

A STUDY OF THE EDUCATIONAL STATUS
AND SOME EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF
A LOCAL RELIEF POPULATION

by

EDWIN BLUNDELL DAVIS

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APPROVED:

Redacted for privacy

Professor of Education

Redacted for privacy

Head of Department of Education

Redacted for privacy

Chairman of School Graduate Committee

Redacted for privacy

Chairman of College Graduate Council

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Federal relief of the unemployed, the indigent, the aged, the infirm, the blind, the stupid and feeble-minded, and the crippled is a new movement in the United States, although it has been the practice in several European nations for almost a century. Heretofore, relief or charity has been a local or privately philanthropical activity. With the "depression" which began about 1930, the Federal government began large scale organization of relief measures, with what purpose the future will have to determine and evaluate. Relief as it is at present carried out under Federal and State management has brought about a clearly evident change in the attitudes of a large part of the American population toward the acceptance of money or goods for which little or no adequate return is made in comparison with returns expected in industry and other private employment. The age of individualism and of individual self-dependence and responsibility is drawing to a close. The rate of social stratification has been tremendous almost since the beginning of the century. The present national administration has changed the direction of the trend of stratification temporarily, but it cannot halt a movement of this kind by administrative measures. What the ultim-

ate trend of this stratification and of this changed attitude toward relief will be only the future can determine.

In spite of all of the billions of dollars that have been spent on relief and in spite of the millions who are on relief and who will probably be on relief as long as there is relief available, there has been no extensive census of people on relief. There are only a few relatively small studies of the characteristics of the people on relief, a few relatively small studies of the effect of being on relief on people who are so situated, and almost no studies of the educational status of these people or the implications of this whole situation for the present and future of organized or "formal" schools and for adult, part-time, and other forms of schools designed "to carry education to the people".

The schools have long been a favorite object of criticism because school boards and school administrators as a whole have been unable or unwilling to defend them. In this more or less critical financial period, the schools have been criticized, at times severely or even fanatically and at other times with honest inquiry, because these people are on relief "There should be more education available" in spite of the fact that the educational requirements now exceed the mental age limitations of a large part of the population; "There should be more vocational education" although many labor unions will not, or would not until the

present division in the labor union ranks, admit new members; "There should have been more character education" although the studies of character education courses show rather uniformly that these courses have made insignificant changes in the attitudes of the pupils. The truth of the matter is that the schools have done exceedingly well with their limited personnel, limited finances, and general attitude of indifference, antagonism, and expectance of returns disproportionate to the investment. Whether better schools could have prevented so many people from being on relief is a question which no one can answer at this time.

The effects of more popular forms of schools on the parts of the population which they contain are still unknown. Some educators are enthusiastic about them. Others hold that what is easily gained will be lightly esteemed. The effects of large amounts of leisure time has not resulted in noticeably increased efforts to attain culture, according to Thorndike's study of this problem. They may in the future; they may not. The federal government has sponsored evening schools whenever sufficient numbers of people could be gathered together to make up classes. No one knows what the values of these classes have been. A great deal has been written and printed about the values of the classes in the camps of the Civilian Conservation Corps, but these values are self-estimates of interested persons and have little or no scientific measurement in them.

Because so little is known about the people on relief and because the relief situation is likely to last for a good many years, the writer of this thesis has made a partial study of the educational status of the people on direct relief or direct charity in a certain county, and has, as a result, some definite information and a few conclusions to report on this subject.

Chapter II

A Historical Discussion of the Present Relief Situation

Although the duration of the present relief situation has been only about five years, it has been so intense in nature and so widespread in extent that it has more history than many movements that have covered many more decades than this has years.

Over twenty million persons, (47) constituting approximately one-sixth of the total population of the United States, were receiving relief at the close of 1934. The following figures on the number of persons on relief in 1934 were given by Gertrude Springer (80) although their source is not indicated: 5,184,772 children, 460,000 single persons, 9,415,228 other persons, making a total of 3,350,000 American families of 4.5 members each on relief in that year; but since the relief group fluctuates in make-up from season to season, and since relief loads have not been computed on an annual basis, the total enormity of the relief situation in this country is not known for any given time.

Whether or not the total number of persons on relief in the United States has declined since 1934, and, if this be true, how much of a decline has taken place, is not known to this writer, although diligent search was conducted to secure information on this point. For some reason the President of the United States and the Department of Labor

have resisted the taking of anything like a complete census of the unemployed and of the persons on relief.

For the period (47) from July, 1933, to December, 1934, there was an upward trend in the total number of persons receiving Federal Emergency Relief, despite the fact that business conditions were somewhat improved and the total value and volume of industrial production was on the increase. This increase in the number of persons on relief did not include persons receiving aid from private or religious charities, although it is probable that private charity has decreased as public charity has increased.

One of the most interesting and thorough studies of the relief situation is that of a fictitiously named town in the middle west of the United States--Middletown. "Despite the popularly acclaimed 'return to prosperity' Middletown (44) was finding itself unable to tolerate a return to the loose-jointed methods of caring for the unable which had been accepted as normal before the depression. Employment in the city's industries and public utilities stood at a figure in September, 1936, at a level which the Chamber of Commerce acclaimed was nearly 1000 above the 1929 level; but 884 were still on W.P.A. projects, a further 573 on the Federal highway projects, and 417 families and 108 single persons still on direct poor relief in Middletown's township." It was estimated (47) that four-fifths of the 7,000,000

heads of families on relief in 1934 could be classified as employable. Little difference was found (47) in the relief rates between urban and rural areas. "By regions (47), relief loads vary with population density."

Will these people ever return to private employment? How many of them are employable in terms of mental ability, physical dexterity, endurance, and training, emotional stability, and attitudes? Where did they come from? How many of their kind are they producing?

A study (47) of the urban relief population on 1934 and a comparison of the percentages of the relief population that fall into various occupational classifications (based upon their last usual employment) with the percentages of the normal employed population which fell into the same occupational classifications according to the 1930 census reveals some significant information as regards the occupations upon which the depression has levied the heaviest toll. This information is given in Table I.

TABLE I

Occupational Classification	Per cent of Relief Population (According to Last Usual Employment)	Percentage of Employed Urban Pop. (according to 1930 census)
Agriculture	5%	2%
Extraction of Minerals	4%	2%
Manufacturing and Mechanical	43%	38%
Personal and Domestic Service	20%	13%
Professional Service	3%	8%

These authors (47) conclude that unskilled and semi-skilled workers make up the bulk of the relief population.

The turnover rate on relief, to the best of this writer's knowledge, has not been determined. As a consequence, it is not known whether or not time produces much change in the composition of the relief population. Information on this point would be valuable as an aid in determining whether or not the relief population tends in the direction of taking on the characteristics of a "sociological out-group".

Among other things unknown is the status of relief as an American institution. No one knows, yet, whether to regard relief as a temporary emergency measure or as a permanent feature of American life. It would seem that all modern and many medieval societies have been faced with the

problem of caring for controlling the activities of dependent people. Gillin (21) considers poverty and dependency to be a phenomenon closely associated with the rise of industrial economies. He (21) finds no records of beggars or dependent persons in Israel until after commercial activity had disturbed the older agricultural and pastoral economy.

Primitive societies (21) which are somewhat communal in character are typically without dependent or unemployed persons. "Where the economy (21) is largely that of a herdsman or an agriculturalist the dire poverty of one individual is a rare phenomenon." Economic dependency is thought to be historically associated with the emergence of private property and the decline of patriarchal institutions of social control. When the primary group or family controlled and regulated economic processes no member of the family group was permitted to experience dire economic want at a time when the other members of the family were abundantly supplied with economic goods. It is true that the whole social group might experience the most degrading sort of poverty, but, in nearly all instances, this poverty was shared alike by all members of the group.

Sociologists tend to relate economic dependency to: social change, industrial economy, a decline in the importance of primary groups and the increasing importance of

secondary groups, increased social stratification, and a possible maldistribution of economic goods.

On the other hand, geneticists are prone to relate the presence of dependent people within a population to a decrease in the operation of the laws of natural selection which permits persons who are genetically inferior to live and reproduce their kind at a rate which is in excess of the reproduction rates of the genetically superior.

This writer is of the opinion that no one factor accounts for economic dependency but that many factors are involved, some of which may not, today, have been taken into consideration in this connection.

In this country, the various states have, in times past, faced the problem of dealing with indigent peoples. The American poor laws had their origin in the great body of British common law. Many of the legal conceptions of poor relief can be traced to sixteenth century British court rulings. It is true that statutory limitations and alterations have from time to time modified the common law conceptions of poor relief, but never before in our history have these common law definitions of the status of indigent persons been swept entirely out of existence. In times of industrial contraction there has been extended to physically able persons a certain amount of aid by private and religious charitable organizations, but never before, in the

history of the United States, has the Federal government assumed a direct obligation to support its unemployed citizens.

Widespread public relief is so comparatively new a feature of American life that little is known about its operation and even less about the effect that it is likely to have upon other public institutions and the traditional modes of American life.

Since the public school systems are, in accordance with American traditions of democracy, open to all who wish to avail themselves of their services, these school systems are educating and will, in all probability, continue to educate children from dependent families. In addition, it appears, that educators are striving, sensibly or stupidly, to extend the compulsory age range for school attendance both upward and downward. It follows that American educators should become increasingly conscious of the problems which the relief population is likely to present to educational institutions and practices.

In the discussion to follow the writer has endeavored to present all studies and discussions which promise to throw light on the implications which a vast relief population may have for educational practices or institutions.

The lower occupational levels of American society have long been recognized as having a higher birth rate than the

higher occupational levels of the same society. Many eugenicists have recognized and attached significance to the differential birth rate of the various stratas of American society.

Study was made (77) of a sample group of 645 married couples under the care of the Boston Relief Agencies. It was revealed that foreign-born mothers averaged 3.8 children each, while native-born mothers averaged 2.9 children. It was felt that most of the families could not be considered as completed. The Irish and Italians were found to have the most children, and women married less than five revealed the highest fecundity rate.

Another study (80) of 2,319 white mothers produced evidence to the effect that the poorer women lived longer and bore children for a longer period of time than did mothers of a higher economic status.

Although the first of these studies (77) does not reveal any factors which would seem to be of undue importance, the second (80) based upon a larger sampling offers evidence to support the view that the economically dependent are contributing more than their proportional share to the future population of the United States.

The Merseyside (England) Survey (33) in which some 7,000 working class families were interviewed as to familial composition, age, sex, occupation, earnings, housing accomo-

dations, birthplace, and size of families, and in which fertility was measured against: (a) income, (b) regularity of employment, and (c) dependence upon public aid, indicates a relatively high fertility rate for families whose fathers are subnormal in occupational skill and employability and for families below the poverty line and those on relief.

"Statistics (74) from the Pomeranian (Germany) schools for neglected children show that the fertility of these children's families is by no means diminishing in comparison with previous generations. There is thus no self-cure. In the new German state these schools are important as catch-basins to separate early the children who come under the law for prevention of diseased offspring."

The above study (74) raises a question as to whether the passage of time is likely, in and of itself, to decrease the fecundity rates of dependent peoples and suggests that, unless eugenic measures are applied, the reproduction rate for those persons who are supported by public bounty will always exceed that for the self-supporting elements of the same society. Sorokin (78) offers evidence which shows that there is no tendency among the French for a change in the proportionate fertility, which is in favor of the lower classes, despite the fact that birth control has long been practiced in France and sufficient time has elapsed since

its introduction to that country to enable its practice to spread among the masses. The reproduction rate for the lower classes still greatly exceeds that of the upper classes, although the total population of France has declined steadily for more than a century.

McCormick and Tibbitts (47) find that: "The relief group shows a considerably larger proportion of children in both rural and urban areas." In widely sampled rural areas, households receiving relief averaged 4.8 persons as compared with 3.9 for non-relief households. In the rural relief group, there is an average of 3.2 dependents per worker as compared with 2.3 dependents per worker in the non-relief group.

A study of 504 families (63) who have for years been dependent upon public relief in Los Angeles County, California, shown that they have been producing children steadily at public expense. The completed family averages five living children, and one-third of these are born after the family becomes dependent. Three or more social welfare agencies were aiding each of these families in eighty per cent of the cases. The average Mexican family is half again as large as the average American family. "The longer the family is dependent (64) the more children it produces." All of the families studied had been on relief for at least five years prior to the date of the study and

one family had received aid from Los Angeles County for fifteen years.

A case worker connected with a relief organization in an Oregon county told this writer that most women on relief with large families expressed no desire to secure birth control information even when such was offered gratis.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF STATUS AS RELATED TO
MENTAL HEALTH.

It seems that unemployment brings with it many problems beyond the mere economic dependence of the person affected. Together with unemployment the individual faces: (a) loss of social status, (b) thwarting of his natural desire for security, (c) limitations upon his ability to satisfy a desire for the response of others, and (d) a severe blow to his ego in a world where men are judged, in part, by their ability to consume conspicuously. In short, the unemployment situation involves an impairment of several of the powerful motivating factors in human behavior.

A necessity is pointed out (60) for recognizing the problem of the relief of the unemployed not only in its physical aspects but also in terms of the mental health of those persons who find themselves in a state of unemployment. Pratt (60) recognizes this situation and says: "With the security, pride, and affectional relationships of the unemployed so dangerously undermined, mental health difficulties have become acute."

