., Chicago
- BLAZIER, GEORGE J., Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio
- BLUMER, HERBERT, University of Chicago, Chicago *B*
- BODENTHAPER, WALTER B., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. *A*
- BOETTGER, LOUIS A., 826 Alton St., Appleton, Wis.
- BOGARDUS, EMORY S., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif. *a b c d h i*
- BOISEN, ANTON T., Box 57, Worcester, Mass. *L*
- BOLOTIN, ANITA, 780 Washington St., S.W., Atlanta, Ga.
- BOND, MRS. JANE A., 277 N. Main St., Oberlin, Ohio *I j*
- BOND, N. B., Mississippi Woman's College, Hattiesburg, Miss.
- BOOKSTABER, PHILIP D., Harrisburg, Pa. *h l*
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the 1990s, the number of people with a diagnosis of schizophrenia has increased by 50% (Meltzer 1996).

There is a growing awareness of the need to improve the lives of people with mental health problems. The World Health Organization (WHO) has developed a 'Mental Health Action Plan' (WHO 1993) which sets out a number of goals for the improvement of mental health care. The plan emphasizes the need for a 'holistic' approach to mental health care, which takes into account the physical, social, and psychological needs of individuals. The plan also emphasizes the need for a 'community-based' approach to mental health care, which involves the involvement of the community in the provision of services.

The 'Mental Health Action Plan' has been adopted by many countries, including the United Kingdom. The UK government has set out a number of goals for the improvement of mental health care, which are outlined in the 'Mental Health Act 1983' (MHA 1983). The MHA 1983 sets out the following goals:

1. To improve the lives of people with mental health problems.

2. To ensure that people with mental health problems have access to the best possible care.

3. To ensure that people with mental health problems are treated with dignity and respect.

4. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to participate in decisions about their care.

5. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to live in the community.

6. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to work and study.

7. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to participate in the life of the community.

8. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to live a full and active life.

9. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to achieve their full potential.

10. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to live in a safe and secure environment.

11. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to live in a supportive environment.

12. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to live in a caring environment.

13. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to live in a healthy environment.

14. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to live in a peaceful environment.

15. To ensure that people with mental health problems are given the opportunity to live in a happy environment.