Some suggested techniques (60) for relieving emotional tensions arising from the unemployment situation are:

- (a) letting the victim of tensions talk out his worries;
- (b) providing unemployed persons with some work, no matter how trivial, and
- (c) supplying them with adequate recrea-

tional activities. Pratt (60) takes the view that the mental hygiene problem of the unemployed is a community problem.

Beckman (5) offers the following description of the disorganizing processes arising from the unemployment situation: "Accustomed activities giving opportunity for self-expression and self-assertion are cut off, and the underlying drives are blocked or diverted. Neurotic habits and attitudes may develop and the individual, apart from his mental discomfort, may become unable to function at his normal capacity."

A comparative study (26) of the attitudes of employed and unemployed engineers revealed that there exists a positive relationship between occupational morale, attitude toward employers as a class, attitude toward religion, and a feeling of occupational security. The employed and unemployed men were divided into two groups and matched in eight particulars: (a) age, (b) salary (on last job), (c) nativity, (d) education, (e) religion, (f) state licensing, and (g) occupation (all were professional engineers). Seventy-five per cent of the unemployed men had poorer morale than the average employed men, and sixty-eight per cent were more antagonistic toward employers as a class. The net effect of the experience of unemployment upon religion was small. The study reveals a very definite relationship between morale and the varying degrees of security of

the unemployed men and between morale and the differences in the employed men's feeling of job security. "The morale of destitute men who had been given work relief was definitely better than the morale of men, who although similarly destitute, had not received such help. The morale of employed men who anticipated losing their jobs at almost any time was as low as that of unemployed men who were in no particular need."

Mark A. May (45) is of the opinion that the break in our traditional culture patterns arising out of modern economic conditions is responsible for a great deal of emotional maladjustment among young people, and says: "The usual school-leaving age for the masses is from sixteen to eighteen; the age of the first job from sixteen to twenty; and the marriage age from twenty to thirty. Any break in this culture sequence that affects a large proportion of youth for a long time is certain to have consequences of major significance."

There is some psychological thought in the direction of attributing certain mental abnormalities to economic want. "The concept of needs (35) is basic to an understanding of all phases of psychological activity." Kronfeld (40) cites examples of mental abnormalities arising from economic crisis. Reactive depression, hyper-exitability, and asocial attitudes are traced (40) to a thwarting of economic needs.

The effect that the present widespread unemployment is having upon family life and, in consequence, upon the emotional development of children from unemployed homes has not been accurately determined. Groves (25) sees two trends in family life arising simultaneously from the depression. One trend is in the direction of family demoralization with an increase in desertions, family tensions, drinking, and vice; the other trend indicates an increase in family solidarity owing to the extreme pressure of economic circumstances from without.

Young (86) describes the personality disorganization which operates among young people applying to California relief agencies as follows: "Finding the traditional attitudes and social values unsuitable in the new situation, they undergo a period of doubt, fear, bewilderment, and eventual indifference." In his opinion these persons are, in most instances, forced into their unfortunate position through no fault of their own.

In conversation with a case worker who has been connected with various county relief agencies in Oregon since 1933, this writer was surprised to learn that this worker was quite concerned over the fact that for a period of five months there had been no riots or disturbances at the agency. She is of the opinion that disturbances are a healthy sign in the sense that they indicate that the "clients" have not yet resigned themselves emotionally

to relief status. She further mentioned that her observations led her to believe that "relief clients" were coming more and more to accept their relief status as a normal pattern of life. Many were felt to have resigned themselves to their situation to such an extent that they are no longer willing to exercise initiative in the direction of altering their status by seeking other means of support.

Employers who are willing to take advantage of a "client's" situation by offering employment at sub-standard wages are thought to be partly responsible for the situation. Experience with a few such employers is thought to go far in strengthening a "client's" conviction that there is no employment available that will offer wages or advantages in excess of those afforded by relief organizations.

Many of the "clients", it appears, do not favor private employment because of a belief that it does not offer security or permanence equalling work relief. Private employment which is seasonal or which is subject to temporary contractions or shut-downs is in particular disfavor among most of the clients.

It is the policy of some relief agencies to refuse to close the cases of "clients" who are offered private employment at wages below the relief scale. Other agencies purge their rolls during the harvest season so as to supply agriculture with some labor. This policy is restricted, however, largely to rural areas.

Another caseworker interviewed by the author mentioned that her observation of persons first applying for relief and these same persons after they had been recipients of relief for some time led her to believe that, at first, these persons had considerable emotional resistance to accepting relief status, but that in time this resistance was lessened to such an extent that relief came to be looked upon as a natural life pattern. This was felt to be particularly true of persons who, prior to application for relief, had been living at or below the economic margin. This group, it appears, are completely satisfied with their new status and have come to prefer it to that which they formerly occupied.

In an interview with a case worker connected with the N Y.A. program in a large Oregon town, the author was advised that many of the young girls met by this worker and whose confidence she had secured were dissatisfied with their home situation because of the domestic conflict between their parents. Further investigation revealed that much of this conflict centered around the husband's unemployment and that the wife frequently blamed the husband for the family's loss of status. Many of these girls were contemplating marriage with no other objective than removing themselves from an undesirable home situation. The worker indicated that although the girls under her supervision had, in most instances, no definite occupa-

tional experience or training and no special marketable skills they were willing to attempt any employment offered to them other than domestic service. The fact that domestic service would, in many cases, offer them wages from ten to twenty dollars a month in excess of the twenty dollar N.Y.A. scale did not seem to make any difference in their attitudes.

There appears to be some evidence to support the idea that the mental patterns of the unemployed, if the period of unemployment is of sufficient duration and the conditions accompanying unemployment highly distressing, closely resemble those of downcast mental patients.

A study (32) conducted among the British unemployed of Lancashire produced evidence to substantiate the view that there is a close relationship between environmental conditions and the emotional and mental outlook of the individual. Interview rating forms were used with various groups of mental patients and unemployed persons. The forms were geared to measure outlook on the future. "Some (32) of the unemployed became as downcast as mental patients having a negative and catastrophic outlook". The results of this study (32) are not so difficult to understand when one considers the fact that many of the functional insanities result from environmental situations which are characterized by a consistent thwarting or blocking of instinctive drives.

Williams (85) emphasized the influence of steady employment as a factor in developing the worker's feeling of self-worth and summarizes his discussion with the following statement: "That country is skidding fast toward demoralization which begins to imagine that a man receiving \$15.00 per week without work is anything like half as well off as a man earning \$30.00 at his lathe or bench."

Myers (53) takes the view that the economic insecurity recently faced by teachers has given rise to neurotic tendencies among them that are having an unfortunate effect upon the mental health of school children and upon the quality of the instruction offered.

There can be little question about the fact that unemployment sets into operation mental and emotional barriers which interfere with the unemployed person's participation in the normal economic and social life of his community. His financial status shuts him out of social groups in which he would normally circulate and separates him from associations and activities which would bolster his feeling of self-worth. The economic dependence and social isolation of "relief clients" is likely to give rise to neurotic tendencies owing to the attendant thwarting of basic human drives.

The effect upon children from unemployed and relief homes is likely to be pronounced. Either neurotic ten-

dencies developed and nurtured in the home become problems for the school and make more difficult the tasks of both teachers and administrators, or the acceptance of a permanently inferior status strikes a death blow at democracy.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF STATUS AS RELATED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANTI-SOCIAL ATTITUDES, ANTI-SOCIAL CONDUCT, AND GROUP CONFLICTS.

Public education is increasingly faced with the problem of restoring faith in public institutions and the economic processes of society. This can be done only by helping the individual in his adjustment to these processes and institutions. Economic maladjustment in the home and the dependence of the family upon public aid commonly shatters their faith in society's economic processes and institutional forms. The presence of a vast number of persons within a society, who are dependent upon charity for their support, normally increases the social distances between and among the various groups and factions within that society. Antagonistic attitudes, developed in the home, and arising from such social distances may, and frequently do, find their way into the school.

In conversation with a teacher in a small rural school, the author was told that, in this particular community, the relief and non-relief families were rather evenly divided in number, with nearly one-half of the families having relief status. There was considerable discord between the two factions. The non-relief group held a condescending attitude toward those families who were accepting relief. This conflict carried over into the school-room and playground situations.

The children from non-relief homes were reluctant to associate with those children whose families were accepting relief and frequently reminded them of the lower status of their parents. This teacher is of the opinion that the situation is intensified because of the fact that the non-relief families are very little, if any, better situated from the standpoint of their standard of living than those families who are receiving public aid.

Sorokin (78) cites the schools as being a fundamental kind of machinery for testing the abilities of individuals and thereby, in part, becoming an agent in determining the places they should occupy within our economic and social stratifications. He does not treat the schools as the only agencies of social selection, nor are the activities of the schools thought to consist exclusively of social testing--the transmission of culture from generation to generation being their main function.

A glance at Table I will immediately raise, in the reader's mind, a question as to whether the public schools in the United States are conducting an adequate program of social testing, if this is construed to be one of their functions.

Concern is expressed (78) over the increase in college attendance and the number of college graduates in the United States in relation to the rate of population growth.

It is felt that this increase in college attendance threatens social stability by decreasing the ability of persons holding degrees to find positions in proper accord with these degrees. The following summary may be open to criticism, but is worthy of serious consideration by educators. "To summarize (78): by increasing the rapidity of university graduation; by making graduation comparatively easy; by singing hymns to the great significance of university graduation; by paying little attention to moral education; and by failure to place graduates in proper positions our universities are preparing dissatisfied elements out of these graduates (the people cursing the existing regime, directly and indirectly helping its undermining), under emergency conditions capable of supplying leadership for any radical or revolutionary movement."

While this appraisal (78) of the situation may be slightly extreme there can be little objection to saying that the past policies of educational institutions in holding themselves forth to the public as stairs whereby the individual may climb to social and economic success has played a part in increasing discontent, and thereby contributed to social instability and disorganization and to their own future embarrassment if not great curtailment.

Not many years back, institutions of higher learning in the United States sent recruiters and speakers to secondary school commencements, who attempted to, and did,

sell college training to secondary school graduates on a basis of future expectation of monetary returns. They emphasised the value of higher education in terms of the increased income and the higher social standing to be derived. It was not uncommon for secondary schools to increase their "holding power" by pointing out to pupils who, before their graduation, had decided to leave school the relatively higher incomes of persons with secondary and college training as compared with those who had terminated their education in the elementary schools as though the basic difference lay in the number of years spent in school.

Such tactics on the part of educators in the past may or may not have contributed to social disorganization by creating disappointments and resentments among those who completed certain educational requirements only to find that they were unable to achieve the desired economic of social "promised lands".

Adverse economic circumstances, it appears, have a role in intensifying the "social distance" between the persons affected and those not affected. The "we" and the "they" concepts are strengthened because the insecure and the relatively secure come to feel that each constitutes a standing threat to the other's security or is responsible for the other's condition. These antipathies,

when carried to the extreme, reduce to a minimum the contact between groups and usually lead to secret or to open conflict. Group or clique objectives become paramount in the minds of the people affected; and the welfare of the total society takes a secondary place.

An observer (3) of the unemployment situation in England sees the development of a definite class consciousness among those persons receiving unemployment benefits. The duration of the unemployment and the concentration of the unemployed into definite areas are thought to have influenced the development of a "feeling of kind".

Rockett (66) sets forth a thesis to the effect that unless our unemployed and dependent persons are soon assimilated into the nation's social and industrial life, there is grave danger of the formation of an "out group" in American society. It is thought that such a group, would, in time, develop a set of moral, economic, and social percepts distinct and separate from those held by the larger society. It is pointed out that these separate ideologies would probably be transmitted from generation to generation, thus becoming a social heritage. Possible parallels are drawn between such an "out group" and the "Gypsy Culture" or the "outcastes" of Hindu society.

Since 1925 there has developed, in Middletown (44), a tendency for the working class and the unemployed to renounce traditional business leadership in civic

affairs and for them to develop social and economic objectives which are at variance with those held by the business classes.

It is further noted (44) that a cleavage has developed in the business class since the depression, with large business advocating a conservative policy and a return to the laissez faire doctrines of pre-depression years; while the smaller business people of Middletown tend in the direction of seeking government aid and protection and are thought to have supported the "new deal" in the national election of 1936. Middletown's business classes no longer present a united front, and the whole community tends in the direction of renouncing the business leadership which had exercised the major influence in the city's civic and political life in the twenties.

They (44) do not indicate whether or not this situation can be interpreted to mean that there has developed an increased class feeling in Middletown as a result of the depression. It is clear, nevertheless, that when a social institution fails to meet, adequately, the needs of a large body of persons, it tends to lose its position of leadership. Its former followers often turn to some other institutional form for guidance, and are frequently undeservedly bitter about the former leadership.

This writer believes that the depression has greatly increased class feeling in the United States and that the

continued economic dependency of large sections of the population will accentuate this feeling, thus increasing the difficulties of the work of the schools and setting new problems for them to solve if they are to retain the amount of prestige which they still have.

Whether or not the dependent population of the United States tends in the direction of developing social values and objectives distinct and different from those held by the larger society is not known at the date of this writing. Two observers (2, 23) who have been closely connected with Federal relief organizations since their inception, note the development of a "feeling of kind" among "relief clients" and their organization into "pressure groups".

More or less permanent pauper classes have developed in many societies. All modern nations, have their dependent peoples. In two societies, namely those of India and China, the indigent populations have reached such proportions that one may properly say that in these countries mendicancy is institutional. In China (6) the number of dependent persons has become so large that the beggars have organized themselves into associations and are able to levy a tribute upon legitimate business by the use of coercive techniques. Many of the Chinese begging guilds have become powerful political and military factors which are able to force the rest of society to support

them. These guilds transmit their philosophy and occupational techniques from generation to generation and, in this sense, they may be said to be highly institutionalized.

While the United States is probably in no grave danger of finding itself with a large dependent population similar to that of China, there remains a possibility that those persons who are now dependent upon public assistance may come to accept their position as the usual thing and their legitimate right. In this sense, the United States may develop a permanent pauper class.

"Five generations of a begging family (22), in a southern city of 160,000 inhabitants, reveal a transmitted social pattern. Begging developed as a means of livelihood after an economically dependent family withdrew from the vicinity of a kinship group who had supported them. The family solidarity carried over, and social agencies found it impossible to make any contributions that were not distributed among all members. The succeeding generations were born and reared as beggars, and the children acquired the philosophy, and the technical knowledge of beggars. The intelligence quotients of this group were not low enough to furnish an explanation."

The conditions which surround dependency and extreme poverty are likely to condition adversely the social attitudes of the persons affected. The more severe the condi-

tions and the longer the duration of the conditioning, the greater the possibility that an "out group" composed of dependent persons who feel no community of interest with the rest of society may make its appearance in the United States. It must be remembered that anti-social conduct is commonly preceded by the development of anti-social attitudes. Since the development of proper attitudes and proper conduct is one of the functions of the school, it follows that the school might well take cognizance of the relief situation as regards its possible relationship to the development of anti-social attitudes and anti-social conduct.

Lazarsfeld (41) found that widespread unemployment in an Austrian village increased the severity and the number of personal denunciations and conflicts between and among inhabitants.

A study (75) in a California school district, of children from transient families revealed that these children exhibit with a higher than usual frequency the more serious forms of anti-social behavior. It would appear, in this instance (75) that anti-social conduct is related to mobility and some investigators (21, 43) are of the opinion that dependency and transiency are related.

A 1936 survey (46) of an industrial home for delinquent girls showed that fifty-six percent of the inmates were from families who had accepted or were accepting

relief within a period of two years prior to the date of the survey.

In Long Beach, California, geographical areas (43) of delinquency, mobility, and dependency were charted and points of central tendency for each factor determined. All three factors were found to be concentrated in two areas of that city. Points of central tendency were similar but not identical for all factors. The following coefficients of correlation with their probable errors were derived: delinquency and relief, 0.47, P.E. 0.12; delinquency and mobility, 0.27, P.E. 0.14; relief and mobility, 0.33, P.E. 0.13.

Duncan (18) finds that: "Occupations which are seasonal and mostly urban have a higher crime rate than those occupations which give steady work or are rural."

Adler (1) is of the opinion that a feeling of insecurity is a fundamental attribute of the criminal personality. In describing the criminal, he says: "He always opposes social bonds, hence always sees himself gaining his ends by force rather than by cooperation..... He has never felt security in society and nothing is done to teach him to develop this sense of security."

Schlesinger (69) takes a view similar to that taken by Adler but places more emphasis upon fear as an important factor in anti-social conduct. He describes what he believes to be the fundamental psychological mechanism behind

anti-social conduct as follows: "The criminal in his antagonism toward general society is driven by fear and controlled by his inability to secure a place in the regular social order."

In support of the idea that economic conditions play an important part in the development of social attitudes, it was found (68) in a study of 3000 persons, that there were differences between the employed and the unemployed in their attitudes toward economic conditions. "Attitudes were importantly conditioned by age, by the situation of living at home or away from home, and by whether or not both of the parents were unemployed." The group studied consisted of high school pupils, college students, persons on relief, teachers, and other adults. The attitude scales used were intended to measure feeling of inferiority, family adjustment, economic conservatism, attitudes toward law, and the value of education.

A study (28) was made of 1500 young offenders, sixteen to twenty years of age, sentenced to the Illinois State Reformatory at Pontiac. Their offenses were primarily acquisitive in nature. The group revealed evidences of vocational maladjustment. They had left school when, on an average, only fifteen years of age. Over a period of three years they had held a mean number of three different jobs. Their employment had tended to be intermittent and their pay low. They tended to ascribe to

forces beyond their control their frequent changes of jobs. Few had received any vocational guidance. The author (28) believes that the school should either make itself more attractive to boys such as these offenders or it should shoulder part of the responsibility for helping to give them a good start as workers, but does not offer suggestions of ways in which this could be done.

Payne (59) thinks that: "The lack of ability to maintain oneself on a sound economic basis opens wide the doors to non-social conduct of all kinds." The unemployment of engineers was found (26) to play an important part in conditioning adversely their attitudes toward employers as a class.

It is thought (73) that the depression and unemployment have been responsible for a greater complexity of emotional involvements in family life which are having a negative effect upon the attitudes and conduct of children. Minehan (48) mentions that many of the boy and girl tramps that he encountered claim to have left home because of the economic situation of their parents and that most of these children were from relief homes. Schumaker (73) thinks that the depression made boys and girls leave home to escape nagging because they had no jobs and were a burden to their already overburdened parents.

Police court records (73) in Cleveland, Ohio, reveal that each year of the depression has increased the number

of girls brought in for "soliciting". The records show that these girls are younger than in previous years. Schumaker (73) is of the opinion that the economic depression has played a prominent part in increasing the amount of stealing done by younger children but offers no supporting evidence.

A French investigator (65) is of the opinion that economic conditions are rarely the direct cause of delinquency although they play a predominant part in creating other conditions favorable to its development. Poverty (65) is treated as a relative concept with its effect on conduct dependent upon the possessions of others in the environment and the individual's past economic situation. It is recognized (65) that extreme or rapid economic changes in any direction are likely to shake the morale of individuals and society; but there seems to be some difference of opinion among writers as to the part that economic conditions play in anti-social conduct or juvenile delinquency. According to Kirkpatrick (34) there has been, since 1916, a steady decline in the number of cases coming before the juvenile court in Cleveland, Ohio. This decline has continued through depression years. The decline is attributed to the activity of relief agencies and to the increased number of children attending secondary schools. No significant difference (4) was found in the economic status of delinquents and non-delinquents, according to a study of cases of theft in Detroit.

When fifty children were measured (50) for their attitude toward their parents, by the use of the "single free association interview", it was found that children from the economic middle class manifested comparatively the most healthy attitude toward their parents. The wealthy children were next, and the poor children last. "Allowing for individual variations within each group and for disparity between economic level and economic security, the findings are considered to indicate: (a) that economic insecurity promotes or is associated with emotional insecurity, (b) that economic security (highest economic level) does not imply emotional security, and therefore, such factors as low mobility, amount of neighborhood contacts, and the centering of activities in the home are more important than economic status as such, and (c) that the balance and security in personal organization attained by the middle class group are all too often not associated with enrichment of personality or variability of response." House rentals were used as indices of economic position.

THE EFFECT OF UNEMPLOYMENT UPON INITIATIVE, VOLITIONAL
QUALITIES, AND SCHOOL WORK.

There are indications to the effect that prolonged unemployment throws its victims into a state of physical and mental lethargy which seriously interferes with purposeful activity. Objectives tend to lose their hold on human thought and life activities recede into a purposeless cycle of eating, sleeping, and sitting. Goals and objectives which are apparently necessary to normal human behavior drop out of the victim's life situation since some success in their attainment appears to be necessary to their maintenance.

The development of defeatist attitudes among relief families and particularly among children from relief homes presents a serious problem to the schools in the sense that such attitudes make motivation difficult and interfere with pupil achievement. The psychological concept of success as a breeder of further success and of defeat as making easier successive defeats is quite important in relation to the effect of unemployment or relief status upon the accomplishment and initiative of the persons so affected.

The problem of giving children from dependent and unemployed families objectives, standards, and a desire for achievement in the face of an economic situation which is typically lacking in these attributes is tremendously important and will probably remain a challenge to public

education for a long time to come.

A study (41) made with the purpose of determining the psychological effects of unemployment was conducted in an Austrian village of 1,500 inhabitants of whom all except eighty were unemployed. The population was classified with respect to their attitudes toward their present situation. Thirty-nine per cent were estimated as "broken"; forty-seven per cent as "resigned"; and only fourteen per cent as "unbroken" or normal in attitude. "There is (41) a positive correlation between the series of attitudes and the present income of the individuals, which indicates psychic collapse if the conditions continue. Of the young only the apprentices have any plans for the future. The attitude of resignation is best illustrated in the attitude toward politics, hitherto the central point of public intellectual life. Papers are not read when supplied gratis; individuals resign from political organizations even though dues may not be required and they no longer debate at the sparsely attended meetings. The number of personal denunciations against each other is increased, which indicates that the need of conflict has been reduced from the level of politics to some lower stratum. One of the big problems is what to do with the thing unemployment has given of most abundantly--time."

This study (41) throws light upon the lethargy result-

ing from the continued facing of a hopeless situation or a situation over which the individual feels that he has little or no control and reveals the detrimental effect of unemployment upon achievement, initiative, and interests. It would seem that many of the group mentioned have come to consider their situation so hopeless that they withdrew from competition without struggle and find apathy toward their plight preferable to a fight against it.

In Middletown (44) on the other hand, it was found that library circulation increased during the depression although magazine and newspaper subscriptions fell off. Although these results are in direct opposition to the findings of Lazarsfeld (41) it is well to remember that Middletown's population at no time during the depression found itself in the dire economic straits of the people of Marienthal--where almost the entire population had lost its means of gaining a livelihood.

A German study (9) was made to determine the effect of social conditions upon the scholastic ability of children. In this study an examination was made of the school marks of 656 children, seventy-seven of whose fathers were unemployed. The average mark of the whole group was 2.8 (on a scale of five degrees--one being the highest). The average mark of the children with unemployed fathers

was 3.15. The marks were compared before and after the unemployment of the parents. It was found that the grades of the children with unemployed fathers were not inferior to the average prior to the father's unemployment but dropped soon after. This attests to the effect of social conditions upon the scholastic achievement of school children.

The marks of children (75) from transient families were studied in a California school district. The transient children constituted about twenty per cent of the school population. They were found to be retarded in achievement and grade placement but normal in intelligence.

"An exhaustive study (32) was made of a group of fifty fourth grade girls, all from the same school in the same town and under the same teacher and schoolroom conditions. A comprehensive schedule for determining economic and social status was developed. The correlation coefficients between items were as follows: school achievement and income, .60; income and social status, .92; similar relationships were found when other methods of treating the material were used."

Instruction in classes for the German unemployed was found (49) to be difficult because of the antagonistic attitudes held by the students. Discipline was hard to maintain. The reporter (45) considered the antagonistic attitudes held by these unemployed students to be the inevitable result of the situation with which they were

faced.

An investigation (10) of the comparative grades of children from employed and unemployed families revealed that the unemployment of parents quickly lowers the school marks of the children in about two-thirds of the cases. Girls' marks suffer more than boys'. The greatest loss in achievement was found to occur in the younger age groups and among those children with the highest marks previous to the unemployment of their parents. When the unemployment persisted (10) over a period of from three to four years, a further decline in scholastic achievement became evident. The group studied was not inferior to the school average prior to the unemployment of their parents.

To the knowledge of this writer, no investigation has been made of the effect of relief status upon the scholastic achievement of American children. Such a study would become a difficult undertaking because of the political situation surrounding the relief organizations and the fact that the public schools do not usually possess adequate information as to the economic situation of the families from which their school population is drawn

In an article devoted to the problems faced by the present day youth of America, May (45) summarizes his appraisal of the probable effect of continued unemployment upon youth as follows: "I am convinced that the

danger in the present situation is not that these five million youth will start a revolution or a new political party, but that they will stagnate emotionally, lose their driving force and become wards of the community."

As already indicated, there is a large body of fragmentary material available which tends to indicate very definitely that unemployment and economic dependency have a negative effect upon the quality of school work. How much of the relationship between inferior economic status and poor achievement is the result of inferior mental equipment, which is to some degree correlated with inferior economic status, still remains unknown. The exact psychological mechanism underlying the effect of unemployment upon achievement has not been determined. It would seem that, in order for an individual to exert effort in any direction, he must see in that effort something advantageous to his personal welfare.

IMPLICATIONS WHICH RELIEF PRESENT TO
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND GUIDANCE.

THE NEED FOR A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CURRICULAR
OFFERINGS AND OCCUPATIONAL DEMANDS.

A canvass of business firms (56) in Napa, California, who were employing graduates of Napa Union High School revealed a large discrepancy between the curricular offerings of the high school and the courses which employers thought it desirable for their employees to have. The ten courses considered by employers to be necessary in the pursuit of their businesses, in the order of their highest frequency of mention were: commercial arithmetic, bookkeeping, spelling, typing, salesmanship, shorthand, penmanship, filing, secretarial training, and junior business training. On the other hand, among the courses least frequently mentioned as necessary in the employers business were: public speaking, journalism, commercial law, machine bookkeeping, geometry, chemistry, foreign languages, machine calculation, and business English.

It is well known that many of the latter mentioned courses are among those most frequently offered by the typical secondary school. An inspection of the course of study for second class high schools in Oregon reveals that: foreign language, geometry, junior science, history, and English are among the courses required for graduation

and that many of the courses which have a high frequency of mention according to the Napa study are either optional or are not offered by Oregon high schools. On the other hand, one may well question the value of a priori judgments of the members of the business firms who submitted the names of the courses which they believed to be of value in the secondary school training. Moreover, only a small percentage of the high school pupils entered the employment of these firms.

A study (54) of the ratio of public school enrollments in 1927-1928 in certain vocational subjects to the number of workers in those vocations according to the 1930 census reveals a large discrepancy between school enrollments and occupational demands. There was found to be an overproduction of stenographers in general and of male stenographers in particular. There was found also to exist a serious underproduction of clerical and sales workers. Another study (54) indicates that the shorthand and typewriting skills which are developed in the school are far in excess of the skills demanded in the occupations using those skills.

A report (57) of significant facts derived from a detailed job analysis of fifty industrial concerns in Minneapolis, St Paul, and Duluth, Minnesota, gives a picture of semi-skilled workers performing routine operations that can be learned in an amazingly short period

of time. "It is difficult to see just what contribution our typical vocational education program can make to persons destined for such an occupational world."

There is a growing feeling on the part of some writers that vocational education has sadly neglected training for the distributive occupations. "The high schools (70) are offering courses for only a small proportion of those persons who will later enter the distributive occupations." In the United States as a whole one out of every ten persons is engaged in retail selling or some other branch of the field of distribution. In the larger cities the proportion of persons gainfully employed in retail distribution is even proportionately larger with existing estimates placing the number of persons between eighteen and twenty-five years of age, engaged in the distributive occupations, as constituting one-sixth of the total employed population.

Patrick (56) after a survey of occupational conditions faced by graduates of Napa (California) High School wrote: "The fact should not be overlooked, however, that in the business world there are many more salespeople than there are stenographers or bookkeepers and training in merchandising should not be neglected in arranging the commercial curricula."

Dennis (15) was of the opinion that the schools, the parents, and social pressure in general have tended too

greatly in the direction of emphasizing the desirability of the non-manual occupations and stated: "We have come to recognize the truth of the statement of English industrialists to the effect that unless we believe that skilled manual occupations are occupations for educated men and women our notion of a widely educated people must be abandoned."

It is thought in some quarters that, at present, there is a serious shortage of skilled manual workers. The writer was told by a W.P.A. supervisor that there had been such a decline in the number of skilled construction workers and tradesmen on W.P.A. that it is now necessary to employ skilled non-relief workers on W.P.A. projects. This supervisor also mentioned that there had been little, if any decline in the number of unskilled, semi-skilled, and professional or technical workers on W.P.A. rolls.

One writer (15) expressed an opinion to the effect that the nation is likely to face a serious shortage of skilled manual laborers because of the restrictions on foreign immigration which formerly supplied an abundance of skilled labor from abroad. This writer (15) also sees danger in a growing public opinion in the United States which imputes inferiority to manual labor.

In an address to a convention of commercial teachers in Philadelphia, the executive secretary of the Life Office Management Association (67*) pointed out the discrepancy

between the commercial curricular offerings and the skills demanded in most occupations. It was mentioned (67) that bookkeeping, shorthand, and commercial law are not among the essential skills demanded in the average office despite the fact that courses in these subjects are widely offered in the commercial curricula of both public and private schools which profess to train office workers.

He (67) stated further that traditional attitudes have imputed a desirability to office work which has no basis in fact and says: "I have always felt that the desirability of so-called office work is exaggerated in the minds of students, parents and perhaps teachers. Routine office work in the large institutions of today is quite largely of the nature of machine production with many jobs paralleling factory routines. The emotional strain of highly repetitive work is quite severe on many types of workers and job satisfaction is often very low. I believe that it is up to the schools to minimize the traditional advantages associated with office work and to hold a brief for the factory and shop trades and store salesmanship, the latter especially for boys and girls with high social intelligence and adaptability."

A question suggests itself as to whether industry or the school is better able to train employees. It appears that when the skills demanded in an occupation are rela-

tively simple, and when the nature of the work is largely routine there is little justification for the inclusion of training for that occupation within the vocational education program of the schools. On the other hand, if an occupation demands many skills and a large body of specific information, in addition to employing a large number of workers, training for that occupation is well within the province of the schools.

It seems that the problems faced by vocational guidance and vocational education center around two focal points, namely: a proper analysis of human abilities, and a correct and detailed analysis of occupational demands. Education appears to lack both of these.

In a chapter devoted to "Some of the Unsolved Problems of Vocational Education" Payne (58) states: "The movement of vocational education is still in the promotion stage. Its philosophy is not clearly defined and there is still need for more promotion and enlightenment in regard to its true objectives."

Thorndike (81) finds that psychological tests and tests of clerical and mechanical ability when administered to pupils in high school are of little value in predicting the later vocational success of these pupils at ages eighteen and twenty. Vocational success was measured in terms of salary received and job satisfaction.

It was thought, however, a higher reliability might have been secured for the tests as prognostications of vocational success if the group measured had been followed to a more mature age. School conduct was found to have no bearing upon vocational success.

Pence (59) thought that workers in vocational education and vocational and educational guidance could profit from a study of social and economic trends. It is thought that new methods of doing things, new trends in public consumption, and new modes of living are of importance to education in the sense that they point out probable future occupational developments and distributions.

Brewer (8) recognized that adequate vocational guidance and vocational education rests upon an analysis of occupational demands. He presented a form for follow-up with graduates whereby information regarding occupational conditions, opportunities for advancement, and the specific skills used in the occupation can be secured from graduates, their parents, and their employers.

There is some evidence to support the view that much vocational maladjustment is the result of personality defects and the inability of workers to adjust to and get along with fellow-workers. This raises a question as to whether personality traits are subject to modification and whether or not they can be materially improved.

An answer to this question is very important to those who are interested in and attempting to bring about the vocational rehabilitation of the unemployed.

Hoopingarner (29) thought that personality traits can be improved by training. His opinion is based upon observations growing out of experience with a course in "Personality Improvement" offered, since 1924, by the New York University School of Commerce. Measures were devised for the following personality traits: impressiveness, initiative, observation, concentration, constructive imagination, decision and adaptability, leadership, organizing ability, expression, and knowledge. The measures were applied to students taking the course and remedial action taken whenever defects appeared. No objective data are given regarding the outcomes of this course, nor is any description given of the methods designed to bring about improvement of the personality or the means used to measure personality or personal improvement.

Fuss (20) thinks that unemployment among intellectual workers arises from the same conditions that give rise to unemployment among unskilled and semi-skilled workers. "In the coal mines, for example, the same causes produce unemployment among engineers as among miners."

It is stated (20) that unemployment among intellectual workers was noticeable as early as 1916. The tendency for professional people in general and for physicians

and attorneys in particular to abandon private practice and become salaried employees is mentioned although no data are given. The writer (20) thinks that the professional market should be organized in much the same manner as the market for manual labor.

A study (17) of the social and economic character of unemployment in Philadelphia in 1930 showed that unemployment was more severe among wage earners under twenty-one years of age than among those who were older. The duration of unemployment was found to be longer for executives and skilled workers than for semi-skilled clerical workers and laborers. Mature workers tended to remain unemployed longer than did younger workers.

There is a question as to whether or not training for high occupational levels facilitates or interferes with the adjustment of a person to an occupation below the level of his training. Study should be made of this problem, as an answer would give valuable pointers for vocational education. In short, does loss of occupational status set into operation emotional barriers which interfere with achievement on a lower occupational level than that formerly held, even though the person is otherwise physically and mentally capable of a high level of performance in the new occupation?

Innumerable occupations are regarded as degrading by many people because they offend the physical person,

require no intellectual effort, involve menial personal service, subject one to the authority of minute details, stunt personal growth, or because they are usually carried on by members of an inferior race or other person who are regarded as inferior. How vocational education can contribute to a satisfactory adjustment to these unsatisfying occupations which make up the bulk of all occupational activity has not yet been determined.

America has not, as yet, developed a peasant class or a class of menial servants who accept an inferior status readily. The traditions of American life are characterized by an unceasing striving on the part of all classes to gain a status slightly or greatly superior to that which they may happen to occupy at the given time. No one knows whether the American relief population tends in the direction of being content with its status or whether it will take a cue from labor and organize its efforts to secure benefits over and above those now received. If it is satisfied with its status, therein lie the beginnings of a peasant class; if not, material out of which a revolutionary class can be formed is in the making.

Is it possible for vocational education to give young people a desire to follow the more menial occupations? If not, what can be done to facilitate the adjustment of these young people in unsatisfactory occupations

after they have been forced into them by sheer economic pressure? From a survey (31) of a township in western Pennsylvania it appears that although fifty-seven per cent of the workers are employed in soft coal mining, not one of 200 high school boys contemplates entering that industry. There is talk in educational circles about the desirability of preparing the child for a rapidly changing occupational world. This literature is typically lacking in concrete suggestions of any sort. No one appears to know what skills or knowledge a child should have to be able to face a world in which many occupations are supposedly undergoing a rapid rate of change. In fact, there is doubt as to whether occupational obsolescence is occurring at the terrific rate indicated by some writers. An analysis (19) of twenty-two different occupations in 1930 and again in 1935 showed that, although changes have affected detailed methods, the major activities remain relatively unchanged.

No one knows whether a greater or lesser degree of skill is required to pursue a given occupation today than was the case ten years ago and even less is known as to the probable status or position that an occupation will occupy ten years in the future. There is not enough agreement among economists as to the probable direction of future economic and industrial developments to warrant educators in their attempt to set up vocational education programs to meet future needs. It would seem that vocational education will have to take its cues from the present.

It is not known whether or not the increased mechanization of industry is reducing the opportunities for employment or whether the increased production and consumption made possible by mechanization has created more and new kinds of employment. On this point there are two schools of economists in direct conflict. Vocational education does not know whether to expect a longer or a shorter working day in industry, more or less employment, or simpler or more complex tasks for employees.

Viteles (84) takes the view that technological unemployment is a very real problem to society and to education and cites the following problems which technological unemployment presents to vocational education and to psychology:

- (a) "Is there a small number of basic capacities underlying skill which can be developed in order to create in the individual a set of fundamental skills that can be used in many jobs, thereby providing for adaptation to rapidly changing forms of work?
- (b) "Is there a transfer of skill? How can it be used in promoting a better adaptation of the worker?
- (c) "Is it possible to make early in the life of the individual an analysis of specific abilities and other traits as a basis for outlining a training program?"

As things now stand it is only possible to answer the

above question in the negative. Those studies (81) that have been made regarding transfer of training indicate, for the most part, that only identical elements transfer into the new situation and that much depends on the intelligence and learning aggressiveness of the learner.

Tugwell (83) outlined his theory of occupational obsolescence as follows: "Occupational obsolescence is technological unemployment plus. It is an all-embracing term designed to cover the ways in which workers become separated from their jobs. This is a matter that has always troubled industrial civilization. This is a matter that calls for a re-examination of the economic doctrine that improved efficiency increases rather than decreases economic activity; that it benefits rather than injures the laboring classes. It becomes increasingly difficult to accept the thesis embodied in the reasoning, for instance, that reduced prices are always, or even generally, translated in reduced costs or that an improved technique does not displace more workers than is compensated for by an increased demand for the product."

ARE LOW ECONOMIC POSITION, RELIEF STATUS, AND UNEMPLOYMENT
SELECTIVE OF NATURAL ABILITY, VOCATIONAL EFFICIENCY, AND
EDUCATIONAL STATUS

The Otis Higher Form A. Test of Mental Ability was administered (56) to 144 men between the ages of fifteen and fifty who were unemployed and receiving vocational assistance from a "Job Counseling Service" under the supervision of the Boston Y.M.C.A. Three per cent (56) had I.Q. scores ranging from 80-90 and were classified as dull; forty per cent fell into the average group with I.Q.'s ranging from 90-110; thirty per cent were considered to be superior with I.Q.'s from 110-120; twenty-one per cent of the group were found to have made I.Q. scores ranging from 120-135, which placed them in the very superior classification. When this group were considered in terms of the amount of formal schooling completed, it was found that all of them had finished the eighth grade; 93% had graduated from high school; and 24% held college degrees.

This group of unemployed men (56) was found to be distinctly superior to the general population in terms of both educational accomplishment and intelligence. The writer of this thesis would not go so far as to say that this is true of the unemployed population in general. There remains the probability that the better class of unemployed men tend to avail themselves of Y.M.C.A. employment services more readily than do the less gifted.

Silber (76) maintains: (a) that intelligence is only one factor in vocational success; (b) that the type of the intelligence is more important than the intelligence quotient; (c) that intelligence tests do not give an insight into intelligence type and that only a complete personality diagnosis can do so; (d) that the correlation between intelligence quotient, measurement through accomplishment tests, and success in vocation can give no adequate solution of the problem. He holds that intelligence is no safe criterion for determining vocational adaptability.

A study (36) was conducted with 124 pre-school children to determine the relationship between the intelligence of children and the economic status of their parents. Half of the group were from the Hull House (Chicago) area and half were from the homes of wealthy cultured people who could afford to live in the suburbs. The two groups were matched for chronological age. The average age for both groups was three years. Each child was given the Merrill-Palmer Tests. More than seventy per cent were also given the Stanford Binet Tests. "On the Stanford Binet scale, where language ability is the dominant factor, the children from cultured homes were found to be markedly superior to the children from the tenements. On certain non-verbal tests, especially motor tests, the children from Hull House do better than the privileged

group." The author (36) attributes the extreme differences in intelligence among adults of the various economic and social stratas to differences in environmental surroundings and the superior educational opportunities commonly afforded to society's upper economic levels. The mass tendency for superior intelligence to be positively correlated with superior economic status is recognized. However, the author gravely questions the social philosophy which sees the poor and their progeny inevitably destined to inferior roles in society because of an innate lack of capacity.

It should be noted that this study (36) was conducted with very young children and that the investigator did not take into account the fact that a differential rate of neural maturation might account, in part, for a positive relationship between intelligence and economic status which is more evident among adults than among children of preschool age. It must be remembered that social selection has had time to operate among adults but not among children whose economic status is dependent upon the abilities of their parents rather than upon their own display of ability in coping with economic forces.

Kawin's study (36) is of significance to the purposes of this paper since it was conducted with children from homes in the Hull House neighborhood of Chicago. This neighborhood, a tenement section of the city, has

a high incidence of dependency and delinquency and the bulk of Chicago's relief, foreign, and marginal population reside in the vicinity of Hull House. In an indirect manner this study (36) reveals something of the relative natural ability of indigent and dependent people.

Goddards' study (24) of the family tree of Debora Kallikak, the feeble-minded daughter of feeble-minded parents, indicates that the girl's lack of natural ability and the difference between her performance and that of normal children did not become evident at an early age but became increasingly apparent with the passage of time. This child was afforded the same educational, cultural, and recreational opportunities as Goddards' own son. There are many similar studies showing the same conclusions.

Cattell (12) in a study of the intelligence of ten-year-olds in a typical English industrial city and in twenty scattered villages and hamlets discloses that national intelligence in England is declining at an estimated rate of one I.Q. point every ten years. It appears that the lower economic, social, and intellectual strata of British society have a proportionately higher birth rate than those of the upper strata of the same society. The decline in national intelligence is accounted for in terms of the differential fertility.

If present cumulative rates of decline in national

intelligence continue, it is thought (12) that within a period of thirty years there will be a twenty-four per cent increase in mental deficiency.

It is to be regretted that the study (12) did not mention the relative fecundity rate of the British unemployed and that it failed to make comparison of the intelligence test scores of children from unemployed homes with the average of the group studied. Although a difference (12) is established in the intellectual ability of the separate economic and social levels of British society, nothing is revealed, except by inference, of the difference between the mean intelligence of the employed and the unemployed populations.

Although a positive relationship between the possession of a high degree of intelligence and the tendency to work at a high vocational level has been established by several investigators in studies where the subjects were employed, it is not positively known whether the same relationship holds true when applied to the modern relief population.

Several of the studies which follow indicate a positive relationship between intelligence and socio-economic status and between intelligence and occupational status. In only three of these studies, (11, 34, 72) can the subjects of the study be considered as being truly representative of modern dependent peoples and these studies

apply principally to migrants--thus giving little information about the probable abilities of resident relief populations.

A report (45) from the Central Intake Bureau of the Transient Service of the F.E.R.A. in Los Angeles, California, shown that among five thousand transient boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty, sixty per cent had at least some high school education and forty per cent were high school graduates. In comparison with the above figures (45) it was found in 1930 that less than one per cent of Middletown's population (44) had finished the twelfth grade. It appears that the transient and indigent boys seeking F.E.R.A. aid in Los Angeles, California, are not inferior to the general population in terms of the amount of schooling completed and that when measured by this yardstick (length of schooling) they are distinctly superior to the general population. It is to be remembered, however, that Middletown's population is composed of adults of all ages, many of whom have not had the educational opportunities, which are now so commonly afforded to young people.

A study (11) of 500 cases was undertaken in an effort to determine whether or not the mental ability of transients varies from that of the population as a whole. The mean I.Q. for the white transients was seventy-three, and that for the negro transients was fifty-eight. "Unlike the

intelligence quotients of adults generally, which have frequently been shown to be distributed according to an approximation to the normal curve of probability, the ratings of the transients were characterized by a large grouping in the lower I.Q. levels. Those who had been unemployed for less than six months ranked highest in mental ability. There was virtually no difference in the ranking of those who had been unemployed for longer periods." It must be remembered, however, that what is true of the transient relief population need not also be true of the resident relief population. It may be that transiency is more selective of persons of a lower level of ability than is relief status.

"Consideration (34) of the educational attainments and intelligence-test scores of 500 transient men on relief in New York City in 1935 shows that these men have an average mental age of 12.14 years and that they have reached an average school grade of 8.03. Data from partial correlations would seem to indicate that educational maladjustments are of greater significance than inferior mentality in the problem of transients."

Studies showing a relationship between degree of intelligence and amount of schooling or between intelligence and vocational self-sustenance or between amount of schooling and vocational self-subsistence follow.

A study was made (72) of 16,783 destitute male travelers, 2,000 seamen, the heads of 225 wandering families and 35 women transients who applied for aid in a northern city. A reviewer summarizes the findings with reference to this group as follows: "Very tersely, they (the unattached men) are young factory hands roaming more or less aimlessly in search of work, having been 'fed up' with idleness at home. They come from cities within a radius of 500 miles. Half of them are less than thirty years of age. Most are not interested in what formal school has to offer, are slightly below average in academic ability, have had very little more than elementary schooling, are largely unskilled or semi-skilled workers, and are in surprisingly good health. A small percentage, but a substantial absolute number, are of superior ability (about 1,600 were estimated to be capable of professional training). The seamen are middle-aged as a group, are academically less apt, and have had less schooling than the landsmen, and are well organized. Family heads were very similar to the unattached landsmen, though somewhat older. The families usually wandered because of loss of residence. Lone women wanderers are more able than men, though definitely less stable. Camp residence appeals to those over forty-five years of age. Those who stopped responded well to camp life. As a general preventive measure to stop transiency, work programs and good school

and recreational facilities in the home communities are urged. As a remedial procedure to prevent further wandering, work programs with more than subsistence and care in the city shelters are strongly suggested."

The groups studied (72) were slightly below normal in academic ability thus lending some support to the idea that dependency tends to be negatively selective of natural ability. The relationship between indigency and poor scholastic aptitude is not large since nearly one per cent of the group (72) was estimated to be capable of professional training. The exact difference in the scholastic aptitude scores of the transients studied, as compared with the national norms for the measures used, is not revealed.

"An analysis (13) was made of the schooling completed by 26,898 transients registered for relief in September, 1934, at the Federal Emergency Relief Administration Bureaus of thirteen representative cities. Transients, those who leave their home communities in favor of life on the road, do not on the average differ grossly in the amount of schooling from the resident population. Among the transients, amount of schooling bears an inverse relationship to age. Of those under twenty-seven years of age, only 31% have had less than a grammar school education. Native white transients have educations superior to other groups, foreign-born whites rank second, and

Mexicans lowest. Certain cities seem to attract a higher class of transients than do others. Denver, Los Angeles, and Seattle, for example, are lodes for the superior. Transients in the south tend to rank low educationally."

A study (62) was made of the intelligence test scores, ages and lengths of schooling of a factory population of 9,075 men who were divided into forty-four occupational groups. The occupational groupings were classified according to the estimated amount of intelligence required to pursue successfully each occupation. There was found to be a large overlapping of the test performance and educational levels of the various groups. However, the averages and interquartile ranges in both the test scores and the amount of schooling received were found to correlate more than .74 with occupational rankings based upon estimates of the degree of intelligence required to pursue the occupation successfully. "Test scores (62) are practically normal in distribution; age is skewed toward youth." This high positive correlation (62) between occupational ranking and the length of schooling might not hold true were the same study to be conducted with younger persons. High schools in past decades were less plentiful and hence more selective of the natural ability of those who attended them than are the the high schools of today.

Psychological tests (38) and questionnaires were given

to 300 employed and 2,000 unemployed men. The data secured revealed that the employed office clerks were older than unemployed office clerks. They had completed more grades of schooling and had made better clerical test scores than the unemployed clerks. The former occupations of the unemployed men were grouped into seven classifications. When the men's records were divided into these seven classifications, it was found that intelligence, clerical and educational test scores, and the years of school completed varied with the level of these occupational groups. "Salesworkers were found to be definitely more emotionally stable than any other occupational group", within the total group studied. Unfortunately, in the report of the above mentioned study (38) no comparison of the intelligence test scores of the employed and unemployed was made or if it was made, it was not mentioned. Nor is it known how much of the difference between the clerical test scores of the employed office clerks and the unemployed office clerks was a result of loss of skill through disuse and how much could be attributed to a difference in natural ability or to the degree of training. The study (38), however, establishes a difference in the degree of skill possessed by the employed and the unemployed, although the source of the difference is not known, and the amount of the difference appears to be slight.

When the American Council Psychological Examination and Sim's Socio-Economic score cards were administered to 758 college freshmen, it was discovered (14) that the higher socio-economic centiles were, on an average, more intelligent than the lower centiles. A very slight relationship was found between scholarship as measured by Edgerton's tables and intelligence as measured by the American Council Psychological Examination. However, it is thought to be unsafe to predict either intelligence or scholarship from socio-economic status because of present absence of any known degree of reliability.

Comparison was made (87) of the regional distribution, vocational placement, and level of citizenship of students who were graduated or were eliminated from a township high school over a period of ten years. The data indicated that more than three-fourths of the former students lived in the same community in which they attended high school. More eliminated students than graduates remained in the community. Unemployment was much greater among eliminated students than among graduates. "Graduates tend to work at a higher vocational level than do drop-outs." The level of citizenship was found to be much higher for graduates. This study (87) tends to indicate that the secondary school is still, in certain areas, exercising its functions of social selection, that graduation from high school still tends to be positively selective of

intelligence and desirable character traits, and that high school graduates are less likely to become dependent than are "drop-outs."

"Of 1,514 high-school students given the Army Alpha Group Tests of intelligence in 1917, 569 could not be located in 1930. The average I.Q. of this latter group was 93, while that of the 945 individuals who could be located in 1930 was 108." (61) The author (61) found a significant correlation between the vocational status (Barr Scale) attained by his subjects in the thirteen years since they were first tested and their performance on the Army Alpha Test. A positive correlation (61) was also found between their intelligence and the duration of their schooling. Probably the high schools of 1917 exercised more social selection than do the high schools of 1937.

The recent reports (45) of the Federal Emergency Relief and the Civil Works Administration reveal the serious condition of a large population of unemployed who belong to the professional and "white collar" classes. Since a comparatively high level of educational attainment is demanded as a prerequisite to entry into most of the professional and white collar occupations it appears that relief status is no longer negatively selective of educational status as measured by the amount of schooling completed.

Bakke (3) finds that in England the unemployment problem is largely concentrated in the group consisting of those who do not continue their education beyond the elementary schools. An examination of a sample of the unemployed on the registers in February, 1931, indicated that 93.6% of the men and 94.6% of the women had attended only the elementary school. This is particularly significant since attendance at secondary schools in England is determined largely by the ability of candidates to pass the matriculation examinations. He (3) summarizes his investigation of the school situation in an English industrial city by saying: "The educational outlook does not extend beyond the age of fourteen for most children and artisans' children far outnumber labourers' children among those who continue school."

When a comparison (82) was made of the scholastic records of S.E.R.A. and non-S.E.R.A. students at the University of Southern California, it was found that the S.E.R.A. students excel slightly the non-S.E.R.A. group in both scholastic ability and scholastic achievement and is slightly more homogeneous in both of these traits. This study (82) is significant because of the fact that S.E.R.A. students tend to come from families of lower economic status than do non-S.E.R.A. students. It is to be remembered, however, that the S.E.R.A. students chosen are much more highly selected and represent a smal-

ler proportion of the whole group than do the non-S.E.R.A. students studied.

Tables from the W.P.A. census of 1935 which give the previous occupations of persons on relief are included in this paper since these table reveal something of the vocational skill and educational background of "relief clients". It is to be noted that the possession of a rather high degree of intelligence and the completion of specified educational requirements are prerequisites to entry into a number of the occupations listed in these tables. Thus, it is indicated that a small but absolute number of the persons on relief in Oregon in March, 1935, were superior to the general population in terms of: (a) schooling completed, (b) intelligence, and (c) the occupational level at which they had usually worked prior to their acceptance of relief status.

The following tables were constructed from information provided in "Workers on Relief in 1935" (17), a publication issued in January, 1937, by the Division of Social Research, W.P.A.

The first table, Table II, lists the number of workers on relief in Oregon at the date of this census, and shows their usual occupation prior to their acceptance of relief status. A "worker" as used in this table, is any person, male or female, between the ages of sixteen and sixty-four years of age, inclusive, who at the time of this

census was the member of a relief household who was working or seeking work, except an adult male or female needed at home to care for dependents under sixteen years of age. The "usual occupation" was defined as that occupation at which the person worked for the longest time during the ten years preceding the census.

TABLE II

<u>Occupational Classification</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
Professional and technical	906
Proprietors, managers, officials	477
Office workers	1,905
Salesmen and kindred workers	1,628
Skilled workers in building and construction	5,354
Skilled workers in manufacturing and other industries	2,420
Semi-skilled workers in building and construction	3,589
Semi-skilled workers in manufacturing and other industries	4,157
Unskilled laborers (except in agriculture)	9,535
Domestic and personal service workers	3,508
Farm operators and laborers	5,256
Inexperienced persons	7,240
(a) 16-24 years of age	3,052
(b) Persons 25 years of age or over	4,188

The following table gives the number and training distribution claimed for the professional and technical workers on relief in Oregon in March, 1935.

TABLE III

<u>Classification</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
Actors	10
Architects	11
Artists, sculptors, art teachers	36
Chemists, assayers, metallurgists	9
Clergymen and religious workers	25
Designers	4
Draftsmen	60
Engineers (Technical)	79
Lawyers, judges, justices	12
Musicians and music teachers	127
Nurses (trained or registered)	94
Physicians, surgeons, dentists	24
Playground and recreational workers	18
Reporters, editors, and journalists	19
Teachers	245
College	5
Elementary and secondary	240
Other professional workers	26
Other semi-professional workers	92
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 906 <hr/>

It is both interesting and alarming to note in Table II the group of "inexperienced persons" or persons without experience as workers in employment, as the second largest number among the "workers" on relief. It is even more alarming to observe that the number of inexperienced persons on relief in 1935, who were twenty-four years of age or over, exceeds by 1,136 persons the number of inexperienced persons on relief between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four years. The classification "inexperienced persons" is exceeded only by the classification "unskilled laborer (except in agriculture)" among the numbers of persons on relief in Oregon in March, 1935.

The fact that inexperienced persons, the bulk of whom have not been out of school more than five, constitute the second largest group on relief should be great concern to workers in vocational education and vocational guidance.

The foregoing citations (17, 13, 62, 38, 72, 34, 11, 45) reveal that all studies are not in agreement with regard to the educational status of the unemployed population, although the evidence leans in the direction of assigning to them an educational status which is slightly below that of the employed population when length of schooling is taken as an index of educational status.

There are too few studies available to enable this writer to make a positive generalization regarding the

vocational efficiency and intellectual ability of the unemployed although, as in the case of educational status, the weight of existing evidence is in the direction of assigning to them, in regard to both factors (intelligence and vocational efficiency) a status which is somewhat below that of the employed population.

Poor schooling, lack of intelligence, the possession of undesirable personality traits, and faulty character are not, in themselves, entirely sufficient to explain the existence of the enormous dependent population now in the United States. Any one or a combination of the above mentioned defects may account, in part, for the dependency of a single individual, but present studies do not reveal a correlation between dependency and these factors which is sufficiently high to establish them, either collectively or singly, as the basic causes of dependency. This writer feels that defects in society's economic and institutional processes are more responsible for the relief situation than are the personal defects of the indigents although both factors play a part in increasing the total amount of dependency in the United States. It is to be remembered that inquiry as to the basic capacities and abilities of the dependent population has not been exhaustive and that future studies may reveal more significant differences than are indicated by the present studies.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

There is no definite information about the percentage of those persons now on relief who are in need of vocational rehabilitation or who could profit from an attempt at such a process. It is not known whether the majority of the group which claims to be skilled or professional workers are inferior to or on a par with employed workers in the same occupations. It is not known whether these persons are unemployed because their occupations are overcrowded, because they lack skill in their claimed occupations, or because they possess personality defects which interfere with their adjustments to employers and fellow-workers.

In order to set up a vocational rehabilitation program for these persons a great deal more must be known about their abilities, needs, defects, and attitudes. In addition, if these persons are unemployed mainly because of industrial conditions over which they have no control, there arises a question as to the type of training they should be given to enable them to engage actively in the nation's economic life. The occupations that are in need of skilled workers must be determined, where and how educational changes can be made which will enable those persons, who are now dependent, to engage in other occupations--occupations which will be socially useful

as well as remunerative must be established. With reference to the unskilled group, it would be desirable to know whether they are capable of profiting from occupational training or whether they must remain unskilled through their own limitations.

Those studies now in existence tend to indicate that the dependent population, by and large, is slightly below par in terms of occupational skill and intelligence. It can be reasonably assumed that the dependent population of the period prior to 1929 was of a lower level of ability than is the dependent population of today, and that the addition of professional and skilled workers to the ranks of the unemployed during depression years has raised considerably the average level of ability of the dependent persons in the United States. The large number of young persons that have been unable to secure employment since the depression has also tended to raise the average level of ability of the dependent population. Table II reveals that there are more persons on relief over twenty-four years of age without occupational experience than there are persons on relief between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four years who are without occupational experience. This may show a trend toward the establishment, in the United States, of a permanently dependent class of persons who, although they are apparently employable, are coming more and more to depend upon public aid for

their support. Whether lack of ability, unfortunately favorable financial positions during late childhood, or present economic conditions are principally responsible for the situation in which these young people find themselves is, as yet, a matter of question.

Even though the abilities of the relief population should be determined accurately, there would still be the problem of determining what constituted cause and what constituted effect. Relief status, as pointed out in other parts of this paper, has a high emotional content which makes the analysis of the native abilities of the unemployed difficult.

IMPLICATIONS OF RELIEF TO SECONDARY EDUCATION

LARGER NUMBER OF CHILDREN ATTENDING SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND
TAKING POST-GRADUATE COURSES.

The following table (7) was derived from a study which shows the changes in enrollment in elementary and secondary schools from 1931-32 to 1933-34. The plus signs indicate an increase; the minus signs a decrease. Details which were held to throw no light on the present problem were omitted from this table.

TABLE IV

Classification	Percentage of Change
Elementary schools	-1.6
First Grade	-4.8
Second Grade	- 5.6
Secondary schools	+8.0
Post graduates (17 states) in secondary schools	+70.4

This study (7) shows a marked increase in both post-graduate and secondary enrollments over a period of four years. There is no question about the fact that industrial contraction and a corresponding inability of secondary school graduates to secure positions is respon-

sible for much of this increase.

The decrease in enrollments in the elementary schools and in particular in the first two grades of the elementary school, although not of significance to the purpose of this paper, reveals that a declining birth rate is beginning to affect school enrollments.

Several writers (7, 15, 45) are of the opinion that the depression and attendant unemployment have increased the "holding power" of the secondary schools owing to the inability of young people to secure remunerative employment.

"Middletown (44) had in 1890 one high school graduate for each 810 persons in the total population; by 1920....
.....this ratio had shifted from one to 320; by 1930 was one to 154; while with the graduating class of 1934 the ratio was one to 120."

The President's Emergency Committee for Unemployment (71) issued, in their report of August 5, 1931, the following suggestions to education:

Education should:

- (a) take advantage of the present period of unemployment by encouraging the greatest possible utilization of opportunities for preparation for future positions and the enrichment of American life.
- (b) keep all children under sixteen years of age in school during this time of surplus labor and

increasing demands of industry for skill and judgment.

- (c) encourage undergraduates and members of 1931 high school graduating classes to remain in school.
- (d) urge that increasing effort be made by institutions of higher learning for guidance programs that will direct young people not only into fields of usefulness but into fields where their services will be in demand.

The increased "holding power" of the secondary school may mean nothing more than that society, due to its inability to absorb adolescents into the normal processes of economic life has arbitrarily attempted to prolong the period of their infancy. In addition, it is highly questionable as to whether many of the pupils now attending secondary school because of their inability to find remunerative employment are equipped with either the natural ability or the previous training to profit from additional schooling of the type now offered in the typical secondary school.

Of 558 pupils who entered one of Middletown's (44) senior high schools as sophomores in the fall of 1931, 200, or 36%, were found to have intelligence quotients of ninety or less. It is not indicated that Middletown's schools have inaugurated a distinct program to care for this more than one-third of its students who have very

marginal ability, and it is to be logically supposed that their presence in the high school has added materially to the problems of both teachers and administrators.

The value of an educational philosophy which sees great benefits in an ever-lengthening period of dependency and supervision for the child is seriously open to question. Such a doctrine is out of line with the concept of education involving a progressive relaxation of supervision all through the period from adolescence to maturity.

In a study (30) of occupational changes from 1870 to 1930 it was found that:

- (a) there has been a steady increase in the number of women gainfully employed since 1870 and that this increase continues to 1930. This increase was found to be accelerated in relation to total population growth and to the total number of persons gainfully employed over the same period of time.
- (b) since 1910 the increase in the total number of persons gainfully employed has not kept proportional pace with population growth;
- (c) the total number of children between the ages of ten and fifteen gainfully employed reached a peak in 1900. There was a gradual decline during the years between 1900 and 1920. From

1920 to 1930 a more accelerated rate of decline is noted.

It is interesting to note that the increase of secondary school enrollments has been contemporary with the decline in the total number of children gainfully employed in the United States.

It is clear that if the birth rate in the United States continues to decline and if opportunities for adolescents to secure remunerative employment remain restricted, the nation can expect a temporary increase in secondary school enrollments proportionally greater than that which has recently taken place, accompanied by a decline in elementary enrollments. This will, for a decade or longer, give secondary education a higher position in the educational program and will place secondary schools in positions of greater responsibility. If the proportion of the population on relief remains stationary or increases, the secondary schools can expect that, due to the differential fertility of the relief and non-relief population, a proportionately greater number of their enrollments will consist of children from dependent homes.

"Middletown (44) is now a city of nearly 50,000, handling a less and less selected group of children as compulsory school years lengthen and 'everybody tries to go to college'. As such it faces the necessity of more and more large-scale routinized procedures; and

there is no sector of our culture where the efficiency of large-scale routines is capable of being more antithetical to the spirit of social functions to be performed than in education."

It is apparent that the secondary school is giving up its functions as an agent of social selection. It has ceased to eliminate the more unfit of those who could not meet the former standards of secondary schools in an era when secondary education functioned largely in the preparation of pupils for college entrance. The high school has evidently lowered its standards to meet the lower levels of ability which its average pupils now possess. In short, the secondary school has become more the school for the masses and less the school for leaders, and has been forced to decrease its requirements to meet the lowered level of its average enrollment ability. This throws the function of social selection on other educational agencies, the guidance bureaus in particular, regardless of whether they are in a position to assume the task satisfactorily.

What can be done in the field of secondary education to meet the needs of children from relief homes remains problematical. The schools will first have to determine whether or not children from dependent families tend to differ materially, in terms of native ability, from those children whose parents are employed. Again, secondary

education will be faced with an increased tendency for neurotic tendencies to develop among children from dependent families, and for these children to engage in anti-social behavior.

It is doubtful whether education can fully counteract the influences of an undesirable home environment. If this is true, the only hope for a readjustment of these children lies in the rehabilitation of their parents. Educational reconstruction must be preceded by social reconstruction. The economic and occupational adjustment of the people on relief is necessary to their social and educational rehabilitation if they are basically capable of adjustment; otherwise the group must be considered as a social loss, if not a social danger. The relief group is so new that secondary education has not begun to think seriously of the problems which it presents to educational institutions, to say nothing of the effect that it may have on all phases of social and economic life.

There is some evidence (44) to the effect that Middletown's schools along with other institutions have, since the depression, been drawn into an ever-widening field of culture conflict. Two separate philosophies of education have made their appearance in Middletown. The first of these philosophies attempts to encourage diversity, individual inquiry, and academic independence;

whereas the second philosophy subscribes to the idea that the function of the educational program lies in the perpetuation, among the younger generation, of the traditional ways of thought and behavior which are held by older generations. This latter philosophy frowns on any innovations in education which would tend to unsettle the minds of the young and demands that "the schools teach only those things upon which there is a substantial agreement among educated men of serious purpose."

The Lynds (44) see many elements in the community attempting to direct the activities of the schools in diverse ways. The economic and social conflicts among the various factions in Middletown are brought into the school situation with each faction desiring that the schools sponsor its particular objective or viewpoint. The situation is thought to have been intensified by the economic depression which threw the working classes of Middletown into an apathetic condition and promoted the development of unorthodox economic ideas in the poorer section of town; while at the same time the business classes and the traditional civic leaders were faced with a loss of status and encouraged to redouble their efforts in the direction of controlling the avenues through which public opinion might be formed. The schools, unfortunately, were one of these avenues.

Apparently Middletown's business element still has the school situation in hand, although its position is by no means secure as in the years prior to 1929.

If class conflicts, and social stratification, increase as a result of economic contraction, decreased vertical-social-mobility, and the increased economic dependency of vast sections of the population, the secondary school can expect to find itself increasingly involved in a scene of cultural conflict and it may become part of the area of that conflict.

Should educators take a position which assumes that the schools should lead in social reconstruction and the formation of public opinion, they can expect to encounter an ever-increasing competition on the part of opposing economic factions to dominate the school situation. In such a situation, educators must have economic and social philosophies as well as instructional philosophies and should come to some agreement as to the direction which their leadership shall take. It might be added, that in only two modern societies (78) namely, that of India and that of China, can it be said that the scholarly classes exercise positions of unquestioned leadership, and in China it appears that the military class has gained the predominant control of political and economic affairs. On the European continent, it would seem that the scholars and educators follow the economic

and social policies of the day, and they have very little part in determining what these policies shall be.

Already, Middletown's (44) high school teachers of history, sociology, and economics are finding themselves beset with pressure on the part of various "patriotic organizations" to tone down their teaching to the point where only the traditional and fully orthodox economic viewpoints are presented; whereas other factions demand that high school courses give more attention to the propagation of liberal ideas.

It is thought that training for character and cooperation in the secondary schools would be an invaluable aid in preventing the further disorganization of children from relief homes. This raises the question about the effectiveness of character education as it has been handled, and whether a group of persons whose economic interests are separate from if not at variance with the larger society, can be given an appreciation of or a feeling of kindred with the objectives of the total society.

It has been pointed out (64) that the disorganization and decay of social institutions logically results in the personal disorganization of those individuals who are dependent upon decaying institutional forms. Contrawise, personal disorganization of individuals within a society may lead to the disorganization and destruction of existing institutional forms. It is clear the presence

of disorganized individuals within a society cannot persist without threatening an alteration, if not a destruction, of existing institutional values. Since relief, dependency, and extreme poverty constitute highly disorganizing situations, it may be said that the present relief situation constitutes a standing threat to all social institutions, including the schools. It follows that the educators have a legitimate reason for viewing with great concern the dependency of possibly one-fifth of the population of the United States. It is clear that education cannot consider itself apart from and unaffected by social and economic changes.

DECLINE OF A SECONDARY EDUCATION GEARED LARGELY TO COLLEGE
ENTRANCE

Dennis (15) is of the opinion that the high schools have only begun to sense their obligation to the great mass of youth who will earn their living by means other than professional activity. No mention is made of the type of training which the high schools should offer for those pupils who will, in after-school life, work at vocations below a professional level, although it is intimated that the high school curricula should be more vocational in character. It has been pointed out, (15, 8) that the early high school curricula aimed almost entirely at preparation for college and the professions.

Hand (27) thinks that the unemployment situation necessitates a shift from the present secondary school offerings to "a more complete functional training geared only to the realities of the times and designed for all adolescents". "The present curriculum would have to be so thoroughly reorganized as to be almost if not entirely unrecognizable." Unfortunately, the writer (27) makes no mention of the courses that he would add to the secondary school curricula, or those that he would eliminate. It is questionable as to whether the majority of educators have sufficient knowledge of problems and

conditions outside the field of pedagogy to enable them to adapt the high school curricula to meet the needs of children in a changing occupational and social world.

Many of the courses that these persons assume to have a high vocational value in after-school life are frequently found to be of very little, if any vocational significance. Some writers take a view to the effect that any change is of value in and of itself, and regardless of its relationship to other factors in the environment; in this sense it may be said that many curriculum changes become nothing more than frills or fads. Education, along with other institutions, must guard against its activities becoming little more than meaningless ritual.

Many persons would revamp the secondary curricula to meet the changing economic and occupational conditions, although there is little agreement among them as to the direction in which the curriculum should be changed or in regard to the courses that should be eliminated or added. Most of the critical writers (8, 15, 27) are, however, at agreement on one point, namely: that the secondary school should devote less attention to college requirements and more to preparation for the realities of out-of-school life. Although there is much to be said in favor of training for leadership in a time of social reorganization, it is always a question as to

the group upon which the responsibilities of leadership will fall in the future, and in consequence it is seldom known to whom training for leadership should be offered. The training (78) of an excess number of potential leaders or "potential social elite" tends to threaten the stability of existing social and economic organizations. Frequently those persons who have been trained for positions of leadership and who find no positions of leadership open to them become so discontented that they start their own "elevating organizations" in competition with and at the expense of existing institutional structures. It is most questionable that the schools alone can train for leadership, especially in their present handicapped status.

If the above is a true picture of a more or less universal tendency, one may well feel alarm over the existence of a condition such as the relief situation where persons who have been trained for positions of leadership and responsibility find themselves not only in positions that are characterized by mediocrity but, in many instances, by abject poverty.

It appears that the secondary school cannot afford to neglect entirely training for leadership nor can it offer training for leaders in numbers that are in excess of the positions which are open for leaders without contributing to social instability and group conflict.

Since the number of followers is always greater than the number of leaders, more training should be provided for followers than for leaders.

Until there exists a better analysis of probable future occupational and economic trends and until educators can come to some agreement as to what constitutes adequate preparation for future occupational conditions, there are not likely to be either drastic or valuable curriculum revisions. It is easy to confuse change with progress. There is little additional likelihood of the schools contributing materially to a solution of the unemployment problem.

MORE TRAINING FOR THE USE OF LEISURE

Since the occurrence of the recent industrial depression there has been added talk in educational circles concerning the function of the schools in preparing pupils for the worthy use of leisure time. Much of the discussion centering around this topic is based upon the assumption that there will be a reduction in the length of the working day and a corresponding increase in the amount of leisure time at the disposal of the population as a whole.

Educators are not in much agreement as to what constitutes preparation for the worthy use of leisure time. In fact, the whole question in relation to preparation for leisure time activities is indefinite and based upon little specific knowledge or thought. It is not known whether the leisure time activities sponsored by the schools are of such a nature that they can be brought to a point at which they can compete successfully with the highly advertised commercial amusements. Among other things unknown is how much, if any, effect the "cultural or interest courses" offered in the secondary schools are having upon the leisure time activities of secondary school graduates.

It is doubtful whether the abundance of time possessed by the unemployed could be properly classified as leisure time. Keller (37) took the view that there can be no ade-

quate education for leisure unless such education is preceded by occupational and economic adjustments and says: "The glib talk of the need for education for leisure among the unemployed is pretty much a waste of time since, as the group now stands, it does not have the prerequisites and capabilities for enjoying leisure."

It appears that in the period between 1925 and 1935 the schools have had little influence upon the manner in which the typical citizen of Middletown (44) spends his leisure time. Drinking, dancing, bridge, automobile driving, and motion picture attendance are still in 1935 as in 1925 among the most prominent leisure-time activities for the bulk of Middletown's population, despite the fact that none of these activities are among those actively sponsored by Middletown's schools as the accepted and proper way for leisure time to be spent. It may well be that educators are prone to hold an exaggerated opinion of the influence that the schools are likely to have upon the use of leisure time.

Bakke (3) in his study of the English unemployed found that typically they spend their time in searching for work or bemoaning their condition. He (3) noted that the unemployed persons studied were usually unwilling to forego the cinema unless forced to do so, although there appeared to be a reduction in the amount of money that these persons spent at the "pubs". It is thought

that the unemployed continue their attendance at the cinemas, despite their reduced circumstances, because this form of recreation provides them with a temporary escape from the realities of their condition, and satisfies their desire for new experience while they are living in a situation which is characterized by extreme monotony.

From the diary records kept by the subjects of his study, Bakke (3) concluded that "The unemployed were spending their time in useful tasks and hunting for work." He (3) also noted that English workers are much less mobile than American workers and that more of their life activities are centered in their homes.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS BASED UPON HISTORICAL MATERIAL

1. The present relief population is likely to remain dependent upon public aid for a considerable time. It is significant to education because of the fact that it is and is likely to continue to contribute to the school population in excess of its proportion in the general population; and because it creates personality and curriculum problems more serious than have ever before existed in this country.

2. The conditions incidental to unemployment and relief status are having an unfortunate effect upon the emotional lives of both "relief clients" and their children. Unemployment and marginal living are conducive to the development of neurotic tendencies and mental flabbiness. The impaired mental health of children from relief families will create problems for public education.

3. Dependent and poverty stricken persons and their offspring tend in the direction of developing social, political, and economic attitudes which are at variance with those held by the larger society; and their occupational and social morale tends to be closely related to the economic position they possess at any given time.

4. Prolonged unemployment and dependence upon charity affects adversely initiative, volitional qualities, and scholastic achievement. This is true of both children and adults.

5. The vast dependent population presents the following implications to vocational and educational guidance and to vocational education:

- (a) A need for greater emphasis upon placement in vocational schools and better follow-up techniques to be used with graduates.
- (b) A better analysis of abilities and interests to reduce the number of potential misfits entering any given occupation.
- (c) Emphasis upon the development of social qualities and cooperative attitudes.

6. Unemployment and relief status are to a slight degree negatively selective of natural ability. There is a more capable class of persons who are dependent than ever before in the history of the United States. In consequence, the level of ability of dependent peoples in the United States has been raised to the point where it differs only slightly from that of the population which is usually employed. Relief status is not negatively selective of educational attainment as measured by the grade reached in school.

7. The relief population presents the following implications to secondary education:

- (a) Economic contraction and the corresponding inability of young persons to secure employment has increased the enrollments in the secondary school.

- (b) Secondary education should be geared to the demands of living and of the occupational world rather than to college preparation. The secondary school should exercise more functions of "social selection" in its guidance activities.
- (c) The secondary curriculum should be differentiated so as to meet the separate needs and abilities of the pupils.
- (d) More effective training should be provided for personality and cooperation; and some time should be devoted to preparation for the worthy use of leisure time.

CHAPTER III

A STUDY OF THE RELIEF POPULATION OF AN OREGON COUNTY

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.

This study was made in order that the writer might determine the educational status of members of a representative group on relief in Oregon, and other facts about this group, which he might discover.

METHOD USED IN SECURING DATA.

All information was secured from the application form, the deficiency budgets, and the case histories of 256 families on file in the relief office of an Oregon county. This was the total number whose official records were complete enough for use in this study. The attempt was made to secure the following information about the 256 families studied: (a) the age of the husband, (b) the age of the wife, (c) the grade reached in school by the husband, (d) the grade reached in school by the wife, (e) the number of children in the family, (f) the number of children in school, (g) the ages of children in school and the grades they had completed in school.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.

Old age assistance and transient relief cases were omitted as not being representative of the relief population now in the State of Oregon. The dependency of

aged persons is neither new or unusual; and every society has had its indigent wanderers. The indigency of persons who are non-mobile, young, and apparently employable, is phenomenal and out of line with the traditions of American society. For this reason, it is thought that the group studied (resident relief population) is more representative of the "new poor" than are either aged indigent persons or the transient relief cases. All of the families studied have resided in Oregon for at least three years and in the county for at least one year.

Every family, of the 256 families studied, was at the time of its application for relief sufficiently destitute to qualify for county assistance, and all families have received some aid, in the form of direct relief, from the county. Many of the families are, at the date of this writing, still receiving aid from various relief agencies in the form of work relief on W P.A. or in the form of grants and loans from the Federal Rehabilitation and Resettlement Agencies.

All of the information secured about the 256 families studied is information which these families supplied to case workers employed by the county relief organization. Data included in the study were taken from application forms dated from January 1934 to March 1937.

In a few cases the files did not contain the data desired. In eleven instances the age of the wife was not

recorded, thus reducing the number of wives upon which complete data could be obtained to 245. No data were recorded as to the grade reached in school by fifty-five of the 256 wives, thus leaving only 203 wives for whom data on their educational status could be obtained. There are three families included in this study where no mention was made of the amount of real property held by the family at the time of its application for relief. With these exceptions all of the desired data were secured.

The writer believes that the following tables are self-explanatory. TABLE V gives the chronological ages of the 256 husbands studied, the mean age and the standard deviation of the mean age:

TABLE V

Ages in Years	Number of Cases
74 - 87	3
60 - 73	22
46 - 59	56
32 - 45	86
18 - 31	89
Mean age 39.49. S.D. 14.00.	256

TABLE VI gives the chronological ages of the wives, the mean age, and the standard deviation of the mean age:

TABLE VI

Ages in years	Number of Cases
59 - 69	11
48 - 58	27
37 - 47	54
26 - 36	76
15 - 25	77
Mean age 33.87. S. D 12.65.	245

Ages for eleven of the wives studied could not be obtained. For this reason the ages of only 245 wives from the 256 families studied are given.

TABLE VII gives the grades reached in school by the 256 husbands, the mean grade, and the standard deviation of the mean grade:

TABLE VII

<u>Grade reached in school</u>	<u>Number of cases</u>
16 - 18	4
13 - 15	25
10 - 12	45
7 - 9	142
4 - 6	36
0 - 3	4
Mean grade 8.73. S. D. 2.76.	256

TABLE VIII gives the grades reached in school by the 203 wives, the mean grade, and the standard deviation of the mean grade:

TABLE VIII

<u>Grade reached in school</u>	<u>Number of cases</u>
16 - 18	4
13 - 15	15
10 - 12	67
7 - 9	97
4 - 6	20

TABLE VIII (cont.)

Mean grade 9.31. S. E. 2.52.	203
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Information on grade attained was not available for 53 wives.

TABLE IX shows the number of children in the 256 families studied:

TABLE IX

Number of children	Number of cases
12 - 14	1
9 - 11	3
6 - 8	24
3 - 5	81
0 - 2	147
Mean number 2.66. S. D 2.22.	256

SUCCESS-BOND



TABLE X gives the average number of children in the completed families (families in which the wives were forty or more years of age):

TABLE X

Number of children	Number of cases
12 - 14	1
9 - 11	2
6 - 8	11
3 - 5	32
0 - 2	33
Mean number 3.43. S. D 2.58.	79

TABLE XI gives the scholastic acceleration and retardation, in terms of years, of the 165 children from the 256 families studied who were or had been in school at the time of this study. The acceleration and retardation of children was arrived at by recording the claimed age of the child and his claimed grade in school, and checking both factors against a scale which presumed that a child of six years should be in the first grade, a child of nine years in the third grade, etc. For example, a child ten years of age and in the second grade

was classified as being two years retarded; whereas a child, eight years of age and in the same grade would have been classified as normal in placement.

TABLE XI

Years Accelerated or Retarded	Number of Children
+2 - +3	2
+0 - +1	60
-1 - -2	85
-3 - -4	14
-5 - -6	2
Mean number of years -.936. S.D. 1.36.	163

SUCCESS FOUND

FINDINGS OF STUDY

AGES OF HUSBANDS.

1. The mean age of husbands in this group is 39.59 years and the standard deviation of the mean age is 12.65 years.

2. 68.2% of the husbands are less than forty-five years of age; 34.7% are less than thirty-one years of age and only 10% of the group are over sixty years of age.

3. From the standpoint of age and physical condition, it appears, that most of the 256 husbands studied could be properly classified as employable.

AGES OF WIVES.

1. The mean age of the wives in this group is 33.87 years and the standard deviation of the mean age is 12.65 years.

2. 62.4% of the wives are below thirty-seven years of age and can be considered as falling within the child-bearing period.

3. Only 15.9% of the wives are over forty-seven years of age.

4. The average wife is approximately five years and eight months younger than the average husband.

5. 31.42% of the wives are less than twenty-five years of age.

CLAIMED EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF HUSBANDS.

1. The average husband claims to have completed eight years and slightly more than six months of formal schooling.

2. 28.9% of the husbands claim to have completed ten or more years of schooling.

3. 11.3% of the husbands claim to have taken some college training and 1.5% claim to be college graduates.

4. One of the husbands was found to have a master's degree in education.

5. Only 15.62% of the husbands claim to have received less than a seventh grade education.

6. The number of husbands claiming more than an eighth grade education exceeds the number of husbands claiming less than an eighth grade education.

7. Apparently the group studied is not inferior in terms of educational accomplishment as measured by the length of schooling. The relief group is, by no means, restricted to those persons who were unable to gain an education.

CLAIMED EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF WIVES.

1. The average wife claims to have received approximately nine years and two months of formal schooling which is about five months more schooling than is claimed by the average husband.

2. 42.3% of the wives claim to have had formal schooling equaling or exceeding the tenth grade level.

3. 9.3% of the wives claim to have received some college training and 1.9% claim to be college graduates.

4. Only 9.85% of the wives claim to have completed less than seven years of formal schooling.

5. The number of wives claiming more than an elementary school education exceeds the number claiming less than this amount of education.

SIZE OF THE RELIEF FAMILY.

1. The average relief family studied has two and one-half children.

2. 57.44% of the families have fewer than three children.

3. 31.67% of the families have from three to five children each.

4. 9.76% of the families have from six to eight children each.

5. Only 1.56% of the families have nine or more children.

SIZE OF THE COMPLETED RELIEF FAMILY.

1. When families were taken in which the wife was forty or more years of age it was found that the mean number of children in the family was 3.43.

2. 43% of the completed families have less than three children each.

3. 40.5% of the completed families have from three to five children each.

4. 17.6% of the completed families have six or more children.

5. 31.2% of the 256 families studied were classified as completed families with wives forty or more years of age.

SCHOLASTIC ACCELERATION AND RETARDATION OF CHILDREN.

1. The average child from those families for which data could be obtained was found to be slightly over eight months retarded in school for his age.

2. The number of children accelerated from two to three years was found to equal the number retarded from five to six years.

3. 36.80% of the children range from normal in placement to nine months accelerated.

4. 53.15% of the children were found to be retarded from nine to eighteen months.

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSIONS

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1. The whole question of relief is still so new that little is known about it.

- (a) The probable duration of the present relief organization is unknown.
- (b) The number of people who have been or are on relief is unknown.
- (c) The kind of people who are on relief is not known.
- (d) The effect of being on relief on these people is not known.
- (e) The effect of being on relief upon the children of relief families is unknown.
- (f) Whether or not these children and their parents will constitute a pauper class, form a revolutionary class, or be rehabilitated is unknown.
- (g) The use which this group will make of its leisure time (if this exists) is open to question.

2. A study of all of the families who have been or are on relief in an Oregon county shows that they are only slightly below the average of the population as a group.

- (a) Most of them had completed the eighth grade in school, at least.
- (b) The majority of them are young or in early middle age.

- (c) The majority of them appear to belong to an employable group.
- (d) The children of these families who are in school are only slightly behind the normal age-grade level.

3. The relationship of the relief problem to the schools is not at the present time clear, but several points are well enough defined to deserve careful consideration.

- (a) The present program of vocational education is weak in several ways.
- (b) The present program of guidance has not been as effective as it should be.
- (c) If the relief status brings about neurotic or anti-social tendencies in the children of relief families, these will be manifested in the schools as well as elsewhere.
- (d) If the children of relief families are of inferior intelligence or scholastic ability, and if they are to be kept in the schools in considerable numbers, the schools should make definite provision for giving these children the most useful training they can.
- (e) If the schools choose to assume a position of leadership in social and economic thought, they will be subject to tremendous pressures by groups seeking to control this leadership. Even though the schools decide to teach only material not

involved in present group controversies, they will be subject to considerable pressure from groups seeking to involve them in any large current struggle. Such pressures can not in future be avoided by the schools, even as much as they have been in the past.

- (f) The effects of forms of schools seeking to "carry education to the people" are, at present, very problematic on both the people and the schools.

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APPENDIX A

The writer believes that a very brief and informal description of the relief agencies set up under the Federal Government or its influence might be of some interest. In this belief, he has gathered the information contained in this appendix.

COUNTY RELIEF

The county relief service is financed by both the state and the county involved. Each governmental unit contributes half of the total sum allocated. Social work techniques, methods of accounting, and methods of recording information are prescribed by the State Relief Committee. The amount of money appropriated for relief in a given county is determined by the County Relief Committee, composed of members of the County Court and three persons appointed by the governor of the state.

It is the function of the county relief organization to aid indigent persons who have resided in the state for three years and in the county for one year. Aid is given in the form of cash grants and commodity assistance. The county also stands responsible for medical and dental assistance and for burial costs.

Since the inauguration of the various Federal work relief programs, local relief agencies have restricted their activities very largely to the care of unemployables.

In cases where the head of a family is employable and the family makes application for county relief, the county relief organization commonly certifies the family for W. P. A aid. In cases where a family has a successful agricultural background, the county relief organization may assist such a family in making an application for a loan or grant from the Federal Rural Rehabilitation

and Resettlement Administrations.

Unemployables are retained on direct relief in the county, and, at times when the W.P.A. is without facilities sufficient to enable it to provide work for all employables certified, these persons, although employable, are, also, retained on direct county relief.

In addition to the care of unemployables, the county relief organization is charged with the administration of funds given to persons over sixty-five years of age in accordance with the Old Age Assistance Act for the State of Oregon.

The amount of county relief which a family may receive is determined by the size of the family, the relief appropriation for the county, and the possession or non-possession by the family of resources in addition to relief.

The table which follows shows the amount of relief per person in the family which is granted in the county studied. The amount of direct relief per individual granted in this county is less than the state average and falls considerable below the sums granted in many of the more liberal counties in the same state. Although the amount which may be granted, per person, is supposedly fixed by the County Relief Committee, the social workers are commonly allowed some latitude in the expenditures of relief funds. Many counties in Oregon allow from fifty to three hundred per cent more per person than

the amounts indicated in the county studied.

From the monthly allotment per individual as indicated in TABLE A are deducted amounts proportional to the resources of the individual. If a family were able to provide its own eggs and milk, for example, one-third would be deducted from their budget according to the table. TABLE A shows the amount of cash and commodity relief allotted to persons on direct relief in an Oregon county. This budget does not include clothing, shelter, medical assistance, or dental assistance.

TABLE A

<u>Number of persons</u>	<u>Amount per person</u>
1	\$ 9.50
2	13.50
3	19.00
4	24.00
5	29.00
6	34.00
7	39.00
8	42.00
9	45.00
10	49.00

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

The Works Progress Administration (hereafter referred to as the W.P.A.) is the successor to two hastily organized and somewhat inefficient Federal work relief programs, namely: the Civil Works Administration and the Public Works Administration.

It is the purpose of W.P.A. to provide employment, on useful public works, for indigent persons who would otherwise be dependent upon local and state relief organizations for their support.

W.P.A. projects are jointly financed by the W.P.A. and the governmental unit, state, local, or national, known as the sponsor, which is to benefit from the project undertaken. On the typical project, W.P.A. carries the labor cost while the sponsor supplies the materials used. Only governmental subdivisions may act as sponsors for W.P.A. projects.

Wage scales for relief workers, on W.P.A., are prescribed according to four geographical regions, (Deep South, Middle South, Central, and Northern), according to five population classifications (ranging from rural areas or small towns with less than 5,000 population to cities with a population of over 100,000), and according to four grades of workers (unskilled, intermediate, skilled, and professional or technical). The wage rate for unskilled labor on W.P.A. projects ranges from \$19.00 a month in

the rural areas and small towns of the Deep South to \$55.00 a month in northern cities of over 100,000 population; for intermediate labor, from \$27.00 to \$65.00; for skilled labor, from \$35.00 to \$85.00; and for professional and technical labor, from \$39.00 to \$94.00.

Relief workers are paid the hourly wage which prevails for the degree of skill exercised in the area of their residence, but the total amount of time they are permitted to work is limited so as to place their monthly earnings within the classifications indicated above.

The total monthly wages for the separate geographical areas and for cities of different population are based presumably upon differences in commodity prices and rental rates in the indicated areas. Along with fluctuations in living costs, the W.P.A. wage scales may be revised, either upward or downward, to approximate changing economic conditions.

W.P.A. workers are permitted to work at private employment in their spare time. Outside earnings will not disqualify them from A.P.A. work as long as their monthly earnings from private employment does not exceed their monthly W.P.A. scale. This means that it is possible for a skilled worker, in the large cities of the north, to earn on W.P.A. projects and in private employment a maximum of \$170.00 per month without being disqualified for W.P.A. assistance.

The number of dependents in a W P.A. worker's family does not influence the rate of his pay, although local relief organizations frequently give commodity assistance to W.P.A. workers with large families.

"Commodity assistance" is the donation to "relief clients" of household articles that have been purchased by the Federal Surplus Commodity Control Corporation from national agricultural and industrial surpluses. Flour, cereals, eggs, dried and canned fruits, soap, dress goods, and toilet articles constitute the bulk of the commodities donated through county and state relief organizations. Local relief officials are permitted to exercise their judgments in the distribution of "surplus commodities" to their "clients". The Surplus Commodities Control Corporation, however, allocates commodities to local relief organizations on the basis of their case loads.

It is estimated that on January 31, 1936, there was a total of 3,800,000 persons on work relief under the W.P.A. program. This number does not include the dependents of these people on W. P.A. work relief. Current appropriations by Congress, indicate that for another year, at lease, the W.P.A. will continue on a scale comparable to that of 1936.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

It is the purpose of this organization to provide aid for unemployed young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years, by employing them at useful and necessary labor.

There are three major divisions of the program:

(a) student aid--whereby needy high school, college, and graduate students are aided in the continuance of their schooling; (b) employment of out-of-school youths on work projects; (c) vocational assistance for those seeking jobs and the promotion of desirable leisure-time activities.

The student aid division of the program was inaugurated to enable young persons without adequate finances to continue their educations. The wages paid are not large and are never sufficient to cover all costs of school attendance. N.Y.A. workers are paid the prevailing rate per hour for the type of work done, but the total number of hours that they are permitted to work in any given month is limited so as to bring their earnings within definite limits. The earnings of secondary school pupils are limited to six dollars per month; out-of-school youths are permitted a maximum earning of twenty dollars per month; college students may earn fifteen dollars per month; and graduate students are allowed a maximum earning of twenty-five dollars per month. In the case of college

and graduate students, special effort is made to assign them to projects consistent with the course of study being followed.

The National Youth Administration estimates the number of out-of-school and unemployed young persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years, in the United States, to be in the neighborhood of five million, and to constitute at least one-fourth of all the young people in the United States that fall into the same age group.

A survey of the educational status of youths on relief in 1935 showed that over fifty per cent of the young people had received no formal schooling above the eighth grade level, and that less than three per cent had attended institutions of learning above the secondary level.

It is interesting to note that the participation of these young persons in the N.Y.A. program does not reduce the amount of relief that their families may receive and that it in no manner affects the father's W.P.A. allotment.

The projects upon which out-of-school and unemployed young people are placed cover a wide range of activities; the projects, however, fall into the following general classification: recreation, public service, education, research, arts and crafts, agriculture, and construction.

Most of the young people on N.Y.A. are recruited from relief families and many of them have had no occupational experience other than that received on N.Y.A. projects.

The program employed the largest number of young persons in June, 1936. At this time there were 182,477 persons earning an average of \$16.15 per month each.